

MULTILINGUAL PETER AND PAUL IN THE BOOK OF ACTS:
SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACHES TO THE PRESTIGE RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE
OF FIRST-CENTURY CHRISTIANITY

by

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ABSTRACT

“Multilingual Peter and Paul in the Book of Acts: Sociolinguistic Approaches to the Prestige Religious Language of First-Century Christianity”

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Christianity originated with Jesus’ followers, primarily Galileans, and evolved to include both Jews and Gentiles, many of whom were bilingual, speaking both Aramaic and Greek. Since the mid-twentieth century, biblical scholars have shown a keen interest in exploring the prestigious religious language associated with Christianity. They have proposed various hypotheses concerning the language used by the earliest Christians, especially regarding the gospel transmission. The scholarly debate has centered around the language predominantly spoken by Peter, Paul, and other church leaders during official religious practices, such as teachings. This study adopts sociolinguistic approaches to investigate the language choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders, as depicted in the Acts of the Apostles. It encompasses macro and meso level analyses to reconstruct the sociolinguistic landscape of the Greco-Roman world, along with a micro analysis that examines the linguistic processes underlying individuals’ selection of a particular language in the official and public contexts of the churches. The study aims to shed light on the prevailing linguistic ideologies within the churches of Palestine and the diaspora, including an understanding of the norms, rules, and attitudes governing language choice in the official and public spheres of the churches.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
ASOR	American School of Oriental Research
<i>BARev</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASP</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin For Biblical Research</i>
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BÉFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CPhil</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
DAPSAC	Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture
EeC	Études et Commentaires
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ÉtTrav	Études et Travaux
<i>Exp</i>	<i>The Expositor</i>
<i>FN</i>	<i>Filología Neotestamentaria</i>
GCRW	Greek Culture in the Roman World

<i>GOTR</i>	Greek Orthodox Theological Review
<i>GR</i>	<i>Greece & Rome</i>
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JGRChJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
<i>JH</i>	<i>Jewish History</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JHSL</i>	<i>Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series
<i>JRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSocL</i>	<i>Journal of Sociolinguistics</i>
L&C	Language & Communication
LBS	Linguistic Biblical Studies
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSLS	Language in Social Life Series
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NIGCT	New International Greek Testament Commentary

NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
PAST	Pauline Studies
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLABS	SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SwJL</i>	<i>Southwest Journal of Linguistics</i>
<i>SwJT</i>	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

INTRODUCTION

Defining the Issue and Problem

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, multilingualism within ancient Palestine has attracted the attention of scholars. Their discoveries revealed the use of at least four languages—Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin—in ancient Palestine.¹ The inquiries of multilingualism of ancient Palestine have led to biblical studies of identifying which language was predominantly used in first-century Palestinian Christianity.² There are two noteworthy hypotheses regarding the multilingualism of ancient Palestine. First, the Κοινή Greek hypothesis claims the conquest of Alexander the Great and the resulting Hellenization program, which shifted the lingua franca of ancient Palestine from Aramaic to Greek.³ Advocates of this hypothesis cite that Jesus and early Christianity predominantly used Greek. Second, the Aramaic hypothesis asserts that New Testament Greek was subject to significant Semitic influence. Based on a large number of Aramaic documents found in archeological discoveries, scholars have suggested that Aramaic

¹ For surveys on the use of Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin in ancient Palestine, see Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 181–98; Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 140–41; Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 106–10, 156–60; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 40–69.

² Biblical scholars have attempted to determine the primary language which was used by historical Jesus and first-century Christianity. For the survey of historical Jesus' multilingualism, see Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 363–76. For the inquiry of the primary language of the Jerusalem church, see Porter, "Greek of the Jews."

³ The history of the Κοινή Greek hypothesis will be explained in the next chapter. For arguments in favor of the Κοινή Greek hypothesis, see Deissmann, "Hellenistic Greek"; Moulton, "New Testament Greek"; Silva, "Bilingualism"; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 141–56; Porter, "Disputed Area"; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 16–68. To be clear, the lingua franca is "a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community." See Holmes, *Introduction*, 86.

was the predominant vernacular among Palestinian Jews.⁴ Both hypotheses attempt to determine the nature of New Testament Greek, but their perspectives differ when it comes to the role and function of Greek in the Roman Empire.

Due to a paucity of sociolinguistic data from archaeological evidence, the language issues of the multilingual environment of ancient Palestine are challenging to analyze.⁵ Allan Bell points out that biblical scholars often relied too heavily on archaeological and epigraphic evidence not regarding first-century Palestine but, rather, regarding other places in other times.⁶ That is to say, their studies focus on quantitative analysis that involves the statistical measurement for counting the number of data from the limited number of available data, which carries the risk of resulting in misinterpretations or unwarranted generalizations. This lack of available data underscores the importance of qualitative analysis, offering theoretical constructs for probing data within the context of the interplay between language and society.⁷ Qualitative inquiry equips researchers with conceptual frameworks and models to delve into the intricacies of language and its connection to society, particularly in situations where quantitative data may be scant. Researchers should exercise caution in relying

⁴ The next chapter will explore the history of the Aramaic hypothesis. Concerning the advocates of the Aramaic hypothesis, see Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, 1–37; Fitzmyer, “Languages of Palestine”; Torrey, “Aramaic of the Gospels”; Black, “Aramaic Studies,” 112–125; Turner, “Language of Jesus,” 174–90; Casey, *Aramaic Sources*, 1–72; Casey, *Aramaic Approach*, 1–50; Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 75–174.

⁵ See Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 233; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 17–18; Paulston, “Language Repertoire,” 80.

⁶ Bell (“Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 232) and Spolsky (*Languages of the Jews*, 17) point out the limitation of archaeological studies on the multilingual environment of ancient Palestine.

⁷ Quantitative analysis aims at identifying statistical patterns of linguistic data sets but does not involve the analysis of whether those patterns are genuine or just products of chance. In order to determine those patterns in relation to particular social factors that affect language uses, it needs to turn to qualitative analysis. Qualitative analysis offers theoretical frameworks to identify whether those patterns are significant by examining the interplay between language use and societal factors. For quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis, see Johnstone, *Qualitative Methods*, 20–37.

excessively on a limited number of archaeological and epigraphic pieces of evidence that are unrelated to their research topics. Instead, they should employ the most robust qualitative analysis to unravel the intricate dynamics between language and society within a multilingual environment characterized by data limitations.

With this in mind, sociolinguistic scholars Bell, Bernard Spolsky, and Christina Bratt Paulston suggest employing sociolinguistic theories as an alternative for the inquiries of multilingualism of first-century Palestine.⁸ This approach is particularly valuable because sociolinguistic theories provide theoretical frameworks for exploring the intricate interplay between language and society.⁹ Since the late twentieth century, biblical scholars have applied sociolinguistic theories to the study of the historical Jesus and early Christianity.¹⁰ More recently, Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong point out the significance of both macro sociolinguistics, which illustrates sociolinguistic landscapes in the multilingual environment of the Greco-Roman world, and micro sociolinguistics, which focuses on individuals' language choices corresponding to the contexts of their conversation.¹¹ Their studies, to be sure, offer a robust theoretical

⁸ Bell, Spolsky, and Paulston demonstrate the possible application of sociolinguistic theories to the multilingual environment of ancient Palestine. Bell ("Early Greek-Language Tradition," 238–40) conducts a study of Jesus' code choices in light of universal patterns of bilingual behavior. Spolsky (*Languages of the Jews*, 17–22) demonstrates an application of historical sociolinguistics to Jewish languages in ancient Palestine. Paulston ("Language Repertoire," 84–89) explains the potential of Ferguson's diglossia theory for investigating the use and function of languages in a bilingual environment.

⁹ Janet (*Introduction*, 1) states, "sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning."

¹⁰ The following scholars are leading biblical scholars who apply sociolinguistic theory to the issue of multilingualism of the New Testament. For theories of sociolinguistics of multilingualism, see Watt, *Code-Switching*, 41–52. For biblical scholars' application of the diglossia theory, see Porter, ed., *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics*. For Ong's application of the Speech Community model, see Ong, "Language of the New Testament." For sociolinguistic macro level and micro level analyses, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 102–30.

¹¹ Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 376–404; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 102–30.

framework to identify language that was used by historical Jesus. However, the significance of a sociolinguistic approach to the issue of multilingualism in the New Testament has been neglected. Although bilingualism or multilingualism in Palestinian and diaspora churches has been often addressed in biblical studies, the fundamental significance of prestige language in these churches has not been examined using the most recent sociolinguistic theories.¹²

Further study of the issues of multilingualism in the New Testament requires an update by the application of recent sociolinguistic theories. By employing Nikolas Coupland's "Style" model alongside other sociolinguistic models, this study will investigate historical and textual data in order to investigate the prestige religious language in the context of first-century Christianity.¹³ In sociolinguistics, "Prestige Language" refers to a language that holds a high status in a specific country, region, community, or domain (setting), signifying its prestigious role.¹⁴ Prestige language is predominantly employed in the official and public settings of the given country, region,

¹² So far, the majority of biblical scholars have considered Aramaic to be the prestige language of the Jerusalem church and Greek to be the lingua franca of diaspora churches without exhaustive investigations into the multilingual environment of first-century Christianity. The following scholars consider Aramaic to be the lingua franca of Jews in first-century Palestine based on investigations into historical contexts and the transmission of the Jesus tradition: Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 32–35; Dibelius, *Gospel Criticism* 73–76; Brown, *Gospel according to John I–XII*, CXXIX–CXXX; Bultmann, *History*, 222, 240; Theissen, *Social Reality*, 54–55; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 205–10, 222–30; Casey, *Aramaic Sources*, 67; Casey, *Aramaic Approach*, 53. In addition, some biblical scholars misuse sociolinguistic models. In light of outdated sociolinguistic theories, they view Aramaic as the lingua franca of the Jews of both Palestinian and Diaspora areas. Lee, for instance, employs Mackey's theory and holds this view. See Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 79–86; Mackey, *Bilingualism*. Ong, however, points out the theoretical weakness of Lee's use of Mackey's notion of diglossia. See Ong, "Review of Jesus and Gospel Traditions."

¹³ The Style model determines various social meanings of many different languages which relate to social identity (see Chapter 3). For the concept of the social meaning of language, see Coupland, *Style*, 126–56; Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 268–72. Coupland's Style model (*Style*, 82–105) demonstrates how to extract and interpret sociolinguistic resources based on various sociolinguistic models. For an application of Coupland's use of sociolinguistic resources, see Theodoropoulou, *Sociolinguistics of Style*, 8–12.

¹⁴ Ronald and Janet, *Introduction*, 92.

community, or domain.¹⁵ As this study aims at determining the religious language of early Christianity which is used to express and convey religious beliefs, practices, and experiences in the official settings, focus will be placed on prestige religious language, namely the language used in the formal religious contexts in early Christianity.¹⁶ To be specific, Coupland's *Style* model will offer the theoretical framework to examine the sociolinguistic data in Acts in order to identify the prestige religious language which was generally used by the church authorities.¹⁷ In the end, my study will demonstrate Κοινή Greek's language status as a prestige religious language in both Palestinian and diaspora churches, with the main evidence being that Κοινή Greek served as the lingua franca for apostolic ministry and mission in first-century CE Christianity.

Outline and Contribution of the Study

In light of the recent trend of sociolinguistics, this study applies macro sociolinguistics, meso sociolinguistics, and micro sociolinguistics to determine the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. Chapter 1 explores previous scholars' studies regarding the multilingual environment of first-century Christianity. This chapter provides a survey of major scholars in favor of the Aramaic hypothesis and those in

¹⁵ In sociolinguistic studies, prestige language and "High-Variety (H-Variety)" are interchangeable terms. See Holmes, *Introduction*, 90–93; Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 109–10, 170, Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 226.

¹⁶ This study employs Porter's term ("Functional Distribution," 58) "Prestige Religious Language" and defines it as a high and formal variety used in a restricted religious linguistic context. For further information on the role and function of religious language in multilingual environments, see Fishman, "Language and Religion," 23–24.

¹⁷ Sociolinguists define entire languages and varieties within them as linguistic "Codes." According to the sociology of multilingualism, the concept of "Code Switching" refers to multilingual speakers' alternating use of their various codes. For more information on the concept of "Code Switching," see Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 114–17. I will intentionally use the term "Code Choice" rather than "Code Switching" because this study will not apply sociology of multilingualism but ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics to the inquiry of the code choices of Peter and Paul.

favor of the Κοινή Greek hypothesis and demonstrates the impact of their work.

Additionally, this chapter evaluates the contribution and limitation of previous scholars' use of sociolinguistic theory.

Chapter 2 aims at demonstrating the methodological procedure of historical sociolinguistics for the inquiry of the code choices of Peter and Paul. The first section of this chapter evaluates previous scholars' application of historical sociolinguistics to the inquiry of the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine in light of the recent trend of contemporary sociolinguistics. The second section proposes a model of historical sociolinguistics that employs three types of sociolinguistics for the inquiry of the code choices of Peter and Paul: (1) macro sociolinguistics, (2) meso sociolinguistics, and (3) micro sociolinguistics.¹⁸

Chapter 3 utilizes macro sociolinguistics to explore the linguistic ideologies of institutional communities towards language choices in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.¹⁹ The primary objective is to investigate the beliefs and attitudes of these communities towards codes in official settings of the eastern provinces. The initial part of the chapter scrutinizes the sociopolitical structures in the Greco-Roman world that enforced language regulations to manage the linguistic ideology. The subsequent

¹⁸ For further information on macro sociolinguistics and micro sociolinguistics, see Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 6–14. Regarding meso sociolinguistics, see Nevalainen, “Historical Sociolinguistics,” 249–50. Ong’s three-level analysis differs from mine: (1) macro analysis, (2) micro analysis, and (3) text analysis. Ong’s macro analysis is based on “Sociology of Multilingualism,” which concerns itself with whole languages and their distribution and usage within society and focuses on what languages a particular ethnic group speaks, especially if their language preference is changing. For micro analysis, Ong employs Variationism, which focuses on researching how particular linguistic features vary with different social factors. In light of Bell’s notion of macro and micro sociolinguistics, it may be argued that Ong should have placed text analysis into micro analysis because Ethnographic-Interactional Sociolinguistics that Ong places in text analysis is micro sociolinguistics. Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 69–130.

¹⁹ Porter is the pioneer to reconstruct vernacular languages of the areas of Paul’s missionary journey by employing macro sociolinguistics. See Porter, “Did Paul Speak Latin?”; Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak.”

part investigates the customary principles and guidelines for code choices in the institutional communities.

Chapter 4 uses meso sociolinguistics to analyze linguistic ideologies in the communities of practice. This inquiry aims at determining the beliefs and attitudes of non-institutional communities regarding code choices in their everyday activities. The first section explores various social networks within these communities that established the general norms and rules for code choices in the Greco-Roman world. The second section delineates the sociolinguistic landscape of the Greco-Roman world by ascertaining the predominant linguistic codes, influenced by specific social networks within these non-institutional communities, during the first century CE.

Chapter 5 uses micro sociolinguistics to focus on Peter and Paul's linguistic behaviors in the multilingual environment of the Greco-Roman world. The first section analyzes texts in the New Testament that indicate the plurilingualism of Peter, Paul, and some other church leaders on the basis of sociolinguistic theories. The second section investigates the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders and determines which language served as the prestige religious language of Palestinian and diaspora churches.²⁰

²⁰ According to Bell (*Guidebook to Sociolinguistics*, 104), entire languages and varieties within them are defined as linguistic "Code."

MULTILINGUALISM OF FIRST-CENTURY CHRISTIANITY

Multilingualism in first-century Christianity has been a crucial sociolinguistic issue in biblical studies in recent years.¹ Allan Bell clearly lays out the main sociolinguistic issue of the language of the New Testament:

If our only evidence for the language of Jesus was the four canonical Gospels, we would have to conclude that he conversed and taught in Greek, with occasional switches into Aramaic; that he used a few Latin words for things associated with the Roman occupiers; and that he could read Hebrew. . . How and when did that become the Greek of the Gospels that we know?²

It was not until Stanley E. Porter mentioned macro and micro contexts that scholars began to recognize the significance of the distinction of this issue.³ Following Porter, Hughson T. Ong further developed the concept of macro and micro contexts of first-century Palestine for this scholarly issue: (1) the macro contexts: the multilingual environment of the New Testament world and (2) the micro context: the patterns of individual historical figures' code choices.⁴ On the one hand, the first issue concentrates on the language status of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in first-century Palestine. On the other hand, the second issue involves the code choices of Jesus, his disciples, and other church leaders in first-century Christianity.

¹ Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 230.

² Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 230.

³ Porter (Greek Language Criteria," 390) first addresses micro and macro analyses for the inquiry of historical Jesus' multilingualism.

⁴ Ong (*Multilingual Jesus*, 11–12) provides macro and micro sociolinguistics to the following issues: (1) the nature of the Greek language of the New Testament and (2) Jesus' use of languages.

This chapter demonstrates how these interrelated studies shed light on the question of the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. The purpose of this chapter is to explore previous scholars' approaches to the issues regarding the macro and micro contexts and evaluate their contributions.⁵

The Multilingual Environment of the New Testament World

Around the early twentieth century, scholarly debates regarding the language issue of the New Testament concentrated on its written language, asking if it was a type of Semitic Greek, Classical (Attic) Greek, *Holy Ghost* Greek, or Hellenistic Greek. Two significant inquiries, however, changed the nature of this debate. First, the inquiry of documentary papyri and inscriptions from Egypt caused the Attic and Holy Ghost Greek hypotheses to fall out of favor with scholars while elevating the Hellenistic Greek hypothesis. Second, recognition of a multilingualism of ancient Palestine reoriented scholarly interests away from the question of the linguistic nature of New Testament Greek (the Hellenistic Greek hypothesis and the Semitic Greek hypothesis) to the question of the predominant language of first-century Palestine (the Κοινή Greek Hypothesis and the Aramaic Hypothesis).

In its early stage, previous scholars' studies concentrated on comparative philology. As recent scholars have recognized the complexity of the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine, they have attempted to employ various

⁵ Since this issue is too broad to be examined in one chapter, this chapter centers primarily around the most representative scholars of the Aramaic and the Κοινή Greek hypotheses. Specifically, this chapter does not deal with the Classical (Attic) Greek hypothesis and the "Holy Ghost" Greek hypothesis because they are no longer discussed within recent scholarship. For discussion on these topics, see Porter, "Disputed Area," 28–31; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 22.

methodologies.⁶ Especially, sociolinguistic approaches offer robust frameworks that identify the role of Aramaic and Greek in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine and the Roman Empire. This section will explore previous and recent scholars' studies of multilingualism of ancient Palestine.

Previous Studies of Multilingualism of Ancient Palestine

Before delving into scholarly debates regarding the role of Aramaic and Greek in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine, it is worth noting the basic concepts of language status within multilingualism. In light of sociolinguistics, three types of language status need to be taken into account to understand the roles of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in first-century Palestine and the Roman Empire:

- (1) Vernacular language: The term vernacular generally refers to the most colloquial variety in a person's linguistic repertoire. In a multilingual community, this variety will often be an unstandardised ethnic or tribal language. The vernacular is the variety used for communication in the home and with close friends. It is the language of solidarity between people from the same ethnic group. By extension, the term has been used to refer in a monolingual community to the most informal and colloquial variety of a language which may also have a standardised variety.
- (2) Standard language: Standard varieties are codified varieties. Codification is usually achieved through grammars and dictionaries which record, and sometimes prescribe, the standard forms of the language. Dictionary writers (or lexicographers) have to decide which words to include in the dictionary as part of the standard variety, which forms to mark as dialectal and which to omit altogether. They generally take the usage of educated and socially prestigious members of the community as their criterion.
- (3) *Lingua franca*: A lingua franca is a language used for communication between people whose first languages differ. . . In multilingual communities, *lingua francas* are so useful they may eventually displace the vernaculars. . . If linguistic distinctiveness is an important identifying value for a group, then ethnic languages and vernaculars tend to survive, often for a considerable time. . . *Lingua francas* often develop initially as trade

⁶ See Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 184; Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 231–33.

languages—illustrating again the influence of economic factors on language change.⁷

It is also worth noting the concept of prestige language. Prestige language refers to the most appropriate language which a group of people regard for a particular situation.⁸ To be sure, the standard language or the lingua franca are generally used as the most appropriate language in the public or official settings. However, some vernacular languages, which are neither a standard language nor the lingua franca, could serve as the prestige language in specific situations for some reasons. For instance, Bell's study shows that through broadcasting, minority ethnicities in Wales and the Basque country express the role of their minority language as the prestige language.⁹ In addition, Penelope Eckert's case study illustrates that unique linguistic styles among teenage groups play a role as the prestige language within their groups, even though these linguistic styles do not conform to standardized forms.¹⁰ These case studies highlight that the role of the prestige language should be determined depending on their uses in various situations. Chapter 2 will explore the contemporary sociolinguists' studies regarding this issue.

In light of the concept of prestige language, the prestige religious language denotes a language that is considered the most suitable for official settings of a particular religion.¹¹ The official setting of a religion can be identified by examining official religious practices.¹² For instance, the book of Acts demonstrates various religious practices of first-century Christianity, such as prayer, worship, sermon, teaching, voting,

⁷ See Holmes, *Introduction*, 81, 83, 87–88.

⁸ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 110.

⁹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 51.

¹⁰ Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 7–45.

¹¹ See Fishman, "Language and Religion," 23–24.

¹² See Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 34–41.

and healing. Some religious practices were conducted officially by authorities on behalf of the community, while others were held unofficially by individuals or through personal relationships not before the group of people. Prestige religious language pertains to the former settings, where authorities are expected to carefully select their language for official speeches and announcements to ensure comprehensibility for all.

As regards the concept of the prestige religious language in first-century Christianity, the Κοινή Greek and Aramaic hypotheses center on which language was the lingua franca of first-century Palestine. The Κοινή Greek hypothesis highlights the role of Greek as the lingua franca in the broader Greco-Roman world. The advocates of this hypothesis argue that the Hellenization program of Alexander and his successors made the role of Κοινή Greek the common language of the people and the prestige language of the empire. The Aramaic hypothesis, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of Aramaic as the lingua franca of first-century Palestinian Jews because Aramaic was their dominant vernacular language. The advocates of this hypothesis maintain that despite the Hellenization program of Alexander and his successors, Aramaic was still dominantly used as the language of Palestinian Jews. The following sections explore the scholarly debates surrounding two types of hypotheses: (1) the Hellenistic Greek Hypothesis and Semitic Greek Hypothesis and (2) the Κοινή Greek Hypothesis and the Aramaic Hypothesis.

The Hellenistic Greek Hypothesis and the Semitic Greek Hypothesis

In tracing the history of the Hellenistic Greek and Semitic hypotheses, it is useful to

begin with Gustav Adolf Deissmann's Hellenistic Greek Hypothesis.¹³ At the end of the nineteenth century, Deissmann introduced the concept of "Hellenistic Greek" in the Egyptian documentary papyri and Greek inscriptions which, in turn, offers the fundamental concept of the Κοινή Greek hypothesis.¹⁴ According to Deissmann's comparative philology of the Greek of the New Testament with the Greek of the Septuagint (LXX) and with Egyptian papyri and inscriptions, the Greek of the New Testament is different from classical Greek and from the Greek of the LXX—so-called biblical Greek by advocates of the "Holy Ghost" Greek hypothesis—still it shares similarities with the Egyptian Greek written in personal letters, informal notes, and other non-literary documents found among the Egyptian Papyri.¹⁵ Deissmann argues against the Classical Greek hypothesis and the Holy Ghost Greek hypothesis and identifies the Greek of the New Testament as Hellenistic Greek, which was not only a commercial language but also a spoken language that was used in common life from 300 BCE to 400 CE.¹⁶ Deissmann's recognition of the similarity between the Greek of the New Testament and Egyptian papyri laid the groundwork for the argument that Hellenistic Greek was both the written and spoken language in the Greco-Roman world.

Deissmann's hypothesis is affirmed by James H. Moulton.¹⁷ Moulton compares the grammar and lexical items between the New Testament and the documentary papyri in Egypt and reaches a similar conclusion to Deissmann's hypothesis. Exploring other

¹³ Concerning Deissmann's major works on the discovery of Egyptian documentary papyri and Greek inscriptions for the nature of Greek of the New Testament, see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 63–85; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1–145.

¹⁴ Deissmann, "Hellenistic Greek," 48–49.

¹⁵ Deissmann, "Hellenistic Greek," 48–58.

¹⁶ Deissmann, "Hellenistic Greek," 39–48, esp. 48.

¹⁷ For Moulton's major works, see Moulton, "Grammatical Notes"; Moulton, "Characteristics"; Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*.

contemporary scholars' studies with regard to the discoveries of papyri and inscriptions, Moulton points out the universal distribution of Hellenistic Greek all over the Greco-Roman world after Alexander's conquest.¹⁸ Moulton asserts that Hellenistic Greek was widely used as the ordinary spoken language of daily life throughout the Greco-Roman world.¹⁹

The Semitic Greek hypothesis, however, maintained popularity among those who advocated the priority of Aramaic as the dominant language in first-century Palestine and the Semitic influence on the Greek of the New Testament. In its early stage, the advocates of the Semitic Greek hypothesis overlooked the significance of the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine and assume that first-century Jews were functionally monolingual.²⁰ Employing comparative philology, their studies of New Testament Greek concentrated on the iconistic relationship between Semitic and Greek usages on the basis of the dominant role of Aramaic as the Palestinian Jews' language.²¹ As they recognized post-classical Greek, their theories became much too complicated and problematic.²²

Subsequent scholars suggested the concept of Jewish-Greek in the bilingual environment of first-century Jews based on their comparative philology of the Semitic literatures, especially Targums. Henry Gehman proposed the concept of Jewish-Greek

¹⁸ Moulton, "New Testament Greek," 82–83.

¹⁹ Moulton, "New Testament Greek," 73.

²⁰ Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 365–66.

²¹ For instance, Dalman argues that the Hellenization program did not fully replace the dominant role of Aramaic as the Palestine Jews' language. Exploring the Aramaic and Hebrew documents of ancient Palestine and the lexical Aramaisms written in Josephus and the New Testament, Dalman concludes that the majority of Palestinian Jews' language in their daily lives was Aramaic. On the basis of the large population of Aramaic-speaking Jews, Dalman asserts that there was Semitic influence on Alexandrian Greek in ancient Palestine. Regarding Dalman's Semitic Greek hypothesis, see Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 1–90, here 17.

²² Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 366.

which emerged naturally from language contact between Greek and Aramaic in the Jewish community. Gehman identified the Greek of the LXX as Jewish-Greek which was a product of a temporary phenomenon of the transitional stage of the bilingual Jewish community.²³ This transitional stage involved an older generation who spoke Aramaic as their family language and a younger generation who were more fluent in Greek than in Aramaic. Gehman concluded that Jewish-Greek was influenced by Hebraic features either in the language of the Old Testament or in an original Semitic language.²⁴

Nigel Turner proposed a concept of Jewish-Greek different from Gehman's concept. Turner notes the different characteristics between the Greek of the New Testament and that of the Egyptian papyri but the similar characteristics between the Greek of the New Testament and that of the LXX.²⁵ Highlighting its Semitic elements, Turner claims New Testament Greek as a distinct type of Jewish-Greek, which was not a type of a transitional language but was used as a spoken and written language by the Jews of first-century Palestine.²⁶ Turner contends that Jesus, his disciples, and other writers of the New Testament spoke Jewish-Greek, which was subject to the Semitic languages in first-century Galilee.²⁷

The assumption of the Semitic Greek hypothesis that linguistic interference or influence of the New Testament is attributed to Aramaic heavily relied on comparative philology between the New Testament and Semitic documents. However, there are two

²³ According to Gehman, Jewish-Greek was used when the older generation and the younger generation gathered in synagogues and in religious circles. Gehman, "Hebraic Character," 163, 173.

²⁴ Gehman, "Hebraisms," 148; Gehman, "Ἀγίος in the Septuagint," 337–48; Gehman, "Hebraic Character," 163–70.

²⁵ Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, 183.

²⁶ Turner, "Language of Jesus," 184.

²⁷ Turner, "Language of Jesus," 174–90.

methodological weaknesses in this assumption. First, the advocates of the Semitic Greek hypothesis often misused comparative philology to interpret archeological, epigraphical, and historical sources. They reconstructed Palestinian Aramaic by investigating sources which were later in date than the Gospels and made use of selected Targums.²⁸ This kind of comparative philology is highly speculative because it provides data neither for first-century Palestinian Aramaic nor for Biblical Aramaic.²⁹

Second, the scholarly group who advocate the Semitic Greek hypothesis has overlooked the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* in the Greco-Roman world but overemphasized the role of Aramaic or Hebrew in the first-century Jewish communities in Palestine and diaspora regions. This scholarly group has assumed that the influence of the Semitic languages, Aramaic and Hebrew, on Greek was significant enough to create a distinct form of Jewish-Greek that reflected Jewish thought patterns and cultural practices. In order to substantiate this hypothesis, one must provide a substantial amount of archeological, epigraphic, and historical evidence of the Semitic Greek or the role of Aramaic or Hebrew as the *lingua franca* within the Jewish communities. However, advocates of this hypothesis have not provided any critical evidence. A primary shortcoming of the Semitic Greek hypothesis is that it heavily relies on logical inference regarding the role of Aramaic and Hebrew in first-century Jewish society.

However, the Deismann-Moulton hypothesis represented an important breakthrough in the inquiry of the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* in the Greco-Roman world. It is worth noting that Deismann and Moulton revealed a similar linguistic

²⁸ Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 366–67.

²⁹ This evaluation is addressed even by recent advocates of the Semitic Greek Hypothesis. See Casey, *Aramaic Sources*, 5.

characteristic between the Greek of the New Testament and that of other documents written in different places and at different times. The concept of heteroglossia, as proposed by Bell, highlights the fact that language is always variegated and cannot be standardized naturally: “it is always and everywhere variegated.”³⁰ In view of this, similarity between the Greek of the New Testament and that of other documents must be impossible if Greek did not play a role as the lingua franca of the Greco-Roman world. Given the research findings of Deissmann and Moulton’s studies, Alexander and his successors implemented the Hellenization program successfully to replace the role of Aramaic as the lingua franca with Greek, resulting in a multilingual environment where local inhabitants learned Greek for political, social, and economic activities.

The Κοινή Greek Hypothesis and the Aramaic Hypothesis

Around the middle of the twentieth century, biblical scholars acknowledged the significance of multilingualism in ancient Palestine through documentary papyri written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin from the Late Second Temple period. This recognition signified that their argument changed from linguistic features of Greek of the New Testament (the Hellenistic Greek hypothesis and the Semitic Greek hypothesis) to the role of Aramaic and Greek in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine (the Κοινή Greek hypothesis and the Aramaic hypothesis).

The advocates of the Semitic Greek hypothesis revised the original optimism of their hypothesis and suggested the Aramaic hypothesis that Aramaic was dominantly

³⁰ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 3.

used by first-century Palestine Jews.³¹ It is worth mentioning two inquiries of the Aramaic hypothesis. The first inquiry concerns the Aramaic origin of the Gospels and Acts. The Aramaic hypothesis proceeded with the assumption that Aramaic was the prestige language of Jews in first-century Palestine. The advocates of this hypothesis attempted to reconstruct the Semitic origin of certain portions of the New Testament. Charles C. Torrey, C. F. Burney, and Joachim Jeremias believed that the Gospels and some parts of Acts were translated into Greek from the Aramaic speech spoken by Jesus and his disciples.³² They attempted to identify unpolished Greek as mistranslations from Aramaic to Greek and back-translated the Greek text of these books into Aramaic in order to derive the Aramaic original texts. These assumptions are highly problematic in that their theories heavily relied on a functional monolingual perspective of first-century Palestinian communities where the inhabitants mostly speak their mother language. None of these scholars, moreover, provided decisive evidence of actual Aramaic sources of the Gospels and Acts.³³ As Porter and Ong note, all the earliest documents of the New Testament were written in Greek.³⁴

Among the proponents of the Aramaic original Gospels, Joseph A. Fitzmyer took seriously people's multilingual ability in first-century Palestine and identified the language status of Aramaic, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew in the Greco-Roman world.³⁵

³¹ For detailed information on the development of the Aramaic hypothesis, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 29–32.

³² Burney, *Aramaic Origin*; Burney, *Poetry of Our Lord*; Torrey, *Four Gospels*; Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*; Torrey, "Aramaic of the Gospels"; Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 1–37; Jeremias, *Parables*.

³³ Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 238.

³⁴ Porter, *Studies in the Greek*, 81; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 27.

³⁵ Fitzmyer demonstrates that although Aramaic was the most dominant language among Jews in first-century Palestine, Greek was avidly used as a first language by some Palestinians and as a second language not only by those in Hellenistic towns but also by farmers and craftsmen of less obviously Hellenized areas. Palestinian Jews probably used Hebrew as a written language but not as a spoken

Fitzmyer acknowledged the limitation of a study of epigraphy from limited archaeological evidence, which some might characterize as insufficient.³⁶ Even Fitzmyer, however, overused the quantitative analysis of archeological, epigraphic, and historical data in relation to the language status of Aramaic and Greek. Although Fitzmyer recognized the role of Greek as the lingua franca in first-century Palestine, he concluded that Jesus was likely able to converse in Greek but not preach simply because the volume of Aramaic texts from the Qumran material supports the dominant role of Aramaic in first-century Palestine.³⁷ Fitzmyer relied too heavily upon the quantitative analysis of preferred data from the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) but overlooked the significance of data from other places.

A second inquiry concerns the role of Aramaic among first-century Palestinian Jews. Maurice Casey asserts that Aramaic served as the lingua franca of Jews in Israel during Jesus' ministry. Although Casey recognizes that many gentiles used Greek as the lingua franca in Nazareth, he considers the Jewish community in Nazareth to be almost monolingual because he is unable to find any evidence that ordinary Galilean Jews spoke Greek.³⁸ However, Casey's use of the Semitic and Aramaic evidence relies on evidence favorable to his conclusion. Similar with Fitzmyer, Casey's hypothesis heavily relies on the DSS.

language. Latin was a fourth language used by the Romans in political and administrative works. See Fitzmyer, "Languages of Palestine," 129–47, 145, 162.

³⁶ Fitzmyer (*Wandering Aramean*, 184) notes that "the study of Aramaic epistolography would have little direct bearing on NT letters, there is still the likelihood that the study of it would shed some comparative light on them, since it represents a form of ancient letter-writing from the eastern Mediterranean area."

³⁷ Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 37–41; Fitzmyer, "Did Jesus speak Greek?."

³⁸ Casey insists that a large quantity of documents of the DSS evinces that Aramaic was a spoken language of ordinary Jews in Israel. Casey believes that the documents which include Aramaic translations (e.g., a Targum to Job, 4Q156) are compelling evidence that there were Jews who could not understand the Hebrew originals and needed Aramaic translations. Casey, *Aramaic Approach*, 52–54.

Reconstructing the multilingual environment of first-century Galilee from data in the DSS is to ignore the complicated multilingual environments of vast regions in first-century Palestine. The DSS were written by the Qumran community, one of the sects of Judeans that had the most conservative perspective on Hellenistic influence and that did not have a strong social network with Greek-speaking gentiles. However, Jewish Galileans intermingled with Greek-speaking gentiles and, as a result, were more heavily influenced by Hellenism.³⁹ Given this, arguably, there was a huge difference in the multilingual environments between Galilee and the Qumran community in Judea. Following the Babylonian conquest in 586 BCE, Galilee remained sparsely populated, with only a few remaining residents. According to Milton Moreland, a large number of Jewish Galileans moved from Syro-Phoenician coastal cities, such as Dor, Ptolemais, and Tyre, where the predominant population was Greek-speaking gentiles.⁴⁰ It is important to determine whether or not this influx of immigrants from Greek-speaking regions altered the multilingual environment of Galilean Jewish society. As Ong points out, along with the rise of international activities, Galilee became a multilingual environment where different ethnicities had to intermingle for their daily works in the first century CE.⁴¹ This suggests that Jewish Galileans had to have close contact with Greek-speaking gentiles and Jews for business and trade more frequently than Judean Jews.⁴² In view of this, it becomes clear that a substantial distinction exists in the

³⁹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 177.

⁴⁰ Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 138, 143–44.

⁴¹ Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?," 209–13; Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter," 82–83; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 180.

⁴² Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 177–78.

linguistic milieu between the Qumran community and the Jewish communities in Galilee.

Along with recognizing the significance of the complex Palestinian multilingual environment, advocates of the Hellenistic Greek Hypothesis have suggested the Κοινή Greek hypothesis. They have provided evidence that Κοινή Greek was widely used among first-century Palestinian Jews. Saul Lieberman, Morton Smith, and Pieter Willem van der Horst posited that Greek was not a language only used by the upper circles of Palestine because the Hellenistic culture of ancient Palestine presents knowledge of Greek in all circles of Jewish society in both rural and urban regions.⁴³ Jan Sevenster and Catherine Hezser contend that Greek was the communication language between the Romans and the Jews not only in the Diaspora but also in Palestine.⁴⁴ As these scholars' studies showed, it is more plausible that some Palestinian Jews who spoke Aramaic as their first language (L1) also had enough Greek knowledge as their second language (L2) to use it in their daily lives.

To sum up, debates between the Κοινή Greek hypothesis and the Aramaic hypothesis have centered on the role of Greek and Aramaic in the Jewish society of first-century Palestine. On the one hand, the advocates of the Κοινή Greek hypothesis assert that the Hellenization program of Alexander changed the lingua franca of first-century Palestine from Aramaic to Κοινή Greek in all the classes of the Jews who lived both in the rural and urban regions. On the other hand, the advocates of the Aramaic hypothesis insist that Aramaic still served as the lingua franca among first-century Palestinian Jews.

⁴³ Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 39; Smith, *Palestinian Parties*, 67; Horst, *Hellenism*, 130.

⁴⁴ Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?*, 189; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 231.

Due to limited available data, however, these scholars have faced challenges in providing decisive evidence. Arguably, the sociolinguistic landscape of first-century Palestine was multifaceted, with various languages, including Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, playing different roles in different regions and among different segments of the population. The exact nature of this linguistic diversity remains a topic of scholarly debate, and further research is needed to gain a comprehensive understanding of the language dynamics of the places and the time.

Sociolinguistic Approaches to Multilingualism of Ancient Palestine

In recent years, sociolinguistic approaches in biblical studies have made small but perceptive strides toward labeling the language statuses of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in ancient Palestine. As explored in the previous section, the Κοινή Greek and Aramaic hypotheses have been centered on the language status of Greek and Aramaic in first-century Palestine. Sociolinguistic theories provide a theoretical framework that describes the different language statuses of Greek and Aramaic in different social contexts. The following sections explore sociolinguistic approaches to the multilingualism of ancient Palestine.

The Concept of Diglossia

The sociolinguistic concept of *diglossia* has been well-known as a useful concept for biblical scholars to investigate the multilingualism of first-century Palestine. Over the past twenty years, the concept of *diglossia* has enabled significant progress in understanding the roles and functions of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in this

context. The theoretical framework of *diglossia* was originally formulated by Charles A. Ferguson in order to classify different functions between two varieties within the same genetic language.⁴⁵ According to Ferguson, two different varieties—high-variety (H-variety) and Low-variety (L-variety)—are distinct in their functions: (1) H-variety is more standard, more formal, more developed, more prestige language; and (2) L-variety is more personal, more informal, and less developed, less prestige language.⁴⁶ Ferguson's concept of *diglossia* is further developed by Joshua Fishman.⁴⁷ Whereas Ferguson applied the concept of *diglossia* to two varieties in monolingualism, Fishman applied it to two codes in bilingualism as well.⁴⁸ On the basis of John J. Gumperz's studies on varieties of bilingualism, Fishman insists that *diglossia* exists not only in varieties of the same genetic languages but also in dialects, registers, and codes.⁴⁹ Fishman articulates four possible roles of *diglossia* in bilingual environments: (1) both *diglossia* and bilingualism; (2) bilingualism without *diglossia*; (3) *diglossia* without bilingualism; and (4) neither *diglossia* nor bilingualism.⁵⁰

Two applications of the concept of *diglossia* to multilingualism of first-century Palestine are worth noting. First, Jonathan M. Watt applies Ferguson's conception of *diglossia* to the relationship between Aramaic and Hebrew.⁵¹ Since Aramaic and Hebrew were the same genetic languages but are different from Greek and Latin, Watt applied *diglossia* to Aramaic and Hebrew but considered Greek and Latin as a tertiary

⁴⁵ Ferguson, "Diglossia," 232–51.

⁴⁶ Ferguson, "Diglossia," 247–48.

⁴⁷ See Fishman, "Bilingualism."

⁴⁸ Fishman, "Bilingualism," 31–34.

⁴⁹ Fishman, "Bilingualism," 30. Fishman refers to the following of Gumperz's studies: Gumperz, "Speech Variation"; Gumperz, "Linguistic Communities"; Gumperz, "Linguistic and Social Interaction"; Gumperz, "Hindi-Punjabi"; Gumperz, "Ethnology of Linguistic Change."

⁵⁰ Fishman, "Bilingualism," 30.

⁵¹ Watt, *Code-Switching*, 44–45.

category.⁵² Second, Bernard Spolsky adapts Ferguson's concept of *diglossia* and suggests the concept of *triglossia* in order to explain the dynamics of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek in first-century Palestine.⁵³ Watt and Spolsky show the merit of the *diglossia* theory for identifying various social factors that influence the role and function of languages in first-century Palestine.⁵⁴ Their studies point out that the diglossic role of code as H-variety or as L-variety could vary depending on multilingual environments that include various factors, such as geography, demography, ethnicity, and social class.

On the basis of William Mackey's definition of bilingualism, however, Sang-Il Lee has challenged Ferguson's concept of *diglossia*: "there are few examples to support Ferguson's pure conditions of form and function."⁵⁵ Exploring the multilingual environment where Greek and Aramaic were actively employed by Palestine Jews, Lee asserts that all first-century Christians were fluent bilingual speakers who could use Aramaic and Greek alternatively anytime and anywhere regardless of the social situation.⁵⁶ He argues for an inter-directional model of the transmission of the gospel, purporting that the gospel tradition was transmitted not only from Aramaic to Greek but also from Greek to Aramaic.⁵⁷

Whereas Mackey's definition of bilingualism has largely faded from

⁵² See Watt, "Current Landscape."

⁵³ See Spolsky, "Diglossia."

⁵⁴ Watt maintains that functions of Aramaic and Hebrew varied by two primary factors: (1) literary heritage: biblical Hebrew (written) was H1-variety, and Mishnaic Hebrew (written and spoken) was H2-variety and (2) geography: Judean Aramaic (written and spoken) was L1-variety and Galilean Aramaic (written and spoken) L2-variety. See Watt, "Current Landscape," 30–36. Spolsky argues that three social elements influenced the *triglossia* of the Greco-Roman world: (1) ethnicity (Jews versus non-Jews), (2) geography (Palestinian coastal cities, Judean villages, and Galilee versus Diaspora regions in Egypt, Rome, Asia Minor, and Babylon), and (3) social class (upper class versus lower class). See Spolsky, "Diglossia."

⁵⁵ Lee views bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages. Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 80, 87.

⁵⁶ Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 79–80.

⁵⁷ See Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 19–20.

contemporary discourse, the enduring relevance and widespread acceptance of Ferguson's *diglossia* is evidenced by its continued utilization and validation in recent sociolinguistic research.⁵⁸ Ferguson's concept of H-variety is often employed as the concept of prestige language by the contemporary sociolinguists.⁵⁹ Lee refutes the concept of *diglossia* by referring to the work of Suzanne Romaine since she mentions Mackey's definition of bilingualism.⁶⁰ However, even Romaine predominantly utilizes Ferguson's *diglossia* as the fundamental concept within the field of sociology of language.⁶¹ Moreover, Romaine's investigation centers on children's language acquisition within bilingual families, illustrating the existence of six distinct bilingual typologies.⁶² According to Romaine's study, not all children consistently exhibit the same high level of bilingual competence in more than two languages. This implies that, in contrast to Mackey's definition of bilingualism, language acquisition within bilingual families can vary for a multitude of reasons.

In light of Dell Hymes's sociolinguistic concept of communicative competence, the concept of *diglossia* is more useful than Mackey's definition of bilingualism. Communicative competence refers to an ability to realize the social norms and rules for language use. On the basis of communicative competence, contemporary sociolinguists aim at identifying how and why people choose their languages given a particular sociolinguistic situation. In light of Mackey's definition of bilingualism, Lee oversimplifies language abilities of first-century Christians by categorizing them all as

⁵⁸ For instance, see Saville-Troike, *Ethnography of Communication*, 45–47; Mesthrie, *Cambridge Handbook*, 275–76; 296; 304–5; Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 108–13; Wardhaugh, *Introduction*, 90–95; Holmes, *Introduction*, 27–34.

⁵⁹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 109–10; Wardhaugh, *Introduction*, 91–92. Holmes, *Introduction*, 92.

⁶⁰ Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions*, 80, 93.

⁶¹ See Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 33–38; Romaine, *Language in Society*, 46–48.

⁶² Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 183–86; Romaine, "Bilingual Language Development," 30, 33.

fluent bilinguals in both Aramaic and Greek. However, the concept of *diglossia* shows the potential of applying sociolinguistics to identify different roles and functions of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin within the Greco-Roman world.

There are benefits to the *diglossia* theory, but the question to ask is how to apply it to the multilingual situation of ancient Palestine. Porter points out two fundamental difficulties in its application to biblical study. First, it is challenging to examine the L-variety language due to the lack of quantifiable comparative data, as only written language is available.⁶³ This limits the inquiry to fully understand the L-variety in the diglossic situation. Second, the concept of *diglossia* is only useful for a general linguistic repertoire between two varieties in the diglossic situation because it can only categorize linguistic varieties into a dualistic stratum.⁶⁴ Linguistic varieties in real speech situations of first-century Palestine are much too complicated to be understood in terms of the *diglossia* theory. Therefore, while the *diglossia* theory can provide useful insights, it has its limitations when applied to the multilingual context of ancient Palestine.

The Functional Distribution of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin

In light of M. A. K. Halliday's "Register Theory," Porter has suggested the concept of *Functional Distribution* of languages.⁶⁵ This theory takes the entire communicative context into account, rather than relying on simple criteria like *diglossia*.⁶⁶ In this

⁶³ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 57.

⁶⁴ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 55–56.

⁶⁵ Porter, "Functional Distribution"; Porter, *Linguistic Analysis*, 127–31.

⁶⁶ Porter ("Functional Distribution," 62) proposes diglossia as an instance of "Register Variation" and suggests that to assess "the functional distribution of Κοινή Greek is to note the range of types of text to be found in Palestine in the first century." Regarding Porter's Register model, see Porter,

theoretical framework, the term functional distribution refers to the social norms and rules for using a specific language in various contexts. Unlike *diglossia*, which compares the dualistic functions between H-variety and L-variety, functional distribution entails the different functions of each language in a range of contexts. Porter acknowledges the significance of individuals' language choices and suggests using register analysis to analyze the context of situation in which individuals use linguistic varieties in multilingual environments.⁶⁷ With this concept, Porter emphasizes the importance of considering the social, cultural, and communicative context of language use, as well as the interplay between social norms and individual agency in language choice.

Moreover, Porter's study explores the historical development of Κοινή Greek as the prestige language within various social contexts in the Hellenization programs of Greece and Rome.⁶⁸ Porter argues that, under Alexander's Hellenization program, Κοινή Greek was developed into a universal language, regularized from Attic-Ionic Greek.⁶⁹ According to Porter, there were two noteworthy events that laid the foundation of the common written Greek of the Hellenistic world. The first event is persistent Athenian cultural dominance during the fifth century BCE. The Athenian cultural hegemony resulted in the dominant influence and use of Ionic Greek throughout Greece.⁷⁰ One

Linguistic Analysis, 145–58, 219–36. Regarding Porter's definition of Register Variation, see Porter, "Functional Distribution," 61–72.

⁶⁷ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 62–63.

⁶⁸ For Porter's study of the historical development of Greek, see Porter, "Disputed Area," 11–38; Porter, "Greek Language"; Porter, "Use of Greek." For Porter's works of Greek grammar, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*; Porter, "Introduction to Other Topics"; Porter, "In Defence of Verbal Aspect"; Porter, *Studies in the Greek*; Porter et al., *Fundamentals of New Testament Greek*. For Porter's study of the use of Latin in the Roman Empire, see Porter, "Latin Language." For Porter's study of Paul's code choices in the multilingual environment of the Roman Empire, see Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak"; Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?"; Porter, "Complex Multilingualism." For Porter's study of Greek and historical Jesus, see Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 126–209; Porter, "Jesus and the Use of Greek."

⁶⁹ Porter, "Greek Language," 101.

⁷⁰ Porter, "Greek Language," 101.

more momentous event was the conquest of Alexander. The goal of his conquest was Hellenization, which was not only military but also political, cultural, and linguistic.⁷¹ As many nations accepted the Hellenization program, naturally, many different people who came from diverse ethnic backgrounds and regions were mingled together. As a result, Attic-Ionic Greek, so-called Hellenistic Greek and Κοινή Greek, was established not only as the common language of communication but also as the administrative language for both written and spoken languages.⁷²

Porter maintains that the conquests of Alexander resulted in language contact between Κοινή Greek and other vernacular languages and the consequent wide distribution of Κοινή Greek.⁷³ Κοινή Greek was first adopted by upper and middle classes and then lower classes, first as their L2 and then as their L1 and prestige language as it was used as the administrative and business language.⁷⁴ This pattern of development and dissemination continued with the subsequent Hellenistic kingdoms such as the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Roman Empire.⁷⁵ As a result, Κοινή Greek was widely accepted as a vernacular language by many groups and communities in the Greco-Roman world.⁷⁶ Porter's conclusion coincides with that of the Deissmann–Moulton hypothesis.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Porter, "Greek Language," 102; Porter, "Use of Greek," 209.

⁷² Porter, "Greek Language," 102.

⁷³ Porter, "Use of Greek," 208–12.

⁷⁴ Porter, "Use of Greek," 209.

⁷⁵ Porter, "Use of Greek," 209.

⁷⁶ Porter, "Use of Greek," 209.

⁷⁷ See Porter, "Greek Language," 103–4. "What is noteworthy and in some ways surprising about the linguistic situation of the first century is the significant consistency of Hellenistic Greek across the span of the Greco-Roman world. . . This level of usage is also exemplified by a wealth of non-literary texts, one of the most important of which is the New Testament. This language can also be found in the papyri from Egypt, as well as the papyri found more recently in the Roman east. These documents, most of which were discovered in the last century and the early part of this century, comprise thousands of

In light of this historical development of Greek as the prestige language in the Greco-Roman world, Porter determines the functional distributions of Greek and Aramaic. Porter contends that ancient Jews adapted first Aramaic and then Greek during the conquests of the Near Eastern empires (Assyrian, Persian, and Babylonian empires) and the Hellenistic empires (Greece, Diadochi, and Roman empires).⁷⁸ As Aramaic was adopted as L1 under the influence of political, economic, and cultural pressures of the Near Eastern empires, Κοινή Greek became L1 or at least L2 under the same kind of influence of the Hellenistic empires over the course of two or three centuries.⁷⁹ The Greek of the New Testament, a number of Greek literary documents, and translation of some documents from Aramaic to Greek imply abundant Greek productivity within first-century Palestine.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the presence of unilingual inscriptions in Greek suggests that Greek was used for widespread communication, by both Jews and non-Jews.⁸¹ Porter concludes that these documents evince that Κοινή Greek was used as the lingua franca, the prestige language, and a vernacular language of the dominated inhabitants within Jewish culture in first-century Palestine.⁸²

Following Porter, Ong attempts to determine the different functional distributions of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in a different multilingual environment within different geographical boundaries. He observes that social norms and rules governing specific language use in particular social domains varied across

examples of the use of the Greek language over the span of the Hellenistic period in a variety of contexts, most of which reflect day to day life.”

⁷⁸ Porter, “Use of Greek,” 213–28.

⁷⁹ Porter, “Use of Greek,” 213.

⁸⁰ Porter, “Use of Greek,” 214–27.

⁸¹ Porter, “Use of Greek,” 227.

⁸² Porter, “Use of Greek,” 227.

different geographical boundaries. After investigating the evidence pertaining to the functional distributions of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, he outlines the sociolinguistic landscape of first-century Palestine.⁸³

First, the presence of inscriptions and other epigraphic and literary materials written in Hebrew shows that Hebrew was still a living language in ancient Palestine.⁸⁴ Ong argues that Hebrew was not used as a vernacular language but as the prestige language in a restricted context of first-century Palestine, specifically the religious domain.⁸⁵ Hebrew inscriptions found in the Temple and synagogues throughout Palestine display the language of liturgical worship.⁸⁶ Ong delineates the geographical distribution of Hebrew in ancient Palestine and concludes that Hebrew might have been used as a spoken language in restricted contexts of some regions of Judea and Lower Galilee.⁸⁷

Second, the wealth of inscriptional and documentary evidence of ancient Palestine, especially in the vicinities of Qumran, implies that Aramaic was used as a vernacular language of first-century Palestine Jews.⁸⁸ Still, while Aramaic was the principal vernacular of ancient Palestine, Aramaic-speaking Jews regularly interacted with Greek-speaking Jews or gentiles.⁸⁹ Since every region had different social environments in which different language users met and worked together, the multilingual environment was different from region to region. With this in mind, Ong

⁸³ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 39, 44.

⁸⁴ The evidence Ong refers to is Hebrew inscriptions in ossuaries in the Temple and synagogues throughout Palestine, as well as other epigraphic and literary materials from Qumran, the Wadi Murabba'at, and the Nahal Hever. See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 36–37.

⁸⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 36–37.

⁸⁶ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 37.

⁸⁷ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 191–92.

⁸⁸ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 49–53.

⁸⁹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 52–53.

investigates the geographical and functional distribution of Aramaic as it came into contact with other languages, especially Greek.⁹⁰ Ong concludes that Aramaic would have been used as L1 of the majority of the local inhabitants in Idumea, Judea, Lower Galilee, and most regions of Perea except for Decapolis.⁹¹ Ong assumes the possible regions in which Aramaic was dominantly used as a vernacular language would be Nabatea and the regions close to the Transjordan and Nabatea of Perea.⁹²

Third, archaeological evidence shows that Greek was used as the *lingua franca* as well as various types of the prestige language for government, administration, and public and formal social functions in ancient Palestine; there is as much Greek inscriptional and documentary evidence as there is for Aramaic.⁹³ Following Porter, Ong elaborates two factors that reinforce the dominant role of and function of Greek in first-century Palestine. The first factor is the reign of Herod the Great, the Roman client king, in Judea (ca. 37–4 BCE). Herod changed the official language from Aramaic to Greek, and his Greek theater and hippodrome were the sign of his identification with Greco-Roman civilization.⁹⁴ The second factor is the cultural and social interaction between Jews and gentiles in first-century Palestine. This interaction happened in their daily life with various social activities such as commerce, education, and politics, especially in the major cities where Greek was the prestige language of culture and political structures.⁹⁵ Ong investigates these social activities and concludes that, except for Nabatea and Idumea, Greek would have functioned as the prestige language across various domains

⁹⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 53.

⁹¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 160–92.

⁹² Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 157–60, 186–92.

⁹³ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 58.

⁹⁴ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 56.

⁹⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 56.

in first-century Palestine.⁹⁶

Fourth, linguistic evidence from Latin inscriptions implies that Latin was the prestige language for official governmental domains. Although not abundant, there were a few Latin papyri fragments and some Latin inscriptions on buildings, aqueducts, tombstones, milestones of Roman roads, and Roman terracotta tiles.⁹⁷ Latin was L1 for the Roman governor and the majority of his *Comités* “companions” such as advisors, staff, and military commanders. Although Greek was the lingua franca of the Roman Empire, Latin was still used for official governmental functions in first-century Palestine.⁹⁸ Ong points out the evidence for non-official uses of Latin in Palestine, such as a fragment of Virgil found at Masada and Latinisms in some Bar Kokhba letters and argues that Latin could have been used for communication with Latin-speaking people such as Roman officials and soldiers.⁹⁹ According to Ong, the possible regions in which Latin was used were Samaria and Phoenicia.¹⁰⁰

Notwithstanding their different approaches, Porter and Ong reach the same conclusion: Κοινή Greek played a role as the lingua franca of the first century. Their studies articulate the concept of the functional distribution of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin and provide a theoretical framework much better than comparative philology. Ong’s study in particular represents a significant breakthrough in identifying the sociolinguistic landscape of first-century Palestine. It shows the promising application of sociolinguistic approaches to other regions of the Greco-Roman world.

⁹⁶ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 157–92.

⁹⁷ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 64–65.

⁹⁸ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 64.

⁹⁹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 64.

¹⁰⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 167–72, 188–92.

This survey has explored different kinds of perspectives on the linguistic environment of ancient Palestine and the Roman Empire. After the discoveries of Greek documentary papyri and the DSS, biblical scholars have focused on the multilingualism of first-century Palestine with Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. Due to the lack of data, archaeological, historical, and epigraphic studies are not useful for identifying the multilingual environment of the Greco-Roman world in the first century CE. As explored above, all the advocates of the Semitic Greek and Aramaic hypotheses have overlooked the lack of data for their assumptions and have heavily relied on logical inference. To be sure, it is challenging to reconstruct this multilingual environment without any informant. However, sociolinguistic studies have made breakthroughs in the functional distribution of Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in this multilingual environment.

Especially, the studies of Porter and Ong shed light on the multilingual environment of ancient Palestine and the Roman Empire during the first century CE. They introduce the concept of functional distribution of languages, emphasizing the importance of considering the social, cultural, and communicative context of language use. These studies reveal that Κοινή Greek played a crucial role as the lingua franca of the time, adopted by various groups and communities. Furthermore, Porter and Ong's research provides a valuable theoretical framework for understanding the sociolinguistic dynamics of the Greco-Roman world, surpassing traditional comparative philology, and highlights the significance of sociolinguistic approaches in uncovering the multilingual environment of this historical period.

The Prestige Religious Language of First-Century Christianity

Along with scholars' interests in a historical-critical approach, much scholarly work has been done on the hypotheses of the *Sitz im Leben* and the Gospel transmission of first-century Christianity. Specifically, form criticism heavily relies on the language issue of first-century Christianity; that is to say, what language (Aramaic or Κοινή Greek) first-century Christians used as the prestige religious language to transmit the Jesus tradition (i.e., *logia* or sayings of Jesus). This study explores the previous studies not only regarding the prestige religious language for religious speeches in the official settings of early Churches but also regarding all languages which might have been used by Jesus, apostles, and church leaders for casual conversations in the private settings.

Two hypotheses attempt to identify the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. The first hypothesis argues for the "Aramaic Jesus Tradition." That is to say, Jesus predominantly spoke Aramaic, the eyewitnesses of Jesus passed down their testimonies of Jesus in Aramaic, and Hellenistic Christians translated the Aramaic Jesus Tradition from Aramaic to Greek, making up the Greek theological terms.¹⁰¹ The advocates of the Aramaic Jesus Tradition hypothesis insist that after Stephen's death, Greek-speaking Christians were persecuted and moved from Jerusalem to other regions, leading to a linguistic split between the Aramaic-speaking Christians of the Jerusalem church and Greek-speaking Christians of diaspora churches.

The second hypothesis is the "Early Greek Jesus Tradition," which suggests that Jesus often used Greek for his sermons and teachings when speaking in a

¹⁰¹ Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 28–34; Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, 175–78; Theissen, *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte*, 72–73; Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 169; Theissen, *Social Reality*, 54–55; Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 55–56; Hengel, *Early Christology*, 7, 76; Hengel and Schwemer, *Damascus and Antioch*, 33–34; Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 222–24, 228.

multilingual environment where people who spoke different languages as their L1 intermingled. Advocates of this hypothesis argue that Jesus and his apostles preached in Greek in this context, and that Jesus' disciples and other eyewitnesses subsequently passed down the Jesus tradition in Greek.¹⁰² They further assert that Greek subsequently served as the lingua franca for the earliest stage of first-century Christianity.

Central to the debates regarding the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity is the question of the code choices of Jesus, his disciples, and other church leaders.¹⁰³ Within the vast territory of the studies of the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity, there remains a large piece of uncharted terrain. Recent debates tend to center around the question of Jesus' code choices. The significance of the code choices of Peter and Paul in relation to the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity has been often noted but rarely studied. Peter and Paul served as founders of Palestinian churches and diaspora churches. Since Peter and Paul evangelized and taught the first believers of the churches, their code choices for preaching and teaching offer crucial data for the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. Peter's code choices provide an example of the prestige religious language of the Jerusalem church; the prestige religious language of diaspora churches is shown by Paul's code choices. Therefore, further historical studies on Peter and Paul need to generate a fuller understanding of the prestige religious language.

¹⁰² Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 5; Gundry, "Language Milieu," 406–8; Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, 243–47; Gerhardsson, *Reliability*, 80; Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 164; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 325–26; Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 236.

¹⁰³ Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 362–63.

The Code Choices of Jesus and His Disciples

Biblical scholars have attempted to identify the code choices of Jesus and his disciples in order to determine which language was used for the gospel transmission. These historical figures' code choices have been investigated with various approaches such as historical-critical approaches, social-scientific approaches, historical approaches, and sociolinguistic approaches. This section will explore previous scholars' hypotheses of the Aramaic Jesus Tradition and the Early Greek Jesus Tradition in relation to historical figures.

The Hypothesis of the Aramaic Jesus Tradition

The earliest studies on the language issue of first-century Christianity presupposed the dominance of monolingual speakers and focused on the conflicts between Judaeo-Palestinian Christians and Diaspora Christians. F. C. Baur is the pioneer of the quest for the historical Peter and Paul and argues that the early churches' theological and political conflict began alongside a linguistic split between the Hellenists and the Hebrews (Acts 6:1).¹⁰⁴ Although Baur spent little time discussing the linguistic aspects of this split between Hebrew Christians and Hellenistic Christians in first-century Christianity, his hypothesis has been followed by many subsequent scholars and developed into the Aramaic Tradition hypothesis.

Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann both employed form criticism to

¹⁰⁴ Baur proposes that this linguistic split separated early Christianity into a Petrine group (Aramaic-speaking and Jerusalem-based group) and a Pauline group (Greek-speaking, Diaspora-based group), resulting in a theological split between Hebrew Christians (pro-law group) and Hellenistic Christians (law-free group). Baur, *Church History*, 1:14–17, 44–46, 53; Gerdmar, “Ferdinand Christian Baur,” 98–100.

examine the translation of the gospel tradition from Aramaic into Greek.¹⁰⁵ They had different approaches for investigating the language issue of the Gospel transmission. On the one hand, Dibelius used a constructive method, a top-down approach “with which he attempted to describe the fundamental *Sitz im Leben* from which the tradition emerged, extrapolating from there a list of forms that fit that situation.”¹⁰⁶ According to Dibelius, a form-critical approach should focus on narrative material because the literal translation from Aramaic to Greek was required only for the words of Jesus.¹⁰⁷ Dibelius assumed that both Jesus and Peter preached in Aramaic, and some bilingual Christians from the Jerusalem church played a role in handing the Jesus tradition down in Greek in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Syria.¹⁰⁸ Dibelius posited that Aramaic-speaking Christians and Greek-speaking Christians transmitted the Jesus tradition in their own languages.¹⁰⁹ According to Dibelius, some Greek-speaking (or bilingual) Christians were motivated to translate eyewitness testimonies from Aramaic to Greek for the early Christian mission pointed toward the West, but the Aramaic tradition did not have a firm formation and soon ended due to the limited scope of missionary work for Aramaic-speaking Christians.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 12, 28–29; Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, 175–78.

¹⁰⁶ For detailed information on Dibelius’s constructive method, see Dvorak, “Dibelius and Bultmann,” 261–63, here 260.

¹⁰⁷ Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 33.

¹⁰⁸ Dibelius contends that there were Jews who knew Greek, especially in northern Palestine, and bilingual people in all classes of the population in Syrian towns like Antioch and Damascus. See Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 32–34.

¹⁰⁹ Dibelius insists that although there is no evidence of the Aramaic written tradition of the Gospels, Aramaic oral tradition had more or less formed because the dominant language of first-century Palestine was Aramaic. The fact that the Nazarenes in Syria had by that time made their own Aramaic Gospel later translated from Greek evinces that Aramaic tradition did not successfully pass down to the next generation. See Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 32.

¹¹⁰ Dibelius, *From Tradition*, 28–33.

On the other hand, Bultmann used an analytic method, a bottom-up approach “with which he first attempted to identify the forms and after having done so to extrapolate the *Sitz im Leben* on the basis of those forms.”¹¹¹ Bultmann believed that form criticism enables scholars to explicate the life of the historical Jesus and the history of the primitive church by looking at all literary forms of the Gospel tradition.¹¹² Bultmann claims that bilingual Antiochene Christianity played a role as a linguistic bridge for the language barrier between Aramaic-speaking Palestinian Christians at the Jerusalem church and Greek-speaking Hellenistic Christians in diaspora churches.¹¹³ Bultmann assumed the Gospels are saturated with Hellenistic influences since the oral tradition was developed with theology for the *Sitz im Leben* of an early Palestinian Christianity and a later Hellenistic Christianity.¹¹⁴ For Bultmann, all the Greek theological terms were made up for the theological benefit of later Hellenistic Christianity. With this in mind, he attempted to differentiate between an earlier Aramaic tradition and a later Hellenized tradition in the Gospels.¹¹⁵

The linguistic gap of gospel tradition between Palestinian Christians and diaspora Christians lays the groundwork for the *Sitz im Leben* that Dibelius and Bultmann proposed. However, their hypotheses concerning the linguistic gap is highly speculative. Bultmann assumes that Jesus, his disciples, and all of Jewish society in first-century Palestine were almost always monolingual Aramaic speakers. Although Dibelius

¹¹¹ For detailed information on Bultmann’s analytic method, see Dvorak, “Dibelius and Bultmann,” 263–66, here 261.

¹¹² Bultmann, *History*, 5.

¹¹³ Bultmann, *Exegetica*, 102–3.

¹¹⁴ Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity*, 175–78.

¹¹⁵ Bultmann argues that mistranslations from Aramaic to Greek, Greek theological terms, and embedded Aramaic words in the Gospels were the products of bilingual Antiochene Christians to accommodate the Hellenistic context of Syria. See Bultmann, “Bedeutung,” 145.

acknowledges the multilingual nature of first-century Palestine, he still concludes that Jesus and his disciples predominantly spoke Aramaic. Neither Dibelius nor Bultmann offered any direct evidence to support the assumed dominance of monolingualism of the earliest Christians.

The study of *Sitze im Leben* of the gospel tradition developed alongside other methodologies. As more biblical scholars have acknowledged the weakness of historical criticism for reconstructing *Sitz im Leben*, they have attempted to employ alternative methodologies not to replace historical criticism but to supplement it. It is worth noting three scholars who examine the issue of plurilingualism of Jesus and his disciples.

First, Martin Hengel's social description methodology looks to primary sources for information about social-religious phenomena and historical developments.¹¹⁶ Hengel initiated a paradigm shift among studies of Hellenistic influences and multiple languages in ancient Palestine. Hengel's study offers strong evidence regarding the dominant influence of Hellenism in the education, culture, and politics of Palestinian Judaism after the conquests of Alexander.¹¹⁷ Rather than the Early Greek Jesus Tradition hypothesis, however, Hengel advocated the Aramaic Jesus Tradition hypothesis because his social description focuses on the linguistic split between Hebrew Christians (Aramaic-speaking Christian) and Hellenistic Christians (Greek-speaking Christian) in

¹¹⁶ Hengel, *Zealots*, xi. For Hengel's methodology, see Pitts, "Martin Hengel," 139–42.

¹¹⁷ Hengel demonstrates that a range of archeological evidence evinces Palestinian Jews' Greek knowledge: Palestinian Greek inscriptions and graffiti, the letters of Tobias, the record of the well-educated Jewish translators of the Greek Old Testament discussed in the Letter of Aristeas, Greek loan words in the Old Testament, gymnasium and ephebate in Jerusalem, and the increase of Greek names among Jews. Greek in Palestine was used as the international language in aristocratic and military circles of Judaism between 260 and 250 BCE; it had thoroughly infiltrated into all the classes of the Jewish society in Palestine through Greek education around 175 BCE with the construction of a gymnasium in Jerusalem by the high priest Jason. For more information, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2:58–106; Hengel, *Jews, Greek and Barbarians*, 49–126.

the Jerusalem church.¹¹⁸ Hengel believed that although some of Jesus' disciples—Philip, Andrew, Simon Peter, and James, the brother of Jesus—could speak Greek, the basic content of Jesus tradition was Aramaic but was translated skillfully into Greek in Jerusalem, perhaps by the Hellenistic Christians of Stephen's circle.¹¹⁹

Second, employing social-scientific criticism, Gerd Theissen investigated social and ecological tensions between city and countryside in first-century Palestine.¹²⁰ According to Theissen, these tensions resulted in a linguistic dichotomy between Aramaic and Greek in Palestinian society, making the multilingual environment different between the urban and rural regions. Given these dynamics, he viewed Κοινή Greek as a common language of the cities and believed that other vernaculars still survived in the countryside.¹²¹ Theissen believes that whereas some Galileans who lived in the largest cities, Sepphoris and Tiberias, could speak Greek, others who lived in the small towns could not speak Greek.¹²² In view of this, Theissen assumed that Jesus could not preach in Greek because he lived in a small town and mostly visited small

¹¹⁸ Hengel argues that whereas Hebrew Christians would have likely spoken Greek (L2) nearly as well as they could speak Aramaic (L1), Hellenistic Christians could not understand Aramaic worship in Jerusalem at its very early stage. As Hellenistic Christians were persecuted and expelled from Jerusalem after Stephen's death, Hebrew Christians and Hellenistic Christians were separated entirely. Some bilingual Christians still remained in the Jerusalem church since they were Hebrew Christians who worshiped in Aramaic (e.g., John Mark, Silas, Judas Barsabbas, and Barnabas). Among them, Barnabas was a "link man" between Aramaic-speaking Christians and Greek-speaking Christians. For more information on Hengel's argument regarding this linguistic split of early Christianity, see Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 56, 68–69; Hengel, *History of Earliest Christianity*, 7, 73–76, 101–2; Hengel and Schwemer, *Damascus and Antioch*, 136, 213–16.

¹¹⁹ Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 55–56; Hengel and Schwemer, *Damascus and Antioch*, 33–34.

¹²⁰ Theissen, *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte*, 72–73.

¹²¹ According to Theissen's study, archaeological evidence evinces the wide dissemination of Greek in Palestine; Qumran texts, ossuary inscriptions, and the Bar Kokhba archive show the use of Hebrew as a spoken language in certain religious circles. Theissen, *Social Reality*, 54–55; Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 169.

¹²² Theissen notes that although archaeological evidence shows a lively economic exchange of the two largest cities and the small towns in Galilee in the times of peace, Galileans in the small towns had destructive feelings against Galileans in the two largest cities in the times of crisis because their Hellenized culture and the wealth concentrated on two largest cities. Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 169–71.

towns in Galilee during his ministry.¹²³ Furthermore, Theissen challenges the notion that Jesus needed to use Greek to communicate with the Syrophoenician woman, who was a native Phoenician speaker. Based on the linguistic similarities between Palestinian Aramaic, the language Jesus likely spoke, and the Phoenician language, which was common among the Syrophoenicians, Theissen suggests that despite the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region, there was enough overlap between these two languages to facilitate communication without resorting to Greek, which was the lingua franca of the broader region at the time.¹²⁴

Hengel's and Theissen's studies display an extensive knowledge of archaeological evidence of the Greco-Roman world. However, their argument for the Aramaic origin of the Jesus tradition is less than satisfactory, mostly because of a lack of evidence for their hypothesis. Hengel, for example, provided sufficient evidence neither for bilingual apostles' use of Aramaic for transmitting the Jesus tradition nor for the Aramaic worship of the Jerusalem church that resulted in a linguistic split between Hebrew Christians and Hellenistic Christians. Also, Theissen's dichotomy of the multilingual environment between city and country oversimplifies the various ways individuals accessed language learning and generalizes their communicative abilities. As mentioned earlier, the Hellenistic culture of ancient Palestine reflects the prevalence of Greek within all segments of Jewish society. While urban areas may have experienced more pronounced Hellenistic influence, it is crucial to acknowledge that even rural regions were significantly impacted by Hellenistic culture.¹²⁵ Although the urban regions

¹²³ Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 169.

¹²⁴ See Theissen, *Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte*, 72–73.

¹²⁵ Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 39; Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?*, 189; Smith, *Palestinian Parties*, 67; Horst, *Hellenism*, 130.

were influenced by stronger Hellenistic influence, Hellenistic influence on the rural regions was quite substantial as well. Overall, Hengel and Theissen's studies excel in their exploration of archaeological evidence but fall short in substantiating their claims regarding the Aramaic origin of the Jesus tradition, demanding further evidence and contextual consideration.

Apart from historical-critical approaches, Richard Bauckham employs historical approaches to the Church Fathers' statements in relation to the language of the Gospel tradition. On the basis of Papias's statement regarding languages the apostles employed for the Gospels, Bauckham assumed that although Peter was a bilingual Aramaic-Greek speaker, his Greek teaching and preaching were not fluent.¹²⁶ Bauckham translates Papias's statement in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius:

Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15–16

15 Peter, an eyewitness, related *logia* (chreiai) orally in Aramaic but not in literary order. Mark, not an eyewitness, translated Peter's teachings and put them in writing accurately and omitting nothing.

16 Matthew, an eyewitness, put the *logia* about Jesus in writing in Aramaic/Hebrew in literary order. Each person, not an eyewitness, translated Matthew's written *logia* as well as they were able.¹²⁷

According to Bauckham's translation, the Gospel of Mathew was written either in Aramaic or Hebrew, and the Gospel of Mark was translated from Peter's Aramaic speech.¹²⁸ However, Bauckham's translation of ἑρμηνευτής "a translator" requires further investigation and clarification. There are two options to translate ἑρμηνευτής: (1) a translation from one language to another or (2) explanation and exposition.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 206.

¹²⁷ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 222–23.

¹²⁸ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 222–24, 228.

¹²⁹ Unlike Bauckham's translation, Josef Kürzinger asserts that Papias's statement Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15–16) translates not into "Hebrew or Aramaic language" but into "the semitic writing style," taking διαλέκτῳ as a technical rhetorical term. Kürzinger, *Papias*, 9–24.

Bauckham's translation of ἐρμηνευτής relies on his translation of Ἑβραϊδι διαλέκτω into "Aramaic or Hebrew language" (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16) on the basis of a parallel structure of Papias's statement regarding the languages of John, Mark, and Matthew.¹³⁰

However, there are several scholars who argue for the translation of ἐρμηνευτής as explanation and exposition. Rudolf Pesch insists that ἐρμηνευτής is a literary term denoting a mediator of tradition.¹³¹ Josef Kürzinger asserts that Papias's statement Ἑβραϊδι διαλέκτω translates not into "Hebrew or Aramaic language" but into "the semitic writing style," taking διαλέκτω as a technical rhetorical term.¹³²

In addition, Alexander Roberts disputes Papias's statement regarding the Aramaic original of the Gospel of the Matthew for three reasons. First of all, all papyri of the Gospel of Matthew were written in Greek.¹³³ The oldest papyrus of the Greek Gospel of Matthew and the majority of the later papyri were transmitted as an apostolic document under the name of Matthew. Second, Papias was not contemporary with the Apostle Matthew. Although Papias mentions the Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew, he did not note that he actually saw it but refers to other people's statements regarding it. Third, Matthew was a fluent Greek speaker and wrote the Gospel of Matthew not for Palestine Jews but for Greek speaking Christians.¹³⁴ Consequently, Roberts concluded that the statements of Papias and other church fathers regarding the Aramaic original of the Gospel of Matthew are not reliable.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 212–13, 228–29.

¹³¹ Pesch, *Simon-Petrus*, 11.

¹³² Kürzinger, *Papias*, 9–24.

¹³³ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 334–36.

¹³⁴ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 341.

¹³⁵ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 341–42.

In light of the inquiries of Peter's Greek ability, moreover, Bauckham's argument is problematic. Markus Bockmuehl notes that Peter grew up in predominantly gentile surroundings because Bethsaida was a strongly Hellenized area with frequent social contacts with gentiles.¹³⁶ Although the Gospels do not mention Peter's Greek-speaking, the Gospel of John presents Andrew and Philip, from Bethsaida in Galilee, speaking with some Greeks at the Jewish festival (John 12:20).¹³⁷ In light of the evidence Bockmuehl has analyzed, Peter, Andrew, and Philip were likely raised up fully bilingual in a Jewish minority region and Peter and his family inevitably contacted Greek-speaking people.

Furthermore, Hengel insists that Luke's illustration of Peter presented in Acts shows Peter's Greek ability. Peter's extensive missionary journeys among the Jewish Diaspora of the West, which spoke only Greek, and the conversation with Cornelius evince that Peter could preach in Greek although he may have not been a fluent Greek speaker grammatically and rhetorically.¹³⁸ Hengel argues that Papias's statement implies that Mark edited Peter's Greek preaching regarding the sayings of Jesus with the art of expressing in a manner that is rhetorical and literary.¹³⁹

Despite the rise of scholars' interest in the language of the first-century Jesus tradition, there has been minimal inquiry into the plurilingualism of Jesus and his disciples. The Aramaic Jesus tradition hypothesis has overemphasized the role of Aramaic in the Jewish community but overlooked the way Jesus and his disciples

13. ¹³⁶ Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter," 82–83. See also Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?," 209–

¹³⁷ Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter," 61.

¹³⁸ Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2:105; Hengel, *Hellenization of Judaea*, 16.

¹³⁹ Hengel, *Saint Peter*, 12–13.

learned Greek in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. The historical-critical approach, social-scientific approach, and historical approach do not provide a methodological framework to examine an individual's plurilingualism and code choices. Contrary to the advocates of these approaches, individuals' code choices in multilingual environments cannot be exclusively ascribed to social categories and structures. Instead, they are profoundly more intricate due to variations in individuals' ability for language acquisition and their idiosyncratic linguistic styles. Moreover, there is no physical evidence to suggest that Aramaic was employed by Jesus and his disciples for the transmission of the Jesus tradition during the earliest stages of first-century Christianity, as all scriptural records are composed in Greek.

The Hypothesis of the Early Greek Jesus Tradition

A small handful of scholars have argued that the Gospel message originated and was transmitted in Greek. They have demonstrated that Jesus and his disciples were capable of speaking Greek for their teaching and preaching. As far back as the nineteenth century, Roberts pioneered the hypothesis that Greek was a prevailing language in first-century Palestine. Rejecting the Aramaic hypothesis, Roberts claims that Greek was a common language in first-century Palestine and that Aramaic and Greek may have both been used in various situations. According to Roberts, the vernacular language of Palestinian Jews was Aramaic, and Greek was the prevailing language used by all classes in ancient Palestine:

The Greek language I believe to have been almost universally prevalent, and to have been understood and employed, more or less, by all classes in the community. But I also believe that the Greek, though thus generally used, was attended by the Aramaic, which was frequently spoken by all ranks of the native population; was made use of by such, at times, on public as well as

private occasions; but was, for the most part, employed only in homely and familiar intercourse; and might still be said, though with difficulty and amid many exceptions, to maintain its position as the mother-tongue of the inhabitants of the country. . . Greek was in several important respects the then prevailing language of Palestine; — that was, in particular, the language of literature and commerce; the language generally employed in public intercourse; the language which a religious teacher would have no hesitation in selecting and making use of, for the most part, as the vehicle for conveying his instructions, whether orally or in writing and the language accordingly which was thus employed both by our Saviour and His apostles.¹⁴⁰

Roberts also argues that Jesus and his disciples were bilingual Aramaic and Greek speakers.¹⁴¹ He provides several key pieces of evidence that support the bilingual proficiency of Jesus and his disciples. First, according to the Gospels, Jesus did not use the Aramaic version of the Old Testament but the LXX.¹⁴² Second, there are records of conversations that Jesus and his disciples had with Greek-speaking people, which prove not only their general use of Greek in conversation but also their ability to use the language in preaching as well.¹⁴³ Third, the episodes of Acts that include a conversation between the apostles and Greek-speaking people similarly demonstrate the critical role of Greek in the apostolic mission.¹⁴⁴ Fourth, the fact that all early church documents were written in Greek shows that Greek was the prevailing language of first-century

¹⁴⁰ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 5.

¹⁴¹ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 105, 400.

¹⁴² Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 121–44.

¹⁴³ Roberts (*Greek the Language*, 145–73) notes that the following episodes are the evidence of bilingual ability of Jesus and his disciples: (1) Jesus' sermon on the mount, (2) Jesus' conversation with the woman of Samaria, (3) the Greeks who asked to see Jesus, (4) Pilate's intercourse with Jesus and the people of Jews, (5) incident connected with the crucifixion, and (5) Jesus' conversation with Mary Magdalene.

¹⁴⁴ For instance, Roberts (*Greek the Language*, 176–216) explains that the following episodes are the evidence of the role of Greek as the prevailing language of first-century Christianity: (1) narrative of events on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:5–11), (2) succeeding speeches of the Apostles (3:12–36), (3) opinions regarding the Hellenists and Hebrews (6:1–6), (3) speech of Stephen before the Sanhedrin (7:2–53), (5) Philip's speech to Samaritans (8:4–25), (6) Peter's conversation with people in Joppa and Caesarea (9:36–43; 10:23–48), (7) council of Jerusalem.

Christianity.¹⁴⁵ On the basis of these evidences, Roberts insists that Greek was employed by Jesus and his disciples not only for communicating with those who did not know Aramaic but also for teaching and preaching in the multilingual environments of first-century Christianity.

Overall, Roberts's conclusion of the role of Greek is almost identical to the Hellenistic Greek hypothesis proposed later by Deissmann and Moulton. Roberts argues that the establishment of numerous colonies by Alexander led to the wide diffusion of Greek culture and institutions, with a general tendency to imitate them.¹⁴⁶ On the basis of the role of Greek as the prevailing language of the Greco-Roman world, Roberts's analysis focuses on the situation in which Greek was used not only as a common language in the majority of ethnicities but also as the *lingua franca* between different ethnicities who had different vernacular languages.

Although Roberts's analysis of the role of Greek in first-century Christianity should be regarded as a milestone in the study of the ministries of Jesus and his disciples, there are a number of noteworthy weaknesses in his methodology. In the first place, he did not offer a methodological framework for identifying specific situations in which vernacular languages were employed. In reality, historical figures' code choices in first-century Palestine were more complicated than Roberts may have supposed. Although Roberts attempted to articulate the role and function of Greek in specific situations, he barely dealt with the role and function of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Latin with the same level of specificity. In addition, Roberts focused on participants and settings of

¹⁴⁵ Roberts suggests various pieces of evidence for this. For detailed information, see Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 226–330.

¹⁴⁶ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 31.

conversation but did not involve other significant social factors that affect the code choices such as the topic and function of conversation. Such methodological weaknesses notwithstanding, Roberts's study is undoubtedly an important contribution to the language choices of Jesus and his disciples.

Following Roberts's study, some scholars have proposed that Jesus and his disciples habitually spoke Greek. Birger Gerhardsson proposes that Jesus employed rabbinic techniques of teaching and transmission to help his disciples memorize the gospel tradition.¹⁴⁷ He further suggests that Jesus' disciples, who were bilingual Aramaic-Greek speakers, circulated the Jesus tradition using both languages during Jesus' ministry. He believes that the Jesus tradition was written into Greek by bilingual believers in the church in Jerusalem. Robert Gundry argues that archaeological data suggest that first-century Palestine was a trilingual environment, where Palestinian Jews (especially, Galileans) would have commonly used Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew.¹⁴⁸ He asserts that the Jesus tradition was expressed in all three languages in the earliest stages of first-century Christianity. Gundry insists that, if this is the case, it is naïve to assume that the Jesus tradition was transmitted only orally in Aramaic. On the basis of a strong Hellenistic influence on Galilee, G. Scott Gleaves maintains that although their L1 was Aramaic, Jesus' disciples and James, Jesus' brother, were fluent Greek speakers because they were highly likely to have social and linguistic skills to interact with the gentiles in the multilingual environment of first-century Galilee.¹⁴⁹

Roberts, Gerhardsson, Gundry, and Gleaves insist that it is unnecessary to

¹⁴⁷ Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*; Gerhardsson, *Reliability*, 39–47.

¹⁴⁸ Gundry, "Language Milieu," 406–8.

¹⁴⁹ Gleaves, *Greek*, 96, 119–35, 157–58.

assume that some parts of the Gospels and Acts were translated from Aramaic to Greek by later Greek-speaking Christians. They correctly point out the lack of evidence of the Aramaic Jesus Tradition hypothesis that Aramaic served as the Jewish ethnic language in first-century Palestine and diaspora. Their studies, unfortunately, have been largely overlooked by scholarly attention, and, rather, the Aramaic Jesus Tradition has maintained dominance. Despite their valuable contributions, there are inherent limitations in this approach due to the absence of a suitable methodological framework for investigating the social factors influencing the language choices of historical figures. Furthermore, the scarcity of available data on spoken language within historical societies necessitates an acknowledgment of the constraints imposed upon historical, archaeological, and epigraphic methodologies when attempting to explore the linguistic choices of figures from the first century CE.

On the other hand, sociolinguistic approaches have made significant strides in investigating the code choices of Jesus and his disciples. The merit of these approaches is that they provide useful sociolinguistic models based on the concept of communicative competence, which identify patterns in the historical figures' code choices for the most appropriate context of their conversation. Only four scholars have applied sociolinguistic approaches to Jesus and his disciples' use of Greek, and among them, three scholars' studies are noteworthy.¹⁵⁰ Since Watt's application of the concept of *diglossia* within the "Code-Switching" framework focuses on the linguistic patterns of a community in the macro contexts, it is not useful pinpointing the specific linguistic

¹⁵⁰ As mentioned above, Lee's study is not a sociolinguistic approach. Although Lee makes use of some concepts of sociolinguistics, he does not employ any sociolinguistic framework to analyze plurilingualism of Jesus and his disciples.

choices of individuals in more nuanced, micro contexts.¹⁵¹ Generalizing individual linguistic traits based on broader community linguistic patterns can be considered overly simplistic and potentially misleading. Therefore, this study explores three scholars' application of sociolinguistic approaches to the historical figures' code choices: (1) Porter, (2) Ong, and (3) Bell.

First, Porter develops Roberts's methodological framework by integrating various considerations, such as linguistic, sociolinguistic, and historical-critical approaches, in order to identify social factors that likely affected Jesus' code choices. Porter's study is noteworthy in that it focuses on individuals' linguistic patterns. He provides the following criteria to determine Jesus' code choices: (1) participants and their background, (2) context and theme of discussion, and (3) historical reliability of the words of Jesus.¹⁵²

The first criterion of determining whether Jesus spoke Greek involves the probability of the participants' Greek ability. If Jesus' audiences spoke Greek as their L1 or L2, Jesus was highly likely to speak Greek because Greek was the lingua franca of first-century Palestine.¹⁵³ With this in mind, the probability of Jesus' use of Greek for preaching is in part based on the linguistic landscape because Jesus was very likely to choose his language with his audience's L1 and L2 ability in mind.¹⁵⁴ The second criterion concerns the context and theme of Jesus' conversation. Jesus was highly likely to employ appropriate codes for the subject matter of his conversation (i.e., theology,

¹⁵¹ Watt, *Code-Switching*, 47–52.

¹⁵² Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 141–64; Porter, “Greek Language Criteria,” 378–84.

¹⁵³ Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 144–45; Porter, “Greek Language Criteria,” 378–80.

¹⁵⁴ Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 144–54.

politics, culture, and friendship).¹⁵⁵ According to Porter, Jesus spoke Greek for the theological themes because the Gospels show that Jesus followed the LXX.¹⁵⁶ The third criterion aims at identifying the historical authenticity of the Greek words recorded in the New Testament.¹⁵⁷ Considering the genre of the Gospels as ancient history or biography, the Gospels are redacted historical sources with theological and literary emphases. With this in mind, Porter suggests this criterion that determines whether the Greek words recorded in the Gospels can be authentically attributed to Jesus. In light of these criteria, Porter argues that Jesus probably spoke Greek with those whose L1 was not Aramaic because their L2 was Greek.

In addition, Porter refutes the assumption of the Jesus transition from Aramaic to Greek as the primary language of Christianity but argues that Christianity emerged within a context of Greek language usage for religious purposes. Porter notes that the founders of Christianity, including Jesus and his disciples who were Galileans, spoke Greek fluently as a prestige religious language, even if it was a second language.¹⁵⁸ There is no doubt that Paul was a fluent Greek speaker and writer.¹⁵⁹ According to Porter, the apostles used Greek in the conversations and preaching presented in the Pentecost episode of Acts 2 because Greek was the appropriate language for those that came from the various corners of the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁰ On the basis of the inquiry of

¹⁵⁵ Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 380–82.

¹⁵⁶ Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 156; Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 396.

¹⁵⁷ This criterion involves additional historical-critical criteria consideration when evaluating the authenticity of the Greek words attributed to Jesus: (a) the criterion of multiple independent traditions, (b) the criteria of embarrassment, (c) the criteria of dissimilarity, (d) the criteria of execution. See Porter, *Criteria for Authenticity*, 157–58.

¹⁵⁸ Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 362–63.

¹⁵⁹ Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 363.

¹⁶⁰ Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 363.

Greek knowledge of the founders of Christianity, Porter argues that Greek was the primary language of Christianity:

The direct implications of this evidence are that one does not need to posit a surprising, unpredicted and unparalleled shift from Aramaic to Greek in the Church—in fact, such a radical shift that it left virtually no undisputable evidence of the existence of Aramaic in Christian circles.¹⁶¹

Moreover, Porter suggests the criteria of Greek-language based textual criticism. On the basis of the early Greek Jesus tradition hypothesis, Porter highlights the significance of the inquiry of the relationship between Greek textual variance and the Greek words of Jesus.¹⁶² Porter applies register analysis (field, tenor, mode analysis) to the criteria that identify Greek discourse features.¹⁶³ In his studies of Greek discourse features in the synoptic Gospels, Porter concludes:

In a context in which Jesus could have used Greek to deliver a discourse, the concatenation of distinct linguistic features at the least indicates a unified discourse distinct from the surrounding gospel context, and possibly originating with Jesus. . . . One plausible explanation of this distinct unity within the diversity of the gospel is that the Sermon originated earlier, possibly as an entire discourse, and, within a context of Greek language usage, given by Jesus.¹⁶⁴

Consequently, Porter's approach highlights the importance of considering a variety of linguistic and historical factors when investigating the language choices of historical figures, and his criteria provide a valuable framework for further inquiry. Porter's study makes a breakthrough in the inquiry that a unified and possibly original speech and discourse by Jesus can be identified, which adds to the understanding of the historical Jesus.

¹⁶¹ Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 364.

¹⁶² Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 386.

¹⁶³ Regarding Porter's criteria of Greek discourse features, see Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 389–92.

¹⁶⁴ Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 392, 404.

Second, Ong develops Porter's methodological framework in his study. Like Roberts and Porter before him, Ong affirms that Jesus predominantly used Greek for his sermons in public domains and for teaching those whose L1 or L2 was Greek.¹⁶⁵ Ong employs three primary sociolinguistic models. The first model is Lesley Milroy's social networks model.¹⁶⁶ According to Milroy's social networks model, there are two types of network zones: (1) the first-order network zone: people who are connected with direct relationships; and (2) the second-order network zone: people who are connected with indirect relationships.¹⁶⁷ Ong attempts to map out Jesus' first-order network zone to identify Jesus' plurilingualism, enabling him to make a direct relationship with specific language speakers.¹⁶⁸ Ong's inquiry of Jesus' first-order network zone shows that Jesus was a fluent Aramaic and Greek speaker who could make a strong relationship with Aramaic and Greek speakers.¹⁶⁹

The second model is Janet Holmes's Style model.¹⁷⁰ Holmes's model offers a theoretical framework that identifies four social factors that affect people's language choice: (1) participants, (2) settings, (3) topics, and (4) functions of conversation. Technically, the first to third social factors Ong uses are almost identical with Porter's first to second criteria: (1) participants and their background and (2) context and theme of discussion. Ong's unique contribution is the fourth one, functions of conversation. The fourth social factor involves the use of a specific language for specific functions and purposes. As noted in the previous section, Ong applies the concept of functional

¹⁶⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 282–98.

¹⁶⁶ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 40–69.

¹⁶⁷ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 46–52; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 228–29.

¹⁶⁸ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 231–40.

¹⁶⁹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 240.

¹⁷⁰ Holmes, *Introduction*, 8–12.

distribution to six social domains: family, friendship, government, transaction, religion, and education.¹⁷¹ Ong identifies which language was used as a formal language in each one of these social domains and defined it as a default language corresponding to the fixed domain.¹⁷²

The third model is Hymes's *Ethnography of Speaking* model.¹⁷³ Ong uses Hymes's model for text analysis that investigates Jesus' patterns for choosing a specific language for its social and cultural values.¹⁷⁴ In light of Hymes's model, Ong focuses on a speech event which "is often composed of multiple speech acts that take place within a speech situation."¹⁷⁵ According to Hymes, there are eight components of a speech event: (1) setting, (2) participants, (3) ends, (4) acts sequence, (5) key, (6) norms, (7) instrumentalities, and (8) genre.¹⁷⁶ Ong applies eight components of a speech event to the social domain theory in order to examine the general norms and rules to use Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin in specific domains.¹⁷⁷ Ong's text analysis determines Jesus' code choices corresponding to the fixed domains.

Third, Bell provides a critical evaluation of biblical studies regarding language issues of the early Church. Bell agrees with Porter's argument that Jesus changed his code from Aramaic into Greek when conversing with interlocutors whose dominant language was Greek because the pattern of Jesus' code choices that Porter proposes is precisely what bilinguals do.¹⁷⁸ Bell, however, points out the weakness of Ong's model:

¹⁷¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 199–205.

¹⁷² Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 225–27.

¹⁷³ Hymes, *Foundations*, 53–62.

¹⁷⁴ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 259–60.

¹⁷⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 263.

¹⁷⁶ Hymes, *Foundations*, 53–62.

¹⁷⁷ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 264–323.

¹⁷⁸ Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 239. Regarding Porter's study, see Porter, "Greek in Galilee."

“Ong, for example, claims to be able to determine which language Jesus will have used in specific encounters, which reaches well beyond what the evidence of the Gospels will bear.”¹⁷⁹ Bell demonstrates that Ong’s inquiry is too speculative because his analysis is based on chains of deduction.¹⁸⁰

Bell claims that both Jesus and his disciples used some Greek to accommodate Greek audiences in the very early stages of their ministry, considering the fact that functional multilinguals are automatically translating. According to Bell, there was a large number of Greek-speaking Christians in the Jerusalem church after Jesus’ death (Acts 2), and they started formulating a Greek-language tradition (Acts 6).¹⁸¹ Bell states, “Clearly then, no translation process was required in order to originate and transmit the gospel tradition in Κοινή Greek within the earliest church.”¹⁸²

Despite the insights that Bell brings to the discussion as a whole, his criticism of Ong misses the mark. Bell evaluates Ong’s sociolinguistic approach according to strict contemporary sociolinguistic standards, which were designed to extract and interpret living languages. Ong’s approach, however, is not contemporary sociolinguistics but historical sociolinguistics that investigates the languages of first-century Palestine, decidedly a non-living language. That is to say, Ong does not seek to draw decisive conclusions regarding Jesus’ code choices but to make the most plausible inferences based on the sociolinguistic patterns.¹⁸³ As long as one employs sociolinguistic approaches appropriately, his or her deductions are worth noting for

¹⁷⁹ Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 237.

¹⁸⁰ Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 237.

¹⁸¹ Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 234–36.

¹⁸² Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 236.

¹⁸³ See the summary list of Ong’s analysis, Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 333–36.

biblical studies. Furthermore, as Bell stresses, there is a paucity of sociolinguistic data on first-century Palestine, so even Bell's study depends upon deduction from the concept of functional multilinguals, not unlike Ong's study.¹⁸⁴ Because of the lack of archeological evidence, sociolinguistic approaches that depend on deduction should be considered the best way to investigate multilingualism in ancient Palestine.

Sociolinguistics is useful to examine the languages of first-century Palestine because it has been developed on the basis of much data from various case studies since the 1960s. It has provided robust frameworks and models to identify the relationship between intralinguistic data and extralinguistic data. Although the New Testament barely mentions Jesus' code choices directly, Ong's inferences are highly probable because, according to sociolinguistic theory, multilingual speakers tried to speak the most appropriate language that would best facilitate conversation in a given context.

Paul's Code Choice

The inquiry into Paul's code choices involves the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* in the multilingual milieu of Hellenistic Diaspora Christianity. Compared with Jesus' and Peter's plurilingualism, Paul's plurilingualism has attracted minimal attention. There have been few debates over Paul's competence and use of Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew. Pauline epistles evince Paul's proficiency in Greek, and the narrator of Acts notes Paul's use of Hebrew (Acts 21:40; 22:2) and the Lord's use of Hebrew to Paul (26:14). Given Paul's upbringing in a Pharisaic family in Tarsus, it is not difficult to assume that he was educated in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew.¹⁸⁵ However, there has been no overall

¹⁸⁴ Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 233.

¹⁸⁵ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 292.

agreement on whether or not Paul could speak Latin. Although this issue is not yet settled, it is briefly mentioned in a recent scholarly discussion. This section explores the ongoing argument over Paul's plurilingualism.

Roberts argues that Paul predominantly spoke Greek in the majority of his missionary regions presented in Acts. Roberts cites a number of passages where Paul spoke Greek, all of which are either public speeches or private conversations.¹⁸⁶ Roberts asserts that Greek could be the appropriate language for the conversation among those whose L1 was different because the majority of ancient people knew Greek as L2 in the Greco-Roman world.¹⁸⁷ In view of this, Roberts insists that Paul spoke Greek not only to the Roman authorities but also in regions where Latin was the dominant language.

A few scholars, however, investigate the possibility that Paul sometimes spoke Latin in specific situations. There are two possible situations in which Paul might have employed Latin: (1) Paul's speech in the regions where Latin was the dominant language and (2) Paul's conversation with the Roman authorities. William Ramsay argues that if Paul possessed Roman citizenship, he would have certainly had a knowledge of Latin speech and a Latin *cognomen* (the Roman-style triple name).¹⁸⁸ Ramsay insists that Paul's plan to visit Spain implies that he was confident in his ability to preach in Latin in cities where Latin was the dominant language.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ According to Roberts, the following speeches and conversations of Acts show that Greek was employed as the lingua franca in various situations: (1) diaspora Jews' Greek speech (who came from Asia) to Jerusalem people (Acts 21:27–30), (2) the Roman officer's Greek speech to multitudes (21:33–34), (3) Paul's use of Aramaic and Greek for apologetic speech before the Sanhedrin (22:30–23:10) (4) Peter's Greek speaking with Felix (24:10–21), (5) Festus's Greek speech to the Jews (25:10–11), (6) Paul's Greek speech during the sea voyage in a ship of Alexandria towards Italy (27:10, 21–26, 31, 33–34), (7) Paul's Greek conversation with the native of Malta (28:1–10), and (8) Paul's Greek conversation with Roman people. The first to sixth passages regard the public speeches, and the private conversations are the seventh to eight passages. See Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 208–24.

¹⁸⁷ Roberts, *Greek the Language*, 224.

¹⁸⁸ Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 213–14.

¹⁸⁹ Ramsay, *Apostolic Church*, 276.

Alexander Souter asserts that Paul's mission to Corinth evinces his knowledge of Latin. Souter considers Paul to be a proficient Latin speaker on the basis of his mission to a number of *coloniae* where the majority of people would be most influenced by Latin.¹⁹⁰ Souter's study focuses on Paul's mission to Corinth because a significant proportion of the population there spoke and understood Latin.¹⁹¹ Souter attempts to determine Paul's social network by investigating a list of the names of Christians in the Corinthian letters that show almost half of their names were Latin: Aquila, Priscilla, Titius Iustus, Crispus, Fortunatus, Gaius (who may be identical with Titius Iustus), Quartus, Lucius, and Tertius.¹⁹² Souter, moreover, insists Paul's statement of πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ "I speak with tongues more than you all" (1 Cor 14:18) implies that Paul was a fluent Latin speaker as a qualified apostle to the gentiles.¹⁹³

In addition, H. W. Tajra asserts that Paul would have spoken Latin in order to demonstrate his Roman citizenship to Latin-speaking people.¹⁹⁴ Tajra notes that since Roman citizens were expected to be fluent in Latin, Latin was the appropriate language to evince Paul's Roman citizenship.¹⁹⁵ Tajra considers Paul as a fluent Latin speaker because Paul was a learned man and a Roman citizen.¹⁹⁶ Tajra insists that "the court proceedings involving Paul, a Roman citizen, transpired in Latin both at Philippi and Corinth."¹⁹⁷ In view of this, Tajra attempts to reconstruct the Latin conversation between

¹⁹⁰ Souter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 340–41.

¹⁹¹ Souter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 341–42; Murphy-O'Connor, *Corinth*, 8.

¹⁹² Souter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 341–42.

¹⁹³ Souter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 342.

¹⁹⁴ Tajra asserts that Latin served as the colony's official language during Paul's time. See Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 45.

¹⁹⁵ Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 86.

¹⁹⁶ Tajra notes that Acts shows Paul's knowledge of Roman court proceedings. See Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 86.

¹⁹⁷ Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 45.

Paul and Festus. Festus asks Paul: *Vis Ierosolymam ascendere et ibi de his iudicari apud me?* “You wish to go up to Jerusalem and there be judged about these things before me?” (Acts 25:9) Paul replies: *ab tribunal Caesaris sto ubi me oportet iudicari . . . Caesarem appello*. “I stand before Caesar’s tribunal where I ought to be judged... I appeal to Caesar” (25:10–11).¹⁹⁸

To be sure, Ramsay, Souter, and Tajra’s inquiries are insightful in that they take Paul’s social interaction with Latin speakers seriously. However, their inquiries leave more to be investigated and answered about Paul’s plurilingualism and code choices for three reasons. First of all, their assumption of Paul’s knowledge of Latin is not well-founded. It is haphazard to assume that Paul was a fluent Latin speaker on the basis of his Roman citizenship in that it generalizes individuals’ linguistic characteristics. In addition, they overlook the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* in the Roman Empire. As Roberts notes, even if Paul was a fluent Latin speaker, Paul could use either Greek or Latin because the Roman authorities and the majority of Latin-speaking people knew Greek as L2. Last but not least, they do not offer a theoretical framework to identify which language was an appropriate language that Paul employed for his speech, Greek or Latin.

Among contemporary scholars, Porter provides the most discerning study of Paul’s plurilingualism and code choices. Porter conducts two noteworthy inquiries. The first inquiry concerns the sociolinguistic landscape of Paul’s mission. Porter points out the complexity of the sociolinguistic landscape of the Roman Empire: “even though the unofficial language policy of the Roman empire of the first century was to support

¹⁹⁸ Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 144.

Greek and Latin, there was also no official policy restricting indigenous languages.”¹⁹⁹

The lenient policy of the Roman empire to the eastern provinces resulted in complex linguistic diversity since vernacular languages were not annihilated by political power but were only naturally weakened.

On the basis of the multilingual environment of the Roman Empire, Porter investigates the instances of linguistic events of the following cities in which Paul engages in order to identify which language he would speak:

- (1) Illyricum (Rom 15:19): Greek (and Latin)
- (2) Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14–50): Greek
- (3) Lystra (Acts 14:6–20): Greek
- (4) Athens (17:16–34): Greek
- (5) Philippi (Acts 16:12–40; 20:3–6): Greek (and Latin)
- (6) Corinth (Acts 18:1–18; 20:1–3): Greek (and Latin)
- (7) Caesarea Maritima (Acts 23:33–26:32): Greek (Aramaic, Latin)
- (8) Rome (28:16–31): Greek (and Latin)²⁰⁰

According to Porter’s study, the Latin-speaking cities were Illyricum, Corinth, and Rome.²⁰¹ Nevertheless, Porter notes that Paul did not necessarily speak Latin in the Latin-speaking cities because, according to Acts, Paul mostly met those whose L1 or L2 was Greek.²⁰²

In light of the unofficial language policy of the Roman Empire, Porter argues that the possible vernacular language that Paul would encounter was the first-century Anatolian language in Lystra. Porter specifically investigates the history of the vernacular languages in Anatolia (which had the most complex linguistic diversity) and concludes that the first-century Anatolian language was probably a form of Luwian and

¹⁹⁹ Porter, “Complex Multilingualism,” 116.

²⁰⁰ Porter, “Did Paul Speak Latin?,” 292–302; Porter, “Complex Multilingualism,” 125–29.

²⁰¹ Porter, “Did Paul Speak Latin?,” 292–96, 298–300.

²⁰² Porter, “Did Paul Speak Latin?,” 302.

was part of the New Anatolian group of Indo-European languages.²⁰³ Lystra was a rural region where the indigenous people could have still used vernacular languages, although Greek and Latin were most widely employed.²⁰⁴ Porter claims that since Paul and Barnabas's audiences did not speak Greek or Latin to them, but rather a vernacular language, Paul and Barnabas were unable to recognize that their audiences were worshiping them as Zeus and Hermes for a period of time.²⁰⁵

The second inquiry into Paul's code choices involves participants and social domains. According to Porter's study of the cities where Paul visited, Paul was likely to have spoken Greek to multitudes in the public domain because Greek served as the *lingua franca* of all the cities.²⁰⁶ In addition, Porter argues that Paul could use Greek with those whose L1 was not Greek since they knew Greek as L2. With this in mind, Porter insists that Paul (L1: Greek and L2: Aramaic/Hebrew and Latin?) could have spoken Aramaic or Latin to Herod Agrippa (L1: Latin/ Greek and L2: Aramaic) and Bernice (L1: Latin/Greek and L2: Aramaic) but more possibly spoke Greek because Greek was the best language for their communication (Acts 26:1–30).²⁰⁷

Porter looks at a range of situations where Paul might have used Latin when he made the claim of his Roman citizenship to the Roman authorities: the Roman jailer (Acts 16:37), the Roman guards and tribune (21:32–39), Felix (23:34–35), and Festus (25:9–11).²⁰⁸ To be sure, the majority of the Roman authorities employed Latin in the political domain. Porter, however, argues that Paul did not necessarily speak Latin to the

²⁰³ Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 135–46.

²⁰⁴ Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 135–47.

²⁰⁵ Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 146–49.

²⁰⁶ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 292–302; Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 125–29.

²⁰⁷ Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 128–29.

²⁰⁸ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 300–301.

Roman authorities because the majority of them learned Greek as L2 in order to communicate with various ethnicities.²⁰⁹ With this in mind, Paul could have spoken either Greek or Latin to the Roman authorities, if indeed he was fluent in Latin. Porter ultimately concludes that Paul's knowledge of Latin was possible but not conclusive:

Whereas there is some evidence from each of these that Paul may have spoken Latin, the evidence is far from convincing. Most of the evidence suggests that Paul may have spoken Latin, but it is far from requiring it, no matter what the circumstances. In most of the instances, it is just as probable, if not more likely, that Paul may have used Greek, the *lingua franca* of the Roman Empire of the first century.²¹⁰

Porter's study points to several promising applications of sociolinguistics to Paul's plurilingualism. He provides a sophisticated investigation of the sociolinguistic landscape of the Roman Empire and possible situations in which Paul would use certain languages. However, within Ong's sociolinguistic framework, while Porter focuses on participants, the setting (social domain), and the topic, he does not address the function of conversations. This underscores the need for contemporary sociolinguistic approaches to the study of Paul's plurilingualism.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered a survey of previous discussions of the languages of early Christianity. Although comparative philology has been applied to the inquiry of the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine, as explored above, there are limitations inherent in this approach when investigating non-living languages like those in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Biblical scholars often have overused intralinguistic

²⁰⁹ Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 127–28.

²¹⁰ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 291, 306–7.

data neither from ancient Palestine nor from the first century when studying the plurilingualism and code choices of Jesus and his disciples. The Aramaic hypothesis grew out of this misuse of data and made sweeping and unwarranted assumptions about the lingua franca of first-century Palestine and even the diaspora. The Deissmann–Moulton hypothesis made a breakthrough by acknowledging the role of Κοινή Greek as the lingua franca in these environments. The subsequent advocates of the Κοινή Greek hypothesis rightly point out the success of the Hellenistic program to replace the lingua franca from Aramaic to Κοινή Greek. The sociolinguistic approaches of Porter and Ong point to several promising applications for future studies of historical figures’ code choice.

However, the Κοινή Greek hypothesis has received relatively little attention. Unfortunately, Roberts’s study, though it brings another significant advancement in the study of the code choices of Jesus, his disciples, and Paul, has by no means been universally accepted. Even those who acknowledge the role of Κοινή Greek as the lingua franca in first-century Palestine assert that Aramaic was the prestige language of early Christianity used to circulate the Jesus tradition. A few scholars have insisted that Jesus employed Greek for his preaching and teaching, and his Greek-speaking disciples transmitted the Jesus tradition in Greek. As explored above, however, there is no evidence for the assumption that Jesus did not preach and teach in Greek, and his disciples transmitted the Jesus tradition in Aramaic in its early stages. It is not until Porter and Ong proposed their sociolinguistic approaches that the significance of the code choices of Jesus attracted scholarly attention. Their studies offer a satisfying account of Jesus’ use of Greek for his teaching and preaching. Since their studies focus

on Jesus' code choices, so far, no definitive studies deal with the code choices of Jesus' disciples and Paul. In order to reach a fuller understanding of the prestige language of early Christianity, further sociolinguistic approaches to Jesus' disciples and Paul are needed.

The focus of this study will be the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts. Since the New Testament offers little information regarding the code choices of other historical figures, this study will focus on Peter and Paul. The inquiry into Peter's code choices will show the prestige religious language of the Jerusalem church, and the prestige religious language of diaspora churches will be identified with the inquiry into Paul's code choices. In addition, it is necessary to use updated sociolinguistic approaches to this issue. The next chapter explores the history of sociolinguistics and demonstrates a new proposal for a sociolinguistic approach.

HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACHES TO THE INQUIRY OF THE PRESTIGE RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE OF FIRST-CENTURY CHRISTIANITY

The previous chapter surveyed the studies conducted by biblical scholars on the prestigious religious language used in first-century Christianity. Due to the limited availability of data, historical, archaeological, and epigraphic approaches are inadequate for describing the multilingualism present in first-century Christianity. However, by employing sociolinguistic approaches, Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong have effectively delineated the possible times and locations where Jesus and some of his disciples may have preached in Greek. Their sociolinguistic methodologies provide a robust framework for identifying the language choices made by Jesus and his disciples.

It is worth noting how contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models can be applied to investigate the sociolinguistic environment in historical societies. Contemporary sociolinguists who have examined living languages collect and interpret prodigious amounts of data in various ways such as surveys, interviews, and experiments. The more data they examine, the more reliable their research is considered.¹ The ways these methods collect data, unfortunately, cannot be applied to non-living languages like those of the first-century Greco-Roman world because there are no living informants.² Since it is impossible to acquire data with respect to the ancient spoken languages, some scholars' inquiries inevitably have relied on written

¹ For sociolinguistic methodologies that collect data for contemporary languages, see Johnstone, *Qualitative Methods*, 20–58; Holmes and Hazen, *Research Methods*, 23–90.

² Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 17–18.

records from archaeological evidence such as coins, papyri, parchments, epitaphs, and other inscriptions. As Bell notes, archaeological evidence simply does not provide enough data to be recommended for the use of contemporary sociolinguistic approaches to ancient languages.³

With this in mind, this chapter proposes a new proposal of historical sociolinguistics that applies various contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models to the inquiry of ancient languages in a historical society of the Greco-Roman world. The first section briefly explores the history of historical sociolinguistics and contemporary sociolinguistics. This section serves to illustrate the underlying principles of historical sociolinguistics that underpin the utilization of contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models in this study. Given the recent trends in sociolinguistics, the second section introduces a historical sociolinguistic approach to the examination of the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. This section outlines a methodological procedure for historical sociolinguistic approaches to identify macro, meso, and micro contexts in which the code choices of church leaders shaped the linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity, as depicted in the book of Acts.

Historical Sociolinguistic Approaches to the Multilingualism of First-Century Christianity

The fundamental concept of historical sociolinguistics was proposed by Suzanne Romaine in 1982. Romaine defines *Socio-historical Linguistics* as the interdisciplinary aspect of the sociolinguistic methodology “to provide an account of the forms and uses

³ Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 232.

in which variation may manifest itself in a given community over time.”⁴ The fundamental tenet of historical sociolinguistics is formulated by Romaine:

The working principle of sociolinguistic reconstruction must be the ‘uniformitarian principle’. In other words, we accept that the linguistic forces which operate today and are observable around us are not unlike those which have operated in the past. Sociolinguistically speaking, this means that there is no reason for claiming that language did not vary in the same patterned ways in the past as it has been observed to do today.⁵

The uniformitarian principle is not unique to sociolinguistics, but it is one of the most widely used principles in scientific endeavors, including the so-called “hard” sciences. The merit of sociolinguistics is that it offers the uniformitarian principle on the basis of linguistic patterns of communicative competence.⁶ The social patterns for language usages are changeable since the social, political, and cultural elements are varied and ever-changing. In contrast, the linguistic patterns of the ethnography of communication remain unchanged because human beings inherently have communicative competence, namely the ability to understand and use language appropriately to communicate successfully in light of the general norms and rules for language usages in the society. It is worth noting that all human beings have communicative competence as long as they do not have brain damage affecting their language usages. This underscores the reliability of the uniformitarian principle, which applies contemporary theories from linguistic anthropology to the study of ancient texts.

⁴ Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics*, x.

⁵ Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics*, 122–23.

⁶ Hymes coined the term, communicative competence, arguing against Chomsky’s linguistic competence. Although Chomsky asserts universal grammar in a homogeneous speech community, Hymes points out that the social norms and rules for language usages are different in the different speech communities and defines communicative competence as human beings’ ability to use language in consideration of the social norms and rules in the society. See Chomsky, *Knowledge*, 1–50; Hymes, *Foundations*, 45, 55, 75.

The term “historical Sociolinguistics” was coined by later sociolinguists. They have developed Romaine’s tenets to analyze sociolinguistic data from the past and have broadened its scope beyond variationist sociolinguistics to sociology of language and ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics.⁷ With this in mind, sociolinguists define historical sociolinguistics as “the reconstruction of the history of a given language in its socio-cultural context.”⁸ Historical sociolinguists utilize various sociolinguistic models in a reasonable way to reconstruct what might be going on in the past, although it is not directly observable.

This study employs historical sociolinguistics in order to reconstruct the historical figures’ code choices within the sociocultural context presented in the book of Acts and consequently articulates the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. Sociolinguistics has developed numerous theories and models regarding the relationship between language and society since the middle of the twentieth century CE. Building on the principles of historical sociolinguistics, this section explores the history of sociolinguistics to determine which sociolinguistic theories and models offer the most reasonable and valid explanations for the languages spoken in the past, even when direct observations from that time are unavailable.

This section delves into two historical reviews within the field of sociolinguistics. The initial review focuses on two distinct types of historical sociolinguistic approaches to the historical societies of first-century Palestine: (1) social structure-centered approach and (2) person-centered approach. This study explores the principles of historical sociolinguistics employed by previous scholars in the application

⁷ Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics*, 1.

⁸ Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics*, 1.

of contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models and aims at positing the foundational principles that underlie the historical sociolinguistic approach in this research. The subsequent review is dedicated to tracing the evolution of contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models for contemporary society. To be specific, this study surveys the contemporary theories and models for the inquiry of the relationship between individuals' language choices and the prestige language of their communities in their reality. These reviews aim at determining the contemporary theories and models which are most applicable for the historical sociolinguistic model for the inquiry of church leaders' code choices and prestige religious language of first-century Christianity presented in the book of Acts.

Historical Sociolinguistic Approaches to Biblical Studies

This study proposes a new proposal of historical sociolinguistics that applies the integrated sociolinguistic approaches to the inquiry of first-century languages of the Greco-Roman world. There are benefits to the contemporary sociolinguistic approaches, but the central question for this study is how to apply them to historical sociolinguistics for examining the multilingual situation of the first century of the Greco-Roman world in particular. As Christina Bratt Paulston notes, it is important for biblical scholars to search for the most appropriate contemporary sociolinguistic theories and methods for the study of ancient languages:

The real difficulty in attempting to account for the language repertoire in first-century Palestine lies in the paucity of data. Working with No Data necessitates very robust concepts, models, and theories. . . . Historical sociolinguistics then becomes a search for the most appropriate models and key concepts to use in the explanation and even basic description of historical situations. With present-

day scholarly work in sociolinguistics, we seek to reach an adequate explanation so that we can predict the coming situation.⁹

In order to determine the most useful historical sociolinguistic approaches for biblical studies, it is worth reviewing previous scholars' application of historical sociolinguistic approaches to the inquiry of multilingualism of ancient Palestine.¹⁰ In this study, I will categorize them into two types of sociolinguistic approaches that apply the uniformitarian principle to the inquiry of the languages of ancient Palestine: (1) a social structure-centered approach and (2) a person-centered approach. First, the social structure-centered approach involves the statistical analysis of the relationship between language and social structures. This approach focuses upon social structures that govern language usages from the nation to different kinds of small communities and groups. Second, the person-centered approach studies individuals' way of life in relation to their language usages in particular situations. This approach also includes individuals' linguistic behavior of how they choose languages fitting to appropriate contexts.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Bernard Spolsky, Porter, and Ong are the prominent scholars who apply contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models to unravel the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. Notably, Spolsky's application of sociolinguistic theories and models differs in emphasis from that of Porter and Ong; whereas Spolsky emphasizes the social structure-centered approach, Porter and Ong advocate for the person-centered approach. This section aims to assess the strengths and

⁹ Paulston, "Language Repertoire," 80–81.

¹⁰ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 55–61; Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 350–64; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 17–18; Bell, "Early Greek-Language Tradition," 233; Paulston, "Language Repertoire," 80.

weaknesses of their principles for using historical sociolinguistic approaches to ancient languages.

The Social Structure-Centered Approach

Spolsky proposes a *Sociolinguistic Ecology* model that focuses on the sociolinguistic environment of the ancient Jewish world.¹¹ Spolsky's model is a social structure-centered approach in that it concentrates on the social factors that influenced the Jewish communities. Spolsky used the "Speech Community" model in order to identify various types of the communities, categorized by (1) ethnicity (Jews versus non-Jews), (2) geography (Palestinian coastal cities, Judean villages, and Galilee versus Diaspora regions in Egypt, Rome, Asia Minor, and Babylon), and (3) social class (upper class versus lower class).¹² By employing the *Social Domain* model, Spolsky determined various social domains in the Jewish communities such as family, friendship, religion, education, and employment.¹³

Spolsky's Sociolinguistic Ecology model is useful for comprehending the basic description of the linguistic ideology of the ancient Jewish world. Linguistic ideology can be defined as a set of beliefs with regard to the functional distribution of language, shared and accepted by a group of people.¹⁴ Ideology refers to the shared belief, idea, and thought by more than two people.¹⁵ In other words, if a personal belief, idea, and

¹¹ Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 2–13.

¹² See Spolsky, "Diglossia."

¹³ Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 7.

¹⁴ Silverstein defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." Silverstein, "Language Structure," 193. Regarding more information of other sociolinguists' concepts of linguistic ideology, see Woolard, "Language Ideology."

¹⁵ The term *idéologie* was first coined by Tracy, a French Enlightenment philosopher, who optimistically hoped to develop a *Science of Ideas* and rational system of ideas in 1796. It was soon made

thought is not shared by others, it is not ideology but a personal preference. In view of this, linguistic ideology embodies the prevailing norms and regulations governing the appropriate use of language within a distinct social setting. Spolsky's structure-centered approach elucidates the processes of language policy by which the institutional community makes, manages, and controls linguistic ideology.

It is worth mentioning three weaknesses in Spolsky's historical sociolinguistic approach. First, Spolsky overemphasizes the application of recent models of the relationship between modern languages and social structures to the first-century multilingual environment.¹⁶ Spolsky sometimes applies the patterns of the relationship between modern languages and social structures to the patterns of the relationship between ancient languages and social structures.¹⁷ Spolsky, however, overlooks the significance of time as one of the crucial factors that causes language change.¹⁸ The

use of with political connotations to criticize Napoleon who discredited Tracy and his colleagues as well. In their book *The German Ideology*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels used this term for critical perspectives on economic, political, and religious systems in 1846. For a while, subsequent scholars thoroughly abandoned Tracy's neutral value of ideology as a Science of Ideas and have employed the critical value of ideology. The concept of ideology was applied to the sociolinguistic approaches. On the one hand, Fairclough, the leading scholar in the school of Critical Discourse Analysis, abandons Tracy's neutral value of ideology as a Science of Ideas and employs the critical value of ideology. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse*, 31–83. On the other hand, Van Dijk proposes the sociolinguistic concept of ideology not from a Marxist perspective but from Tracy's perspectives. Van Dijk's defines ideology as a social belief system in light of the conceptual triangle that relates cognition, society, and discourse. According to Van Dijk, ideology is a general belief that underlies basic axioms of the system of social representations shared and accepted by a group of people. See Van Dijk, *Ideology*, 2, 29, 314. However, Marxism conception of ideology is limited to comprehend a Science of Idea that Tracy suggested since it focuses on sociopolitical features of ideology but overlooks the significance of other features because it focuses on ideology in the institutional level but ignores the significance of ideologies in the noninstitutional level such as small groups or communities. This study employs Van Dijk's definition of ideology because it is useful to determine not only ideology in the institutional level but also in the noninstitutional level.

¹⁶ Porter points out that Spolsky does not provide any kind of quantifiable comparative data for his argument of the revival of Hebrew as an oral language of first-century Jews. See Porter, "Functional Distribution," 57.

¹⁷ For instance, Spolsky assumes that Hebrew could have survived not only as a religious language of Judaism but also as a spoken language of the Jews, based on the survival of Cook Island Māori in New Zealand. However, Spolsky does not provide any crucial evidence or a reasonable explanation of the first-century context in which Hebrew was used as a spoken language among ordinary Jews. Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 3.

¹⁸ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 195–228.

relationship between social structures and linguistic ideology is a complex and multifaceted one, and it can vary significantly across different societies and time periods. Since ancient society had different social structures from modern society, it is haphazard to assume that ancient society and modern society must have had the same relationship of language and social structure.¹⁹ Spolsky's historical sociolinguistic approach inappropriately assumes the sociolinguistic patterns of modern languages without considering differences in linguistic ideology between ancient Palestine and modern societies.

Second, Spolsky's use of the Speech Community and Social Domain models is too abstract to accurately identify the linguistic environment of the ancient Jewish world. Spolsky considers family, school, and legal and health institutions not to be communities but to be the social domains because they are not institutional communities. Spolsky's analysis of these non-institutional communities shows that he overlooks the significance of the small communities, groups, and parties while concentrating on the institutional communities.²⁰ Bingjun Yang and Rui Wang argue that Spolsky's application of the speech community and the social domain is unnecessary to distinguish between the speech communities and the social domains. Yang and Wang rightly point out that all kinds of gatherings should be considered to be communities regardless of their size.²¹

Third, Spolsky's model is not based on the practical inquiry of the individuals' language use but rather heavily relies on the abstract concept of linguistic ideology at the

¹⁹ Paulston ("Language Repertoire," 82) states that Spolsky's historical sociolinguistic approach seems to "begin with the consequence or results; we already know what happened, and instead we are looking for description and explanation. . . . One difficulty in selecting assumptions and speculations based on our present-day theories and models is that those theories are almost all based on present-day situations, such as the modern nation-state."

²⁰ Eckert, "Communities of Practice," 89–90.

²¹ Yang and Wang, *Language Policy*, 60.

national level. According to Yang and Wang, Spolsky overlooked two significant factors that influence linguistic ideology: (1) the ever-changing relations among ideologies of the small groups, assessing the impact they exert on one another, and (2) the dynamic interplays between individual language users and their upper structures from families to social institutions.²² They insist that “[linguistic] ideology can also refer to an individual’s changing belief about language or language use.”²³ They highlight the significance of individuals’ linguistic ideologies because the linguistic ideologies of the community are complex clusters consisting of various linguistic ideologies of individuals and these are often conflicting with each other.²⁴ Yang and Wang note that linguistic ideology is not fixed in the institutional level but fluid because it is continually influenced by external forces of the non-institutional communities and individuals’ personal preference.²⁵ Arguably, it is highly haphazard to group the individuals as the speech community on the basis of these abstracted characteristics since it oversimplifies various characteristics of individuals.

Spolsky’s study shows the weakness of the social structure-centered approach to the linguistic environment of ancient Jewish communities. In his research regarding various case studies, Spolsky himself acknowledges the limitation of his model in that

²² Yang and Wang propose these five-levels: (1) international level, (2) national level, (3) regional level, (4) local level, and (5) household level. See Yang and Wang, *Language Policy*, 31–32.

²³ Yang and Wang, *Language Policy*, 53.

²⁴ Yang and Wang’s concept of an individual’s ideology is unsatisfactory because, according to van Dijk’s definition of ideology, ideology is not individuals’ belief, thought, or idea, but a social belief system shared and accepted by a group of people. Rather, an individual’s belief is ‘a potential ideology’ in that it could be ideology when it is shared and accepted by others. It is significant to identify whether or not an individual’s belief is shared and accepted by others since an individual’s belief in language that is not shared by anyone has an effect on others socially and linguistically in order to identify the function of linguistic ideology that builds and reproduces the group language and social identity of the group when it is shared and accepted by the group. For van Dijk’s definition of ideology, see Van Dijk, *Ideology*, 29, 314.

²⁵ Yang and Wang, *Language Policy*, 53.

individuals' beliefs in the language usage may regularly differ from the linguistic ideology of the speech community in reality.²⁶ Spolsky notes that the ideology of the speech community is complicated because, within social groups, it is common to find conflicting beliefs about the value of various language choices.

Therefore, it is necessary to revise Spolsky's historical sociolinguistic approach to Hebrew in ancient times. Spolsky's social structure-centered approach is limited in identifying the linguistic environment of the ancient Jewish world, as it overlooks the importance of small communities, groups, and parties, as well as individual beliefs in the language usage. This is because Spolsky tends to homogenize the Jewish community, overlooking the internal diversity and heterogeneity within the community. Additionally, the model assumes a static view of language, whereas language use is constantly evolving and dynamic. Therefore, Spolsky's model should be used in conjunction with other sociolinguistic approaches to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the sociolinguistic environment of the ancient Jewish world.

The Person-Centered Approach

On the basis of the concept of Functional Distribution, Porter's approach centers on distinct strata of linguistic usage according to the repertoire of a given speaker.²⁷ It is essential to note that Porter's approach adopts a person-centered perspective, focusing on how individuals select their codes to align with the situational context in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. Namely, Porter's approach aims at defining the major features of the context of situation for a particular code based on the

²⁶ Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 222–23.

²⁷ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 62–63.

discourse-pragmatic criteria that determine individuals' entire communicative context, including the context of situation and the context of culture.²⁸

The merit of Porter's approach is the ability to determine various functions of codes in a particular context of situation from the range of types of text found in ancient Palestine. His approach focuses on a particular context of situation and context of culture, which can be investigated from archeological evidence such as papyri, parchments, epitaphs, and other inscriptions in ancient time. The formalized codes are likely to be written for various official purposes such as laws, edicts, announcements of political and military victories.²⁹ For various casual purposes, the informalized codes are likely to be used.

In addition, Porter's methodological principle is useful for determining the priority of reliable data. Porter prioritizes the inquiry of possible contexts of situation and culture from archeological evidence more than other assumptions.³⁰ Especially, the inquiry based on sociolinguistic data from the same person provides reliable information for functional distribution more than from other data.³¹ With this kind of inquiry, however, it is impossible to reconstruct the material situational settings in ancient Palestine due to the lack of data. Therefore, Porter emphasizes the importance of investigating historical documents based on sociolinguistic theories and models that determine the context of situation and culture where a variety of political, religious, geographical, and sociolinguistic factors influence linguistic preference.³²

²⁸ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 62.

²⁹ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 61–62.

³⁰ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 62–65.

³¹ Porter, "Functional Distribution," 65.

³² For Porter's sociolinguistic approaches, see Porter, "Greek of the Jews"; Porter, "Complex Multilingualism."

Moreover, Porter's person-centered approach enables sociolinguists to determine historical figures' code choices. The inquiry of functional distribution articulates the context of situation of when and where historical figures employed a specific language in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. On the basis of the inquiry of the functional distribution of Greek, Porter identifies the most probable context of situation where the founders of Christianity (Jesus, his disciples, and Paul) employed Greek.³³ Porter's inquiry of historical figures provides the most reasonable and plausible explanations of language use in historical societies.

Following Porter, Ong attempts to apply various contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models to discern the functional distribution of languages in first-century Palestine. Ong suggests a three-level analysis: macro analysis, micro analysis, and text analysis. Ong's approach is a person-centered approach in that it aims at identifying how individuals choose their codes, taking an appropriate code for an appropriate context of situation into consideration. Rather than relying on an abstract relationship between language, society, and social structure, Ong focuses on a practical relationship between language, society, and people.³⁴ Following Porter's methodological principles, Ong specifies the sociolinguistic elements that affected people's code choices in a historical society of first-century Palestine.³⁵

Ong's approach, arguably, represents a breakthrough in applying a historical sociolinguistic approach to the inquiry of Jesus' code choices. However, it has limitations in examining individuals' code choices for two reasons. First, it is worth

³³ Porter, "Greek of the Jews," 352–64.

³⁴ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 112.

³⁵ For Ong's sociolinguistic approach, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 119–29.

noting the weakness of Ong's notion of the fixed domain. As noted above, Ong proposes a default language corresponding to a fixed domain by applying Janet Holmes's model to Joshua Fishman's social domain model. Ong assumes that people always choose their code on the basis of general norms and rules. However, he fails to account for deliberate decisions to use language in creative ways, such as to directly contradict general norms and rules. At any rate, neither Fishman nor Holmes makes mention in their models of a default language that corresponds to a fixed domain.³⁶ Rather, Holmes demonstrates the difficulty of identifying the sociolinguistic rules of speakers' language selection because they may not follow the general sociolinguistic rules for many reasons.³⁷ In the face of this difficulty, Holmes states,

Though we have used domains as useful summaries of relevant social factors in the model provided above, it is often necessary to examine more specific social factors if a model is to be a useful description of code choices in a community. The components of a domain do not always fit with each other. They are not always 'congruent'. In other words, within any domain, individual interactions may not be 'typical' in the sense in which 'typical' is used in the domain concept. . . . So in describing the patterns of code use of particular communities, the relevant social factors may not fit neatly into institutionalised domains. As we have seen, more specific social factors often need to be included, and a range of social dimensions may need to be considered too.³⁸

Although Holmes's model sought not to predict an individual's language selection but to capture the most general patterns of their language selection which may have followed some variances, Ong makes use of Holmes's model to identify a default language corresponding to a fixed domain.

Second, Ong often employs outdated sociolinguistic theories for identifying the social factors that affect individuals' code choices. Namely, Ong uses Dell Hymes's

³⁶ Tupamahu, "Review of The Multilingual Jesus," 266.

³⁷ Holmes, *Introduction*, 26.

³⁸ Holmes, *Introduction*, 26.

“SPEAKING” model proposed in 1972 and Janet Holmes’s Style model that is barely developed from Joshua Fishman’s Speech Community and Social Domain models proposed in 1972.³⁹ As noted above, Speech Community and Social Domain models are not practically useful to define a specific group of people such as the community. In addition, Hymes’s SPEAKING model has been significantly developed by recent sociolinguists.

In light of the recent trend of sociolinguistic theories and models, person-centered approaches are the most useful in updating historical sociolinguistic approaches to the inquiry of ancient languages. Contemporary sociolinguists have pointed out the weakness of the social structure-centered approaches and recognized the significance of person-centered approaches. As a result, person-centred approaches have been significantly developed by recent sociolinguists. As of 2021, even Spolsky acknowledges the significance of a person-centered approach and revised his language policy model to focus on individuals responsible for implementing language policy and planning (Spolsky’s revised language policy model will be introduced in the next section).⁴⁰ The advantage of a contemporary sociolinguistic person-centred approach offers a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the relationship between individuals’ language choices and the prestige language of their communities. The following section will briefly survey the history of sociolinguistics in order to determine which of the more recent sociolinguistic approaches is the most useful in updating

³⁹ For Hymes’s model, see Hymes, *Foundations*, 53–62. Holmes (*Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 8–9) demonstrates that the social factors affecting language selection is (1) participates, (2) setting, (3) topic, and (4) function. Fishman (“Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics,” 22) argues that the social factors affecting language selection is (1) addressee, (2) setting, and (3) topic.

⁴⁰ See Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 9–14.

historical sociolinguistic approaches to the inquiry of ancient languages.

Contemporary Sociolinguistics

Traditional sociolinguistics was invented as a response to Noam Chomsky's transformational-generative theory. Chomsky viewed grammar as a system of rules that generate word combinations and he focused on linguistic competence, that is, grammatical knowledge of language between the ideal speaker and hearer in a homogeneous speech community.⁴¹ In contrast, Hymes expanded on Chomsky's narrowed conception of linguistic competence and introduced communicative competence, which refers to the ability that people use language appropriately corresponding to their social contexts.⁴² The central concern of traditional sociolinguistics was not universal grammar but the relationship between language and society.⁴³ With this in mind, traditional sociolinguists attempted to identify how speakers and listeners operate linguistically with each other in social contexts because people speak differently depending on their social contexts.

Traditional sociolinguistics began with three major schools, and the following sociolinguists developed them in its early stage: (1) Fishman (*The Sociology of Language*), (2) John J. Gumperz and Hymes (*Ethnographic-interactional Sociolinguistics*), and (3) Labov (*Variationist Sociolinguistics*).⁴⁴ As interdisciplinary exchange has become active among these major schools, contemporary sociolinguists

⁴¹ For Chomsky's transformational-generative model, see Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 61–84. For Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence, see Chomsky, *Knowledge*, 1–50.

⁴² Hymes, *Foundations*, 45, 55, 75; Holmes, *Introduction*, 463.

⁴³ Holmes, *Introduction*, 1.

⁴⁴ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 6–12.

have attempted to provide a synthetic understanding of these traditional sociolinguistic approaches under the same paradigm.

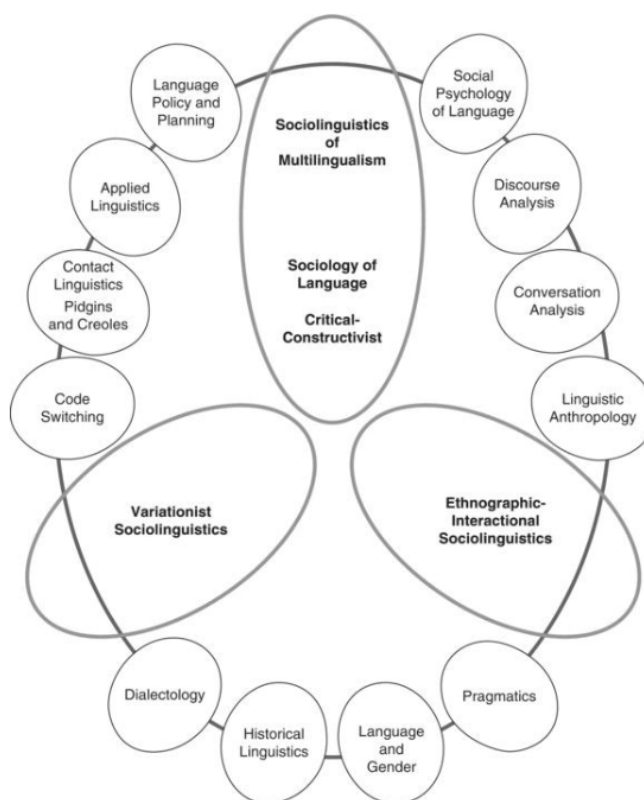


Figure 3.1. Allen Bell's Strands of Sociolinguistics⁴⁵

There are two recent trends of contemporary sociolinguists worth noting. The first trend of contemporary sociolinguistics regards the notion of language as ideology. This trend focuses on the function of linguistic ideology as the general norms and rules of the community for using the language as a particular social meaning in relation to various social factors, such as genders, social classes, regions, and ages.⁴⁶ As critical constructivism has attracted considerable attention, the notion of language as ideology has been widely applied to the sociology of language.⁴⁷ In its early stage, this trend

⁴⁵ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 6.

⁴⁶ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 4.

⁴⁷ Critical constructivism originates from sociology, especially Berger and Luckmann's social constructionism. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction*. Critical constructivists insist that historical,

heavily relied on the social structure-centered approaches that focus a sociopolitical aspect of the macro level issues of language in order to identify the social meaning of a specific language connecting with a specific social aspect, such as minority language, dominant language, official language, unofficial language, and lingua franca. This trend has changed the sociology of language into sociolinguistics of multilingualism and has naturally influenced variationist sociolinguistics and ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics as well.⁴⁸ As a result of the influence of critical-constructivism on sociolinguistics, contemporary sociolinguistics can be categorized by three major sociolinguistic schools with two subcategories of sociolinguistics of multilingualism (see Figure 3.1):

1. Sociolinguistics of Multilingualism

(1a) The Sociology of Language (Macro): The sociology of language focuses on how language functions within social contexts. It is concerned with the macro analysis of languages in society, investigating how societal structures, institutions, and cultural norms influence language use and distribution.⁴⁹

(1b) Critical-constructivist Sociolinguistics (Macro): Critical-constructivist focuses upon the relationship between language and power. They attempt

social, cultural, economic, and political contexts construct people's knowledge and perspective. They theorize the relationship between power and knowledge, arguing that the group who hold hegemony control knowledge construction legitimacy in the society. For more information regarding critical constructivism, see Das, "Critical Social Constructivism." Critical constructivism trends have changed the inquiries of two issues of sociolinguistics: (1) discourse analysis and (2) multilingualism. For critical discourse analysis, see Fairclough, *Power*; Fairclough, *Awareness*; Fairclough, *Critical Discourse*; Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*; Fairclough, *Social Change*; Van Dijk, *Elite Discourse*; Van Dijk, *Ideology*; Van Dijk, *Discourse as Structure and Process*; Van Dijk, *Racism*. For the application of linguistic ideology to sociology of multilingualism, see Spolsky, *Language Policy*; Blackledge and Creese, *Multilingualism*; Gee, *Literacies*.

⁴⁸ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 9, 11.

⁴⁹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 8–9.

to determine the social and linguistic process where language is used for hegemony in the society.⁵⁰

2. Variationist Sociolinguistics (Meso): Variationist sociolinguistics is primarily concerned with the systematic study of language variation and change. It investigates how linguistic features vary systematically with social variables such as age, gender, regions, ethnicity, and social class. Variationist studies typically concentrate on the meso analysis that determines the patterns of variation within specific linguistic communities.⁵¹
3. Ethnographic-interactional Sociolinguistics (Micro): Ethnography is an approach to social research that concentrates on different language uses with different interlocutors or in different situations. It concentrates on the micro analysis of the participants' everyday life through long-term experience, examining the processes by which language both constructs and is constructed by their social interactions.⁵²

The second trend involves the notion of language as profusion, so-called heteroglossia; namely, language cannot be standardized ideally and is always diversified because it is impossible to control individuals' language completely.⁵³ The research findings of sociology of multilingualism evince that although an institutional community attempts to standardize a specific form of language by means of language policy, it is common to find various linguistic variations because small social groups or individuals

⁵⁰ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 9–10.

⁵¹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 11–12.

⁵² Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 10–11.

⁵³ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 3.

often do not follow but rather resist language policy.⁵⁴ Recent sociolinguists have, therefore, changed the aim of sociolinguistics of multilingualism from the national-level analysis to the individual level. For the same reason, variationist sociolinguists themselves have attempted to correct their previous proposals. That is to say, they often oversimplified individuals' various linguistic styles by relating them to the general linguistic norms and rules within social categories such as places, periods, groups, classes, or genders. They acknowledge the limitation of the social structure-centered approaches and, even, some of them suggest employing ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics as an alternative approach, namely the person-centered approaches that focus on individuals' linguistic patterns.⁵⁵ Along with this recent trend, the person-centered approach is seen as a way to better understand the diversity and complexity of language use in micro contexts.

<i>Types</i>	<i>Major Focus</i>	<i>Descriptive Focus</i>	<i>Associated Descriptive Concepts</i>
<i>Macro</i>	The Institutional Community	Sociopolitical Frames Associated with the Institutional Communities	Ideologies, Policies, Nations, Schools, and Laws
<i>Meso</i>	The Social Network	Sociocultural Frames Associated with the Noninstitutional Communities	Social Practices, Activity Types, and Roles
<i>Micro</i>	Individuals	Interpersonal Frame amongst Particular Individuals	Discursive Practice, Speech Acts, and Co-texts

Table 3.1. Macro, Meso, and Micro Sociolinguistics

⁵⁴ Spolsky concludes that the research findings seem to favor the pessimists of language policy that language is out of control because the records show reversing and unpredictable language shift activities generally despite language policy by a combination of government power and ideological strength. For Spolsky's conclusion, see Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 223.

⁵⁵ For instance, Eckert points out that variationist sociolinguistics focuses on normal linguistic behavior but overlooks the significance of exceptional cases. See Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 30–33.

As recent sociolinguists have acknowledged the limitation of social structure-centered approaches, person-centered approaches have attracted their attention. Not many recent sociolinguists advocate social structure-centered approaches, as person-centered approaches have been greatly developed with the integrated sociolinguistic theories and models that focus on the dialectical relationship between macro, meso, and micro contexts. It is worth mentioning the concept of macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistics, as it is useful for understanding the major focuses of different sociolinguistic approaches (see Table 3.1).⁵⁶

Macro sociolinguistics has been developed with the sociology of language that encompasses linguistic ideology at the institutional level. Macro sociolinguists examine sociopolitical influence of the institutional communities on linguistic ideologies. Therefore, they investigate how language policies and education systems influence the way people think about and use language.

On the other hand, meso sociolinguistics is associated with variationist sociolinguistics, which concentrates on linguistic ideologies in the non-institutional communities where their members gather for various types of social practice. Meso sociolinguists investigate linguistic ideologies based upon people's social networks rather than social structures. They analyze how language is used within ideologies of these non-institutional communities and how it is shaped by social factors like gender, age, and social class.

Micro sociolinguistics involves ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics,

⁵⁶ The concepts of macro sociolinguistics and micro sociolinguistics were introduced by Fishman, the founder of the sociology of language in 1972. Fishman, *Sociology of Language*, 29. These concepts were adapted by Hudson (*Sociolinguistics*, 5) and Coulmas (*Handbook*, 4) and were developed by Wardhaugh (*Introduction*, 15–17) and Bell (*Sociolinguistics*, 6–14).

which focuses on the study participants' everyday life through long-term experience and involvement in order to study their way of life in relation to their language usages.

Through this approach, micro sociolinguists identify their communicative competence, namely the ability to use language appropriately corresponding to their communicative contexts. With this in mind, micro sociolinguists investigate how individuals use language in different contexts and adapt their language use to fit different communicative situations.

Sociolinguists have suggested the theoretical frameworks that determine the relationship between individuals' language choices and the prestige language of their communities. The first generation of sociolinguists (traditional sociolinguists) concentrated either on the macro context or on the micro context. Some later sociolinguists, however, noted the limitations of the previous scholars' macro and micro sociolinguistic approaches and have suggested meso sociolinguistics. More recent sociolinguists have proposed integrated sociolinguistic approaches that investigate macro, meso, and micro contexts based on the person-centered approach. With this recent trend in mind, Terttu Nevalainen suggests applying macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistic approaches all together to historical sociolinguistics.⁵⁷ Arguably, integrated sociolinguistic approaches are promising to historical sociolinguistics in that they are useful to reconstruct the previous sociolinguistic environment in a variety of ways. This study delineates three sequential phases through which the integration of macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistics has unfolded.

⁵⁷ Nevalainen, "Historical Sociolinguistics," 249–50.

The First Phase: Macro and Micro Sociolinguistics

In the first phase, traditional sociolinguistics was developed with two different approaches—macro sociolinguistics and micro sociolinguistics—which concentrate on different emphases. Macro sociolinguistics aimed at identifying linguistic ideology regarding the prestige language of the speech community.⁵⁸ By applying Leonard Bloomfield's Speech Community model to sociolinguistic approaches, Gumperz, Fishman, Hymes, and Labov defined the speech community as a group of people who share the same social norms and rules for language usages.⁵⁹ Their speech community models began with a social basis and an investigation into linguistic characteristics of the speech community. Although the Speech Community model has been widely applied to sociolinguistic approaches, it has barely developed since it was introduced in the 1970s.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, traditional sociolinguists attempted to identify micro contexts that involve individuals' linguistic behavior for language usages within the speech community. In this phase, variationist sociolinguistics and sociology of language focused on the social elements that affect individuals' language choices. Labov, the founder of variationist sociolinguistics, considered style to be the single dimension that individual speech variation is associated with within a specific social class.⁶¹ Fishman, the founder of sociology of language, in 1972 insisted that social domains are the major

⁵⁸ Regarding sociolinguists' concepts of linguistic ideology, see Woolard, "Language Ideology."

⁵⁹ Bloomfield, *Language*, 29–42; Gumperz, "Linguistic Communities," 31; Fishman, *Sociolinguistics*, 28–35; Hymes, "Interaction of Language," 47; Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, 120–21.

⁶⁰ I refer to Bell's evaluation of the Speech Community model. See Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 107–8.

⁶¹ Labov suggested the single dimension of responsive style in 1972: "styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech." See Labov, "Some Principles," 112.

factor that affects individuals' language choices, including the three social elements: (1) interlocutor, (2) place, and (3) topic.⁶² To be sure, their studies are useful to determine various social factors that show the relationship between language and society. Labov's study, however, oversimplifies the inquiry of individuals' linguistic styles since he overemphasizes statistical inquiry regarding the relationship between individuals' linguistic styles and the social structures.⁶³ As noted above, Fishman's Social Domain model also is problematic since there is no reason to divide the concepts between the speech communities and the social domains.

Ethnographic-interactional sociolinguists took seriously the inquiry of individuals' ability to use their linguistic styles. The ethnographic-interactional approach focused on the study participants' everyday life through long-term experience and involvement in order to identify the way of life in relation to the language usage of the speech community. Gumperz, one of the founders of ethnographic-interactional approaches, proposed in 1968 the concept of *Style-shifting* with two different dimensions from the general level to the personal level. On the basis of his research findings of code-switching in the multilingual environment of a Norwegian community, Gumperz defined *Situational Switching* as a responsive shift in a direct relation to the social situation and *Metaphorical Switching* as a linguistic shift for semantic effects.⁶⁴ Another founder of ethnographic-interactional approaches, Hymes, researched study participants to determine people's communicative competence, namely the ability to use

⁶² See Fishman, "Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics," 22.

⁶³ Regarding the criticism of Labov's Style model, see Coupland, *Style*, 32–42. With regard to the criticism of Fishman's social domain, see Yang and Wang, *Language Policy*, 53, 60.

⁶⁴ Blom and Gumperz, "Social Meaning," 424–26.

language appropriately corresponding to their social contexts.⁶⁵ On the basis of his research, Hymes demonstrated the SPEAKING model in 1972, offering a taxonomy of sixteen components of the speech situation.⁶⁶ Hymes's SPEAKING model articulates how these speech situations affect individuals' language choice. Ethnographic-interactional sociolinguists represented an important breakthrough in the person-centered approach in that they displayed various patterns of individuals' linguistic behaviors for choosing linguistic styles.

Traditional sociolinguists endeavored to establish a connection between individuals' language usage and the use of prestigious religious language within their speech community. During this phase, the majority of sociolinguists heavily relied on the social structure-centered approach to identify the prestige language within the speech communities. However, the concept of the speech community is too abstract and ambiguous to categorize various types of individuals as a particular community in reality. With this in mind, subsequent sociolinguists in the following phase made a breakthrough in investigating a group of people who share the same linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige language within their group.

The Second Phase: Meso Sociolinguistics

In the second phase, some sociolinguists attempt to identify linguistic ideology by employing an ethnographic-interactional approach. Lesley Milroy noted that previous sociolinguistic approaches to the concept of speech community remained problematic because they oversimplified individuals' linguistic behaviors based on the statistical

⁶⁵ Hymes, *Foundations*, 45–46, 53–62, 75.

⁶⁶ Hymes, *Foundations*, 53–62.

data.⁶⁷ Milroy investigated forty-six study participants in three inner-city communities in the 1970s. Milroy insists that the linguistic ideology regarding the prestige language were led by internal social networks since her study participants' language choices were not best explained by their ethnicities or social status but strongly correlated with their social network.⁶⁸ With this in mind, Milroy suggested the *Social Network* model in sociolinguistics in 1980.⁶⁹ Milroy defined the social network as a network zone of ties between individuals' relationships.⁷⁰ The aim of the social network model is to understand how individuals' relationships affect their linguistic behavior. The social networks tie individuals both socially and linguistically, promoting the same linguistic ideology regarding the prestige language. The social network model involves the determination of the following dimensions of social networks:

(1) Density: the degree or frequency of contact in which individuals tie with each other.

(2) Multiplexity: types of interaction with individuals.⁷¹

Milroy's Social Network model was supported by Penelope Eckert's model of "Community of Practice." In 1992, Eckert suggested the model of the Community of Practice as an alternative to the Speech Community model.⁷² Eckert notes that traditional sociolinguists failed to theorize the concept of the community because "the

⁶⁷ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 40.

⁶⁸ See Milroy and Milroy, "Belfast."

⁶⁹ The fundamental theory of the social network analysis was rooted in Georg Simmel's sociological structural approach to social interaction in 1955. Although Simmel does not coin the term 'social network,' his theory is considered as the foundation of the social network analysis. During the 1960s and 1970s, it was applied to sociolinguistic approaches by variationists and developed by ethnographic-interactional sociolinguists. See Simmel, *Conflict*, 163; Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 117.

⁷⁰ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 45–49.

⁷¹ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 49–52.

⁷² Eckert, "Communities of Practice," 95–98; Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 171–212.

sociolinguists' speech communities have been defined in terms of abstracted characteristics—sex, age, socioeconomic class, ethnicity.”⁷³ Eckert reworked the concept of the community by tying ‘doing a social practice’ with the ‘structural being of the community.’⁷⁴ That is to say, the Community of Practice can be determined by the inquiry of the social practice because social practice is the critical factor of the community that connects people to each other, sharing the same social and linguistic practices. Eckert asserts that individuals are not connected independently to the abstract concept of social categories, such as a specific social status, a region, a gender, and ethnicity, but to those who engage in the same social practice.⁷⁵

In her study of two teenage groups, so-called Jocks and Burnouts, Eckert affirms that the linguistic ideology regarding the prestige language is not fixed by the social categories but is constructed by on-the-ground individuals' social networks.⁷⁶ Eckert begins with variationist approaches that collect basic data for the general norm and rule of stylistic variances in society and continues with ethnographic approaches that examine the individual's variance and its social meaning within his or her social network.⁷⁷ According to Eckert, as each group of Jocks and Burnouts had a solidarity based on their social networks, the members of each group shared the same linguistic ideology regarding the prestige language of their groups. The density of these social networks emerges as a more influential factor compared to other social categories in

⁷³ Eckert, “Communities of Practice,” 95.

⁷⁴ Coupland, *Style*, 49

⁷⁵ Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 171–72.

⁷⁶ Regarding Eckert's case study of Jocks and Burnouts, see Eckert, *Jocks and Burnouts*, Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*.

⁷⁷ Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 7–45.

shaping and reinforcing a robust linguistic ideology associated with the prestige language of each group.

Eckert's study shows that the research finding from the social structure-centered approach (variationist approaches) that presuppose fixed identity by the social categories is different from the research finding of the person-centered approach (ethnographic approaches) that trace dynamic identity based upon individuals' social network.⁷⁸ Eckert concludes that social structure-centered approaches were limited in that they generalize properties of individuals into a cluster of social group categorizations. With this in mind, Eckert highlights the significance of person-centered approaches because they offer reliable data for understanding social variation more than the social structure-centered approaches provided.⁷⁹

The Third Phase: The Dialectical Relationship between Macro, Meso, and Micro Contexts

More recent sociolinguists have suggested the Style model, which determines the relationship between individuals' linguistic styles and linguistic ideologies of prestige language in relation to a dialectical relationship between macro, meso, and micro contexts. This has been developed especially by Michael Silverstein. Based on Peirce's semiotics, Silverstein in 1979 defined *Indexicality* as the semiotic phenomenon that language indexes its social meaning.⁸⁰ For Silverstein, the key to semiotic studies is to

⁷⁸ See Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 34–35: "To capture the process of meaning-making, we need to focus on a level of social organization at which individual and group identities are being constructed, and in which we can observe the emergence of symbolic processes that tie individuals to groups, and groups to the social context in which they gain meaning."

⁷⁹ Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 77, 217–18.

⁸⁰ The concept of Indexicality originates from the semiotic conception of *Index* which was coined by Peirce. Peirce defines Index as a relationship between sign and referent, which is the basis of a physical, objective, or, in some other way, real association. Peirce's conception of Index is adapted and

identify the dialectical processes of Indexicality in relation to macro contexts and micro contexts:

- (1) The macro contexts: general contexts where people have a consensus of the indexical meanings of language.
- (2) The micro contexts: specific discursive contexts where people use or interpret languages as specific indexical meanings.⁸¹

The macro context involves the concept of linguistic ideology, namely the general norms and rules in relation to the indexical meaning of language (e.g., good/bad; preferred/dispreferred; normal/deviant; superior/inferior; solidary/non-solidary; prestige/non-prestige; etc).⁸² In addition, linguistic ideology in the macro context functions in indexing individuals' linguistic performance as a specific social identity in relation to various social factors (e.g., social class, age, gender, and ethnicity). Silverstein notes that linguistic ideologies regarding the indexical meaning of language are not the same universally but vary depending on the different sociocultural systems; each sociocultural system could have its own linguistic ideology with regard to the indexical relation between language and a specific social factor.⁸³ According to Silverstein, the indexical meaning is not fixed in the macro contexts but is potential in the micro contexts.⁸⁴ Namely, individuals may use a specific indexical token as one of the various potential indexical meanings in the macro context for a *Metapragmatic*

extended by Silverstein to address the relationship between language and its social meaning. See Peirce, *Collected Papers*, 2:283–91, 305–7.

⁸¹ Silverstein, "Indexical Order," 203.

⁸² Silverstein, "Indexical Order," 202–4.

⁸³ Silverstein ("Indexical Order," 206–8) explains the different sociological systems between nineteenth-century Russian address and Yiddish address. Russian address and Yiddish address have different norms and rules for normative use of language.

⁸⁴ Silverstein, "Indexical Order," 211–16.

Function in the micro context. Metapragmatic Function refers to the communicative competence for language usage to reflexively engage with and regulate both its own application and the comprehension thereof by others. It enables interlocutors to articulate their perspectives on linguistic practices, steer the construal of discourse, elucidate communicative objectives, and orchestrate the progression of dialogic exchanges. There are two types of Metapragmatic Function:

- (1) Indexical presupposition: The indexical ‘appropriateness-to-context’ that people consider for their speaking in light of the autonomously known or constituted social meaning of the language.
- (2) Indexical entailment: The indexical ‘effectiveness-in-context’ use of the indexical token, namely the indexical meaning transformed by the indexical cause-and-effect between languages in the context of the discourse.⁸⁵

Analyzing indexical meaning requires an understanding of the ongoing sequences of the dialectical relationship between macro and micro contexts. The dialectical processes refer to how language users interact between individuals’ language choices in the conversational situations (micro context) and linguistic ideology regarding the prestige language in the larger societal or cultural context (macro context) and how these two contexts influence each other. This involves examining how individuals use indexical meaning to achieve their communicative goals within specific contexts. Individuals may employ one of the various indexical meanings of the macro context either for the indexical ‘appropriateness-to-context’ or indexical ‘effectiveness-in-context.’ Meanwhile, they may reorient the indexical meaning of the micro contexts

⁸⁵ Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 194–97.

from one indexical meaning to the other indexical meaning of the macro contexts as necessary. This underscores the complexity of communication, where individuals make choices regarding language and meaning based on the interplay between macro and micro contexts, as well as their communicative goals. Understanding this dialectical relationship and the adaptability of indexical meaning is crucial for comprehending effective communication.

In order to investigate this dialectical feature of Indexicality, Silverstein proposed the “Indexical Order” model in 2003.⁸⁶ The inquiry of Indexical Order aims at identifying “how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon.”⁸⁷ The Indexical Order model traces n^{th} order indexical tokens (e.g., 1st order, 2nd order, 3rd order, and n^{th} order) that represent the sequence of the dialectical feature of Indexicality in relation to macro contexts and micro contexts.⁸⁸ Silverstein’s Indexical Order model elucidates the manner in which language and interaction collaboratively create and evolve meaning by traversing between broader social contexts and specific situations.⁸⁹ As Silverstein’s study shows, the social structure-centered approaches focus on the indexical meaning of language in relation to social factors in macro contexts, but do not account for the dynamic and dialectical processes that transform the indexical meaning of language between macro and micro contexts.

⁸⁶ For detailed information of Silverstein’s concept of Indexical Order, see Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 211–16, 222–27.

⁸⁷ Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 193.

⁸⁸ Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 193–94.

⁸⁹ For the emphasis of Silverstein and Eckert on ethnographic approaches, see Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 203; Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, xiii–xv. Bell’s first study of the Style model (Audience Design) was based on variationist approaches but he applied ethnographic approaches to his later study of the Style model (Referee Design). See Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 297–317.

On the basis of Silverstein's concept of Indexicality, Eckert proposes the "Indexical Field" model.⁹⁰ According to Eckert, Indexical Field refers to a field of potential meanings of language forms in relation to a constellation of the ideological meaning of the dialectical relationship of macro and micro contexts.⁹¹ To be specific, Eckert's Indexical Field model aims at determining a specific field where individuals realize potential meanings of the given language forms (e.g., code, pronunciation, accent, intonation, and grammar) in relation to a social identity of a particular group. This is because the given languages index a social identity of a particular group, in which they hold a prestige role.⁹² For instance, Figure 3.2 shows the Indexical Field of 't' release that indexes various potential meanings with three types: (1) Boxes refer to social types, (2) black texts stand for permanent qualities, and (3) gray texts involve stances.⁹³

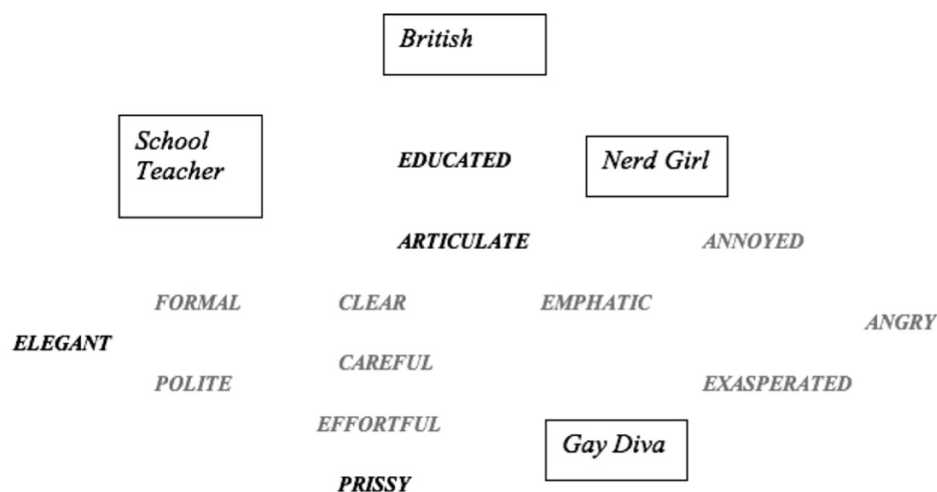


Figure 3.2. Eckert's Indexical Field of 't' Release

⁹⁰ Eckert, "Indexical Field," 463–71.

⁹¹ Eckert, "Indexical Field," 464.

⁹² Regarding Eckert's concept of the prestige language, see Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 226–28.

⁹³ Eckert, "Indexical Field," 469.

Eckert points out that the indexical meaning of language is potential in the micro context since individuals choose one of the potential meanings in relation to the social identity in a particular micro context.⁹⁴ For instance, at the beginning of a conversation, listeners identify the indexical meaning of the speaker's language in relation to his or her social identities on the basis of the Indexical Field of the macro contexts (the first-order index). During the ongoing conversation, the listeners reconfirm their previous interpretation in order to determine the most possible indexical meaning of the speaker's language in relation to his social identity in light of the micro contexts (the second-order to nth-order indexes). Through these sequences, listeners keep interpreting the speaker's social identities by determining the most potential indexical meaning of the language in the micro contexts.

In 2013, Bell suggested the "Indexical Cycle" model by applying Silverstein's Indexical Order model to Eckert's inquiry of Jocks and Burnouts.⁹⁵ Bell's Indexical Cycle model describes dynamic processes of the Indexical Order between individuals (micro context), the insiders of the community (the meso context), and the insiders and outsiders of the community (macro context). These processes revolve around the acceptance of individuals' language as the prestigious language within the community. The Indexical Cycle involves the following Indexical Order of creating Linguistic Ideology for the prestige language of the group:

0. Social evaluation: A group (or individual) achieves a distinct identity, valued by group members, contrastive with and evaluated by others.
1. First-order Indexicality: The group distinguishes aspects of its language from others, either as part of the founding process or subsequently.
- 2a. Linguistic evaluation: Both the group and outsiders put a social value on the group's language and its forms.

⁹⁴ Eckert, "Indexical Field," 465–71.

⁹⁵ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 269.

- 2b. Second-order Indexicality: Simultaneously outsiders start to adopt these features to signal would-be affiliation with the group and its values. This creates ‘intraspeaker variation’, that is individuals whose speech ranges across both their original repertoire and the newly adopted variants.
3. Third-order Indexicality: Some linguistic variables may become the object of overt attention and comment.⁹⁶

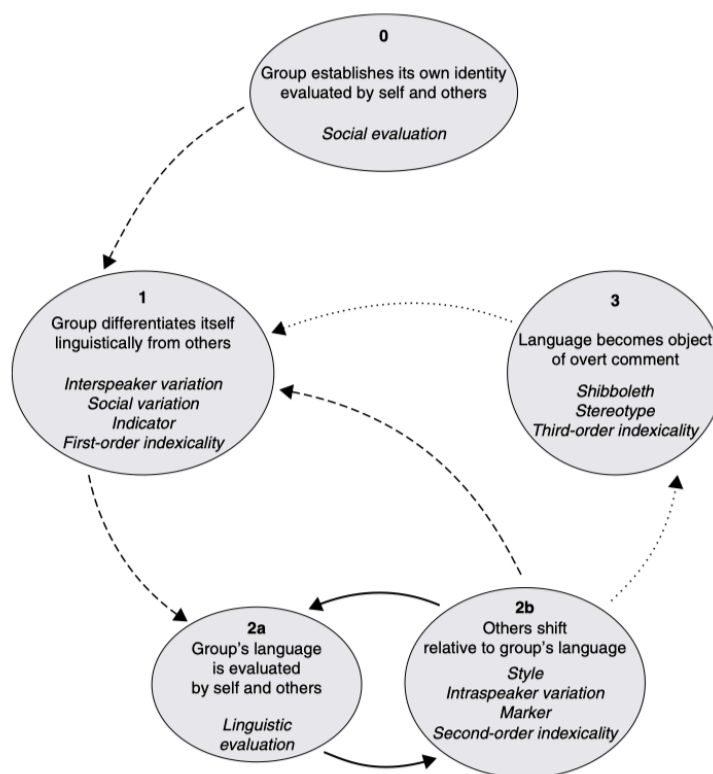


Figure 3.3. Bell's Indexical Cycle⁹⁷

Bell's Indexical Cycle shows the dialectical processes between the micro context, the meso context, and macro context, whereby individuals' linguistic activities actively create, change, and manage linguistic ideology for the prestige language of the Community of Practice. In light of Bell's study, arguably, the inquiry of individuals' linguistic activities is the key to identify linguistic ideology for the prestige language. That is to say, the prestige language of the Community of Practice can be identified by

⁹⁶ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 270.

⁹⁷ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 269.

the inquiry of the individuals' language patterns for the social practices within the Community of Practice.

The recent trend of sociolinguistics shows that the macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistic approaches must be integrated on the basis of the person-centered approaches. To be sure, Ong's study displays the best sociolinguistic approaches that investigate macro and micro contexts of the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. In light of the above survey regarding the recent trend of sociolinguistics, however, Ong's macro level, micro level, and text level analyses heavily rely on the sociolinguistic models of the first phase; Milroy's Social Network model is the only model of the second phase that Ong employs. Therefore, further study requires an update by employing more recent sociolinguistic models in the third phase. In addition, Ong's taxonomy of sociolinguistic approaches requires modification. From the sociolinguistic perspectives, technically, Ong's micro analysis is meso sociolinguistics, and his text analysis is micro sociolinguistics.

In light of the third phase of sociolinguistic approaches, the following section will suggest a new proposal of historical sociolinguistics that applies macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistic approaches to the inquiry of the relationship between the historical figures and prestige religious language of first-century Christianity presented in Acts. Specifically, the inquiry of the dialectical relationship between the macro context, the meso context, and the micro context is greatly developed by Nikolas Coupland's Style model. Building on Coupland's Style model, this study will employ macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistics in order to identify the most reasonable and probable code-choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts and the processes

through which their code choices shaped and promoted the linguistic ideologies of the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity.

The New Proposal of the Historical Sociolinguistic Approach to the Inquiry of the Codes of Peter and Paul

Drawing from the Style model, this section proposes a new approach of the historical sociolinguistics that applies macro, meso, and micro sociolinguist models to investigate the code choices of Peter and Paul presented in Acts. Before presenting the new proposal, it is worth mentioning the previous application of the Style model to biblical studies.

Julia A. Snyder is the only biblical scholar who employs Bell's Style model.⁹⁸ Snyder makes use of Bell's Style model simply to express the significance of the relationship between literary elements and the audiences' identity in Acts of the Apostles, Acts of John, and Acts of Philip.⁹⁹ Snyder's study focuses solely on Bell's "Audience Design" model, which determines the responsive style that fits with the audience's social identity, but overlooks his "Referee Design" model, which identifies the initiative style that highlights a particular aspect of the social identity of the speaker or the third party for various discursive purposes.¹⁰⁰

In light of Bell's model, it is highly unreliable to take literary elements of the Acts of the Apostles, Acts of John, and Acts of Philip as sociolinguistic data to reconstruct the context of the audience in that these literary elements are already mixed

⁹⁸ Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 3–17.

⁹⁹ Regarding the other perspective of criticizing Snyder's Style model, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 86–88.

¹⁰⁰ Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 9–11.

up completely with Audience Design and Referee Design. That is to say, the literary elements in these books indicate not only the audiences' social identity (Audience Design) but also the social identity the author wanted to highlight for the audiences (Referee Design).¹⁰¹ Technically, Snyder does not use Bell's Referee Design model that identify sociolinguistic elements stressing social identities of the author, audience, and the third party. Instead, she focuses solely on Audience Design, integrating literary-critical models to examine the relationship between literary elements and the social identities of the audiences.¹⁰²

Building upon the Style model, this study will employ various sociolinguistic theories and models for the inquiry of the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts. The central question regarding style is, "why did this speaker say it [in] this way on this occasion?"¹⁰³ In view of this, this study seeks to discern the following question: why did Peter, Paul, and other church leaders employ *this* code in *this* way on *this* occasion? The Style model furnishes a conceptual framework for ascertaining the sociocultural factors influencing the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders, considering the intricate interplay and dynamic interrelationships between macro, meso, and micro contexts.

Bell's Indexical Cycle model provides a theoretical foundation for comprehending the processes through which linguistic ideology for the code choice in the official settings of first-century churches was shaped by the historical figures' code

¹⁰¹ See Bell, "Back in Style."

¹⁰² I do not find sociolinguistic approaches in Snyder's study but literary critical approaches such as "Characterization" and "Themes." See Snyder, *Language and Identity*, 80–89.

¹⁰³ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 293.

choices.¹⁰⁴ This is because the church leaders' code choices played a pivotal role in shaping a linguistic ideology for the prestige religious language. Therefore, this study will propose the methodological framework that investigates the Indexical Cycle of first-century Christianity for the prestige religious language grounded in the scrutiny of the historical figures' code choices.

The Style Model

Bell argues that the range of style encompasses different varieties of the same language (e.g., in/ing alternation) as well as different codes in a multilingual milieu (e.g., code choice). Because there is no principled difference of language selection between variety, repertoire, and code, the Style model "applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual and multilingual."¹⁰⁵ In view of this, Bell suggests updating the sociolinguistic framework for code-switching in light of the Style model.

The first sociolinguistic approach to code-switching in a multilingual environment was proposed by Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz in 1968. As noted above, Blom and Gumperz suggested the "Style-Shifting" model and defined Situational Switching as a responsive style in direct relation to the social situation and Metaphorical Switching as an initiative style for semantic effects.¹⁰⁶ According to Bell, Blom and Gumperz's Style-Shifting model for code-switching is the prototype of sociolinguists' Style model.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Regarding Bell's Indexical Cycle model, see Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 270.

¹⁰⁵ Bell, "Back in Style," 144.

¹⁰⁶ Blom and Gumperz, "Social Meaning," 424–26.

¹⁰⁷ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 304.

Recently, the Style model has been significantly developed by Bell and Coupland. Although Bell and Coupland have debated between themselves, over time their Style models have included less conflict and, in turn, have begun to complement each other. Coupland points out that Bell's doctoral research on Audience Design in 1984 is limited as it only captures a generalization that "potentially links variation research through to more general interests in the study of language in society and in discourse analysis—the interpersonal and interactional grounding of language in social life."¹⁰⁸ As Coupland notes, Bell's Audience Design model ignores many significant factors for the speaker's language selection because it concentrates on only one dimension of style, namely a responsive style.¹⁰⁹ Accepting Coupland's criticisms, Bell formulated his Referee Design model in 2001 in order to allow for two dimensions: a responsive style and an initiative style.¹¹⁰

As many scholars have pointed out, Bell's model fails to differentiate the boundary between the responsive style and initiative style.¹¹¹ Although Bell's model relies on the strict line between the responsive and initiative styles, he does not articulate where this line starts and ends.¹¹² However, Coupland's model is straightforward to investigate both the responsive and initiative styles since it focuses on the process of styling a specific language that indexes a particular identity.¹¹³ Therefore, this study

¹⁰⁸ Coupland, *Style*, 74.

¹⁰⁹ Coupland (*Style*, 54–81) devotes one entire chapter of his work to demonstrate his criticism of Bell's Audience Design.

¹¹⁰ Regarding Bell's response to other scholars' criticism, see Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 301, 305–6. Concerning Bell's reworking of his Style model, see Bell, "Language Style"; Bell, "Back in Style"; Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 303–14.

¹¹¹ Bell accepts this weakness from the criticism of Eckert, Schilling-Estes, and Coupland. See Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 305–6.

¹¹² Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 305–6.

¹¹³ Coupland, *Style*, 111–15.

employs Coupland's Style model in order to identify multilingual Peter and Paul's code choices as presented in Acts. By employing Coupland's Style model, this study will investigate the episodes of Acts in order to identify why Peter and Paul used specific codes in specific ways on specific occasions.

Linguistic Competence

Coupland defined linguistic competence as the linguistic ability to use sociolinguistic resources for speaking and writing in relation to its indexical meaning.¹¹⁴ Coupland uses the term *Sociolinguistic Resources* to refer to "linguistic forms or varieties imbued with potential for social meaning."¹¹⁵ Although Coupland uses the same technical term as Chomsky's term linguistic competence, Coupland's concept of linguistic competence is different from Chomsky's concept of linguistic competence but more similar to Hymes's concept of communicative competence in its emphasis on the ability to use sociolinguistic resources for successful communication between speakers and listeners, and writers and readers.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Coupland's concept of linguistic competence provides a comprehensive understanding of ability for language usage more than Hymes's concept of communicative competence. Whereas Hymes concentrates on the ability to adapt to the appropriate context with a responsive style, Coupland's concept includes both responsive and initiative styles that actively employ sociolinguistic resources to convey their indexical meaning, taking into account the dialectical relationship between macro, meso, and micro contexts.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Coupland, *Style*, 103–5.

¹¹⁵ Coupland, *Style*, 103–5.

¹¹⁶ Chomsky, *Knowledge*, 1–50; Hymes, *Foundations*, 45, 55, 75.

¹¹⁷ Coupland, *Style*, 103–4.

Coupland's concept of linguistic competence centers on the ability to use sociolinguistic resources as *Act of Identity*.¹¹⁸ Act of Identity refers to the function of language usages in 'projecting' the indexical meanings in relation to particular social identities.¹¹⁹ Namely, speakers have the ability to make use of a specific language in order to express their social identities for a particular discursive purpose. Meanwhile, listeners identify speakers' social identities by interpreting the discursive purpose in the micro contexts. During this process, both speakers and listeners rely on their experience or knowledge of linguistic ideologies for the use of sociolinguistic resources as Act of Identity in macro, meso, and micro contexts in order to determine the most appropriate indexical meanings of language in their conversation.

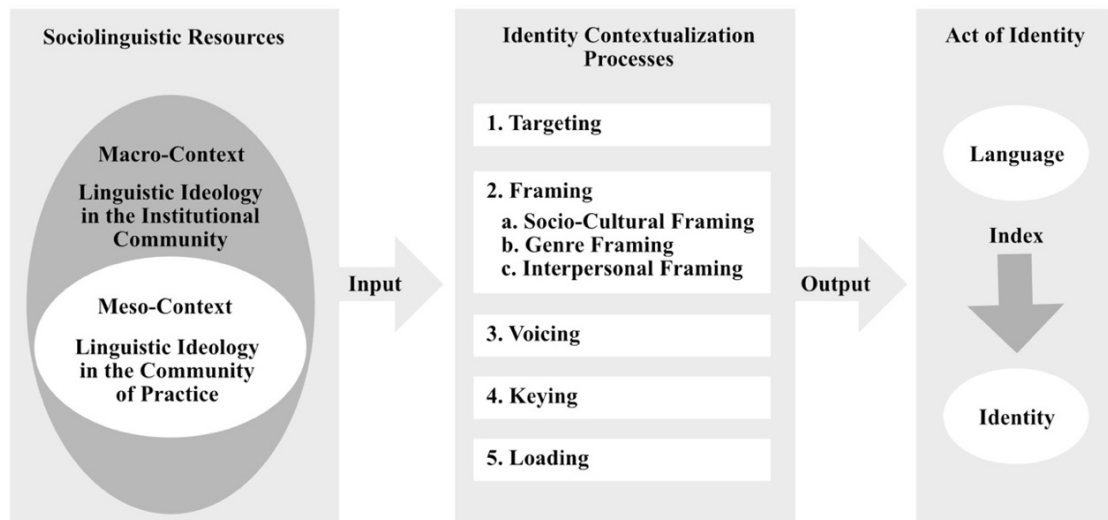


Figure 3.4. Linguistic Competence to Use Sociolinguistic Resources as Act of Identity

The Identity Contextualization Model

On the basis of the concept of linguistic Competence, Coupland proposes the Identity

¹¹⁸ Coupland, *Style*, 111–12.

¹¹⁹ Coupland prefers Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's term "projecting" social identities. Coupland, *Style*, 108–11.

Contextualisation model that determines the processes by which speakers use the sociolinguistic resources as Acts of Identity.¹²⁰ As Figure 3.4 shows, the input data of identity contextualization is linguistic ideology, namely the general norms and rules for the use of language as Act of Identity in the macro, meso, and micro contexts. Linguistic competence involves identity contextualization processes that use sociolinguistic resources (input data) for projecting a particular identity (output data).¹²¹

Coupland demonstrates five processes of identity contextualization: (1) targeting, (2) framing, (3) voicing, (4) keying, and (5) loading.¹²² First, *Targeting* involves a process of choosing a specific person or people the speakers want to communicate with.¹²³ The speakers, generally, target listeners for styling them in relation to a specific social identity during the private conversation. In addition, when speaking publicly, a third party could be targeted, such as overhearers, eavesdroppers, or even someone who is not in the conversation.¹²⁴

Second, *Framing* refers to a process of connecting speakers and writers' language into a specific social identity in relation to social contexts. Codes have various potential indexical features and meanings that could foreground certain types of social identities in the discursive frames. There are three types of Framing:

- (1) *Macro Framing* ties the indexical meaning of the given language into the standardized linguistic ideology in the official settings of the institutional

¹²⁰ Coupland (*Style*, 146–49) articulates two different processes of the styles: (1) *High Performance*: scheduled and planned speech and (2) *Mundane Performance*: unscheduled and unplanned speech. This study focuses on Mundane Performance since Acts barely provides sociolinguistic data regarding High Performances of Peter and Paul.

¹²¹ Theodoropoulou, *Sociolinguistics of Style*, 8–14.

¹²² Coupland, *Style*, 112–14.

¹²³ Coupland, *Style*, 112.

¹²⁴ Coupland employs Bell's notion of styles as Audience Design. See Coupland, *Style*, 112; Bell, "Language Style," 159.

communities. The speakers may choose their codes in light of cultural and political contexts of the institutionalized communities that index codes as a specific sociopolitical value (e.g., ethnicities, social classes, and nationalities).

(2) *Meso Framing* connects the indexical meaning of the given language into the diverse linguistic ideologies in the official and public settings of the non-institutional communities. The linguistic ideologies of meso contexts may either subordinate or contradict the linguistic ideology of the macro context.

(3) *Micro Framing* extends the connection of the indexical meanings of the given language with the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and listener in the private settings. A particular code could be employed for expressing more or less power in the relationship or for manipulating the relationship as being a more or less intimate one.¹²⁵

Third, *Voicing* is a process of imitating a specific language style in order to call up the associations with a particular social identity indexed by the given language style. According to the Style model, people do not always speak in and through their own voices. They may try imitation or parody as an Act of Identity as well.¹²⁶

Fourth, *Keying* is a process of expressing a tone, manner, or spirit of the act.¹²⁷ Keying is related to speakers' communicative motivation such as irony, mocking, jock, serious, or so on. These components of Keying could manipulate Framing by changing

¹²⁵ See Coupland, *Style*, 112–14.

¹²⁶ Coupland, *Style*, 99–102, 114; Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*, 60, 89.

¹²⁷ Coupland (*Style*, 114) employs Hymes's concept of *Keying*. See Hymes, *Foundations*, 56–57.

or strengthening the conversation as being formal, informal, official, or private.

Depending on their communicative motivation, people could use either normative codes or antinormative codes.

Fifth, *Loading* is the process of determining the appropriate use of Targeting, Framing, Voicing, and Keying in the appropriate context.¹²⁸ As individuals learn a different knowledge of the indexical features from different sociocultural systems, the same Framing, Keying, or Voicing could be misinterpreted as other indexical meanings which the speakers did not intend. The speakers and participants attempt to identify whether or not they have the same understanding of the indexical meanings of Framing, Keying, or Voicing during their conversation. When they misunderstand each other, people attempt to reorient Targeting, Framing, Voicing, and Keying.¹²⁹

Coupland's Style model offers a robust theoretical framework for analyzing individuals' language style. Technically, Ong's model does not deal with Referee Design (initiative style) but focuses on Audience Design (responsive style) that people passively use as a default language corresponding to the fixed domain.¹³⁰ According to Coupland's concept of linguistic Competence, however, it is often that people use initiative and responsive styles alternately for projecting a particular identity. In view of this, Ong's model does not determine the alternative changes between initiative style and responsive style. To clarify, the merit of Coupland's Identity Contextualization model is to determine individuals' code choices either for Audience Design or for Referee Design

¹²⁸ Coupland defines the notion of Loading as an extension of Keying, but Bell uses this notion for Voicing. See Coupland, *Style*, 114; Bell, "Styling," 525.

¹²⁹ Coupland, *Style*, 114–15.

¹³⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 225–27.

since his model concentrates on the processes by which speakers employ sociolinguistic resources for the use of language as Act of Identity.

Historical Sociolinguistic Approaches to the Code Choices of Peter and Paul

This section proposes historical sociolinguistic approaches that employ various sociolinguistic theories for identifying the code choices of Peter and Paul. On the basis of Coupland's Style model, this study employs three sociolinguistic approaches: (1) macro sociolinguistics, (2) meso sociolinguistics, and (3) micro sociolinguistics. Macro sociolinguistics and meso sociolinguistics are the preliminary inquiry that reconstrues the input data for identity contextualization processes for the code choices of Peter and Paul (see Figure 3.4). On the one hand, macro sociolinguistics reconstructs linguistic ideologies that were formed by the sociopolitical influences at the institutional level of the Greco-Roman world in the first century. On the other hand, linguistic ideologies in various types of communities of practice will be identified by meso sociolinguistics that focuses the social practices performed on-the-ground of their social networks. By taking the input data from macro sociolinguistics and meso sociolinguistics, micro sociolinguistics determines the identity contextualization processes by which Peter, Paul, and other church leaders chose particular code choices presented in Acts and demonstrates the Indexical Cycle of first-century Christianity, that is to say the linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige religious language in the churches.

Macro Sociolinguistics

Macro sociolinguistics aims at describing linguistic ideologies produced by policy and planning at institutional levels in all the regions as presented in Acts. This study will not

deal with all the languages in the Roman Empire but will narrow it down to the potential languages that Peter, Paul, and other church leaders of Acts could most likely use, mainly Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Latin.

This study will employ Spolsky's Language Policy model as reworked in 2021 in order to reconstruct the linguistic ideology within the macro contexts of the Greco-Roman world. In his reworked Language Policy model, Spolsky accepted the criticism of his previous Language Policy model and attempted to update his approach by focusing on the individual roles in language policy. While Spolsky's reworked model still overlooks the significance of the meso context and misapplies the Speech Community and Social Domain models, it nonetheless offers a valuable theoretical framework for understanding the social, cultural, and political influences on linguistic ideologies within the macro context.

The *Language Policy* model comprises theories, laws, programs, and measures to design, manage, and control the usage of a particular language or set of languages.¹³¹ Spolsky identifies language practice, linguistic ideology, and language management as focal points for the development of a model for language policy at the institutional level, and for the major forces controlling it:

- (1) Language practice: the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire
- (2) [Linguistic] ideology: beliefs about language and language use
- (3) Language management: any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention¹³²

¹³¹ The following scholars are the representatives who formulated the fundamental tenets of the language policy model. Haugen and Cooper suggested the procedure of language policy by which the government designs, manages, and controls the language status of a targeted language. See Haugen, "Implementation of Corpus Planning," 275; Cooper, *Language Planning*, 29–45. Juan Cobarrubias applied the concept of linguistic ideology to the government's status planning for a major language and a minor language. See Cobarrubias, "Ethical Issues," 63–66.

¹³² Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 5–7, here 5.

Acknowledging the significance of the individuals' potential effect on language management, Spolsky's new proposal concentrates on individuals who manage, promote, and control linguistic ideologies at the institutional level. According to Spolsky, these linguistic ideologies are regulated by management agencies or are promoted by management advocates.¹³³ The management agencies are the authoritative language managers who establish and conduct language policy in the institutional communities.¹³⁴ The management advocates are the language reformers who spread linguistic ideology regarding their chosen languages to individuals, groups, and communities, and persuade the authoritative language managers.¹³⁵ In his new proposal, Spolsky attempts to articulate the specific roles of individuals who develop language policy in the institutional communities.

In addition, it is worth noting that the phenomenon of language death in minority languages generally occurs if their languages are not supported by a systematic language policy.¹³⁶ Bell identifies three factors that contribute to language death:

- (1) Low status and the pressure of economic disadvantage are regarded by Hale (1998) as the most compelling trigger for language death.
- (2) Unfavourable demographics, which have often included displacement or decimation of a colonized indigenous population.
- (3) Institutional neglect or opposition, especially in education.¹³⁷

As Bell points out, "'safe' languages are those which have high numbers of speakers and/or official support. Endangered languages are those which children look

¹³³ For the role of the management agencies and advocates in language policy, see Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 127–149.

¹³⁴ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 127–28.

¹³⁵ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 127–28.

¹³⁶ Regarding the case studies of language death, see Holmes, *Introduction*, 60–61.

¹³⁷ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 85.

likely to cease learning.”¹³⁸ When language decline occurs gradually, it resembles the process known as language shift. The dominant language becomes commonly employed in official government activities, education, and mass media. This language holds a higher status and is considered more prestigious within a given society. As a result, minority groups face pressure to use the dominant language instead of their native tongue in formal and public settings, relegating their language to informal and private settings.¹³⁹ Consequently, as opportunities for communication in their vernacular language decrease, the proficiency of minority ethnicities in their language declines significantly.¹⁴⁰ Language skills, including vocabulary and grammar, may erode over time as the language is used less frequently, resulting in language death naturally.

With this in mind, it is important to determine a specific type of language policy. Cobarrubias demonstrates the *Status Planning* model regarding language policy for the prestige language and minority languages:

- (1) Linguistic Assimilation: Linguistic assimilation upholds the dominance of the prestige language as the official language and does not inherently confer equal linguistic rights to minority groups.
- (2) Linguistic Pluralism: Linguistic pluralism advocates the coexistence of diverse linguistic communities and their entitlement to preserve and nurture their languages as the official languages on an equitable basis. Within pluralism, each language is recognized with autonomous significance, deserving as much reverence as any coexisting language.

¹³⁸ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 85.

¹³⁹ Holmes, *Introduction*, 61.

¹⁴⁰ Holmes, *Introduction*, 61.

- (3) Vernacularization: Vernacularization encompasses the revival and/or expansion of a minority language, leading to its adoption as an official language. This process encompasses several facets, including the rejuvenation of a prestige language, the revitalization of a minority language, the elevation of a minority language to an official status, and its subsequent standardization.
- (4) Internationalism: Internationalization entails the adoption of a non-native language for broader communication, either as an official language or as an instructional medium at various educational levels. Additionally, a language may be adopted for official purposes, both in external and internal communications, when the native official languages lack the requisite development to fulfill all the functions of the state.¹⁴¹

Cobarrubias's model is valuable for comprehending the relationship between the language status of prestige and non-prestige languages, which is managed and controlled by language policy. In light of Spolsky's revised language policy model, however, Cobarrubias simplifies the complex formation of linguistic ideologies implemented by the management agencies and advocates; his model primarily focuses on a uniform language policy, overlooking the significance of the individual authorities' beliefs, thoughts, or ideas regarding language status. In reality, the status planning could be more complex due to the diverse ideologies held by individual authorities, as it is not always for the individual authorities with the same linguistic ideology to exert control over language status through a uniform language policy. Each authority may have their

¹⁴¹ Cobarrubias, "Ethical Issues," 67–81.

own belief, thought, and idea for implementing language policy, as a language policy without straightforward regulations results in the complicated formation of linguistic ideologies among the authorities. Therefore, it is significant to investigate individual authorities' beliefs, thoughts, or ideas regarding language status in order to determine the complex formation of linguistic ideologies towards status planning.

In light of this emphasis of linguistic ideologies within the individual authorities, this study will determine linguistic ideologies made by language policy at the institutional levels of the Greco-Roman world. To begin with, this study will analyze the sociopolitical systems of the Roman Empire that implemented language policy to control linguistic ideologies. The Roman Empire had a central government and many provincial governments to control the annexed territory. Although the central government sent out the Roman governors as the supervisors to each province, the Roman Empire respected provincial governments' policies as long as they did not threaten the supremacy of the Roman Empire. As a result, the provincial government was able to have grown out of its own language policy without interference of the central governments.¹⁴² This study will determine linguistic ideologies made by language policies of the sociopolitical systems based on the hierarchical structure between the provincial governments and a central government of the Roman Empire by investigating the political activities of individual authorities within the Roman Empire who held responsible for language policy.¹⁴³

In addition, this study will determine whether or not the following types of institutions had language policy for their own standard languages:

¹⁴² Morey, "Province," 30.

¹⁴³ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 68–99.

- (1) Government: Government might have language policy for official works.

This study aims to identify whether or not politicians and public officers had language policy for communicating with the general public in official places such as a court, inquisition, prison, and execution ground. It also investigates whether these official places had the standard language to report the official works to superior officers or to write official records.¹⁴⁴

- (2) Education: Schools played a significant role in promoting language management and influencing linguistic ideologies in the Greco-Roman world. While some schools might have permitted the use of L1 for the first few years depending on their language policy, schools might have a specific language policy that uses the standard language(s) for higher education.¹⁴⁵

This study explores the scholars' status plans for the prestige language in the official settings of academic fields.

- (3) Military: Military of the Roman Empire consisted of various ethnicities.

There might be military language policy that was classified by the communication from the various rank of the military from the recruits to the generals in order to understand military orders.¹⁴⁶ This study investigates the high-ranked military authorities' linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige language in the official settings of the Roman military.

- (4) Religion: Religious communities differentiated sacred languages and secular languages depending on their linguistic ideologies.¹⁴⁷ The imperial

¹⁴⁴ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 58–60.

¹⁴⁵ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 26–43.

¹⁴⁶ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 62–66.

¹⁴⁷ Fishman, "Language and Religion," 23–24; Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 56–57.

cult gained popularity among the inhabitants of the eastern provinces in the first century CE. This study aims at determining whether or not a specific language policy for the prestige language in the official settings of the imperial cult was implemented by the political and religious authorities.

These institutions might have language policy that produced linguistic ideologies in macro contexts. As noted above, however, there were many different types of communities of practice that had linguistic ideologies that either subordinated or contradicted the ideology of their institutional communities, although they did not have a specific policy. These kinds of ideologies will be analyzed with meso sociolinguistics.

Meso Sociolinguistics

To be sure, the language policy for supporting minority languages and the high population of their language users may serve as an important role in decelerating the language death. However, it is often found that the language death of a particular language, which loses its prestige role in the society, gradually takes place within three generations even when the population of the language users is sizable, and the institutional community support the language maintenance for the given language. As Fishman notes,

Native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses every generation. Many are demographically rather small, with only a few hundred thousand (and, frequently, far, far fewer) users, whereas some are still demographically quite sizeable, with a million or more users, but the process of outflow exceeding inflow for three generations or more has applied to them as well. In most cases, these languages have a small band of conscientious (and often contentious) advocates, and, not infrequently, even some token governmental support. Nevertheless, the efforts expended on behalf of these languages often usually produce few, if any, positive

intergenerational results, the tides that they are battling are not reversed, and their situations proceed from bad to worse.¹⁴⁸

It is worth noting the vulnerability of the language maintenance for minority languages in a multilingual environment. Many sociolinguistic case studies evince that the minority languages are vulnerable to be endangered gradually when they lose their prestige role in the official and public settings of the society.¹⁴⁹ In 1992, Michael Krauss states that out of 6,000 languages in the world, 3,000 languages will be endangered within a century due to the rise of internationalism and the trend which overlooks the importance of the minority language.¹⁵⁰ The languages of minority groups easily become extinct within three generations when linguistic ideologies that promote active support and motivation for the language maintenance among its users are not successfully implemented. This highlights the significance of the linguistic ideologies for language maintenance within the meso context.

The aim of meso sociolinguistics is to identify linguistic ideologies created by non-institutional communities, groups, and parties which subordinate or contradict the language policies of the institutional communities. According to meso sociolinguistics, linguistic ideology can be established, changed, and spread without management agencies or advocates for language policies.¹⁵¹ This study will not investigate all the communities, groups, and parties of the Greco-Roman world in the first century but concentrates on those presented in Acts.

Linguistic ideologies are often constructed by various types of gatherings that

¹⁴⁸ Fishman, *Reversing*, 1.

¹⁴⁹ Regarding the detailed information of the sociolinguistic studies in the language death of the minority languages, see Newman, "Endangered Languages," 1–2.

¹⁵⁰ See Krauss, "World's Languages."

¹⁵¹ See Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 270.

do not have language policy. As noted above, the concept of the speech community is too abstract to define various types of gatherings in reality. Eckert's model of the Community of Practice is more useful to examine the communities, groups, and parties that influence their members' linguistic ideology. There are three features of the Community of Practice in relation to linguistic ideology. First, the Community of Practice can be identified by the inquiry of people's social practices. Social practice is the key element that forms the Community of Practice based upon the social network of individuals' interaction, which is where they have their social identity and communicate with each other. As Eckert's studies evince, linguistic ideologies are constructed, shared, and changed based upon the social practices.

Second, the Community of Practice consists of two types of network zones. The first-order network zone is a group of people who are connected with direct relationships; a group of people who are tied with indirect relationships is referred to as a second-order network zone.¹⁵² If a Community of Practice is a multilingual group, people in the first-order group attempt to find the most appropriate language to communicate with each other. According to Bell's Indexical Cycle model, the process by which people find the most appropriate language builds the Indexical Cycle (see Figure 3.2).¹⁵³ This Indexical Cycle produces linguistic ideology in the first-order network zone, thereby the members define a specific language as the prestige language of the Community of Practice.

Third, the strength of linguistic ideology of the Community of Practice can be

¹⁵² Milroy, *Social Networks*, 46–52; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 228–29.

¹⁵³ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 268–70.

determined by the density of its social network.¹⁵⁴ Milroy states that the application of the Community of Practice to the social network model enables the researchers to identify “how informal social groups are constituted in such a way as to support local norms or, conversely, to facilitate linguistic change.”¹⁵⁵ Depending on the density of the social network, the members of the Community of Practice may have independent linguistic ideology for using vernacular language (reversing language shift and language maintenance) or conformative linguistic ideology for using the standard language that the nation forces (language shift and language death).¹⁵⁶ When the Community of Practice has strong ties with a social network supporting a minority language, it resists institutional pressures to language shift. On the other hand, if its network density is not high enough, a language shift or language death is highly likely to take place.

By employing Eckert’s model of Community of Practice, this study will determine various communities, groups, parties, and gatherings in the Greco-Roman world in order to identify their linguistic ideologies. In this study, therefore, community refers to the group of individuals which established particular linguistic ideologies based on their strong social network. The Greco-Roman world was a multiethnic and multilingual society consisting of complicated social networks for various social practices. There were different kinds of small gatherings even within the institutional communities since people gathered on the basis of social activities related to ethnicity, work, hobby, education, religion, thought, and so on. These communities, groups, and parties will be determined by the inquiry of various types of social practices in the first

¹⁵⁴ Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 124–27.

¹⁵⁵ Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 119.

¹⁵⁶ Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 126.

century of the Greco-Roman world.

In addition, it is worth noting linguistic ideologies regarding the language attitude of the communities of practices towards particular languages. Depending on these linguistic ideologies, some communities may seek independent linguistic ideology, while others may pursue conformative linguistic ideology. Language shift is the natural tendency in the societies with multilingual environments where a specific language serves as the prestige language in the official and public settings.¹⁵⁷ Attempting to establish the independent linguistic ideology for reversing language shift, namely linguistic ideology against the natural tendency which leads language shift from minority language to prestige language, is an extremely challenging undertaking.¹⁵⁸ This challenge arises from the necessity for language users to foster a strong sense of ethnic identity with their language and unite systematically to counteract language shift.¹⁵⁹ Despite the concerted efforts of contemporary sociolinguists in promoting language education, language advocacy, cultural programs, and diverse methods aimed at reversing language shift and preserving endangered languages, many have encountered significant obstacles and setbacks.¹⁶⁰

Moreover, sociolinguists have highlighted that imperialism (colonization) and internationalism (globalization) drastically strengthen the linguistic ideology of the language shift.¹⁶¹ This highlights the significance of the inquiry into which type of

¹⁵⁷ Fishman, "Threatened Language," 1–9.

¹⁵⁸ Regarding the successful cases of reversing language shift, see Gorter, "Frisian Update," 215–31; Clyne, "Australia," 364–89; Hornberger and King, "Quechua Language," 166–89.

¹⁵⁹ Fishman, *Reversing*, 21–24.

¹⁶⁰ See Veltman, *Language Shift*, 385–93; Hanson, "Language Status," 1–15; Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 223.

¹⁶¹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 175. Regarding the linguistic repercussions of imperialism, see Ostler, *Empires*. In terms of internationalism, see Coupland, "Introduction," 7–8; Busch, "Language Systems," 56–72.

linguistic ideologies the non-institutional communities perused and how successful these linguistic ideologies were shared by their members for the inquiry of the language maintenance of the minority languages under the internationalism and imperialism of the Roman state.

Taking all these into consideration, this study will identify the linguistic ideologies of communities of practice in the multilingual environment of the Greco-Roman world by examining three inquiries:

- (1) Nature of social network: The monoethnic-oriented social network zone (monolingualism), the biethnic-oriented social network zone (bilingualism), or the multiethnic-oriented social network zone (multilingualism).
- (2) The first-order network zone: Core members who lead the meetings.
- (3) Density of social network: The frequency of regular meetings.
- (4) Linguistic ideology: The type of linguistic ideologies regarding the language maintenance which is shared within the members.

These inquiries will demonstrate the general norms and rules for the use of a specific code choice in a particular Community of Practice, where people gathered for social practices in the Greco-Roman world.

Macro sociolinguistics and meso sociolinguistics offer different approaches to examining linguistic ideologies formed by language policies of the institutional communities and by social practice of the communities of practice in the multilingual environment of the Greco-Roman world. On the basis of the research findings of these approaches, this study will describe the sociolinguistic landscape of the regions presented in Acts. To be specific, the sociolinguistic landscape will lay out the Indexical Fields of each Community of Practice in the Greco-Roman world, where Greek,

Aramaic, Hebrew, and Latin indexed the potential meanings for a particular social practice. This reconstruction of the sociolinguistic landscape will be used as the input data for the Identity Contextualization model (micro sociolinguistics) that examine the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts.

Micro Sociolinguistics

Micro sociolinguistics aims at identifying the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders in the multilingual environment of first-century Christianity. Before examining their code choices, micro sociolinguistics starts from the inquiry of the plurilingualism of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts. It is challenging to identify their plurilingualism because the Gospels and Acts already translated their multilingual conversations and speeches into Κοινή Greek and does not mention their code choices, aside from three exceptions (Matt 26:73; Acts 22:2; 26:14). Due to the lack of available data for this research, this inquiry will use two sociolinguistic models in order to investigate the plurilingualism of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders from the texts of the New Testament: (1) Language Acquisition theories and (2) the Social Network model.

In order to identify Peter, Paul, and other church leaders' plurilingualism, one must begin with historical research on the family language and educational background of the historical figures presented in Acts based on sociolinguistic theories and models.¹⁶² Sociolinguists have proposed many theories and models regarding children's

¹⁶² For the example of this inquiry regarding Paul's family language and education background, see Porter, "Paul and His Bible"; Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 9–16.

language acquisition, which focuses on when and how they learn L1 and L2.¹⁶³ In summary, it has been observed that children have a greater ability to acquire languages compared to adults, but this ability diminishes gradually during adolescence.¹⁶⁴ As a result, children learn languages as their L1 before the end of adolescence and subsequently acquire other languages as their L2 after that stage. Irrespective of the type of family bilingualism, the majority of immigrants whose parents switch from speaking a minority language to bilingualism in both the minority and dominant language tend to become monolingual in the dominant language within two or three generations.¹⁶⁵ Using language acquisition theories as a basis, this study investigates the family language, hometown, residences, and educational background of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders in order to reconstruct their historical language acquisition background.

By employing the Social Network model, this study investigates the first-order network zone of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders. Ong rightly points out that “mapping out Jesus’ social network can tell us something about his ability to speak the various languages of the speech community (i.e., his linguistic repertoire), and more importantly, the degree to which he was familiar or fluent with a particular language.”¹⁶⁶ The first-order network zone is formed on the basis of people’s language proficiency since they build a close relationship with those who can speak the same code.¹⁶⁷ Specifically, the strong density of their social network with specific language users indicates Peter, Paul and other church leaders’ familiarity or fluency with that

¹⁶³ Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 181–83.

¹⁶⁴ Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 238–39.

¹⁶⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 249; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 263

¹⁶⁶ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 230.

¹⁶⁷ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 228–31.

language.¹⁶⁸ This inquiry will identify their plurilingualism by examining their first-order network zone presented in the New Testament.¹⁶⁹

The next step is to identify Peter, Paul, and other church leaders' code choice by employing Coupland's Identity Contextualization model. As noted above, the macro and meso sociolinguistics provide the input data for the Identity Contextualization model (see Figure 3.4). The macro sociolinguistics offers data with regard to the sociopolitical frame; the sociocultural frame will be determined by meso sociolinguistics. The inquiry of the plurilingualism of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders offers information regarding which codes they can use. On the basis of these preliminary inquiries, this study investigates the five processes of the identity contextualization for the language choices Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts: (1) targeting, (2) framing, (3) voicing, (4) keying, and (5) loading.¹⁷⁰

The final step of this study is to reconstruct the Indexical Cycles of the churches regarding the prestige religious language presented in the Acts. The code choices made by church leaders played a pivotal role in shaping and promoting the linguistic ideology associated with the prestigious religious language in first-century Christianity. It is particularly noteworthy that these code choices were closely intertwined with the linguistic demography of early Christians. Church leaders judiciously selected the most appropriate code for their evangelistic efforts across various contexts, encompassing national institutions and public places (macro context),

¹⁶⁸ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 52, 60–61; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 230–31.

¹⁶⁹ Ong examines Jesus' first-order network zone presented in the Gospels. See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 231–40. Porter articulates the methodology to identify Paul's social relation to other churches presented in his epistles. See Porter, "Pauline Social Relations," 7–34. This study will employ Porter and Ong's methodologies in order to determine the first-order social network of Peter and Paul presented in the New Testament.

¹⁷⁰ Coupland, *Style*, 112–14.

local communities and groups (meso context), and individual interactions (micro context). The linguistic demography within Christianity was profoundly influenced by these leaders' code choices. This is because only those who could comprehend the code used by these leaders could convert to Christianity and actively participate in the religious practices of the faith. Consequently, when church leaders consistently utilized a particular code in official church settings, the linguistic ideology associated with that given code as the prestigious religious language gained significant prominence.

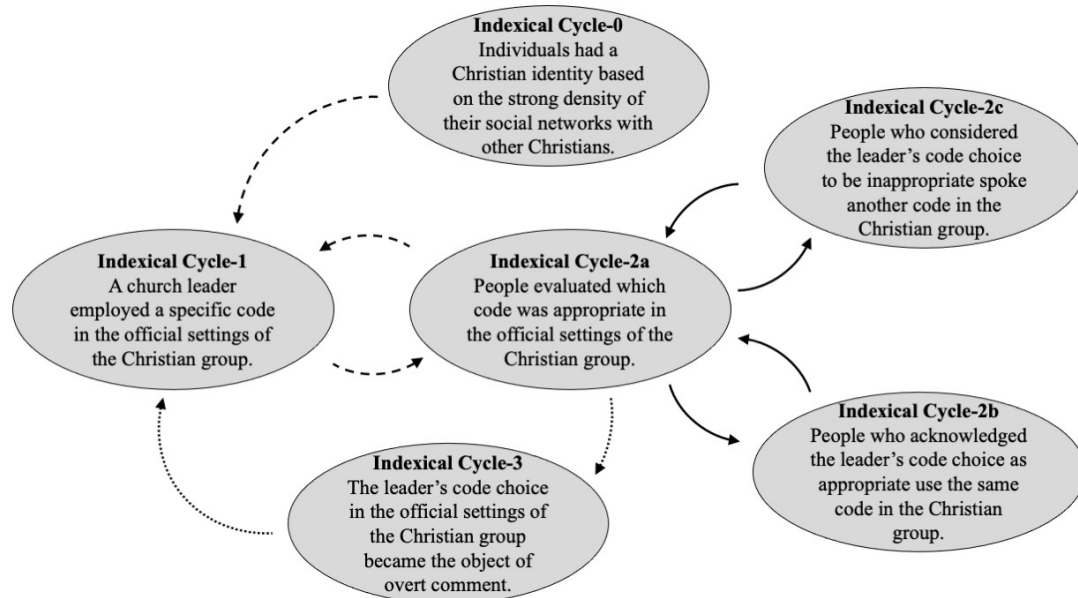


Figure 3.5. Indexical Cycle of First-Century Christianity

In light of Bell's Indexical Cycle model, this study suggests the following four types of the Indexical Cycle which shaped linguistic ideology for the prestige religious language in first-century Christianity. Figure 3.5 shows the types of Indexical Cycle of first-century Christianity illustrated in Acts:

- (1) The *Indexical Cycle-0* pertains to the initial phase of the first Christian group following Jesus' resurrection. In order to ascertain the presence of a strong linguistic ideology for code choice in official settings, this study will

explore the Indexical Cycle-0 of the early Christian group through two inquiries. The first inquiry determines which specific social practices tied the relationship between members of the Christian group. The second inquiry examines the linguistic demography of the Christian group in the first-order network zones where people had close relationships based on strong solidarity.¹⁷¹

- (2) The *Indexical Cycle-1* comprises two inquiries. The first inquiry focuses on the church leader's code choice in the official settings of Christianity. The second inquiry aims at observing the change in the linguistic demography of the group after the church leader's code choice because only those who understood the church leader's code could participate in the Christian group.
- (3) The *Indexical Cycle-2a* involves the process of evaluating the appropriateness of the leader's code choice in the official settings of the group. This evaluation follows two different linguistic ideologies within the Christian group. First, the *Indexical Cycle-2b* reflects a linguistic ideology that acknowledges the leader's code as the official code of the Christian group, leading to enhanced solidarity as members communicated in a unified code. Second, the *Indexical Cycle-2c* represents a linguistic ideology that did not recognize the leader's code choice as the official code, resulting in the division of the Christian group's identity. In this scenario, individuals speaking the same language gather together based on strong

¹⁷¹ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 46–52.

solidarity, while having weaker bonds with those who speak different languages.

- (4) The *Indexical Cycle-3* regards the process of acknowledging the code choice as the prestige religious language. The leaders could implement a specific language policy for the code choice in the official settings. Otherwise, linguistic ideologies for the prestige religious language could be shaped without a particular language policy when the leaders regularly employed the given language in the official settings.

Given this Indexical Cycle, it is worth noting the relationship of linguistic ideologies with two different types of setting in the churches. First, the official setting involves the public situation where the church leaders preached, taught, announced, prayed, and evangelized before large audiences. The linguistic ideologies in the official settings should encompass all the members of the church. Second, the unofficial setting includes all the private social practices, such as casual conversation, private prayer, and evangelism to friends.¹⁷² The linguistic ideologies in the unofficial settings could be established based on the small party, faction, group, and even individuals' relationship.

This study primarily focuses on the Indexical Cycle in the official settings since the linguistic ideology for the prestigious religious language is established in those settings. By scrutinizing these Indexical Cycles across all churches presented in Acts, this study will determine which language served as the prestigious religious language within the local and international networks of the churches.

¹⁷² In this study, public evangelism refers to evangelism before a number of people and not intimate people in public settings. Private evangelism stands for evangelism to intimate person(s) in private settings.

The Sociolinguistic Data of Acts

This study uses Acts as the sociolinguistic data on which to apply the Identity Contextualization model that identifies the code choices of Peter and Paul. To be sure, Acts is the earliest Christian document which contains data regarding the portrait of first-century apostolic ministry. However, some modern scholars have proposed skepticism as to the historical reliability of Acts. Therefore, it is worth examining its historical reliability before using Acts as the sociolinguistic data for the Identity Contextualization model.

In modern biblical studies, there has been skepticism towards the historical reliability of Acts. This skepticism has been precipitated by F. C. Baur. Baur considers Acts to be a second-century apologetic document to argue for the unity of early Christianity.¹⁷³ Namely, Acts is historically unreliable since it omits the actual events of the confliction between a Petrine party and a Pauline party in first-century Christianity. Although many subsequent scholars have followed Baur's skepticism, his conclusions were rejected by William Ramsay's study. Ramsay provides evidence of the veracity of the events of Acts which he found during his Turkey travels.¹⁷⁴ Ramsay's study has been accepted and developed by F. F. Bruce, Ward Gasque, I. H. Marshall, Rainer Riesner, and Colin Hemer.¹⁷⁵ Most significantly, Porter rightly points out that the

¹⁷³ Baur, *Apostle of Jesus Christ*, 3–14.

¹⁷⁴ Ramsay, *Bearing of Recent Discovery*, 41–55. Regarding the summary of the arguments of Baur's followers such as Schrader, Schneckenburger, Schwegler, Zeller, see Gasque, *History of the Interpretation*, 29–54.

¹⁷⁵ Gasque, *History of the Interpretation*; Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*; Hemer, *Book of Acts*; Marshall, *Luke*; Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*.

advocates of Baur do not provide critical evidence to reject the historical reliability of Acts.¹⁷⁶

Further skepticism has been expressed by some scholars who highlight the huge disparity between the content of Acts and the actual events.¹⁷⁷ Richard I. Pervo defines the genre of Acts as ancient romance, namely “a relatively lengthy work of prose fiction depicting and deriding certain ideals through an entertaining presentation of the lives and experiences of a person or persons whose activity transcends the limits of ordinary living as known to its implied readers.”¹⁷⁸ In light of Arthur Heiserman’s concept of a novel, Pervo demonstrates that Acts shares a similar literary feature with a novel: “a novel = material + manner + style + structure.”¹⁷⁹ Subsequent scholars have proposed the similarity of Acts with the unhistorical genres such as ancient epic, novel, or fiction.¹⁸⁰ Based on Pervo’s skepticism towards the historical reliability of Acts, they consider Acts to be unreliable as history due to the redactional evolution that polluted the historical aspects of the account with early Christian kerygma.¹⁸¹

Contemporary scholars have pointed out three problems with this hypothesis.

¹⁷⁶ Regarding Porter’s argument for the historicity of Acts, see Porter, *Paul in Acts*, 187–206; Porter, “Pauline Chronology”; Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 60–68. In terms of Porter’s studies regarding the use of Acts as historical data, see Porter, “Did Paul Speak Latin?”; Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak.”

¹⁷⁷ Porter (“Genre of Acts,” 4) explains that this position has been established on the basis of several factors: rejection of historical referentiality; belief that Acts conforms to the historical romance genre; supposed evidence that Acts formally conforms to similar documents; kerygmatic (rather than historical) harmonization with the Gospel of Luke; and the creation of a literary trajectory and tradition that later produced other Acts of Apostles.

¹⁷⁸ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 105.

¹⁷⁹ Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 114; Heiserman, *Novel Before the Novel*, 59.

¹⁸⁰ Regarding the arguments that challenge the historical reliability of Acts, see Hock, “The Greek Novel”; Alexander, “Journeys Often”; Bonz, *The Past as Legacy*; MacDonald, *Homer*; and see the essays in Pinheiro et al., *Ancient Novel and Early Christian*; Hock et al., eds., *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative*; Penner and Vander Stichele, eds., *Contextualizing Acts*; Brant et al., eds., *Ancient Fiction*.

¹⁸¹ Regarding Pervo’s skepticism towards the historical reliability of Acts, Pervo, *Profit with Delight*, 3–11, 104–14.

The first problem is that the anachronistic approach of neglecting the methodologies employed by ancient historians in writing history and assessing the historicity of Acts through the lens of contemporary historical standards.¹⁸² The second problem is that according to the preface of Acts, the author wrote it as history or biography. The third problem is that this scholarly group overemphasizes the similarities between Acts and ancient romance but overlooks their differences.¹⁸³ Skepticism towards the historical reliability of Acts creates more problems than solutions because it overlooks the value of the literary whole and overanalyzes the redactional layers of Acts, incorrectly emphasizing literary forms and theological points found throughout the text.

The more plausible genre of Acts is ancient history and ancient biography.¹⁸⁴ Since Acts was written in the first century CE, it is significant not to judge it with modern expectations of history but within the context of time, using the conventions of ancient historical writings. After the fifth century BCE, there were not one but five different categories of historical writing: (1) genealogy, (2) ethnography, (3) history (accounts of people's deeds or acts), (4) horography (local history), and (5) chronography.¹⁸⁵ Since it developed independently as a different genre, ancient biography is not included within this set of five historical genres. As Porter notes, the closest genre of ancient biography is the third category history (accounts of people's

¹⁸² Porter, *Paul in Acts*, 14–15; Porter, “Genre of Acts,” 8.

¹⁸³ Adams (“Genre of Luke and Acts,” 112) states the differences between Acts and ancient romance: “there is little evidence that the main protagonists in romances pass their task to other characters and then depart from the narrative. In Acts, however, especially with Peter, Stephen, Philip, this is the case. Rather than following the narrative pattern of novels, which follows the main characters throughout the work, Acts shifts character focus regularly.”

¹⁸⁴ The recent advocates of the ancient history hypothesis have subdivided the ancient history into four types of ancient history: (1) general history, (2) deuteronomistic history, (3) political history, and (4) apologetic history. Regarding these types of ancient history hypotheses, see Adams, “Genre of Luke and Acts,” 100–110.

¹⁸⁵ Porter, “Genre of Acts,” 10–11; Phillips, “Genre of Acts,” 379; Adams, “Genre of Luke and Acts,” 103.

deeds or acts) in that both concentrate on the description of historical figures.¹⁸⁶

Despite their different emphases, proponents of both the hypothesis that Acts is an ancient history and the hypothesis that it is an ancient biography agree that Acts was written for historical purposes. Its aim was to provide a historical definition of Christianity by documenting its transformation from Judaism into a multiethnic religion after the departure of Jesus.¹⁸⁷

Skepticism towards the historical reliability of Acts has often been maintained even among the advocates of the ancient history and ancient biography hypotheses. They argue that the literary elements drastically distort the testimony of the witnesses of the actual history.¹⁸⁸ Some recent scholars, however, argue that there were early Christian regulations for preserving eyewitnesses' testimonies.¹⁸⁹ According to Richard Bauckham, the oral traditions behind the Gospels and Acts were formal and controlled traditions designed to preserve eyewitnesses' testimonies.¹⁹⁰ On the basis of Papias's comments stating that early Christian historical writings derived their content directly

¹⁸⁶ Porter, "Genre of Acts," 10. Regarding more information of history (accounts of people's deeds or acts), see Fornara, *Nature of History*, 185; Momigliano, *Development of Greek Biography*, 11–13.

¹⁸⁷ Major works advocating the ancient history hypothesis include Dibelius, *Book of Acts*; Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*; Hengel, *History of Earliest Christianity*; Brodie, *Luke the Literary Interpreter*; Aune, *Literary Environment*; Balch, "The Genre of Luke-Acts"; Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 15–22; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*; Marshall, *Luke*. The following scholarly works advocate the ancient biography hypothesis: Talbert, *Literary Patterns*; Stanton, *Jesus of Nazareth*; Robbins, "Prefaces in Greco-Roman Biography"; Shuler, *Genre for the Gospels*; Burridge, *What Are the Gospels*; Porter, "Genre of Acts."

¹⁸⁸ For instance, Lentz asserts that the Lukan portrayal of Paul is as a literary creation in order to illustrate Paul as the model of a citizen and authentic figure worthy of emulation and veneration by Roman society. Lentz, *Luke's Portrait*, 171–72. Vielhauer challenges the historical reliability of Paul's speeches in Acts. Vielhauer insists that Paul's theology in his epistles differs greatly from his theology found in Acts. Vielhauer, "Paulinism of Acts." Campbell views the 'we-passages' of Acts not as a historical claim but as a literary creation to emphasize the author's narrative authority. Campbell, *We Passages*, 84–85.

¹⁸⁹ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 12–38, 472–508; Dunn, *Oral Gospel Tradition*, 313–59.

¹⁹⁰ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 300–310.

from eyewitnesses,¹⁹¹ Bauckham claims that eyewitnesses' testimonies did not circulate anonymously but in their names.¹⁹² Bauckham notes that early Christian communities had authentic teachers who received oral traditions from the eyewitnesses either directly or through very few intermediaries.¹⁹³ James Dunn highlights the strict regulations of early Christianity to control oral tradition. Dunn insists that testing the authenticity of prophecy as presented in 1 Cor 12:3 and 1 John 4:1–3 evinces that early Christianity had certain regulations to evaluate the authenticity of the eyewitnesses' testimonies.¹⁹⁴ Dunn concludes that early Christianity preserved the essential content of the history of the New Testament in light of their regulations of the transmission of oral tradition.¹⁹⁵ Both Bauckham and Dunn contend that the early Christian writers had specific standards to control eyewitnesses' testimonies.

Ancient historians did not freely fabricate the literary elements of history and biography *ex nihilo*. The ancient historians employed literary elements in order to demonstrate historical truths dramatically on the basis of eyewitnesses' testimonies. Although literary elements may sound unhistorical for modern historians, they were essential elements of historical writing for ancient historians since they preferred a lively testimony of the witnesses of history. Arguably, Acts presents the eyewitnesses' testimony of actual history with literary elements in a certain degree of control, consistent with the standards of ancient biography as seen in other ancient writers. The prefaces of Luke's Gospel and Acts demonstrates that Acts was written by a trustworthy

¹⁹¹ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 202–39, 412–37.

¹⁹² Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 304–5.

¹⁹³ Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, 290.

¹⁹⁴ Dunn, *Oral Gospel Tradition*, 322–25.

¹⁹⁵ Dunn, *Oral Gospel Tradition*, 360.

historian who collected testimonies from eyewitnesses, either directly or through some intermediaries, and wrote them down in a way that fits with ancient standards for history or biography.¹⁹⁶

This study will consider Acts to be the primary source for the micro sociolinguistic approach to the processes of the identity contextualization for the code choices of Peter and Paul. According to the prefaces of Luke's Gospel and Acts, both the author of Acts and the ancient readers considered Acts as an ancient history (accounts of people's deeds or acts) or ancient biography but not as other genres. In light of ancient historians' writing styles, admittedly, there are admittedly some literary and theological elements in Acts. However, there is no evidence that literary elements distort the sociolinguistic data radically. Rather, early Christianity is highly likely to have had regulations to preserve the eyewitnesses' testimonies. Besides, the value of Acts for sociolinguistic analysis is significantly more than other sources because it is the earliest Christian document which provides extralinguistic data regarding historical figures and first-century Christianity. Arguably, there is no other secondary source to offer the quality of source material more robustly than Acts for this study. Taking all these into consideration, it is legitimate to conclude that, among the ancient literatures, Acts provides the most reliable data with regard to the historical description of Peter and Paul.

Conclusion

The goal of historical sociolinguistics is to offer the most reasonable and plausible explanations of language use in historical societies. The first section surveyed biblical

¹⁹⁶ Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Act*, 299–316, 364–68; Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 21–22; Aune, *Literary Environment*, 77.

scholars' application of historical sociolinguistics and the recent trend of sociolinguistics. The second section demonstrated the methodological procedures that apply macro, meso, and micro sociolinguistics to the inquiry of the code choices of Peter and Paul. In light of the recent trend of sociolinguistics, arguably, Coupland's Style model provides the most appropriate theoretical framework to identify the dialectical relationship of the macro, meso, and micro contexts of the multilingual environment of first-century Christianity. Based on the Style model, the following three chapters will use various sociolinguistic theories and models. The next two chapters will examine historical and textual data of the Greco-Roman world in order to identify the sociolinguistic resources that Peter, Paul, and other church leaders could use in the macro and meso contexts. The last chapter will take these macro and meso contexts as the input data for the Identity Contextualization model, thereby investigating the code choices of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders presented in Acts. From these research findings, this study articulates the Indexical Cycles of all churches presented in Acts in order to determine the prestige religious language employed based on the local and international networks of first-century churches.

THE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The sociolinguistic landscape of the first-century Greco-Roman world has been a notorious issue because it is a reconstruction based upon limited data without a native informer. Only a few ancient documents provide information regarding ancient people's plurilingualism. As noted in the previous chapters, archeological and historical data do not provide enough data for reconstructing the functional distribution of languages. With this in mind, this study employs various sociolinguistic theories and models in order to reconstruct the sociolinguistic environment of the Roman Empire in the first century CE, with a particular focus on the various factors influencing the formation of linguistic ideologies regarding the prestigious languages used in various social practices.

It is imperative to judiciously apply contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models to the inquiry of the multilingual environment of first-century Greco-Roman world, given the intricate formation of various linguistic ideologies regarding prestige languages. Even in contemporary society, the inquiry of multilingualism still remains complex. Linguistic ideologies within various groups of people cannot be easily standardized by language policy; they inherently exhibit diversification in reality.¹ This complexity involves different kinds of linguistic ideologies coexisting and intermixing, based upon the intricate web of ties between numerous individuals.² Bearing this perspective in mind, Chapter 2 suggested macro and meso sociolinguistics with an

¹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 3.

² Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 7–45.

emphasis on the person-centered approach in order to determine the complex formation of the multilingual environment of the first-century Roman Empire.

With this framework in place, the prime objective of Chapters 3 and 4 is to reconstruct sociolinguistic data for the micro sociolinguistic approaches involved with the inquiry of the code choices of church leaders presented in the book of Acts. In Chapter 3, macro sociolinguistics directs its focus toward the institutional communities of the Roman Empire, wherein management agencies or advocates controlled and managed the linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige language. To be specific, this chapter determines whether or not the Roman Empire had a systematic language policy for the code choices in the official and formal settings of the central and provincial governments. Chapter 4 employs meso sociolinguistics to discern various linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige language within the non-institutional communities, groups, parties, and gatherings for various social practices. Chapter 4 articulates different kinds of international and local social networks which shaped linguistic ideologies regarding prestige language(s). In particular, Chapter 3 and the first section of Chapter 4 aim at determining various factors that influenced the Indexical Cycle for the prestige languages in the macro and meso contexts of the first-century Roman Empire. Taking all the research findings of the macro and meso analyses into consideration, the second section of Chapter 4 demonstrates the functional distribution of languages within the multilingual environment of each region presented in Acts.

This chapter explores the macro context of the Roman Empire where the authorities, in particular, implemented language policy. As its territory expanded, the Roman Empire reorganized its political system, establishing a central government and numerous provincial governments to effectively govern territories. For this study, it is of

particular significance how the Roman State, including the Roman Republic and Roman Empire, managed the multilingual environment prevailing within its vast territories, marked by a diverse array of ethnicities. With this in mind, this chapter consists of two sections. The first section aims to discern a specific type of the language policies adopted by the Roman authorities who were responsible for serving as the management agencies and advocates. The second section identifies the functional distribution of Latin and Greek within the central and provincial governments of the Roman Empire, investigating their use as prestige languages by Roman politicians and scholars in the official social activities of the Roman government.

The Macro Context of the Roman State

Language policies influence linguistic ideologies regarding the code choices in public and official settings. Authorities should decide which code to use in official documents and declarations, and the group authority can establish systematic language policies for this purpose. A systematic language policy includes precise planning, regulations, and implementation regarding the code choices in public and official settings, accompanied by penalties or disadvantages for non-compliance.³ If authorities do not have any official and systematic procedures for managing code choices in these settings, it is not a language policy but rather reflects the authorities' personal preference for code choice.

Language policies also address the preservation and decline of minority languages. Some authorities encourage minority ethnic groups to maintain their languages, whereas others may expedite the disappearance of these languages to

³ See Haugen, "Implementation of Corpus Planning," 275; Cooper, *Language Planning*, 29–45; Thorburn, "Cost-Benefit," 239–44. Jernudd, "Economic Analysis," 251.

facilitate the use of a dominant language. As discussed in Chapter 2, language policies by national authorities or leaders of minority communities to safeguard minority languages may prove futile in the absence of comprehensive language policies. Without a systematic language policy, a language shift from minority to dominant languages can transpire swiftly, often within three generations.

In view of this, it is worth noting that the major factor which contributed to the complex multilingual environment of the eastern provinces of the Roman State was the shift of language policies from the Near Eastern empires (Assyrian, Persian, and Babylonian empires) to the Hellenistic empires (Greece, Diadochi, and Roman empires). These empires' political policies, particularly their emphasis on multiethnicity, significantly influenced the multilingual environment of their territories. After the rise of Aramaic as the *lingua franca* of the Near Eastern empires, other vernacular languages of their colonies either waned or died.⁴

Following their conquests of the previous Near Eastern empires, Alexander the Great and the Diadochi constructed Greek educational institutions and implemented Hellenizing programs. According to Plutarch, Alexander's Hellenistic program included Greek education among local elite groups:

οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν δαίταν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁμοίου τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἑαυτὸν, ἐκεῖνά τε προσῆγε τοῖς Μακεδονικοῖς ἔθουσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ μᾶλλον δι' εὐνοίας καταστήσασθαι τὰ πράγματα νομίζων ἢ βίᾳ, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ, διὸ καὶ τρισμυρίους παῖδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε γράμματά τε μαθεύειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας καταστήσας.

'In this manner, he adapted his own life style even more like that of the locals and brought it closer to Macedonian customs, believing that matters would be better established through a mix and practice which produced good will rather than by force, even when his authority would be kept secure while he was far away. For this reason, having selected thirty thousand boys, he ordered them to

⁴ Schniedewind, *A Social History*, 140–41.

learn Greek and to be trained in the use of Macedonian weapons, appointing many supervisors for this task.’ (Plutarch, *Alex.* 47.3).⁵

The Hellenistic emperors did not annihilate other vernacular languages, but their Hellenizing programs changed the lingua franca from Aramaic to Greek.⁶ As a result, Aramaic gradually lost its prestige role in political, economic, and cultural domains. As explored in Chapter 1, Porter and Ong rightly point out that the Hellenistic program of Alexander and Diadochi was a very successful language policy for using Greek as lingua franca throughout their vast territories. Arguably, the language policy of the Hellenistic empires was more successful than that of the Near Eastern empires.

It is worth noting even after the Roman State’s conquest of the Diadochi, Greek still served as the lingua franca in the eastern provinces of the Roman State, and some vernacular languages survived.⁷ The primary objective of this section is to ascertain the language policy of the Roman State for the regions of the Italian peninsula and eastern provinces where the church leaders’ activities are illustrated in Acts. With this in mind, this section will investigate which kind of language policy the Roman State implemented for the eastern provinces. To be specific, it will focus on the policies and plannings implemented by Roman politicians and scholars to address the issue of multiethnicity, as they held the responsibility as the management agencies or advocates for language policy. There are two political policies worth noting that relate to the language policy of the Roman State: (1) Roman citizenship and (2) *Romanization*. This study on Roman citizenship endeavors to ascertain the demographic composition of the multiethnic Roman citizenry, encompassing both Italians born in the Italian peninsula,

⁵ English translation is mine.

⁶ Adrados, *Greek Language*, 175–79; Horrocks, *Greek*, 79–80, 88–89.

⁷ Horrocks, *Greek*, 125–26.

for whom Latin was their L1, and non-Italians born in the provinces who had other languages as L1. The inquiry of Romanization and Latinization attempts to determine the political ideology of the Roman State that controlled the eastern provinces. On the basis of the research findings of these inquiries, this section will identify a particular type of language policy of the Roman State.

Roman Citizenship

It is important to investigate the ethnic makeup of the Roman Empire to identify the dominant and minority ethnic groups among Roman citizens. The population of an ethnic group significantly influences the status of their languages as prestige languages within their community, as the language spoken by a large number of the ethnic group generally serves as a lingua franca in the community.⁸ Furthermore, it is worth noting the dominant ethnic group holding political power, as they often employ their language as the prestige language for the official social practices. Meanwhile, the dominant group may occasionally enact language policies to permit the use of minority languages as prestige languages for specific social activities.

The Roman State started with the *Roman Monarchy*, a tribe which spoke Latin, one of the Italic vernacular languages, and had a small territory, so-called the city of Rome, near the Palatine Hill by the Tiber River in central Italy around 753 BCE. During the Roman Monarchy time, Romans were an ethnic minority in the multiethnic society of the Italian peninsula.⁹ It was not until around 509 BCE, when Rome changed from its

⁸ See Lieberman, "Bilingualism in Montreal," 242; Lieberman, "Sociolinguistic Surveys."

⁹ Erskine, *Roman Imperialism*, 12–13.

monarchy system to the republic system, that the Roman State grew drastically.¹⁰ On the basis of its strong military, the *Roman Republic* conquered and annexed other Italian tribes, Northern Africa, Western Asia, and Europe.¹¹ As the Roman State conquered and annexed other nations whose L1 was not Latin, it became a multiethnic society where different kinds of vernacular languages coexisted.

The question of who Roman citizens were in the first century CE is not a simple question. The answer to this question involves the law of Roman citizenship and the national identity of the Romans in relation to the expansionism of the Roman State.¹² As Myles Lavan states, “the defining feature of the Roman regime of citizenship is its openness.”¹³ In its long history, the Roman State expanded its citizen body by granting Roman citizenship to some people in annexed tribes and nations. This expansion of Roman citizenship resulted in the growth of the use of Latin as the prestige language in the official settings of Roman citizens as it served as the official language of the central government. Nevertheless, the Roman State did not force Latin upon those who acquired Roman citizenship later. It was not mandatory, but rather a moral incentive that citizens should learn the language, the law, and the culture of Latin in order to participate and get ahead in Roman society.

As the Roman State annexed vast territories over the Italian peninsula to its eastern and western provinces, Romans provided Roman citizenship to the local elites of

¹⁰ According to Polybius, the strength of the Roman Republic system was mixed with what was aristocratic, democratic, and monarchical features (Polybius, *Hist.* 6.11.11–12). To be sure, it was hard to control two magistrates when they acted like a king who was subject to no one sometimes over the law (Cicero, *Leg.* 3.3.8). Compared to other ancient political systems, however, it is true that the Roman Republic system centered on providing better benefits for its citizens.

¹¹ Erskine, *Roman Imperialism*, 13–14.

¹² Woolf, *Rome*, 247.

¹³ Lavan, “Foundation of Empire,” 21.

their annexed territories. As a result, the Roman citizen body consisted of the complicated amalgamation with various ethnic groups who spoke a different L1. The modern concept of ethnicity based on shared ancestry and cultural traits did not exist in the ancient Roman State.¹⁴ Additionally, the Roman Empire had a different citizenship policy than modern societies, resulting in a citizen body that was a diverse range of ethnic groups. Therefore, understanding this diversity can shed light on the development of the multilingual society that existed within the first-century CE Roman Empire.

The Italian Tribes

The center of Roman citizenship was *ius Latii*, namely, legal rights and privileges for the Roman citizen. The *civies Romani* refers to a full citizen who had complete legal protection under the Roman law. In the earliest stage of the Roman State, the full *ius Latii* was only granted to Roman descendants born in the original territory of the Roman Monarchy. Therefore, the legal way to become *civies Romani* was afforded to offspring from a Roman citizen couple with a legally valid Roman marriage.

The legal concept of *ius conubium* (rights for marrying Roman citizens) was originally enacted for the legal permission of intermarriages between Romans and other Latin and Italian tribes, and later was extended to intermarriages with other nations as well.¹⁵ According to *ius conubium*, whereas intermarriage between a citizen father and a non-citizen mother was considered to be a Roman marriage and their offspring were citizens, children whose mother was a citizen but father was not a citizen were not

¹⁴ Woolf, *Rome*, 246–47.

¹⁵ Regarding the legal concept of *conubium*, see Roselaar, “Concept of Conubium,” 102–20, here 117–18; cf. Lavan, “Foundation of Empire,” 22–23; Besson, “Fifty Years,” 203–4.

citizens but *peregrines*—a term which refers to other Latin and Italian tribes and other non-citizens. Under another legal concept of *ius gentium* (law of nations), however, the children from the intermarriage between a non-citizen father and a citizen mother without *conubium* could take citizenship because citizenship was also granted to fatherless offspring from a citizen mother.¹⁶ Since the concepts of *conubium* and *ius gentium* were considered to be somewhat of a paradox and ambiguous, the application of *ius gentium* to the offspring's status from the intermarriage without *conubium* was prohibited by the *lex Minicia* before 90 BCE.¹⁷

After the victory of the Samnite Wars (343–290 BCE), the Roman State gained practical hegemony over the Italian peninsula. Subsequently, the Roman State allied or annexed other Italian neighbors who spoke various Italic vernacular languages—the Etruscan language, the Latino-Faliscan languages, Osco-Umbrian languages, other Italic languages, and Greek.¹⁸ The Roman State provided them with semi citizenship which included some of *ius Latii*—*ius commercii* (rights for trading with Roman citizens), *ius conubium* (rights for marrying Roman citizens), *ius migrationis* (rights for migrating), and *ius suffragii* (rights for voting). The exact contents of *ius Latii* were allocated to them differently depending on the contexts of how the tribes were allied and annexed.¹⁹

It is worth noting two legal classes within the Roman State that Italian neighbors acquired after they were allied or annexed. First, *Latini* stands for citizens of the Latin League who came under Roman control after the Latin War (340–38 BCE).

¹⁶ Besson, “Fifty Years,” 203–4.

¹⁷ Roselaar, “Concept of Conubium,” 117.

¹⁸ Regarding more information of these old Latin (ca. 400–150 BCE), see Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 90–128.

¹⁹ Woolf, *Rome*, 249–50.

Latini was granted some *ius Latii* but they were barely permitted to have *ius conubium* and *ius suffragii*. Second, *Socii* refers to other Italian tribes who were brought under various forms of the treaty after they were defeated in the war. *Socii* had a few *ius Latii* and had an unfavorable treaty that was responsible for tribute money and a certain number of soldiers for the Roman State.²⁰ Because this treaty was a heavy burden for *Socii*, some of them revolted against the Roman State in order to request *ius Latii* during the Social War (91–87 BCE). In order to conciliate the revolt, the consul Lucius Julius Caesar passed a law, the *Lex Iulia*, that offered citizenship to all inhabitants of the Italian peninsula who did not rebel against the Roman State in 90 BCE.²¹

It is worth noting the influence of implementing the *Lex Iulia* on the linguistic ideologies of the Italian peninsula. Before the *Lex Iulia*, the Italic vernacular languages of the Italian peninsula indexed their speakers' social status. The standard language of the Roman citizens was the Latin of the city of Rome, and other Italic vernacular languages of rural regions were considered to be the symbol of semi citizenship.²² There were two different linguistic ideologies regarding the Latin varieties. The first linguistic ideology was that Latin spoken in the city of Rome served as the symbol of the possession of the *civies Romani* in the Roman State during the middle and late period of the Roman Republic. The advocates of this linguistic ideology insisted that Latin spoken in the city of Rome indexed the social identity of an idealized Romanness over other Italic vernacular languages spoken in other rural regions.²³ Meanwhile, another

²⁰ Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 119–20.

²¹ Lavan, "Foundation of Empire," 27.

²² According to Clackson, variations of the Roman State indexed language users' social classes. See Clackson, "Social Dialects," 516–19.

²³ This ideology was expressed in the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero, Titus Maccius Plautus, and Gaius Lucilius. See Adams, "Romanitas," 191.

linguistic ideology resisted the linguistic ideology of the superiority of Latin of the city of Rome over other inferior Italic vernacular languages. According to Marcus Terentius Varro, a Roman scholar, some people believed that Italic vernacular languages spoken in the rural regions indexed the moral virtue of their rustic ancestors and old-fashioned Roman purity.²⁴

The coexistence of these conflicting linguistic ideologies regarding Italic vernacular languages reflects the fact that the minority Italian tribes did not share the same idea regarding the social identity of the Roman citizen body before the *Lex Iulia*. This suggests that there were no management agencies or advocates who implemented a language policy to assimilate Italic vernacular languages into Latin within the city of Rome.

Nevertheless, the decline of Italic vernacular languages gradually ensued following the *Lex Iulia*. It is worth noting three factors that contributed to the linguistic ideology favoring the use of Latin in the city of Rome among the Roman citizenry of the Italian peninsula after the implementation of the *Lex Iulia*. First, the Roman scholars promoted Latin education in the elite groups of the Roman State.²⁵ These scholars recognized the importance of Greek language education and developed Latin language education based on Greek grammar and rhetoric. This led to the standardization of Latin grammar and rhetoric. As a result, all elites of the Italian peninsula had to learn the standard form of Latin used in the city of Rome.

Second, only the Latin spoken in the city of Rome retained its status as the official language of the Roman State. Initially, the linguistic ideology that regarded

²⁴ Adams, "Romanitas," 191.

²⁵ Petersmann, "Sprach- und Kulturpolitik," 90–91.

Roman city Latin as superior began to weaken, leading to increased linguistic tolerance for other Italic vernacular languages within the Italian Peninsula, especially in informal and private settings, immediately after the enactment of the *Lex Iulia*.²⁶ However, as all the Italian and Latin tribes came under one Roman political system, Italic vernacular languages drastically lost their prestige roles as official languages.

Third, except for slaves, all Italian inhabitants acquired the full Roman citizenship, leading to a strong sense of solidarity under the same social identity. With increased mingling among the Italian peninsula's residents facilitated by the strong social networks, Italic vernacular languages gradually shifted to Latin of the city of Rome and became almost extinct in the end of the first century CE.²⁷

In light of this, it is worth noting that the middle of the first century CE, the time of the book of Acts, was a transitional period during which the shift from Italic vernacular languages to Latin, the language of the city of Rome, was taking place in the rural regions of the Italian peninsula without the imposition of any formal language policy. Although Italic vernacular languages lost their prestigious role during this period, it is highly likely that they still survived. This suggests that a standardized form of Latin of the city of Rome was not yet gaining acceptance among the local inhabitants of the Italian Peninsula when Paul visited the region.

Roman Enfranchisement from Slavery

Slavery was a common phenomenon from the Hellenistic to Roman periods. Greeks

²⁶ Adams, "Romanitas," 193–94.

²⁷ In Locri and the remote cities and towns of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, however, Greek still served as the prestige language even after the Social War. See Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 83.

acknowledged that since slaves were not easy chattel who would accept the existing social distinction between slaves and masters, they would likely revolt against their owners if they had the same ethnic slaves who spoke the same L1 (Plato, *Law*, 6.777b).²⁸

With this in mind, Plato the Greek philosopher, suggests two principles for maintaining a slavery system:

δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ θρέμμα ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν διόρισιν, τὸ δοῦλόν τε ἔργῳ διορίζεσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ δεσπότην, οὐδαμῶς εὐχρηστον ἐθέλειν εἶναι τε καὶ γίγνεσθαι φαίνεται, χαλεπὸν δὲ τὸ κτῆμα· ἔργῳ γὰρ πολλάκις ἐπιδέδεικται περὶ τὰς Μεσσηνίων συχνὰς εἰωθυίας ἀποστάσεις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ γε τὰς τῶν ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς πολλοὺς οἰκέτας κτωμένων πόλεις, ὅσα κακὰ συμβαίνει, καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν λεγομένων περιδίνων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν γιγνομένων παντοδαπὰ κλωπῶν ἔργα τε καὶ παθήματα. πρὸς ἃ τις ἂν πάντα βλέψας διαπορήσειε τί χρὴ δρᾶν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων. δύο δὲ λείπεσθον μόνῳ μηχανά, μήτε πατριώτας ἀλλήλων εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ῥᾶον δουλεύσειν, ἀσυμφώνους τε εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα, τρέφειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς, μὴ μόνον ἐκείνων ἕνεκα, πλέον δὲ αὐτῶν προτιμῶντας· ἡ δὲ τροφή τῶν τοιούτων μήτε τινα ὕβριν ὕβριζιν εἰς τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἥττον δέ, εἰ δυνατόν, ἀδικεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου. 'It is clear that since the human creature is difficult to manage, and in terms of necessary definition, to distinguish a slave by his work, as well as a free man and a master, appears not at all easy or practical to want to be and become, making ownership challenging. For it has been shown through action that frequent revolts occur among the Messenians, and regarding the cities that possess many servants from the same language, how much trouble arises, and further, the various thieveries and sufferings of those called wanderers around Italy. Facing all these, one would ponder what should be done about all such matters. Hence, two solutions remain: firstly, that those who are likely to serve should not be compatriots, ensuring they are as discordant in strength as possible, and to rear them properly, not only for their sake but preferring their own interests; and secondly, that the nourishment of such people should neither insult the servants too much, nor, if possible, treat them worse than equals.' (Plato, *Law*, 6.777b–d)²⁹

The Romans implemented more lenient policies and laws regarding their slavery in comparison to the Greeks.³⁰ Roman enfranchisement from slavery could

²⁸ Ekaputra, *Contesting Language*, 69.

²⁹ English translation is mine.

³⁰ Regarding the further information of slaves in the Italian peninsula, see Woolf, *Rome*, 93–105; Mouritsen, “Freedman,” 10–35.

accompany the conferment of citizenship under three conditions: (1) being over thirty years old, (2) the master's Roman citizenship, and (3) a formal *manumissions* with the intervention of a magistrate.³¹ Freeman who did not fulfill all of these conditions were granted the intermediate status, *Junian Latin*.³² As it established hegemony in the Mediterranean after the victory of the Punic Wars (264–146 BCE), the Roman State enslaved some of the vanquished nations and started *Latifundium*: great sprawling private estates in Italy. According to the tax record, each slave was taxed at 100 sesterces. Thus, it can be estimated that there were around two million slaves in 43–42 BCE.³³ The number of slaves who participated in the Spartacus rebellion alone was approximately one hundred twenty thousand people (c. 111 BCE).³⁴ Recent scholarly estimates of the proportion of slaves in the Italian peninsula during the reign of Tiberius vary from fifteen percent to over a third.³⁵ To be sure, it is impossible to estimate the population of slaves who were freed because of the lack of data regarding slavery records. However, both literary and epigraphic records evince that whereas some elite slaves who had specific skills sometimes became freemen, a huge number of slaves who worked in the agriculture society were seldom released.³⁶

A massive influx of slaves whose L1 was different from various colonies in the Italian peninsula resulted in a bilingual slavery society of the Italian peninsula. It is worth noting that Greek had served lingua franca throughout the eastern provinces since

³¹ Besson, "Fifty Years," 204–6.

³² Besson, "Fifty Years," 204–6; Mouritsen, "Freedman," 36–119.

³³ Although this calculation is highly assumptive, it is true that a heavy amount of the tax record implies a huge number of slaves in the Italian peninsula. Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 122.

³⁴ Only the slaves who participated in Spartacus's revolt numbered around one hundred twenty thousand people (c. 111 BCE). See Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 122.

³⁵ Clackson, "Social Dialects," 514; Bradley, "Freedom and Slavery," 626.

³⁶ Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 121–22.

the conquest of Alexander. As a result, the majority of slaves knew Greek at least as L2 although their L1 was different.³⁷ The Greek epitaphs of the city by and for slaves evince that Greek served as *the* lingua franca of slavery in the Italian peninsula.³⁸ According to James Clackson, over twenty-eight thousand slave names were recorded in the city of Rome, of which sixty-seven percent are Greek.³⁹ The ancient Latin literary works of Titus Maccius Plautus (ca. 254–184 BCE) and Publius Terentius Afer (ca. 195–159 BCE) present code switching from Latin to Greek, especially in response to slave characters and those from the lower social classes.⁴⁰ Simon Swain states:

At any rate many scholars have felt that a relatively high familiarity with Greek among ‘the slaves and lower social classes’ is suggested by the frequency of Greek words and loanwords in the plays of Plautus. If this is right, the presence in Rome by this time of a substantial slave population drawn from the Greek-speaking East will have assisted in establishing some general Greek and Latin bilingualism, though to what degree we cannot determine.⁴¹

Given this, Latin borrowings from Greek first happened in the daily conversations of the lower social classes, and code switching from Latin to Greek became employed, especially for the communication of the Roman citizens with slaves or the lower social classes.

It is worth noting the influx of freedmen into the Italian peninsula. The most elite slaves worked in professional jobs such as accountants, physicians, and educators. Generally, elite slaves who were taken from Greece served as tutors, teachers, and educators. Moreover, some elite slaves worked in the central government of the Roman State. These elite slaves mainly spoke Greek when they worked for the Roman elites in

³⁷ Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 286.

³⁸ Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 286.

³⁹ Clackson, “Social Dialects,” 515.

⁴⁰ See Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 286–88; Mullen, “Latin,” 59.

⁴¹ Swain, “Bilingualism,” 130.

the political contexts. Arguably, a small number of elite slaves achieved their freedom more easily compared to individuals from lower social classes. However, it is important to note that the inscriptive evidence from urban trade and manufacture of the Italian peninsula shows that almost half of products were made by lower social classes of freedman.⁴² This suggests a substantial increase in both high and low social classes of freedmen entering the political and economic spheres of the Italian peninsula.

Non-Italian Romans of the Provinces

As the territory of the Roman State became extremely wide, it made use of naturalization to become a Roman citizen as a means of organizing and controlling its extended territory efficiently.⁴³ Along with the expansion of Roman citizenship to non-Italian ethnicities, a number of foreigners whose L1 was not Latin attempted to acquire Roman citizenship because Roman citizenship provided special privileges and exclusive rights for them.⁴⁴ There were several ways that non-Italian ethnicities received Roman citizenship personally.⁴⁵ First, the Roman State granted citizenship as a reward and incentive to individual non-Italians who performed public offices for the Roman State.⁴⁶ Second, Roman citizenship was also awarded to some non-Italian elites who were loyal to the Roman State.⁴⁷ Third, even non-Italians who had low social status and fortune could acquire Roman citizenship by completing long military service in the auxiliary

⁴² Mouritsen, *Freedman*, 206–208.

⁴³ See Ando, “Making Romans,” 176–79.

⁴⁴ Ando, “Making Romans,” 175–76; Besson, “Fifty Years,” 208–15; Myles, “Father,” 156–57; Woolf, *Rome*, 247–49.

⁴⁵ Ando, “Making Romans,” 179–82.

⁴⁶ Besson, “Fifty Years,” 206–8; Lavan, “Foundation of Empire,” 27.

⁴⁷ Besson, “Fifty Years,” 206–7.

troops.⁴⁸ Moreover, the dictators and emperors of the Roman State, such as Sulla, Pompeius, Caesar, Antonius, and Octavius, made use of their discretionary powers to enfranchise some provinces as *municipium*, where the inhabitants were granted Roman citizenship with all *ius Latii*.⁴⁹

During Octavius's reign from 27 BCE to 14 CE, the territory of the Roman State extended to Hispania, Gallia, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and some parts of Africa. As a result of the expansionism of Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of the provinces, the Roman citizen body was drastically expanded in its provinces.⁵⁰ According to recent studies of the record of the Roman census in 14 CE, the population of Roman citizens was counted around five to six million, including women and children, within a total population of the forty to fifty million people who lived in the territory of the *Roman Empire*.⁵¹ At least two million Roman citizens lived in the provinces with the majority of them staying in one hundred fifty *coloniae* and *municipia*.⁵² A few hundred thousand Roman citizens dwelled in around two thousand autonomous communities of the empire.⁵³ These censuses of the Roman citizens in its provinces show that there was a huge influx of non-Italians whose L1 was not Latin entering into the Roman citizenry.

It is worth noting that the non-Italian citizens' Latin dialect indexed their social

⁴⁸ Besson, "Fifty Years," 208.

⁴⁹ Lavan, "Foundation of Empire," 29–30; Edmondson, "Cities and Urban Life," 257–58.

⁵⁰ Ando points out the drastic increase of the population in the eastern provinces during the last period of the Roman Republic. See Ando, "Administration," 189. According to Brunt's inquiry, the population of Roman citizens overseas grew at least more than six hundred sixty thousand during Augustus's reign. See Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 264–65.

⁵¹ Regarding scholars' inquiry of the record of the Roman census in 14 CE, see Launaro, *Peasants and Slaves*, 11–50; Scheidel, "People, Land, and Politics," 22–30.

⁵² Launaro, *Peasants and Slaves*, 24, 187; Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 264–65.

⁵³ Lavan, "Foundation of Empire," 30–31.

identity as non-Italian Roman citizens.⁵⁴ Whereas not all non-Italian citizens of the eastern provinces could speak Latin, some of them learned Latin as their L2. As the population of non-Italian citizens who learned Latin as L2 increased, the number of different Latin varieties that included phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical differences also grew.⁵⁵ Although Latin varieties outside the Italian peninsula indexed their speakers as non-Italian, they were also considered to be a sign of Roman citizenship. This linguistic ideology is clearly presented in Publius Papinius Statius's record (*Silu.* 4.5.45–6): *non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi, / externa non mens: Italus, Italus* “neither Punic language, nor foreign dress, nor an alien mind: a true Italian, an Italian.” In this passage, Statius acknowledges Septimius Severus, an African, as a complete Roman because of his language, dress code, and mind.

To summarize, Rome's policy of naturalization for ruling its extended territory gradually triggered two different sociolinguistic environments in Roman society. First, naturalization for Italian neighbors gradually strengthened the status of Latin as the official language of the Roman State in the Italian peninsula while other vernacular languages waned. Latin became L1 of the Roman citizen in the Italian peninsula. Second, the population growth of non-Italian citizens resulted in a huge influx of those whose L1 was not Latin into the Roman citizen body in the provinces. The fact that their non-Italian Latin varieties were accepted as a sign of Roman citizenship shows that the Roman citizen body was successfully extended to the non-Italian people whose L1 was not Latin. To be sure, speaking Latin served as a valuable means to confirm one's Roman citizenship and gain access to a wide array of privileges. However, Latin

⁵⁴ Adams, “Romanitas,” 184–85, 191.

⁵⁵ Regarding the examples of the Latin varieties, see Adams, “Romanitas,” 192–97.

language education was not mandated for individuals who obtained Roman citizenship; rather, it was considered a moral obligation. Since local elites did not have any responsibility to learn Latin, a considerable number of them still spoke other languages as their L1 in the first century CE.

Romanization

The Roman State implemented Romanization in order to efficiently control different kinds of ethnicities in its vast territory. Romanization refers to a series of policies for establishing a new political community paradigm for the Roman State that involved acculturation, integration, and assimilation of annexed nations' cultures and languages.⁵⁶ Romanization included not only a cultural program but also a linguistic program, Latinization. Latinization refers to a language policy that forced the use of Latin as the prestige language. Pliny's statement, as a first-century Roman historian, shows the relation between Romanization and Latinization:

nec ignoro ingrati ac segnis animi existimari posse merito, si obiter atque in transcurso ad hunc modum dicatur terra omnium terrarum alumna eadem et parens, numine deum electa quae caelum ipsum clarius faceret, sparsa congregaret imperia ritusque molliret et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad conloquia et humanitatem homini daret breuiterque una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria fieret.

"I do not ignore that one can rightly be considered ungrateful and lazy of spirit, if it is said casually and in passing in this way that the earth, nurturer and mother of all lands, chosen by the divine will to make the heavens themselves brighter, scattered empires and softened rituals, and through the exchange of language, brought together the discordant and wild tongues of so many peoples for conversations and gave humanity to mankind, and in short, became the common homeland of all nations in the entire world." (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.39)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 410; Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 38–41.

⁵⁷ English translation is mine.

This statement reflects the vision of Romanization, which included a common language among the various ethnicities of the Roman Empire.⁵⁸

The fundamental vision and idea of Romanization was adopted from Hellenistic elitism that distinguished Greeks from non-Greeks, who were called barbarians.⁵⁹ The implementation of Romanization was expected to establish a political structure of elite groups in the provinces of the Roman State under the same identity.⁶⁰ Therefore, Roman identity became not an ethnic basis but an elite basis for the competition of who was loyal to the Roman State, allowing people from different ethnic backgrounds to become Roman citizens and participate in the political and social structures of the Roman State.⁶¹

The central government was the prime administration of the Roman State that planned the Romanization of the provinces. It is worth noting that the central government implemented different policies to the western provinces and eastern provinces. In the Roman State's perception, the inhabitants of the western provinces were deemed as barbarians, which led to a concentrated effort of Romanization in these regions.⁶² Conversely, the Romans pursued a policy of tolerance to the eastern provinces and, instead, applied Hellenism to Romanization there because they acknowledged the significance of Hellenism.⁶³ The inquiry of Romanization in the central government and

⁵⁸ Myles, "Father," 159.

⁵⁹ Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 50–51; Adrados, *Greek Language*, 207; Horrocks, *Greek*, 132–33; Swain, *Empire Language*, 17–19; Petersmann, "Sprach- und Kulturpolitik," 87–88; Farrell, *Latin Language*, 2–3.

⁶⁰ Swain, *Empire Language*, 277; Habinek, *Latin Literature*, 10; Rüpke, "Urban Religion," 12; Petersmann, "Sprach- und Kulturpolitik," 87–88.

⁶¹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 132–33; Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 203–45. Regarding the example of Italians recognizing other ethnicities as Roman citizens, see Myles, "Father," 162–63; Woolf, *Rome*, 250–54.

⁶² Petersmann, "Sprach- und Kulturpolitik," 94.

⁶³ Eck, "The Language of Power," 123–24; Lavan et al., "Cosmopolitan Politics," 23; Myles, "Father," 155–56.

provincial governments provides important insights into the language policy of the Roman State in the first century CE. Specifically, this study aims at determining the language policy undertaken by the central and eastern-provincial governments, as the church leaders visited the regions of the Italian peninsula and the eastern provinces presented in Acts.

The Romanization of the Central Government

At the beginning of the Roman Monarchy, the Romans were heavily influenced by Hellenism. After the Romans occupied Greece through military conquest, moreover, the Hellenistic influence on Roman culture and language became drastically stronger than before.⁶⁴ As Quintus Horatius Flaccus (*Ep.* 2.1.156) noted: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio* “Captive Greece took captive its uncouth conqueror and introduced the arts to the rustic Latin lands.” As a result, Romanization was “Greco-Roman, bicultural, and bilingual creation.”⁶⁵ Therefore, Greek and Roman cultures can be seen side by side or amalgamated in the program of Romanization.

Since Latin education was based on Hellenism, the Greek elites were considered to be “the most Romanized of the population” in the eastern provinces although only a few Greeks knew Latin.⁶⁶ Around the third century BCE, the Romans acknowledged that they lacked knowledge of grammar and rhetoric and took Greek as the best role model to develop Latin.⁶⁷ With this object in mind, learning Greek was

⁶⁴ Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 283.

⁶⁵ Mullen, “Latin,” 527.

⁶⁶ Preston, “Roman Questions,” 91.

⁶⁷ Farrell, *Latin Language* 24–25.

gradually popularized in the elite groups of the Roman State.⁶⁸ The Roman elites endeavored to establish a robust academic relationship with the Greek elites in order to gain insights from Greek culture and language, and some of the Greek elites cooperated with this endeavor (e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Caecilius of Caleacte).⁶⁹ The majority of Roman elites were influenced by Stoics in the first century BCE because Stoics made a great contribution to developing grammar and rhetoric together in the academy of Greece.⁷⁰ Notably, early Latin poetries are heavily imbued with Greek topoi, metre, and linguistic and stylistic features.⁷¹ James Clackson and Geoffrey C. Horrocks point out that Κοινή Greek played an important role in standardizing various Latin varieties:

First, it helped to promote a vast enrichment of the lexicon and to consolidate the role of particular native modes of expression . . . Secondly, and even more importantly, the Koine helped to establishing the notion that ‘real’ languages were those that had been given a unique and definitive form in a rule book. The two processes identified here were in no sense contradictory, since both had the effect of shaping Latin on the model of the Koine, even if the period of experimentation with novel word formation had the temporary effect of enhancing lexical redundancy and overlap before new norms were firmly established.⁷²

The central government of the Roman State implemented Romanization and Latinization in the western provinces but never showed any interest in forcing Romanization on the inhabitants of the eastern provinces and rather took the more tolerant policy of the Hellenization program of Greek and Diadochi.⁷³ The Roman State

⁶⁸ Petersmann, “Sprach- und Kulturpolitik,” 90–91.

⁶⁹ Swain, *Empire Language*, 23–27, 39; Horrocks, *Greek*, 127, 129.

⁷⁰ Swain, *Empire Language*, 22–23.

⁷¹ Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 175–81; Mullen, “Latin,” 532.

⁷² Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 185–86.

⁷³ Some scholars assume Romanization of the eastern provinces from the similarity of the cultures between Rome and the eastern provinces. Their studies are haphazard in that their studies heavily rely on the cultural and linguistic influence of the non-institutional communities not on the institutional community. For instance, Rotroff insists on the Romanization of Athens in Greece. Her study focuses on

sent Roman governors to the provinces and left the majority of political policies to their discretion.⁷⁴ As a result, the specific policies of each province varied slightly depending on each local governor's perspective.⁷⁵

The political and cultural policies of the Roman State towards the multiethnic population included the language policy that pertained to the prestige language used in the official settings of the Roman State. The central government of the Roman State implemented Latinization in the western provinces, resulting in Latin becoming the administrative language of the western provinces by the first century CE.⁷⁶ Adams states, "the Gaulish record keepers had clearly received rather more than a rudimentary training in a Latin-based literacy."⁷⁷

However, the Romans adopted a more flexible language policy towards the eastern provinces.⁷⁸ Michel Dubuisson points out that there is no evidence to support the Latinization of the eastern provinces before the reign of Diocletian (ca. 242–311 CE).⁷⁹ During the reign of Claudius (41–54 CE), the secretary of the central government was divided into two linguistic offices: the Latin secretary and the Greek secretary.⁸⁰ This suggests that both Latin and Greek served as the prestige language in the central

the result of the mutual influence between Greece and Rome from the social practices of their commercial communities but does not show critical evidence of specific policies of Romanization to Greece. See Rotroff, "Economic Romanization," 117–29.

⁷⁴ Ando, "Administration," 181.

⁷⁵ Morey, "Province," 32.

⁷⁶ Archeological evidence of La Graufesenque evinces the multilingualism of the western provinces. See Mullen, "Latin," 536–37. According to *Natural History* written by Pliny the Elder (77–79 CE), Latin was used by the local elites of the western provinces. Tacitus states that there were local schools giving a Latin education to the children of the local elites in Britain and in France (Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.2; *Annals* 3.43). See Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 230.

⁷⁷ Adams, *Bilingualism*, 697–98.

⁷⁸ The Romans admitted technical inferiority of Latin in comparison with Greek but insisted the equivalent worth of Latin to Greek. Nevertheless, there was no hostility against Greek in the first century. See Swain, *Empire Language*, 40–42; Farrell, *Latin Language* 28–29.

⁷⁹ Dubuisson, "Politique Linguistique," 190.

⁸⁰ Rochette, "Language Policies," 553.

government.⁸¹ To be specific, Greek was predominantly employed for the official social practices of the eastern provinces and sometimes of the central government (see Chapter 3).⁸²

The Romanization of the Provincial Government

After the conquest of Macedonia, the Roman Republic annexed many territories and established the administrative system of the provinces in order to govern them efficiently. During the late period of the Roman republic, the Roman Republic did not control and manage its annexed territories with a well-organized administrative system because the political system of the Roman Republic was unstable. Due to the rise of dictators, the principles and regulations of the administrative system of the provinces were often ignored and changed. It was not until Octavius's accession when the Roman State changed its political system from a republic to an empire that the Roman State reorganized the provincial administrative structures.⁸³

The establishment of the eastern provincial administration led to the migration of Roman citizens to the provinces as the Roman State dispatched the Roman governors with a number of administrative officers and military affairs. The extent of population mobility varied depending on the provincial types. There were two provincial types after Octavius's accession:

- (1) Imperial province: Provinces located along strategically significant frontiers generally fell under the imperial provincial type. The Roman emperors

⁸¹ Petersmann, "Sprach- und Kulturpolitik," 93.

⁸² Millar, *Rome*, 2:121–24; Horrocks, *Greek*, 141–46; Rochette, "Greek and Latin," 289.

⁸³ See Brélaz, "Local Understandings," 157.

appointed governors to rule these provinces, and deployed legions and auxiliaries to them. The governor governed with the assistance of the legions.

- (2) Senatorial province: Territories far away from the outer borders of the Roman State with a lower risk of rebellion were designated as senatorial provinces. Although the Roman senate appointed their governors, the Roman emperors still had the right to direct their affairs if they wanted. Since senatorial provinces were more peaceful compared to imperial provinces, the governors mostly did not have legions but rather only a small number of Roman soldiers with auxiliaries.

The migration of the Roman governors, officers, and military affairs formed the Roman citizen body with the local elites of the provinces who acquired Roman citizenship later. The formation of the Roman citizen body with diverse ethnicities led to a significant amount of language contact between Latin and Greek in the upper sociopolitical levels of the eastern provinces. This contact was more frequent in imperial provinces due to the higher number of Roman officials and soldiers who migrated there.⁸⁴

No Roman governors implemented a long-term language policy that forced the use of Latin not only for the predominant number of the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the eastern provinces but also for the local elites.⁸⁵ The Roman governors had to follow

⁸⁴ In the provinces where fewer Roman officials who came from the Italian peninsula were assigned, a greater number of local elites who acquired Roman citizenship worked for the Roman administration. See Girdvainyte, "Latin Law," 219.

⁸⁵ Originally, a Roman governor was appointed to be the chief administrator and judge of the provinces under the authority of the Roman republic. After Octavius's accession, however, the Roman governors also served as the chief commander of the military forces in the provincial administration. Octavius abolished the local armies and military powers and offered the authority of the Roman governors

instructions and rules of the Senate and the emperors, but had considerable discretion for the political policy of the provinces.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the Roman governors could neither utilize their own discretion like a king nor establish their own policies in their provinces because their incumbency was not granted for a long term.⁸⁷ As long as the local elites did not menace the authority of the Roman Empire, the Roman governors took a tolerant policy towards the local law, tradition, and culture.⁸⁸ This is because their supreme task was the sake of protecting the political and social order of the provinces in the Roman Empire.⁸⁹

For the sake of the public safety of the provinces, the Roman governors had to communicate with local elites because they needed the local elites' cooperation for a division of their official works. On the one hand, the Roman governor took charge of tasks in the superior court of jurisdiction in relation to capital crimes. They managed the strategic facilities for the Roman Empire (e.g., the main roads, customs offices, imperial estates, mines, and quarries) and dealt with threats against the Roman Empire (e.g., revolt, wholesale plunder, and external aggression). On the other hand, the local elites took care of the tasks of the local court that dealt with minor offences. They also undertook police tasks at the local level (e.g., local patrol and apprehension of minor

to lead the Roman legions to protect the fringes of the provinces. As a result, the Roman governors took charge of the political, legal, and military affairs in the provinces in the name of the emperor. The Roman governors were considered to be the representatives of the emperor who were tasked with law enforcement and public security. See Lintott, *Constitution*, 101, 114; Brélaz, "Local Understandings," 157.

⁸⁶ Lintott, *Constitution*, 128, 194.

⁸⁷ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 17

⁸⁸ See Brélaz, "Local Understandings," 157–58.

⁸⁹ Whereas the Roman governors persecuted, confiscated property, and threatened the most influential members of the Roman elites, they cooperated with pro-Roman elites for the public tasks of the provinces. Palli et al., "Official Power," 3.

offences).⁹⁰

It is worth noting plurilingualism of the Italian and local elites in the provinces in order to determine the possible language(s) for the inevitable language contacts between them. The majority of Italians who moved from the Italian peninsula spoke Latin as their L1. As noted above, the Italians were strongly Hellenized, and, therefore, all people in this migration group spoke Greek at least as their L2; the majority of them were fluent Greek speakers. On the other hand, the local elites did not speak Latin as their L1, but arguably were fluent in Greek, considering a Hellenistic program in these regions. Whereas some local elites might have learned Latin as their L2, it remains unclear how many of them were fluent Latin speakers. Moreover, the historical records regarding promising local elites who held Roman citizenship but did not know Latin at all (e.g., Suetonius, *Claud.* 16.2; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 60.17.4) suggest that only a small percentage of local Roman citizens were able to speak Latin. Given the limited fluency in Latin among local elites, Italian and local elites had to inevitably use Greek more frequently than Latin for official and private social activities.

Consequently, there is no clear evidence of a specific law, policy, or edict that was implemented by Roman governors for Latinization in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Since the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire had a long history of Greek culture and language, the Roman governors in these provinces recognized the importance of maintaining good relationships with the local elites and ensuring stability and order. Moreover, the local elites of the eastern provinces were more cooperative

⁹⁰ Concerning the legal system of the Roman court and local court, see Girdvainyte, “Latin Law,” 224–35. Regarding the division of the tasks of the Roman governors and local elites, see Brélaz, “Local Understandings,” 158–79.

than those of the western provinces. Therefore, the Romans were often more willing to accommodate local customs and traditions, including the use of Greek language and culture. Even the Romanized Greek elites who accepted Roman culture and adopted Latin names still spoke Greek in the first century CE, which suggests that Latinization was not a top priority for the administration of the eastern provinces.⁹¹ Overall, the lack of evidence for a specific policy of Latinization in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire suggests that the Roman governors were more concerned with maintaining stability and good relationships with local elites than with imposing a uniform cultural and linguistic identity on the population.

The Language Policy of the Central Government

Previous studies of the language policy of the Roman Empire for the eastern provinces have focused on Valerius Maximus's writing *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri IX* 2.2.2:

Magistratus vero prisci quantopere suam populiue Romani maiestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendae gravitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi Latine responsa darent. quin etiam ipsos linguae volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussa per interpretem loqui cogeant non in urbe tantum nostra sed etiam in Graecia et Asia, quo scilicet Latinae vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur. nec illis deerant studia doctrinae, sed nulla non in re pallium togae subici debere arbitrabantur, indignum esse existimantes illecebris et suavitati litterarum imperii pondus et auctoritatem donari.

“Indeed, the ancient magistrates’ commitment to preserving their own dignity and that of the Roman people can be understood from this fact: among other indications of the importance of obtaining it, they diligently maintained that they would never give responses to the Greeks except in Latin. Moreover, they even forced the Greeks themselves, who are highly skilled in the fluidity of language, to speak through an interpreter, not only in our city but also in Greece and Asia, so that the honor of the Latin voice might spread more venerably

⁹¹ See Palli et al., “Official Power,” 16.

among all nations. They did not neglect the study of learning, but they believed that in all matters, the cloak should yield to the toga, considering it unworthy for the allure and charm of literature to be granted the weight and authority of an empire.” (Valerius Maximus 2.2.2)⁹²

Valerius’s book is a collection of historical anecdotes written around the reign of Tiberius (ca. 14–37 CE). Especially, this passage is the only record that mentions specific procedures regarding the Roman elites’ code choices in the official settings of its provinces and other nations.⁹³

Scholars have hypothesized the language policy of the Roman Empire for the use of Latin with the Greek translators in official settings of the eastern provinces based on Valerius Maximus 2.2.2. They have considered Valerius Maximus 2.2.2 to be the official record that presents the language policy of the early magistrates. Bruno Rochette insists that Maximus’s statement shows the dominant linguistic ideology that compelled the Roman authorities to use Latin for the official social practices of the Roman State with interpreters who translated their Latin speech into Greek:

The passage of Valerius has long been wrongly interpreted to mean that Latin was the only official language of the Imperium Romanum and that Latin was obligatory everywhere in the administration. It is true that some examples of linguistic behaviour in the Republic agree perfectly with the rule presented by Valerius. From the second century BCE the Romans demanded that ambassadors of foreign nations express themselves in Latin when they had to speak on official terms, or, if they were unable to do so, that they make use of interpreters.⁹⁴

Although he acknowledges that the linguistic ideology varied from place to place, Adams believes that the Roman citizens were required to speak Latin under some formal

⁹² English translation is mine.

⁹³ In this study, I will quote Valerius Maximus book “*Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri IX* (Nine Books of Memorable Deeds and Sayings)” only with the author’s name “Valerius Maximus” due to its long title.

⁹⁴ Rochette, “Language Policies,” 550.

legalistic circumstances.⁹⁵ Clackson and Horrocks argue that this linguistic ideology presented in Valerius Maximus 2.2.2 was popularized before the reign of Tiberius.⁹⁶ In addition, Joseph Farrel asserts the universality of Latin culture and policy of speaking Latin for social practices with Romans.⁹⁷

However, Valerius Maximus 2.2.2 does not represent the linguistic ideology of all the Roman politicians toward the use of Latin with Greek translation for official practices in the Roman government. This is because Valerius Maximus's book is not a legal document about the language policy of the Roman State but is rather a collection of historical anecdotes written by one historian. Given this, Valerius Maximus 2.2.2 presents Valerius's personal belief regarding the code choice for the official social practices of the Roman State.

Rather, Valerius Maximus 2.2.2–5 reflects two different linguistic ideologies regarding the political language of the Roman State: (1) pro-Latin linguistic ideology, which advocated Latin being the language of politics, and (2) pro-Greek linguistic ideology, which advocated Greek having that role. First, the pro-Latin linguistic ideology was promoted in order to express the political superiority of the Roman State to the annexed nations. According to Appian (*Hist. rom.* 3.7.2), in 282 BCE, the Roman ambassadors to Tarentum were mocked by Greek-speaking politicians of other nations because they were not fluent in Greek. Lucius Postumius Megellus, the chief of the embassy, stated that their mockery was serious enough to provoke war. In order to avoid this kind of mockery in the political settings of the annexed nations and other nations,

⁹⁵ Adams, "Romanitas," 191; Adams, "Bilingualism," 124–25.

⁹⁶ Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 188–89.

⁹⁷ Farrel, *Latin Language*, 2–5.

they insisted on the linguistic ideology of using Latin with Greek translators for political practices carried out with Greek-speaking people (Valerius Maximus 2.2.5). As Rochette states, “[t]he use of interpreters to translate Latin proclamations into Greek was of great importance for the Romans during the Republic in order to demonstrate their power.”⁹⁸

Other historical records reveal that in the eastern provinces, the Roman elites spoke official announcements to Greek-speaking people in Latin through Greek translators even though they could speak Greek quite well. Marcus Porcius Cato, who knew Greek as a second language, spoke in Latin and had an interpreter translate his words into Greek even when, in Athens, he made a statement as the military tribune to a native Greek speaking audience in 191 BCE (Plutarch, *Cat. Maj.* 12.5). Lucius Aemilius Paullus announced the decisions of the senate in Latin, and Gnaeus Octavius, the praetor, translated his announcement into Greek (Livy, *Ab urbe cond.* 45.29.3).

Second, Valerius’s record shows that pro-Greek linguistic ideology was also prevalent. According to Valerius Maximus 2.2.3, Molon was a pioneer who employed Greek for official social practices: *quis ergo huic consuetudini, qua nunc Graecis actionibus aures curiae exsurdantur, ianuam patefecit? ut opinor, Molo rhetor*. “So who opened the door to this custom, by which the ears of the court are now deafened by Greek speeches? As I believe, it was the rhetorician Molon.” Apollonius Molon was a Greek rhetorician from Rhodes who taught Julius Caesar and Marcus Tullius Cicero in the techniques of oration. This passage implies that the advocates of pro-Latin linguistic ideology attempted to prevent Molon’s (and other people’s) use of Greek in the senate from catching on because the linguistic ideology of the use of Greek in official settings

⁹⁸ Rochette, “Language Policies,” 551.

became strong enough to threaten their tradition of using Latin as the language of politics.

Another example of pro-Greek linguistic ideology among the Roman elite groups of the eastern provinces is presented in Cicero's writing *In Verrem*. Cicero, Molon's student, distinguished himself not only as an eminent Latin author but also as a proficient bilingual Roman politician, adept in both Latin and Greek. According to his writing, Cicero spoke Greek when he appealed to the praetor in the official setting of the Syracusan senate. Although Cicero had many antagonists in this court, there was no legal action against his use of Greek as the legal language. The day after, only one person personally criticized Cicero for his use of Greek in this official setting of the court. However, Cicero does not accept blame for his speaking Greek but instead explains why his use of Greek is appropriate in the Syracusan senate:

ille enim vero negat et ait in-, dignum facinus esse quod ego in senatu Graeco verba fecissem; quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse. respondi homini ut potui, ut debui, ut volui.

"For he truly denies it and says that it is an unworthy deed that I spoke in Greek in the Senate; that I spoke in Greek among the Greeks, he claims this cannot be tolerated in any way. I replied to the man as best I could, as I should have, and as I desired." (Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.147)⁹⁹

Given Cicero's writing, it is apparent that the Romans did not have a systematic language policy with legal sanction or penalty for speaking Greek in the official settings of the Roman state. The fact that Cicero explained why pro-Greek linguistic ideology was better than pro-Latin linguistic ideology in a particular political setting implies that the Roman politician's code choice in such official settings was a personal preference. The coexistence of pro-Greek linguistic ideology and pro-Latin linguistic ideology

⁹⁹ English translation is mine.

among the Roman authorities suggests that there were no management agencies who implemented a systematic language policy with strong regulations.

It is worth noting Romanization of the Roman State in order to comprehend the complicated context underlying the absence of a systematic language policy. The political system of the Roman State developed as a fusion of metrocentric, pericentric, and systemic influences, which exhibited fluctuating degrees of prominence over different periods. The matter of Romanization presents a challenge in achieving consensus among Roman authorities, attributed to intricate developments in the political framework, notably during the transition from the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire, especially in the first and second centuries CE. As David J. Mattingly states,

The logical conclusion from this is that there was no such thing as one Roman imperialism; we must talk of Roman imperialisms and recognize that the empire's shape-shifting nature was outside the control of any one person or body of people.¹⁰⁰

The same is true for language policy of the Roman Empire. The absence of a systematic language policy in the eastern provinces is best explained by the linguistic pluralism of the Roman emperors and senate, who worked at the highest level of the central government of the Roman Empire. "Linguistic pluralism" refers to a linguistic ideology of a government that strives for the "coexistence of different language groups and their right to maintain and cultivate their languages on an equitable basis."¹⁰¹ There are various types of linguistic pluralism, each depending on tolerant policies for linguistic coexistence. These types range from the simple allowance of language maintenance of minor ethnicities' codes to the active employment of various codes in

¹⁰⁰ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 17

¹⁰¹ Cobarrubias, "Ethical Issues," 65.

the official settings of the institutional communities.¹⁰² The language policy of the Roman State in the first century CE was closer to the former in that the Roman emperors and senate neither controlled other vernacular languages nor attempted to change the lingua franca of the eastern provinces from Greek to Latin. Due to the short period of Roman governors' secondment, moreover, it was impossible for them to establish a systematic language policy for their provinces. Moreover, a large number of bilingual official documents with Greek and Latin along with the Roman authorities' frequent use of Greek in the official social practices show no management agencies and management advocates who prohibited people from using Greek as a prestige language as the official language of the Roman State (see next section).

The Linguistic Ideologies of the Institutional Communities

Due to the linguistic pluralism of the Roman State, the strict enforcement of Latin for political activities was notably absent in the eastern provinces. It is worth noting that historical records rarely mention specific penalties for the use of languages other than Latin in official settings within the eastern provinces. That is to say, there were no management agencies or management advocates responsible for a language policy promoting a pro-Latin linguistic ideology that required the use of Latin with a translator for official social practices in the government.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that individuals were free to select their code arbitrarily for the official social practices, without considering the communication contexts. Although there were no laws, rules, or regulations governing the official

¹⁰² Cobarrubias, "Ethical Issues," 65, 76.

languages of the eastern provincial governments, people had to choose the lingua franca that would be understood by others in order to perform official social practices correctly. The official settings of the eastern provinces were the intersection where people might be multilingual but did not share many languages.

This section explores official and historical records related to the official social practices of the institutional communities within the Roman State. With this in mind, this study aims at identifying which code was used as the most appropriate prestige language(s) for the official social practices of the following institutional communities: (1) Education, (2) Government, (3) Military, and (4) Religion.

Education

The school is the effective environment that can modify a person's way of speaking, taking advantage of the ease of language learning during pre-adolescence.¹⁰³ During the first century CE of the Roman Empire, educational institutions were the focal point of language exchange where the elite groups learned specific languages for studying various academic disciplines. Notably, there was a vibrant academic exchange between the elite groups in the Italian Peninsula and the eastern provinces.

It is worth noting two language educations in the Roman Empire. First, learning Greek was the foundation for building up knowledge in various academic fields. Greek scholars were the leading experts in these fields. During the Diadochi period, moreover, a large number of academic resources were already translated from various languages into Greek. The Romans did not impose a language policy to change the academic

¹⁰³ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 26.

language from Greek to Latin but rather learned Greek in order to acquire professional knowledge. Second, Latin education was a vital prerequisite not only for the Roman elites of the Italian peninsula but also for the local jurists of the eastern provinces. Since the local elites were responsible for following the laws of Rome and applying them to their provinces, they hired jurists who learned Latin for studying the laws of Rome in order to translate them from Latin into Greek.

Due to these linguistic ideologies, there existed a contrast in the demand for learning L2 between the elite classes of the Italian peninsula and the eastern provinces. This study will explore the Greek and Latin education in the Italian peninsula with a particular focus on identifying the prestige language(s) employed in their respective educational systems.

The Education of the Italian Peninsula

The oldest usage of the Greek language in the Italian peninsula was discovered at Gabii, the ancient city of Latium located in the east of Rome and dating back to around 770 BCE.¹⁰⁴ The evidence at Gabii suggests that the Greek language had an early influence on the Italian peninsula, and with some tribes speaking Greek before the establishment of the Roman Monarchy. As Clackson notes, Romans' Greek borrowing shows that they learned Greek for new material goods and technological advances when they first contacted Greek traders in the west coast of Italy.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, Alex Mullen's study emphasizes that early Latin poetry, Roman Law, and the concept of funerary epigraphy

¹⁰⁴ Swain, "Bilingualism," 130.

¹⁰⁵ Clackson, *Language and Society*, 89. See also Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 45.

were strongly influenced by Hellenism in the very early stage of the Roman Monarchy.¹⁰⁶ These pieces of evidence collectively underscore the significant impact of Greek culture on the early development of Roman civilization within the elite group.

Mullen states,

The proximity of the Greek-speaking communities of Magna Graecia, established from the eighth century BCE, to the Latin-speaking centres and the high regard in which Greek culture was held meant that Latin–Greek bilingualism became a feature of the elite society of Rome.¹⁰⁷

The comprehensive initiation of Greek education among the Roman elite on the Italian Peninsula commenced towards the close of the third century BCE.¹⁰⁸ As Romans increasingly embraced Hellenism, Greek was established as the academic language among the Roman elite group.¹⁰⁹ Due to the limited data, the specifics of the education system for Roman elites in the third and second centuries BCE remain largely unknown. However, literary evidence suggests that many Roman elites in the Italian peninsula possessed knowledge of Greek; Roman literatures dated around the third and second century BCE heavily rely on translation or adaptation of Greek material.¹¹⁰ The idiomatic usages and protocols in Greek presented in the diplomatic documents and treaties imply their knowledge of the Greek language and literature. Additionally, Quintus Ennius (239–169 BCE) used to state, *se tria corda habere, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret*. “he had three hearts because he knew how to speak in Greek, Osco, and Latin” (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 17.17.1).

¹⁰⁶ Mullen, “Latin,” 532.

¹⁰⁷ Mullen, “Latin,” 532.

¹⁰⁸ Petersmann, “Sprach- und Kulturpolitik,” 90–91; Swain, “Bilingualism,” 130.

¹⁰⁹ Especially, the Romans were attracted to the Greek literature and science. See Adrados, *Greek Language*, 210–11.

¹¹⁰ Swain, “Bilingualism,” 130–31.

Greek education gained more widespread acceptance among the Roman elites after 168 BCE, following the conclusion of the third Macedonian war by Roman General Lucius Aemilius Paullus. Paullus hired Greek tutors who taught the Greek language and brought numerous Greek papyri to Rome as booty.¹¹¹ Roman writings from this period indicate that the Roman elites became heavily exposed to the material and intellectual culture of Greece after the victory of the third Macedonian war. In his letter to his son, Marcus Tullius, Cicero (106–43 BCE) mentioned that he studied both Latin and Greek for his academic pursuits. Titus Pomponius Atticus (110–32 BCE) could speak Greek like a native Athenian. Lucius Licinius Crassus spoke Greek as if he did not know any other language. It is also well-known that Caesar often conversed in Greek.¹¹² According to Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (ca. 35–100 CE), many Romans started learning Greek from their childhood in the Italian peninsula (Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.1.12). When he delivered lectures in Greek in Rome between 75 and 90 CE, Plutarch felt no need to speak Latin because his Italian students were fluent in Greek.¹¹³ Marcus Fabius Quintilianus Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, written around 95 CE, demonstrates the widespread popularity of the Greek language among the Roman elites.¹¹⁴ The influence of Greek education on the Roman elite was substantial and long-lasting, significantly shaping the intellectual and cultural development of Rome. This is evident through the accounts of various prominent Roman figures and their mastery of the Greek language, as well as the popularity of Greek education among the elites during the first century CE.

¹¹¹ Swain, "Bilingualism," 131; Rochette, "Greek and Latin," 283.

¹¹² Dubuisson, "Correspondance," 78–79.

¹¹³ Horrocks, *Greek*, 126.

¹¹⁴ Horrocks, *Greek*, 126.

In addition, there are Roman bilingual texts recorded in both Latin and Greek.¹¹⁵ There are four types of use of Greek in the Romans' writings:

- (1) The use of Greek quotations in Latin prose: Some Romans employed Greek quotations instead of offering translations.¹¹⁶
- (2) The borrowing from Greek of technical terms: Since Latin was limited in explaining professional knowledge and expressing skillful rhetoric, the Roman elites predominantly borrowed Greek terms in academic fields.¹¹⁷
- (3) Code switching between Latin to Greek: Some Romans' writings were recorded with switching between Greek and Latin at syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels.¹¹⁸
- (4) Interference: Some Roman records include the writers' linguistic features from L1 which were transferred into the text in L2 unintentionally.¹¹⁹

The use of the Greek quotation and lexical borrowing from Greek terms may not imply a high level of Romans' knowledge of Greek. This is because it is challenging to determine whether or not they were imbedded in the language of a Roman society. However, the presence of interference in some Roman texts suggests a high level of bilingualism. Interference occurs when a writer's knowledge of their native language interferes with their use of their second language, indicating not only the ability to use Greek but also the capacity to do so fluently and accurately. Moreover, proficient code-

¹¹⁵ With regard to the study of the Romans' bilingual texts, see Adams, *Bilingualism*, 15–83.

¹¹⁶ Regarding the study of the Greek quotations in Latin prose, see Wenskus, "Zitatzwang"; Adams, *Bilingualism*, 29–30; Dubuisson, "Correspondance," 73.

¹¹⁷ In terms of the study of the borrowing from Greek technical terms, see Adams, *Bilingualism*, 29; Dubuisson, "Correspondance," 74–75.

¹¹⁸ With regard to the study of code switching, see Adams, *Bilingualism*, 18–29; Dunkel, "Remarks," 124–27; Dubuisson, "Correspondance," 77–78.

¹¹⁹ Regarding the example of interference presented in ancient Roman writings, see Adams, *Bilingualism*, 27–29; Clackson, "Social Dialects," 515–17.

switching requires not just a good command of both languages but also an understanding of the cultural and social contexts in which each language is employed. Data available prior to the first century CE clearly indicate that Roman elites were not only acquainted with Hellenistic culture but also possessed grammatical knowledge of Greek. The fact that Roman writers such as Cicero, Titus Lucretius Carus, and Polybius engaged in such practices reflects their deep familiarity with both Greek and Roman cultures, as well as their high level of education and linguistic training.¹²⁰

In addition, Juvenal (*Graecam urbem* 3.61) complained about a large population of the Greek-speaking people in Rome: *non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecam urbem*. “I cannot bear it, citizens (of Rome), a Greek city.” This historical record shows that the majority of inhabitants knew Κοινή Greek as at least their L2, irrespective of their ethnicity, social status, and occupation. In addition, the Roman elites’ letters show that they were fluent not only in Attic Greek but also in Κοινή Greek.¹²¹ The reliance of slaves in the Italian peninsula on Κοινή Greek for communication, despite their lack of Latin knowledge, further implies that Κοινή Greek functioned as the common language among Italians—who were bilingual in Latin and Greek—and their slaves, who spoke only Greek.¹²²

¹²⁰ The following studies provide inquiries of bilingualism of historical figures of the Roman state. Regarding the studies of Cicero, see Swain, “Bilingualism,” 128–67. With regard to the study of Lucretius, see Sedley, “Aspects.” In terms of the study of Polybius, see Dubuisson, *Polybe*. Regarding other examples of code switching presented in the Romans’ writings, see Adams, *Bilingualism*, 18–29.

¹²¹ In his letter, Cicero did not use Attic Greek but Κοινή Greek when he argued with Atticus. Dubuisson, “Correspondance,” 80. Regarding the Romans elites’ knowledge of Attic Greek and Κοινή Greek, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 133–37.

¹²² Despite the scholarly debate regarding Romans’ fluency in Greek, there is an overall consensus that the majority of educated Roman elites could read and write Greek during the Late Republic. See Swain, “Bilingualism,” 167–68. Regarding the slaves’ knowledge of Greek in the Italian peninsula, see Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 286.

Meanwhile, some Roman academic groups led a pro-Latinism movement and argued for the autonomy of Latin around the end of the second century BCE. They eschewed the use of Greek and highlighted the significance of speaking and writing Latin. For instance, Cato, who was the pupil of Lucius Aelius Stilo, insisted on the enrichment of the Latin language and emphasized the significance of its use.¹²³ However, it is noteworthy that even Latin grammar and rhetoric were influenced by the Greek language, as Rochette aptly observes:

Greek and Latin are so closely linked in the linguistic consciousness of the Romans that they came to assume a total assimilation of Latin to Greek: Latin is a form of Greek. This is the thesis that has come to be formulated at Rome from the time of Sulla to the reign of Claudius: Latin is presented as a Greek dialect, Aeolic.¹²⁴

This pro-Latin linguistic ideology was not widely adopted among the Roman scholarly groups of the first-century CE Roman Empire. Instead, the more prevailing movement was the pro-Hellenism which integrated Greek education into Latin education. As noted above, the scholars who advocated the pro-Hellenism made a breakthrough in Latin grammar, literature, and rhetoric. Alongside this movement, the Italian peninsula evolved into a bilingual society where Latin and Greek served as the prestige language not only in educational settings but also in public settings of the Italian peninsula.

The Education of the Eastern Provinces

The scarcity of historical records pertaining to the official institution for Latin education in the eastern provinces suggests a limited popularity of Latin education among the local

¹²³ See Rochette, "Greek and Latin," 284.

¹²⁴ Rochette, "Greek and Latin," 285.

elites. Nevertheless, Latin knowledge was a prerequisite for legal education in the eastern provinces, as Latin served as the language of law and jurisprudence of the central government of the Roman State. The local elites were responsible for ensuring that the provinces' inhabitants could follow Roman law.¹²⁵ Therefore, they had to hire legal scholars with knowledge of Latin to understand the Latin-based Roman laws and terminologies, which were challenging for those untrained in Roman law to grasp, and to translate them into Greek.¹²⁶

To be sure, some Greek scholars had knowledge of Latin for reading and writing, such as Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Appian, Dio Cassius, and Flavius Josephus.¹²⁷ However, Latin education was still rare among the elite groups of the eastern provinces in the first century CE. This is because Greek scholars held a greater sense of pride towards Greek education compared to Latin education.¹²⁸ According to the historical records (Suetonius, *Claud.* 16.2; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 60.17.4), even some Roman citizens of distinguished birth in the eastern provinces did not know Latin. Except for jurisprudence, Greek education was generally more popular and considered superior to Latin education even after the conquest of the Roman State.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Regarding the study of the legal scholars of the provinces, see Huttner, "Latin Law," 144–51.

¹²⁶ There were two types of legal experts in the Roman State: (1) *iurisconsulti* (those consulted on the law) and (2) *iuris periti* (jurisconsults or jurists). See Powell, "Legal Latin," 465.

¹²⁷ See Rochette, "Greek and Latin," 291.

¹²⁸ This pride of the Greek education is written in the following text: Πολυβίου δέ τις, κομιδῇ ἀπαιδευτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ σολοῖκου, εἰπόντος, Ὁ βασιλεὺς με τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ τετίμηκεν: εἶθε σε, ἔφη, Ἑλλήνα μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαῖον πεποιήκει. 'And when a certain Polybius, a man of low birth and uncouth manners, said, "The king has honored me with Roman citizenship," Demonax replied, "Oh, if only he had made you a Greek rather than a Roman"' (Lucian, *Demon* 40). For more examples, see Anderson, *Sophistic*, 122–25.

¹²⁹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 132.

The role of Greek as the prestige language within Greek elite groups dates back to the fifth century BCE.¹³⁰ Plato (*Sta.* 262d) argues a dichotomous framework that segregates humanity into two distinct groups: (1) Ἕλληνικοί “Greeks” and (2) βάρβαροι “barbarians.” According to Sophocles (*Tra.* 1060), barbarian languages are deprived of formal recognition and disparagingly likened to avian vocalizations. Rochette states that Greeks’ pride in their language indicates its status as the prestige language:

The Greek world remains monoglot at least until the Hellenistic period. Great Greek travelers such as Herodotus and Hecataeus do not feel the need to learn the languages of the peoples they visit, since they are convinced that Greek is universally understood and that they will always find people who are capable of translating the texts in which they are interested. We know from Herodotus (2.154) that Pharaoh Psammetichos I had entrusted Ionian colonists with Egyptian infants, in order to produce bilingual speakers who would become interpreters.¹³¹

In the first century BC, Strabo (*Geogr.* 14.2.28) underscores a linguistic elitism that privileges Greek as the sole legitimate tongue.

It is worth noting two types of educational institutions in the eastern provinces. First, the center of Greek education in the eastern province was the gymnasium, the educational institution that trained people physically as well as intellectually in the Greek language. The gymnasium contained spaces for various types of exercise; in porticos, especially, philosophers and literary people held public lectures and disputations. In Greece, therefore, Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek scholars bought or constructed the gymnasiums in order to establish them as the headquarters for their philosophical schools.¹³² The gymnasiums were widely built in the eastern provinces

¹³⁰ Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 282.

¹³¹ Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 282.

¹³² Forbes, “Greek Gymnasium,” 34–36.

and served not only as the Greek educational institution but also as the foundation of hellenizing the city in the first century CE.¹³³

Second, Hellenistic libraries served not only as the reference rooms but also as the academic institutions for research on Hellenism. The biggest library in the eastern provinces was the Musaeum at Alexandria founded by Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367–283 BCE) and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309–246 BCE) and supported by the subsequent royal family of Ptolemies.¹³⁴ The Musaeum probably contained half a million papyri, and its extensive and diverse collection included works on various topics such as mathematics, astronomy, medicine, philosophy, and literature, which continued to attract scholars and intellectuals from all over the Mediterranean world. Musaeum was the symbol of the true successor of the Greek academy in the Hellenistic world since Greek served as the *lingua franca* for the academic social practices among scholars.¹³⁵ It is well-known as the academic research center where some of the best Hellenistic scholars, such as Euclid, Callimachus, and Eratosthenes, worked in collaboration for textual criticism that identified the original texts, translated the foreign texts to Greek, and various academic fields.¹³⁶

The second biggest literary trove in the eastern provinces was the library of Pergamum, storing two hundred thousand volumes. Greek served as the *lingua franca* of the library of Pergamum as well because the scholars of this library competed against the scholars of Musaeum, arguing that they were the true successor of the Greek

¹³³ Takács, “Alexandria in Rome,” 273–76.

¹³⁴ Ryholt, “Libraries,” 23–25.

¹³⁵ Erskine, “Culture and Power,” 40–43. Woolf, “Introduction,” 11–13.

¹³⁶ Erskine, “Culture and Power,” 38–39.

academy.¹³⁷

During the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty, the Musaeum experienced major losses of scholars and papyri because the library was damaged by a variety of events, such as fires, wars, and political instability. However, after the Roman State conquered the eastern provinces, the Roman emperors became patrons to support Hellenistic libraries in the eastern provinces.¹³⁸ As a result, the Musaeum began to recover its previous reputation as an active hub of Greek scholarship and learning under the support of the Roman Empire.

Along with the popularity of Greek education, other educational centers of Greek learning emerged throughout the Roman Empire. Cicero demonstrated the processes by which Lucius Lucullus's library became a Greek education center with Greek scholars in Rome (Plutarch, *Luc.* 42.1–2).¹³⁹ Greek was frequently employed in literary collections stored within educational centers and libraries established by non-Romans, particularly among diaspora Jews.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, public libraries served as Greek cultural centers that hosted various forms of entertainment and events, catering to non-specialist and even illiterate visitors.¹⁴¹ Since Romans did not control the use of Greek as the academic language of the Hellenistic libraries of the eastern provinces, Greek still served as the academic language in the Roman Empire.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ See Erskine, "Culture and Power," 46.

¹³⁸ Rodenbeck, "Literary Alexandria," 271; Woolf, "Introduction," 2.

¹³⁹ Woolf, "Introduction," 11–13; Nicholls, "Roman Libraries," 266–67.

¹⁴⁰ See Woolf, "Introduction," 19. Ryholt ("Libraries," 28–29, 33) notes that the Tebtunis temple library in Egypt stored a multitude of Greek manuscripts, including Greek literature and scientific texts. Robson ("Assyria and Babylonia," 55) demonstrates the demise of indigenous culture in the libraries of Assyria and Babylonia during the middle of the second century BCE.

¹⁴¹ Nicholls, "Roman Libraries," 274–76.

¹⁴² Isidore's historical account of libraries in the Roman Empire highlights the popularity of Greek translations from the texts with various languages within ancient library collections. See Woolf, "Introduction," 3–4.

Taking all of this information into consideration, Greek was the dominant academic language not only in the eastern provinces, but also in the Italian peninsula during the first century CE. Greek scholars were the leading experts in these fields. During the Hellenistic period, a large number of academic resources were already translated from various languages into Greek. Despite this, the Roman elites did not diminish the prestige of Greek in academic fields. Rather, they supported Greek education because they considered themselves to be the true successors of Hellenism. As a result, no official educational institution for Latin was established in the eastern provinces.

Government

The Roman emperors did not implement a strict language policy preventing the use of Greek in the political settings of the eastern provinces.¹⁴³ Therefore, two linguistic ideologies were prevalent in the first century CE: (1) the pro-Latin linguistic ideology and (2) the pro-Greek linguistic ideology. Pro-Latin advocates argued for the use of Latin by the Roman government in order to express Roman superiority. They considered Greek to be an inappropriate language in the official settings of the government and used interpreters to translate their Latin speech into Greek. Pro-Greek advocates, on the other hand, predominately spoke Greek in the government because a significant number of the eastern province inhabitants did not understand Latin.

For the inquiry of the prestige language in the government, it is useful to investigate two different language forms: the written language form and the oral

¹⁴³ Roman language policy did not impose by the force the use of Latin but was well-adapted to the bilingual circumstances of Latin and Greek. See Dubuisson, "Politique Linguistique," 78–81.

language form. This study will explore official and historical records in order to ascertain which linguistic ideology was prevalent for the oral and written language forms in the governments of the eastern provinces.

The Linguistic Ideology of the Written Language Form

Whereas the central government had a policy that stored the official documents in the imperial archives and preserved the originals under the Principate of Rome after the time of Augustus, it was not until the second century CE that the governors of the provinces had well-organized archives.¹⁴⁴ The archives of the central government housed various types of official documents such as evidence of past administrative action, laws, financial and accounting records, tax records and land documents, documentation asserting control over persons, and notarial records documenting business transactions.¹⁴⁵ After sending or receiving the official documents, individuals could make their own copies with the following records: the date when the copy was produced, the clerk who supervised its production, the names of the witnesses who proved its authenticity, and sometimes a note on the archive which stored the original.¹⁴⁶

Epigraphy confirms the flexible language policy of the eastern provinces that permitted the use of either Latin or Greek as the official language of Roman official documents. Latin served as the administrative language of the central government of the Roman State. However, it needed the bilingualism of Latin and Greek in the bureaucracy of the eastern provinces because the majority of the inhabitants did not know Latin. On

¹⁴⁴ Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 81.

¹⁴⁵ Martínez and Senseney, "Special Libraries," 413.

¹⁴⁶ Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 81.

the one hand, some official documents of the eastern provinces were written in Latin for communication with the officials of the central government, the Roman magistrates, and the emperor.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, the imperial constitutions were supposed to be translated from the official documents into Greek so that the inhabitants of the eastern provinces understood their obligations.¹⁴⁸ Horrocks points out that “Roman willingness to use the Koine as an official language of diplomacy and administration is well illustrated by . . . extracts from a translation of a decree of the Senate (*senatusconsultum*), dated 170 BC, concerning the city of Thisbae in Boeotia.”¹⁴⁹ Sometimes, the Greek text is followed by a Latin *subscriptio* of the governor that functions in authorizing the promulgation of the Greek version (e.g., P.Oxy. 10.1271; SEG 26.1353).¹⁵⁰ There were a large number of Greek official documents (e.g., many edicts by Hadrian) and bilingual documents in Latin and Greek (e.g., the *Res gestae* by Augustus) until the reign of Diocletian (ca. 242–311).¹⁵¹ Some original bilingual documents were composed in Latin by the Roman officials, and the Roman officials or legal scholars translated them into Greek for the inhabitants of the eastern provinces.¹⁵²

The official Roman statements for the public in the eastern provinces were written in Greek or Latin and Greek translation, and posted in the most conspicuous

¹⁴⁷ Rochette (“Greek and Latin,” 290) demonstrates the four possible situations where Latin was used in the government of the eastern provinces: “exchanges between the central government, i.e., the emperor and the Roman magistrates in function in the provinces (the correspondence of Pliny the Younger with Trajan is a good example); communication between the Roman magistrates and the Roman colonies; the administration of the Roman colonies; and, to a certain extent, administration relative to the *civitates Romani*.” Also see, Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 283–84.

¹⁴⁸ Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 87.

¹⁴⁹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 141–42.

¹⁵⁰ Rochette, “Language Policies,” 555.

¹⁵¹ Rochette, “Language Policies,” 553; Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 283–84.

¹⁵² According to Huttner’s study, the majority of the Romans’ official documents were a translation of Latin because they include the technical terms in which traces of the original Latin can be found. However, there were some documents that were originally written in Greek. See Huttner, “Latin Law,” 139–44.

places.¹⁵³ Around 51–50 BCE, the governor of Asia Minor wrote the official document in Greek and ordered its copies to be distributed to Ephesus, Tralles, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis, and Adramyttium.¹⁵⁴ In 9 BCE, Paullus Fabius Maximus, the Roman senator, ordered the text of the decree of the *koinon* to be affixed with his own edict in both Greek and Latin.¹⁵⁵ Augustus wrote the official document in Greek and distributed it to the public of the eastern provinces in 4 BCE.¹⁵⁶ The Gospel of John also shows that the inscription of Jesus' title "the King of the Jews" was written in Greek, Latin, and Aramaic and put on the cross (John 19:19–20).

The Roman Empire's language policy for the written language form was flexible in the eastern provinces since the majority of the inhabitants did not know Latin but Greek. The flexibility of the Roman language policy is evident in the use of bilingual inscriptions on official documents in the archives. Latin and Greek were often used side by side, sometimes even in the same inscriptions, to ensure that both Latin-speaking and Greek-speaking populations could understand the message. This practice highlights the Empire's willingness to accommodate the Hellenistic landscape of the eastern provinces.

The Linguistic Ideologies of the Oral Language Form

The Roman Empire had a flexible language policy, allowing politicians to choose between Latin and Greek for official social practices, depending on the potential political advantages. This flexibility stemmed from two prevalent linguistic ideologies

¹⁵³ Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 101–3.

¹⁵⁴ Regarding the Greek document, see Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 272–76. In terms of the English translation, see Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 83.

¹⁵⁵ Huttner, "Latin Law," 145.

¹⁵⁶ Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 174–82; Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 84.

for the oral language form at the time: pro-Latin linguistic ideology and pro-Greek linguistic ideology. To be sure, the advocates of the pro-Latin linguistic ideology spoke Latin and employed Greek translators in the official settings of the government. Meanwhile, the advocates of the pro-Greek linguistic ideology spoke Greek for the social practices of the government to communicate with the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the eastern provinces effectively.

The scholars who argue for the language policy supporting the pro-Latin linguistic ideology in the first-century CE Roman Empire have overemphasized the historical records regarding two emperors, Tiberius and Claudius.¹⁵⁷ It is true that Tiberius and Claudius were the advocates of the pro-Latin linguistic ideology. Tiberius avoided using Greek in the Senate and forbade people who had been asked to give evidence to reply in Greek (Suetonius, *Tib.* 71). Claudius removed a Roman citizen of distinguished birth in the province of Greece from the list of jurors and revoked his Roman citizenship because of his lack of knowledge in Latin (Suetonius, *Claud.* 16.2; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 60.17.4).¹⁵⁸ However, Tiberius and Claudius executed an inconsistent policy for the use of Greek; they also had to employ Greek for official social practices since not many inhabitants of the eastern provinces knew Latin. Dio Cassius points out Tiberius's inconsistent attitude toward using Greek, as Tiberius forbade a centurion's Greek advice in the Senate but used to examine many witnesses there himself in Greek (Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 57.15.3–4). Claudius mostly employed

¹⁵⁷ The following scholars are the advocates of this argument: Rochette, "Language Policies," 550–52. Rochette, "Greek and Latin," 283; Petersmann, "Sprach- und Kulturpolitik," 96–97; Adams, "Bilingualism," 124–25; Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 188–89.

¹⁵⁸ According to Cicero's speech *pro Caecina*, technically, the denaturalization of a Roman citizenship was prohibited. Regarding the text of Cicero's speech, see Ando, "Making Romans," 184.

Greek for communication with Greek ambassadors in the Senate (Suetonius, *Claud.* 42). Moreover, Claudius stated that both Latin and Greek were the languages of the Roman State (Suetonius, *Claud.* 42).

According to historical records regarding the other emperors, the linguistic ideology of using Greek in the provincial governments without a translator gained popularity. Pompey read his speech to the king of Egypt in Greek (Plutarch, *Pomp.* 79.2). After the war of the Actium, Octavius delivered his speech to the Alexandrians in Greek (Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 51.16.4). The young Nero spoke Latin to the inhabitants of Bononia and Greek to the inhabitants of Rhodes and Ilion (Suetonius, *Nero* 7.2).

The Roman Jurists' documents of the second century CE are worth noting because they show that the use of minority languages was legally permitted in official settings. Gaius (130–180 CE), the jurist, officially recorded the permission to speak any language for a legal statement in the court:

Et quamuis ad Graecam uocem expressae fuerint, ueluti hoc modo [etiam haec] tamen inter ciues Romanos ualent, si modo Graeci sermonis intellectum habeant. et e contraiio quamuis Latine enuntientur, tamen etiam inter peregrinos ualent, si modo Latini sermonis intellectum habeant.
 “Even though they are expressed in Greek, they are still valid between Roman citizens, if they understand Greek; and on the other hand, although they may be expressed in Latin, they will be still valid even between *peregrines* (foreigners), provided they are familiar with the Latin language.” (Gaius, *Inst.* 3.93)¹⁵⁹

Ulpian (ca. 170–228 CE) accepted the use of Latin, Greek, and other vernacular languages for official legal statements:

Eadem an alia lingua respondeatur, nihil interest. proinde si quis latine interrogauerit, respondeatur ei graece, dummodo congruenter respondeatur, obligatio constituta est: idem per contrarium. sed utrum hoc usque ad graecum sermonem tantum protrahimus an uero et ad alium, poenum forte vel assyrium vel cuius alterius linguae, dubitari potest. et scriptura sabini, sed et uerum

¹⁵⁹ English translation is mine.

patitur, ut omnis sermo contineat verborum obligationem, ita tamen, ut uterque alterius linguam intellegat sive per se sive per verum interpretem.

“It makes no difference whether the answer is made in the same language or in another language. Therefore, if a man asks in Latin but receives a reply in Greek, as long as the reply is consistent, the obligation is settled; the same by the opposite. However, whether we have extended this rule to the Greek language only or even to another, such as Punic or Assyrian or some other tongue, is a matter for doubt. The writings of Sabinus, however, allow it to be true that all tongues can produce a verbal obligation so that both parties understand each other's language, either of their own accord or by means of a truthful interpreter.” (Ulpian, *Dig.* 45.1.1.6)¹⁶⁰

These legal documents demonstrate that linguistic pluralism was officially recognized by Roman law in the second century CE. There appears to be no discernible difference in the linguistic ideology of the eastern provinces for using Greek as the prestige language of the Roman government in the first and second centuries CE, as the Romans did not have yet a systematic language policy with specific regulations for the prestige language of the government in the first century CE. In other words, the issue of the code choice for official social practices was left to the personal preference of each governor. Historical records also indicate that Roman authorities frequently used Greek in the official government settings, suggesting their freedom to choose the official language for provincial government without any legal constraints on the use of other languages. Nevertheless, there is extremely little documentation about the use of other vernacular languages in official settings, especially compared to the extensive record of the use of Greek. Taking all these into consideration, it is apparent that Greek was used for official social practices far more than other vernacular languages in the first century CE.

¹⁶⁰ English translation is mine.

Religion

In sociolinguistic fields, it is well-known that religious communities may have a unique language policy that manages and controls sacred language ideologies for official settings, such as public prayers, hymns, sacred text readings, and sermons.¹⁶¹ In this dissertation, I define *Sacred Language Ideology* as a linguistic ideology in which a religious community considers a specific word, language, and code to be holy in order to express awe towards its referent (e.g., Tetragrammaton, *Nomina Sacra*, and the Hebrew language itself in Judaism). Joshua A. Fishman stresses the significance of the sociocultural or socioreligious function of sacred language and points out that the linguistic ideology for religious language depends on an understanding of the function of the language as religiosity and as non-religiosity.¹⁶²

The differentiation of the linguistic ideologies between religiosity and non-religiosity helps explain how religious communities develop and maintain their unique language policies, which are essential for preserving their cultural and religious identities. With this in mind, it is worth noting two types of linguistic ideology.¹⁶³ On the one hand, the sacred language ideology involves anti-secularism and considers the original language used in the religious text to be the sacred language, while the language written in its translation to be the inferior language.¹⁶⁴ This is because, along with this

¹⁶¹ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 56–57.

¹⁶² Fishman, “A Decalogue,” 18.

¹⁶³ Fishman, “A Decalogue,” 21–24. Regarding the linguistic ideology of religiosity, see Carrasco and Riegelhaupt, “Language,” 263–64. With regard to the linguistic ideology of non-religiosity, see McCarron, “Alcoholism and Authority.”

¹⁶⁴ According to the sociolinguistic examination of Carrasco and Riegelhaupt (“Language,” 259–77), whereas such examples as the Pascua, the Yaqui, and Hopi elders use English for a casual conversation, they use their indigenous languages for their rituals with an evident sacred language ideology. Considering their ritual as holy, they do not translate their ritual terms into English although some members cannot understand because they believe that English is a secular language.

linguistic ideology, the language serves to connect the religious community to the divine and to convey the sacredness of the religious experience. Regardless of the language shift or death, the advocates of this linguistic ideology continue learning the original language of the religious text in order to pass the sacred text down to the next generation. On the other hand, the secular linguistic ideology focuses on using the religious languages and texts for applying them to contemporaries in secular contexts—social, cultural, economic, and political contexts—rather than determining their religious meaning.¹⁶⁵ The advocates of this linguistic ideology promote translating the original language of the sacred text into the vernacular languages so that many people can understand the sacred text efficiently.

As long as they did not challenge its authority, the Roman State permitted any religions in the provinces, which resulted in various religious communities. The institutional religion of the Roman Empire was the Roman imperial cult. This study determines which linguistic ideology the Roman elite group held in relation to the imperial cult: the sacred language ideology or secular language ideology. It is worth noting progressions by which the imperial cult had been developed from Hellenism to Romanization. Initially, the imperial cult began as part of the Hellenistic tradition, which expressed gratitude for political benefactions by granting honors.

With this in mind, this study aims at determining which language served as the

¹⁶⁵ Wolf investigates the range of religious terms in West African English to find the relationship between the religious terms and their sociocultural function. Wolf's study shows that the variances of religious terms are used for their different sociocultural purposes. See Wolf, "Religion and Traditional Belief." Moreover, Salami concentrates on eighty-four sociocultural terms for the image of God among the Yoruba people. Salami demonstrates that the Yoruba's religious terms could be categorized into nine types according to sociocultural functions. Salami further claims that the religious community could devise new religious terms for Sacred Language for religious naturalization. These studies point out that some religious communities often make use of sociocultural images in order to express awe based on their sociocultural contexts. See Salami, "Creating God."

prestige language for the official social practice of the Imperial cult in the first century CE. To this end, this study will identify whether the Romans embraced the secular language ideology of Hellenistic tradition with Greek or imposed their own sacred language ideology with Latin by exploring the history of the development of the Imperial cult.

The Hellenistic Concept of the Imperial Cult

The fundamental concept of the imperial cult originated not from Roman culture but from Hellenistic culture. The concept of the divinity of the king was popularized among the majority of the eastern provinces after the conquest of Alexander. For the local elites of the eastern provinces, worshiping the king was not only a religious ceremony but also a political ceremony that declared their allegiance to an outside power.¹⁶⁶ The Hellenistic concept of the living governors' divine honor was declared by the Spartan general Lysander, Clearchus of Heraclea, and Philip II of Macedon.¹⁶⁷ Alexander established the title *θεός* for the divine kingship as a standard practice. Egyptians accepted Alexander as a Pharaoh who deputized for the deities in the role of an intermediary between the deities and the people, and other nations also considered him to be the divine ruler as the most manifest of the gods.¹⁶⁸ Alexander adopted this practice when he was proclaimed Pharaoh in Egypt in 332 BCE. Subsequently, his successors the Diadochi also used divine titles in order to express their divine kingship

¹⁶⁶ Taeger, *Charisma*, 1:179–90.

¹⁶⁷ Price (“Greek Language,” 81) states, “As early as the fourth century BC one Greek writer commented that it was easier for Philip of Macedon now to become a *theos* than it had been for him to reach his present position of political supremacy.”

¹⁶⁸ Taeger, *Charisma*, 1:191–208.

as a standard practice during their reign.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the local elites had official cults of θεοὶ ἀδελφοί (God Brothers) and θεοὶ σωτῆρες (God Saviors) for Alexander and his successors.¹⁷⁰ Antiochus IV Epiphanes, a Greek Hellenistic king of the Seleucid Empire, was the first person who inserted his own portrait onto a coin with the inscription of the title θεός.¹⁷¹

Following this Hellenistic tradition, the local elites expressed that they surrendered political power to the Roman governors. In various religious ways, the Roman governors of the eastern provinces received divine honor from the local elites of their provinces before the period of the Roman Empire.¹⁷² The Roman governors' reactions to this Hellenistic tradition varied because it was not familiar to Italians. Cicero did not allow temples, statues, or chariots to be made in honor of him while he served as the Roman governor of Cilicia. However, some Roman governors permitted Hellenistic cult practices such as this. Appius Claudius Pulcher approved that Cilicians built a temple to him. In addition, Titus Quinctius Flamininus allowed Greeks to build the temple for him, insert his portrait into the coin, and worship him along with the cult of goddess Roma.¹⁷³ Prusias I Chalus, the king of Bithynia, prostrated, kissed the threshold, and addressed the senators as his protecting deities when he entered the Roman Senate (Livy, *Ab urbe cond.* 45.44.20).

During the late period of the Roman Republic, the Roman dictators employed Hellenistic culture and religion in order to insist upon their relationship with Greek gods.

¹⁶⁹ Price, "Gods," 86–87; Myles, "Father," 166–67.

¹⁷⁰ See Price, "Gods," 81.

¹⁷¹ Price, "Gods," 81.

¹⁷² Taeger, *Charisma*, 2:40.

¹⁷³ The goddess Roma was made for the personification of the power of Rome in the cult of the eastern provinces. Price, "Gods," 81.

Sula, Pompey, and Caesar insisted upon their special relationship with Venus Felix as their divine patron.¹⁷⁴ After his victory at the battle of Munda (45 BCE), especially, Caesar became the first Roman who enjoyed the divine honors as a living god in the Italian peninsula.¹⁷⁵ Since he was descended from Ancus Marcius, the fourth king of the Roman Monarchy, Caesar's divine honors seemed to tie in with the authenticity of his kingship, returning from the republic system to the monarchy system of the Roman State.¹⁷⁶ However, Caesar did not establish the imperial cult, as he was assassinated in 44 BCE shortly after receiving divine honors.

On the basis of the Hellenistic concept of the political governor as θεός, Augustus, the first emperor of the Roman Empire, established the imperial cult that worshiped Caesar as a *Divus* (a divine being). According to Latin tradition, however, the uppermost ranks of Rome's imperial aristocracy did not hold a favorable perspective on the emperor's divine portrayal. Worshiping a living king as θεός had been rejected for a long time after the Roman State changed its political system from the monarchy system to the republic system.¹⁷⁷ Meanwhile, the cult of the dead emperors was acceptable for the Romans of the Italian peninsula because of their traditional cult to *di parentes* (the dead ancestor). Debate among Roman elites regarding the concept of the imperial cult led to the prevailing ideology on the Italian peninsula that the emperor was not *Divus* during their lifetime but could be made *Divus* after his death. Mostly, the Roman

¹⁷⁴ Sula added the name of Felix to his name later in his life. Pompey believed that he had a social favor of Venus and built her temple. See Taeger, *Charisma*, 2:44–49.

¹⁷⁵ His statue was built with the inscription *Deo Invicto* (the unconquered god), and Caesar's portrait was inserted into the Roman coin, which symbolized the divinity of Caesar. Regarding the cult for Caesar, see Taeger, *Charisma*, 2:50–88.

¹⁷⁶ Caesar received the title *parens patriae* (father of the fatherland). Caesar's statue was erected next to the statues of the kings of the Roman Monarchy.

¹⁷⁷ Taeger, *Charisma*, 2:34.

concept of *Divus* did not refer to the living emperor as god but was used for the dead emperors' divine honor in the earliest stage of the Roman Empire. As S. R. F. Price points out,

The predication of *theos* placed the emperor within the traditional religious system. He was located in an ambivalent position, higher than mortals but not fully the equal of the gods. The cult he received was described as *isotheoi timai*, and the *eusebeia* which the cult displayed was compatible with honours not fully divine.¹⁷⁸

In contrast to the Roman elites of the Italian peninsula who only accepted the cult of the dead emperors as *Divus*, the local elites of the eastern provinces actively promoted the dissemination of the imperial cult for the living emperor. Correspondence between the provincial governments and the central government reveals that the western provinces had a scarcity of instances where the Roman emperors were accorded divine honor. Whereas six Latin letters regarding imperial pronouncements have been found in the western provinces, there exist approximately three hundred such Greek Letters originating from the eastern provinces.¹⁷⁹ This is because there was no problem with worshipping the living emperor as θεός in the eastern provinces because they already offered the same divine honor to the Hellenistic kings and the Roman governors during the Roman Republic period.¹⁸⁰ As these local elites, following their Hellenistic tradition, spontaneously worshiped the living emperor as θεός, the local inhabitants of the eastern provinces had a different terminology and procedure for divinizing an emperor than

¹⁷⁸ Price, "Gods," 94.

¹⁷⁹ See Myles, "Father," 166–67.

¹⁸⁰ Price, "Gods," 84–85.

those of the Italian peninsula.¹⁸¹

The Role of the Local Elites of the Eastern Provinces

The imperial cult in the eastern provinces spread rapidly and widely before the first century CE. Sanctuaries for the Greek cult in the eastern provinces already had a diverse range of purposes beyond being a location for people to connect with divine forces during the period of the Diadochi.¹⁸² They were centers for entertainment, communication, and trade, hosting events such as athletic games, theatrical performances, and marketplaces. Additionally, these sanctuaries functioned as neutral spaces for political activities, where local elites could gather and discuss matters without the pressure of local politics. Since the local elites, who already acknowledged the Romans' sovereignty over their provinces, found it less challenging to worship the Roman emperors in their Hellenistic ways, they played a crucial role in facilitating the spread of the Roman imperial cult. This integration of the imperial cult into the existing religious landscape allowed it to become an essential aspect of the provinces' identity and social fabric.

By incorporating the worship of Roman emperors into their existing religious practices and customs, the local elites legitimized Roman rule and fostered a sense of

¹⁸¹ Other samples of Greek title for honoring the emperor are as follows: (1) πατρί πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀν[θρ]ώπων γένους 'to the father of the fatherland and the entire human race,' (2) πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους 'the father of the fatherland and the whole human race,' (3) πατέρα μὲν τῆς [ἐαυ]τοῦ πατ[ρ]ίδος θεᾶς Ῥώμης, Δία δὲ πατρῶν καὶ σωτήρα τοῦ κο[ι][ν]οῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους 'on one hand, the father of his own fatherland, the divine Rome; but on the other hand, Zeus, the paternal and savior of the common human race,' (4) [ταῖς εἰς πάντας ἀνθρ]ώπους εὐεργεσίαις 'through his good deeds towards all people,' (5) τὸν πάντων ἀνθρώπων σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην 'the savior and benefactor of all mankind,' and (6) [κ]τίστης νέων ἀγαθῶν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις 'the creator of all new good things for all mankind.' See Myles, "Father," 165–66.

¹⁸² Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 173.

shared identity and loyalty to the empire. The location of sanctuaries was important to the local elites of the eastern provinces because Greek cults were a crucial part of the political and social life of the ancient Greeks, and the establishment of sanctuaries and the practice of cults was an important means by which the *polis* (city-state) could demonstrate its power and prestige.¹⁸³ For the local elites, moreover, the imperial cult served as a political strategy that expressed and fostered ties between the central government and their provincial government.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, the local elites of the eastern provinces competed for *Neocorate*, a high rank that built the temples for the imperial cult, and encouraged the imperial cult among the inhabitants of their provinces.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, the Greek cult took place widely with various scales from an official *temenos* with temples to a simple holy place in rural regions.¹⁸⁶

Due to the debate surrounding the imperial cult, the emperors could serve neither as the language agency nor as the language advocator in the early stage of the Roman Empire.¹⁸⁷ They had to carefully apply the Hellenistic concept to the imperial cult in a way that application of the Hellenistic concept did not challenge the Roman tradition. It is worth noting two different ways that the Roman emperors responded to the concept of *Divus*. On the one hand, Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius permitted the consideration of previous emperors to be *Divus* but rejected worshipping themselves as a living god. They did not use the Greek title *θεός* for themselves in the Italian

¹⁸³ Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 173.

¹⁸⁴ Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 198–99.

¹⁸⁵ See Price, *Rituals and Power*, 64–65. Regarding the information of the sacred landscape of the imperial cult, see Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 175.

¹⁸⁶ Alcock, *Graecia Capta*, 175.

¹⁸⁷ Price (*Rituals and Power*, 65) also states, “the fact that the emperor might decline the honours did not discourage the Greeks and shows that there were no Roman pressures on the cults.”

peninsula.¹⁸⁸ Tiberius's letter to the city of Gythium in Laconia shows that Greeks implemented the laws for veneration of Augustus and honour to the Roman Empire. Tiberius's nephew and adoptive son, Germanicus, wrote the letter to prohibit Greeks from expressing divine adulation towards him.¹⁸⁹ On the other hand, Caligula and Nero claimed to be divinities and did not prohibit the imperial cult that worshipped them as divine beings.¹⁹⁰ Yet even despite their efforts, their true deification was not accomplished. Rather, an ideology that viewed the imperial cult for the living emperors as an act of impiety was still prevalent in the Italian peninsula even during the time of Caligula and Nero. Some Romans even mocked Caligula for pretending to be a god.¹⁹¹ Although the Romans worshiped Caesar, Augustus, and Claudius as *Divus* after their death, Caligula and Nero did not become *Divi*.¹⁹²

Price argues that the imperial cult fell under the regular processes of the central government.¹⁹³ Price believes that the Roman governors had the direct authority to organize and control the imperial cult in the eastern provinces.¹⁹⁴ It is true that some Roman politicians engaged in the development and organization of the building work of the temple for the imperial cult.¹⁹⁵

Nevertheless, it remains uncertain whether they implemented a language policy

¹⁸⁸ Price, "Gods," 81.

¹⁸⁹ Regarding information of these letters, see Myles, "Father," 164–65.

¹⁹⁰ Caligula railed against a Jewish embassy who did not respect him as θεός (Philo, *Leg.* 353; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 19:284). Nero permitted the dedication of a temple to Nero as a living *Divus* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.74).

¹⁹¹ Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus evaluates Caligula's acting like a god as the behavior of a monster (Suetonius, *Cal.* 22.1–4)

¹⁹² Regarding the list of the Roman emperors who became *Divus*, see Cagnat, *Cours*, 170–71. The papyrus (P.Mich. 14.676) uses the divine title θεός for six emperors but not for Nero.

¹⁹³ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 70.

¹⁹⁴ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 70–71.

¹⁹⁵ Strubbe, "Pressinous," 119–20.

that controlled and altered the Hellenistic tradition for the imperial cult. This is because Roman governors had limited discretionary power in managing and controlling the imperial cult in the eastern provinces. In cases where the Roman governors regulated the imperial cult, they were required to seek permission from the emperor or other central government authorities.¹⁹⁶ Since the Roman governors did not have enough incumbency to establish a systematic language policy for the eastern provinces, they had to rely on the policy of the central government.

Moreover, there were no politicians of the central government who forced Latinization for the imperial cult in the eastern provinces. Even Roman priests did not have specific language policies for the religious language of the imperial cult. The absence of a language policy from the Roman priests resulted in a lack of standardization in the religious language used to describe the emperors.¹⁹⁷ The use of either Latin or Greek divine titles for Augustus in the Italian peninsula, as well as the adoption of various titles in the eastern provinces, reflects the localized nature of the imperial cult and the ways in which it incorporated elements of local traditions and beliefs. Three-quarters of the civic priesthoods of Augustus did not employ the divine title for him. The remaining quarter of the civic priesthoods employed various titles including the Greek title *θεός* to express the divine honor of Augustus (*IGR* 4.256; *IGR* 4.1.302).¹⁹⁸ This suggests that even the staunchest advocates of the imperial cult for Augustus did not have a systematic language policy for standardizing his divine title.

¹⁹⁶ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 70.

¹⁹⁷ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 3.

¹⁹⁸ Price, "Gods," 82, 85.

Furthermore, the third-century CE papyrus regarding application for membership of the Gymnasium (P.Oxy. 22.2345) shows an inconsistent use of various divine titles for the emperors.¹⁹⁹ Even in the third century CE, the Roman Empire did not have a standardized language policy for the imperial cult and allowed the use of various divine titles for the emperors. These divine titles indicate the localized nature of the cult and the importance of regional context in understanding its development.

It is more plausible that the Romans adopted and adapted Hellenistic culture in the eastern provinces to facilitate smoother governance, which extended to the imperial cult as well. The process of translating Greek legends and mythologies into Latin for the imperial cult in the Italian peninsula demonstrates the willingness of Roman elites and priests to adapt and incorporate elements of Hellenistic culture into their own religious traditions.²⁰⁰ This language planning aimed to preserve the essence of the Hellenistic cult while also adapting it to the Roman context, emphasizing the cultural connections between Rome and Greece. The use of Greek loanwords in Latin texts related to the imperial cult demonstrates the challenges that Roman elites faced in finding suitable Latin equivalents for certain Greek terms, particularly proper nouns. In some cases, these loanwords were used to denote specific Greek religious concepts or practices that had no direct equivalent in Latin. This allowed the Roman audience to better understand the original Hellenistic ideas and practices, while at the same time integrating them into the Roman religious system. This linguistic and cultural exchange not only helped create a sense of shared identity between Rome and Greece, but also allowed the Roman elites

¹⁹⁹ See Jong, "Egyptian Papyri," 248–49.

²⁰⁰ Ando, "Interpretatio Romana," 60–61.

to bolster their own prestige and status by aligning themselves with the esteemed Hellenistic culture.

Consequently, the central government had neither management agencies nor management advocates that implemented a language policy for the imperial cult. The imperial cult was not formed based on sacred language ideology of Romanization but on the secular language ideology of Hellenism considering the fact that the local elites of Greece began to popularize it throughout entire provinces. Subsequently, the Romans accepted the Hellenistic tradition of the imperial cult from the local elites of the eastern provinces. This cult involved religious and political practices that worshiped the living emperors for their divine honors.²⁰¹ Although the imperial cult took a religious form, its primary function was political, as it aimed to establish a hierarchical structure between the emperors and the elite group.²⁰² During the Roman Republic period, instead, the imperial cult was initially promoted by local elites in the eastern provinces, who incorporated it into their own social activities and ceremonies.²⁰³ Subsequently, the Roman emperors later established procedures for the imperial cult by applying the Greek cult to the Roman tradition in the early stage of the Roman Empire period. To be sure, Latin translations of Greek legends and mythologies were often employed in the imperial cult in the Italian peninsula. However, there was no standardized approach to the imperial cult across the eastern provinces, and it seems that the local inhabitants of the eastern provinces had to use Greek in order to ensure that their communities could understand and participate in the imperial cult. This leads us to conclude that the

²⁰¹ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 2–7.

²⁰² Price, *Rituals and Power*, 58–59.

²⁰³ Price, *Rituals and Power*, 53.

majority of the local priests of the eastern provinces employed Greek as the prestige language for official religious practices in order that the inhabitants of their provinces understood and participated in the imperial cult.²⁰⁴

Military

The modern military, which has a strict command system, mostly has a language policy in order to simplify the chain of command linguistically.²⁰⁵ The standardized language policy was important in the Roman military, much like modern military forces, as it helped to maintain effective communication and a clear chain of command. The Roman military was a multiethnic force, with soldiers and officers hailing from various regions throughout the vast empire who spoke a diverse range of languages and linguistic variances. Due to this multilingual environment, it became increasingly important to ensure that all soldiers could understand and follow orders efficiently, regardless of their linguistic background.²⁰⁶

As the Roman Empire expanded, the Roman military relied heavily on local conscription. Recruits became auxiliary, non-citizen troops, from various ethnic backgrounds who spoke different L1. These auxiliaries were organized into units called cohorts, which consisted of around four hundred eighty soldiers commanded by Roman officers. Upon completion of their military service, they were granted Roman citizenship. As time passed, this recruited system led to the formation of a localized and multiethnic military force.

²⁰⁴ Belayche, "Confession," 70.

²⁰⁵ Regarding the language policy of the military, see Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 62–63.

²⁰⁶ Clackson and Horrocks, *Blackwell History*, 88.

In the complex multilingual formation of the Roman military, it was impossible for the soldiers to communicate with each other in their respective L1. Along with the language policy of the Roman military, Latin became the official language of the Roman military, serving as the prestige language for issuing commands, maintaining discipline, and keeping records. This policy played a crucial role in the Roman military's ability to coordinate and execute large-scale operations, as well as maintain control over its vast and diverse empire.²⁰⁷ However, Latin was not the only language spoken by the soldiers.²⁰⁸ Greek was also widely used among the Roman soldiers because many of the soldiers recruited from the eastern provinces already spoke Greek as their L1 or L2. Therefore, it was more practical to use Greek for communication with them. A Greek graffito, carved by Roman soldiers on a rock in a remote region in southeast Jordan, suggests the prominence of Greek as the prestigious language within the Roman military.²⁰⁹

Papyri and inscriptions provide valuable insight into the use of Greek in the daily lives of Roman soldiers, particularly those stationed in the eastern provinces. Aurelius Polion's Greek letter (*P.Teb.* 2.583) to his family shows that Greek was his family language as the young Roman soldier was stationed from Tebtunis to Pannonia during the end of the first century or the second century CE.²¹⁰ In addition, private letters (*P.Mich.* 8.490–491) were written in Greek by Aurelius Diogenes, a sailor who was recruited from Egypt in the second century CE.²¹¹ Another Egyptian who served his

²⁰⁷ Regarding the writing system of the Roman military, see Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 217–18. Regarding the study of the Roman soldiers' Latin documents, see Mackay, "Goal of Motion."

²⁰⁸ Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, 253–55.

²⁰⁹ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 27.

²¹⁰ Adamson, "Letter," 83–85.

²¹¹ Adamson, "Letter," 87.

military service in Italy employed Greek in his private letter (*BGU* 2.423).²¹² Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis (*Metamorphoses* 9.39) records code switching from Latin to Greek in a conversation with a market gardener.²¹³ The use of code switching in these writings shows that bilingualism of Latin and Greek was widespread and proficient in the Roman elite group. As Adams points out, a dedication in Greek by a doctor suggests that the military doctors even in the western province often employed Greek.²¹⁴ These sources suggest that soldiers from the eastern provinces continued to use Greek as their primary language when communicating with their families and friends back home.

Additionally, the epitaphs offer important information regarding the family language of Roman soldiers. In a series of three stones from Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia, whereas the leading centurion's grave monument was written in Latin, the epitaphs of his wife and son were recorded in Greek.²¹⁵ This mixed-use of Latin and Greek implies that the centurion's family language was Greek. In Egypt, the epitaphs of Roman soldiers were written in Latin, but the majority of military papyri in Egypt were recorded in Greek and only some in Latin.²¹⁶ To be sure, the Latin epitaphs show the Roman soldiers' identity as Roman citizenship. However, the overwhelming number of Greek military papyri evince that the Roman soldiers had to often employ Greek for military purposes.

This bilingual approach to communication allowed the Roman military to

²¹² Adamson, "Letter," 80–81.

²¹³ *Tunc, hortulanus supplicue respondit sermonis ignorantia se quid ille diceret scire non posse: ergo igitur Graece subiciens miles 'Ubi' inquit 'Ducis asinum istum?'* "Then, the gardener humbly replied that he could not know what that man was saying due to his ignorance of the language. Therefore, the soldier, switching to Greek, asked, 'Where is that leader's donkey?'"

²¹⁴ Adams, "Vindolanda Writing-Tables," 573–74.

²¹⁵ Adams, "Romanitas," 200.

²¹⁶ Adams, "Romanitas," 197.

maintain an efficient command structure while accommodating the linguistic diversity of its soldiers. Latin and Greek emerged as the prestige languages along with their different functions in the Roman military. Latin was the prestige language of the Roman military, particularly among the high-ranking officers and commanders who were mostly from the Italian peninsula. Mastery of Latin was essential for these officers, as it was used for official communication, including situation reports and issuing military orders. Lower-ranked soldiers were expected to learn Latin technical terms related to military commands, enabling them to understand and follow orders from their superiors.²¹⁷ At the same time, Greek played a significant role in the social practices and administration of the Roman military, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire. Many high-ranking commanders were required to be fluent in Greek for several reasons.²¹⁸ Firstly, the majority of the lower-ranked soldiers in these regions were more familiar with Greek than Latin, meaning that Greek was often the *lingua franca* when communicating with them. Secondly, the local elites and administrative officials in the eastern provinces were typically more comfortable with Greek, necessitating the use of this language for diplomatic and administrative purposes. Based on this bilingual environment of Latin and Greek, the Roman military was able to efficiently command, manage, and integrate its diverse and multiethnic forces.

The Roman military's linguistic ideology was characterized by a balance between Latin and Greek, with Latin serving as the official language and a marker of Roman identity, while Greek played a crucial role in personal communication, administration, and interactions with local populations in the eastern provinces, with

²¹⁷ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 62–63.

²¹⁸ Rochette, "Language Policies," 555.

ruling elites in the eastern provinces, and with non-Italian soldiers. This bilingualism allowed the Roman military to effectively function in the diverse and multiethnic empire it was tasked to protect and administer.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the macro context of the eastern provinces of Rome. Both Greek and Latin were able to be employed in the official settings of the institutionalized communities both orally and literarily as Greek served as the *lingua franca* in social, cultural, and political functions. Although each carried distinct social and cultural implications, both Latin and Greek had overlapping functional distributions in the macro contexts of the eastern provinces. On the one hand, using Greek indexed a Greek speaker as a Hellenized person academically and culturally. On the other hand, employing Latin indexed a Latin speaker's social identity as a Romanized person.

Some proponents of a pro-Latin linguistic ideology made efforts to use Latin in public settings and to rely on Greek translators even when this was not strictly necessary. On the other hand, advocates of a pro-Greek linguistic ideology employed Greek as the official language in their institutionalized communities. As explored above, the historical documents reveal that there was no absolute linguistic ideology dictating the code choice for the official social practices in the eastern province. Instead, the linguistic ideologies regarding the prestige language were quite diverse from region to region. This diversity in linguistic ideologies suggests the absence of a centralized language policy governing official social practices within the government. The absence of the systematic language policy led to linguistic pluralism, enabling Roman governors

and local elites to utilize either Latin or Greek for official purposes without any stringent regulations.

Despite the adaptable linguistic environment toward the minority languages, the historical records scarcely depict the use of vernacular languages other than Greek as the prestigious language for official government social practices in the eastern provinces, often more important than Latin. The predominant use of Greek in the official documents and official statements underscores the pivotal role of Greek as the prestige language for the official social practices of the eastern provincial governments. Since not only the local inhabitants but also many non-Italian Roman citizens barely knew Latin, Latin should be employed with Greek translation. However, Greek was more convenient to use as the prestige language for the official social practices since the majority of Italian residents of eastern provinces were fluent in Greek. The predominant use of Greek as the prestige language for official government social practices in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire was a reflection of both historical and practical factors. It allowed for more effective governance and communication in regions where Greek was the dominant language and where Latin was not as widely understood or spoken.

THE LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGIES OF THE COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

This chapter aims at determining the linguistic ideologies of non-institutional communities as regards code choices in meso contexts. It is important to note the challenges involved in investigating the linguistic ideologies of local inhabitants in the eastern provinces in the first-century CE. These challenges arise from three factors. First, there are no informants available who can provide information on the code choices of ancient people. Second, unlike the macro context, where written data can offer insights into the linguistic ideologies of a community, the meso contexts produced very limited written data due to high illiteracy rates in the eastern provinces. Third, it is necessary to carefully examine epigraphic and archaeological data relating to Jewish societies, because Jews were forced to leave Jerusalem following the Jewish Revolts (66–136 CE), leading to significant changes in linguistic demography during the second century CE. Consequently, the study of the meso contexts have to rely on extremely limited data dating exclusively before the second century CE.

Despite these challenges, there are still alternative ways to explore the linguistic ideologies of non-institutional communities. Alternative approaches should focus on the social networks in people's daily lives, as the linguistic ideologies between individuals are shaped based on their social networks where the language contacts between them take place. It is worth noting that language ideologies within meso contexts are intricately tied to social networks. Drawing upon Eckert's concept of the Community of

Practice, the density of social networks emerges as a fundamental factor in fostering an independent linguistic ideology within meso contexts.¹ Provided the Community of Practice holds an independent linguistic ideology, the strength of social networks upon which community members rely directly influences the strength of the independent linguistic ideology within the given community. When community members have solidarity based on strong social networks, the independent linguistic ideology facilitates their ability to successfully resist external pressures.² However, in cases where community members exhibit weak solidarity, the likelihood of language shift or language death becomes high, despite the presence of an independent linguistic ideology. Therefore, an inquiry into the social networks where members of the Community of Practice regularly gather for specific social practices is called for.

The following determines the linguistic ideologies prevalent in various communities of practice within the eastern provinces by examining the social networks of ancient populations. Of particular interest are the linguistic ideologies prevalent in workplaces and marketplaces, as these settings played a significant role in the daily lives of ancient individuals, who engaged in interactions with individuals from diverse social backgrounds. It is worth note that ancient people dedicated a significant amount of time in their workplaces and marketplaces for their livelihoods. Therefore, workplaces and marketplaces served as pivotal hubs for the ancient people's social activities, exerting a substantial influence on the shaping of linguistic ideologies within the meso contexts of the local regions.

The first section explores two different meso contexts. The initial meso context

¹ Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 34–35; Eckert, “Indexical Field,” 463–71.

² Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 124–27.

focuses on the prestige language for international social practices. After Alexander's Hellenistic program, the international social networks had strong ties with vast territories of Diadochi and the Roman state. With this in mind, it is worth noting the international patterns of the linguistic ideologies concerning the prestige language for international socioeconomic practices across the entire eastern provinces. The rise of international social networks drastically changed the multilingual environment of local settlements, leading to language contact with various languages. As explored in Chapters 1 and 2, internationalism and imperialism often result in the language death of the minority languages within three generations when the minority languages lose their prestige role in business and commercial networks.³ This section aims to identify how local settlements evolved into multilingual societies, with a particular focus on the linguistic ideology surrounding the prestige language used for international business and commercial social practices.

The subsequent meso context concentrates on the prestige language within Jewish communities. According to the book of Acts, the earliest Christianity began with the Jerusalem church, primarily consisting of Jewish followers. Although Paul focused on evangelizing to gentiles, his missionary efforts often involved interacting with diaspora Jews in synagogues. In order to investigate the linguistic ideologies surrounding the contexts of early Christianity, it is essential to first examine the linguistic ideologies within Jewish communities. Therefore, this study aims at determining whether Jewish communities held strong linguistic ideologies favoring the preservation of Hebrew or Aramaic, as opposed to the dominant linguistic ideologies

³ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 175; Coupland, "Introduction," 7–8; Busch, "Language Systems," 56–72.

that promoted Greek as the *lingua franca* in the eastern provinces during the first century CE.

The second section delves into the linguistic ideology of all the regions visited by the historical figures in Acts. Some vernacular languages possibly resisted the pressure of internationalism and imperialism, leading to a successful language maintenance. Each region had its unique development of linguistic ideology, influenced by a range of meso contextual factors including geography, demography, educational environment, cultural practices, economic practices, ethnic identities, and religious practices. This section extensively examines diverse forms of evidence, such as inscriptions, artifacts, and historical records, to articulate the sociolinguistic landscapes portrayed in Acts.

The Meso Contexts of the Greco-Roman World

Regarding the investigation of linguistic ideologies within the meso contexts, it is important to consider two distinct types of social networks that existed in the eastern provinces during the first century. The first type pertains to international social networks, which were actively present within various non-institutional communities since the Hellenistic era initiated by Alexander the Great. The Roman road system and the establishment of public security played a significant role in facilitating these international social networks. This was achieved by connecting cities of varying distances where the local population utilized different vernacular languages.⁴ In

⁴ No permission or modern passport equivalent was needed for anyone to use the Roman roads. See Talbert, "Roma World," 28.

conjunction with the development of international social networks, specific linguistic ideologies concerning the lingua franca of each community were established.

The second type of social network relates to regional networks in which people spoke the same vernacular language. Individuals who lived in close proximity had a higher density of social networks than international networks, as closer community members interacted more frequently.⁵ Notably, independent linguistic ideologies could have been strongly shaped only within regional networks where members regularly gathered for specific social practices. On the other hand, language shift and language death inevitably occurred within families lacking a systematic language policy or robust social networks with speakers of the same vernacular language even if they wanted to pass down their vernacular language to the next generations.

It is worth noting the rise of internationalism throughout the Roman Empire in the first century CE. This led to language contact, specifically to situations where speakers of two or more different languages came into prolonged and frequent contact with each other. Therefore, this section aims at identifying the linguistic ideologies concerning the lingua franca and other vernacular languages in these social networks. Additionally, this section also determines whether or not the first-century Jews had a distinctive linguistic ideology for language maintenance of Aramaic and Hebrew, given that Christianity largely originated from the Jewish community.

Social Networks of the Socioeconomic Communities

During the early stage of the Roman Empire, the settlements of the eastern provinces

⁵ Regarding the density of international social network and regional social network, see Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 10–13.

were categorized into three socioeconomic types.⁶ The first type was the city, which had three different statuses: Metropolis, Polis, and small cities. Polis was an official status granted by the emperor, distinguishing it from other types of settlements. Notably, the most significant Polis, serving as the capital of a province, was regarded as a Metropolis. Alexander, the Diadochi, and the Roman State established the foundation of the civic ideology, which drew upon the sociocultural activities of the Hellenistic constructions in the Polis.⁷ According to Ze'ev Safrai, the emperor offered the administrative status of Polis to cities that possessed ten key characteristics: (1) a large population (ranging from eight thousand to twenty thousand people), (2) an institutional structure, (3) control over the neighboring region, (4) urban architectures, (5) social stratification, (6) significant size (at least over one hundred twenty dunams), (7) an industrialized economic system, (8) functioning as a local mercantile and economic center, (9) a high level of services, and (10) a Hellenistic population.⁸ These characteristics indicate that the Hellenistic social structure with a Greek-speaking population was an essential condition for the official recognition of Polis.⁹ In reality, there were several small cities that displayed some of the features of a Polis but did not receive the legal status of Polis from the emperor.

After the Bronze age, the emergence of port cities along the Mediterranean Sea facilitated the establishment of increasingly interconnected socioeconomic networks

⁶ Talmudic literature identifies three types of settlement: (1) city: *kerakh* (קֶרַח), (2) town: *yr* (עִיר), and (3) village: *kfr* (כִּפּוּר). Although Rabbis often mentioned the specific types of settlement, there was no consensus regarding standard criteria to determine the type of settlement. In light of the socioeconomic structure of the provinces of the Roman Empire, Safrai articulates specific criteria that determine these types of settlement. See Safrai, *Economy*, 9–10.

⁷ Zuiderhoek, *Politics of Munificence*, 78–86.

⁸ Safrai, *Economy*, 15–17. Also, see Migeotte, *Economy*, 36–37.

⁹ Regarding the further information of the growth of cities around the first century CE, see Woolf, *Life and Death*, 379–403.

spanning long distances.¹⁰ This development exerted a substantial influence on the socioeconomic structures of port cities as the coexistence of diverse ethnicities and cultures within these urban centers fostered a vibrant and dynamic international milieu. As a result, individuals of different ethnic backgrounds resided in and frequented these cities for the purposes of engaging in international business and trade, thereby fueling the expansion of global social networks.¹¹

A second type of settlement in the Roman Empire was the town, which typically had a population of fewer than eight thousand and a size of less than one hundred twenty dunams. Based on their population and size, towns were classified into large towns and small towns. Small towns focused on the primary product industry, while large towns mostly dealt with both the primary product industry and the processing industry.

Old towns were strategically built in the most fortified locations in the region to defend themselves against bandits and gangs, rendering them often isolated from the cities.¹² During the period of the Roman Empire, social networks between cities and towns grew closer, as towns came under the jurisdiction of the Polis and cities and benefited from governmental protection.¹³ Therefore, new towns were constructed on level ground, near fertile farmland, and were placed under the safeguard of the Roman military and provincial police.¹⁴ Moreover, as the provincial and central governments reinforced the existing road systems and established new ones, the social networks

¹⁰ Woolf, *Life and Death*, 385.

¹¹ Migeotte, *Economy*, 40.

¹² Safrai, *Economy*, 22.

¹³ Safrai, *Economy*, 29–30.

¹⁴ Safrai, *Economy*, 22.

between towns, cities, and Polis grew stronger.¹⁵ Transportation networks enabled the inhabitants of towns to participate in city trade, creating a vibrant socioeconomic atmosphere.

A third type of settlement was the village, a small-sized settlement without local municipal institutions.¹⁶ Due to their restricted economic capacity, villages were unable to achieve self-sufficiency and thus depended on their mother settlement, which could take the form of a larger village, town, or city, both economically and, sometimes, legally.¹⁷ Therefore, offshoot villages often paved their roads and connected them to the road systems of their mother settlement for protection, trade, professional services, and economic support.¹⁸

It is worth noting that the development of transportation expanded socioeconomic networks across various types of settlements, contributing to the growth of internationalism in the eastern provinces.¹⁹ As a result of this development, cities, towns, and villages have strengthened local socioeconomic networks among themselves to acquire resources for import demands and to sell products for export demands. These social networks fostered a multilingual atmosphere, where individuals speaking different languages as their L1 cooperate more frequently in their daily social practices. With this in mind, this section aims at identifying linguistic ideologies by investigating international and local social networks within cities, towns, and villages in the eastern provinces.

¹⁵ Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 49; Safrai, *Economy*, 154–65.

¹⁶ Safrai, *Economy*, 49.

¹⁷ Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 254; Safrai, *Economy*, 38–40; Migeotte, *Economy*, 37–38.

¹⁸ Safrai, *Economy*, 38.

¹⁹ Woolf, *Life and Death*, 359–61.

International Social Networks

The development of the port cities and the associated trade networks had a profound impact on the economic landscape. It shifted the focus from local to international trade, allowing people to access goods from distant regions at a more affordable price.²⁰ As demand for international trade grew, the ancient empires established the port cities and developed the shipbuilding industry in order to acquire hegemony over the Mediterranean Sea.²¹ Three notable states made breakthroughs in international networks involving Mediterranean port cities: (1) Phoenicia, (2) Greece, and (3) Rome.

Following the end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1,200 BCE), Phoenicia acquired mercantile and maritime hegemony over the Mediterranean Sea for several centuries due to its innovative shipbuilding and sailing skills.²² The Phoenicians developed maritime inventions such as the keel, bireme, and amphora and were the first to establish seaborne trade routes that spanned the entire Mediterranean Sea.²³ Additionally, the Phoenicians were the inventors of the alphabet, and their writing system served as the foundation for written language in various countries influenced by the Phoenician trade networks.²⁴ As Figure 5.1 shows, Phoenicia played a significant intermediary role in the trade network of the Mediterranean during the first millennium BCE. Especially, the major port cities of Phoenicia were Sidon and Tyre. Some Phoenicians migrated from Tyre to the Southwest Mediterranean regions and founded Carthage, resulting in strong trade networks between Tyre and Carthage.²⁵ The Phoenicians also established numerous

²⁰ Bresson, *Ancient Greek Economy*, 350.

²¹ See Terpstra, *Ancient Mediterranean*, 10–11.

²² Emanuel, “Shipwreck Archaeology,” 423–28; Woolf, *Life and Death*, 198.

²³ Regarding more information of the Phoenicians’ commerce, see Liverani, *Near East*, 423–29.

²⁴ Clackson, *Language and Society* 3; Guzzo, “Language,” 198–203; Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 191; Liverani, *Near East*, 427.

²⁵ Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 77

trading colonies and ports throughout the Mediterranean, including Carthage in North Africa, and Gadir (modern-day Cádiz) in Spain.

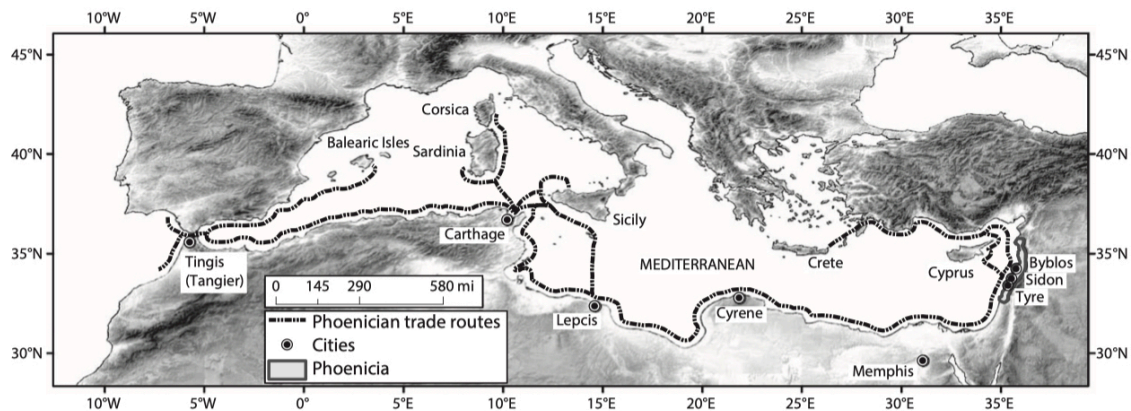


Figure 5.1. Phoenician Trade Networks²⁶

Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the Phoenicians played a crucial role in facilitating trade and commerce throughout the Mediterranean cities during the first millennium BCE. Records of treaties indicate that Phoenicia served as an intermediary in the Mediterranean trade network, connecting the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the east to Spain in the west.²⁷ The treaty between Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, and Baal, the king of Tyre (between 675 and 671 BCE), demonstrates that the Assyrian empire chose not to conquer the remaining Phoenician cities but instead sought to establish strong socioeconomic networks with Phoenicia; this was achieved by granting autonomy while regulating international trade.²⁸ Phoenicians, through their extensive trade network, facilitated the exchange of goods and ideas between various civilizations in the Mediterranean, connecting the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the east with the diverse kingdoms and tribes of the western Mediterranean. The treatment of Phoenicians was

²⁶ This figure refers to Manning's figure. See Manning, *Open Sea*, 45.

²⁷ Manning, *Open Sea*, 46–49; Emanuel, "Shipwreck Archaeology," 428–31; Bonnet, "Hellenistic Period," 101–2.

²⁸ Regarding this treaty, see Liverani, *Near East*, 431–32.

enhanced as the Persian empire succeeded the Babylonian Empire, strengthening the hegemony of Phoenicians over the Mediterranean Sea.²⁹

Meanwhile, Greeks learned shipbuilding and sailing skills from the Phoenicians and developed their own engineering skills of port infrastructure, facilitating the acquisition of resources from their colonies.³⁰ The emergence of port infrastructure in the Aegean region around the eighth century BCE marked a significant milestone in Greek trade and business, as it enabled the Greeks to reach more distant regions and establish trade networks with other cultures. Especially, the introduction of coinage to Greeks in the seventh century BCE also played a pivotal role in the development of Greek ports; it facilitated the financing of major public works and encouraged the construction of port cities. Furthermore, the distribution of coinage throughout subsequent centuries contributed to a breakthrough in the international socioeconomic system, not only for Mediterranean countries but also for inland countries.

According to Herodotus (ca. 484–424 BCE), the Greeks constructed a large-scale seaport featuring a deep breakwater measuring one hundred and twenty feet in depth and over twelve hundred feet in length (Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.60). This achievement was exceptional for its time and showcased the Greeks' prowess in constructing large-scale port infrastructure. As Lionel Casson notes, “the essential elements of a harbor had been worked out by the fifth century B.C. The successive centuries saw chiefly elaboration of facilities and increase in size.”³¹

²⁹ Liverani, *Near East*, 432.

³⁰ Manning, *Open Sea*, 52–53.

³¹ Casson, *Ships*, 365.

The development of port infrastructure and the introduction of standardized coinage played a significant role in the expansion of Greek trade networks and the growth of the Greek economy. As a result, the Greeks gained a reputation as skilled seafarers and established cities and colonies along the Mediterranean coast and the Black Sea, expanding their trade networks into more distant regions such as Gaul, Spain, Central Europe, North Africa, and the Near East (see Figure 5.2).³² Greek port cities and colonies played a crucial role in the Mediterranean economy by facilitating the trade of various goods such as wine, olive oil, pottery, and textiles.³³ Moreover, these ports also served as naval bases for the Greek city-states, which allowed them to project their power and influence beyond their borders.

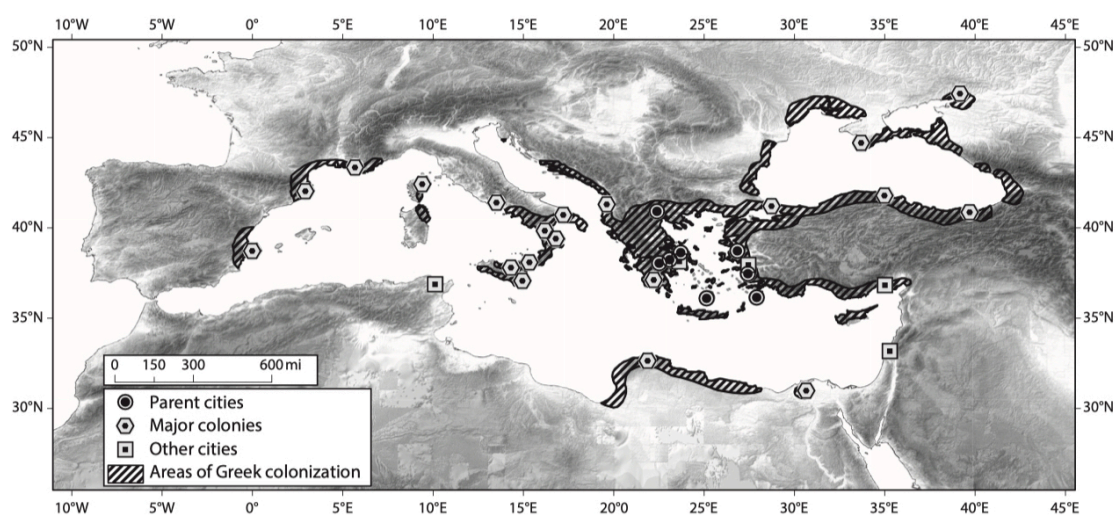


Figure 5.2. Social Networks between Greek Cities and Colonies³⁴

The expansion of Greek maritime trade came into direct conflict with the existing Phoenician settlements. The primary focus of Phoenician colonies was on the

³² Migeotte, *Economy*, 132.

³³ According to the distribution of Phoenician and Greek coins, Greek coins gradually dominated the international marketplaces over Phoenicia in the Mediterranean Sea after the fifth century BCE. See Jigoulov, *Social History*, 100–105.

³⁴ This figure refers to Manning's figure. See Manning, *Open Sea*, 45.

following regions: western Sicily (Motya, Panormos, Soluntus), Malta, Pantelleria, Tunisia (Carthage and Utica), Sardinia (Nora and Tharros, among others), the Balearic Islands, and southern Spain (Cadiz, among others).³⁵ Especially, the ambiguous distribution of hegemony in Sicily led to the Sicilian Wars between Carthage and Greek city-states (580–265 BCE).³⁶ Whereas several wars continued with intermittent battles and shifting alliances, Alexander the Great's conquest of Phoenicia facilitated the dominant hegemony of Alexander and Diadochi over the eastern and northern Mediterranean Sea. This resulted in the language shift of the prestige language from Aramaic to Greek for international social practices.

During the conflict between Greek and Phoenicia, the Roman State emerged as another dominant force in the Mediterranean and conquered Phoenicia (146 BCE) and Greece (148 BCE). As a result, the Romans took over their shipbuilding industries and established political and commercial hegemony over all the port cities of the Mediterranean Sea.³⁷ It is worth noting two technological breakthroughs in the Roman shipbuilding industry.³⁸ The first breakthrough was in the construction of ports. Greek engineers had primarily used stones for their harbor and quay works, limiting their ability to build harbors only in places where they could obtain the necessary materials from nature. However, the Romans made a significant advancement by inventing and employing concrete in the construction of harbors and quays. This innovative material enabled them to establish port cities in locations where natural resources were scarce or

³⁵ Liverani, *Near East*, 431.

³⁶ De Vincenzo, "Sicily"; Prage, "Cities," 166–67, 177; Verbrugghe, "Sicily," 537–44.

³⁷ Woolf, *Rome*, 69–91.

³⁸ For detailed information of Roman's shipbuilding industry, see Casson, *Ships*, 365–70.

inaccessible.³⁹

The second breakthrough involves shipbuilding. In the first century BCE, the Romans not only possessed the technology to build large ships but also had the capability for mass production.⁴⁰ Despite a breakthrough in shipbuilding technology, frequent shipwrecks continued to occur due to a lack of safety measures. According to the evidence of shipwrecks after the first century BCE, the Albenga shipwreck, dating from 100 to 90 BCE, was found to contain approximately ten thousand amphorae and over two hundred sixty thousand liters of wine. Another larger shipwreck, dating between the second century BCE and first century CE, carried amphorae and marble weighing between three hundred and five hundred tonnes. Charles Freeman estimates that the grain ships could reach around one thousand to one thousand three hundred tonnes.⁴¹ The development of engineering skills for shipbuilding techniques enabled large-scale transportation for long-distant trade. To be sure, grain was one of the largest staples of the Mediterranean trade. Moreover, various shipwreck findings reveal that ships transported marble, gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, luxurious items such as glass, fine pottery, clothes, and metalware, as well as amphorae containing food products such as wine, oil, salted fish, fish sauce, nuts, and preserved fruits.⁴²

Statistical data indicates that an increase in shipwrecks in the Mediterranean between 1,500 BCE and 1,500 CE can be attributed to an increase in ship production, as evidenced by the statistical data in Figure 5.3. The data reveals a significant growth in ship production from the second century BCE to the first century CE. However, it is

³⁹ Casson, *Ships*, 367.

⁴⁰ Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 528–29; Manning, *Open Sea*, 219–21.

⁴¹ Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 529.

⁴² Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 529–30; Helleran, *Shopping*, 23–24.

important to note that this statistical data only captures the extent of shipwrecks prior to the first century CE.⁴³ This limitation arises because the Romans began using wooden barrels instead of ceramic amphoras for shipping containers, which were more likely to disintegrate over time.⁴⁴ Therefore, this statistical data does not suggest the number of shipwrecks after the second century CE.

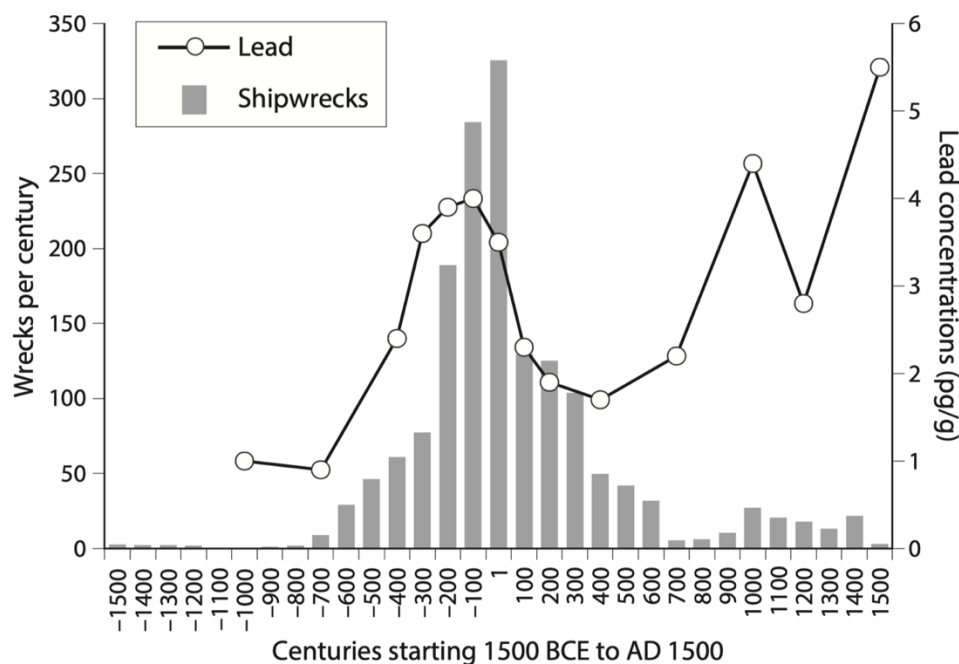


Figure 5.3. Shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea and Lead in the Greenland Ice Sheet⁴⁵

In addition, the data on these resources for coinage alloy is worth noting due to the coin's role as the foundation of the commercial networks of the Roman state.⁴⁶ This highlights the importance of considering the environmental consequences of economic and industrial activities, particularly in coin production and shipbuilding. As Taco T.

⁴³ Helleran, *Shopping*, 40.

⁴⁴ Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 528; Helleran, *Shopping*, 24; Wilson, "Mediterranean Shipping," 25–28.

⁴⁵ This graph refers to Manning's study. See Manning, *Open Sea*, 220. Also, see Wilson, "Mediterranean Shipping," 33; de Callatay, "Graeco-Roman Economy," 370–71.

⁴⁶ Regarding the further information of trimetallism and bimetallic laws of the Roman Empire, see Katsari, *Roman Monetary System*, 72–103.

Terpstra points out, data on the circulation of Roman state currency indicates an active economy based on international trade networks after the first century BCE.⁴⁷ According to Terpstra, the hegemony of the Roman state over the trade networks of the Mediterranean Sea resulted in Italy's monetization level increasing from thirty-nine to sixty-eight percent between 150 and 50 BCE, with other regions experiencing similar rises.⁴⁸

François de Callataÿ points out that the peak of shipwrecks between the first century BCE and the first century CE coincides with the highest level of atmospheric pollution caused by lead in the ancient Roman era (see Figure 5.3).⁴⁹ Lead was utilized not only for minting bronze coins but also for silver coins, with a ratio of four hundred parts of lead required to extract one part of silver.⁵⁰ The data presented in Figure 5.3 demonstrates a substantial rise in coin production during the same period when the Roman state developed its own shipbuilding industry and gained complete control over trade networks across the Mediterranean. The correlation between the records of shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea and the levels of lead in the Greenland Ice Sheet suggests that the mass production of ships and the widespread circulation of coins were indicative of an economic surge. Given this, this period, between the first century BCE and the first century CE, was characterized by the zenith of international trade in the Mediterranean.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Terpstra, *Ancient Mediterranean*, 3–13.

⁴⁸ Terpstra, *Ancient Mediterranean*, 5; Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 114, 167–99.

⁴⁹ In light of the prevailing winds in the troposphere, Terpstra points out that data on atmospheric lead pollution in the Greenland ice sheet show Roman mining in the Rio Tinto area. See Terpstra, *Ancient Mediterranean*, 6–7; Hellenan, *Shopping*, 40.

⁵⁰ De Callataÿ, “Graeco-Roman Economy,” 369–72.

⁵¹ The inquiries of pollen and settlement patterns also show that the amount of land cultivated increased and that populations grew to be extremely higher in the first centuries CE than before. Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 522–23.

This period of the rise of internationalism is noteworthy because wide international social networks led to increased language contact between different regions and societies. During the first millennium BCE, the Phoenicians and Carthagians held hegemony over international trade networks, resulting in Punic emerging as the lingua franca among their international trade networks. However, the lingua franca of the international trade networks of the Mediterranean Sea gradually shifted from Punic to Greek starting in the fourth century BCE. This change occurred after Alexander the Great conquered Tyre and Sidon (332 BCE), the major port cities of Phoenicia, and transformed them into Hellenistic port cities.⁵²

Following the Punic Wars (264–146 BCE), in which the Romans defeated Carthage, the Roman Republic emerged as the dominant power in the Mediterranean Sea. This further expanded trade and cultural exchange between different regions and societies. As Constantina Katsari points out, archaeological evidence of coin shows that the port cities were the center of the monarchy system within the local economy of Greco-Roman world between the first century and third century CE:

We may suggest, though, that most of the large precious-metal hoards (the ones that include over twenty coins) belonged to wealthy or simply well-off citizens, who could afford to accumulate silver or gold coins . . . All of these regions are renowned for their harbours, their international markets and their prosperous cities, where significantly large transactions took place daily. Therefore, we may be able to suggest that the lively economic activity taking place in these areas would have facilitated the accumulation of substantial profits and the transformation of surpluses into ‘savings’ hoards: hoards that may have represented the capital value of their owner.⁵³

The rise of Greek as the lingua franca of international trade networks had significant implications for its use as the prestige language in public and official settings

⁵² Fleming, *History*, 67; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 188–89; Bonnet, “Hellenistic Period,” 101–3.

⁵³ Katsari, *Roman Monetary System*, 168–69.

within the port cities. As discussed in Chapter 3, meanwhile, the Roman Empire adopted Greek as the *lingua franca* of the eastern provinces. Therefore, individuals had to seek out Greek documents or translations to ensure the official recognition of their treaties.⁵⁴ Even Roman sailors, traders, merchants, artisans, and soldiers adopted Greek as the prestige language for their international business and trade.⁵⁵ As Freeman states, “by this period anyone with an ambition to succeed had to be able to speak and write Greek.”⁵⁶ This underscores the important role of Greek as the prestige language of trade, diplomacy, and culture within the Mediterranean regions during this period.⁵⁷ The extensive use of Greek in public settings within port cities facilitated communication and exchange between diverse cultures and societies, playing a vital role in the development of international social networks and the spread of Hellenistic culture throughout the Mediterranean world.

Local Social Networks

Local social networks constituted a multifaceted web, anchored in diverse social practices. Aside from the familial network, the most significant factor in shaping linguistic ideologies among ancient people was their participation in socioeconomic networks on a daily basis. This was primarily due to the necessity of spending the majority of their time in workplaces in order to sustain their livelihoods.

In terms of the currency circulation structure, the economic structure of the

⁵⁴ Clackson, *Language and Society* 55–56.

⁵⁵ Clackson, *Language and Society* 55, 89–90, 92.

⁵⁶ Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 543.

⁵⁷ Porter (“Complex Multilingualism,” 119) also states, “most who wished to communicate beyond the limited dialectal boundaries of their indigenous minority language community were required to know koine Greek.”

middle and lower classes was smaller than that of the local elites. Nevertheless, the middle and lower classes comprised a dominant portion of the population actively engaged in the economic cycle, as they were integral participants in the economic system established by the local elites.⁵⁸ Based on the socioeconomic structures constituted by local elites, linguistic interactions occurred among individuals from diverse regions.

Alongside the expansion of international networks, the Roman Empire exhibited significant advancements in its local economic system during the first century CE.⁵⁹ These advancements were fueled by a combination of international trades and local economies. Roman citizens residing in the eastern provinces played a significant role in the international and regional economy, as they were granted authority to oversee socioeconomic activities in the provinces and control the centralization of taxes and laws.⁶⁰ As a result, the local aristocracy had strong social networks with Roman citizens, primarily through patron-client relationships. In fact, the distribution of incomes and assets in the early Roman Empire was marked by significant inequality, largely due to the economic system's focus on an exclusive elite group occupying high positions in both society and the economy.⁶¹ The local elite group served a crucial role in the

⁵⁸ Regarding the money circulation within the local economic system among the high, middle, and low classes, see Katsari, *Roman Monetary System*, 48–54.

⁵⁹ Freeman demonstrates four inquiries regarding the influence of the international social network on the local socioeconomic environment: (1) The evidence of agricultural products traded in local markets shows that local markets had to rely on international trade inevitably because the food supply from local agriculture was unpredictable every year for various reasons. (2) The wide distribution of coins that were accompanied by the evidence of commercial loans and share risk investment implies that the coins were widely used for small-scale trade in the local communities. (3) Fine pottery, glass, and tile houses which could not be made without the resources or skills from international trade became to be possessed not only by the local elites but also by humble families. (4) New techniques of glass-blowing tubes and water-lifting devices were widely and rapidly spread throughout the Roman state based on international social networks. See Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 531–32.

⁶⁰ Collar, *Religious Networks*, 44.

⁶¹ Temin, "Economy," 136

bureaucratic administration, facilitating the circulation of a vital portion of the flow of money through the promotion of large-scale international trades within the local economy.⁶² As the local elites constituted a major consumer within the local economy, the middle and low classes inevitably had to engage in socioeconomic activities in line with the demand and supply of local elites.

The aristocracy in the provincial governments had a significant impact on the socioeconomic activities of the non-institutional communities, based on three types of social networks.⁶³ First, they hired tax collectors for taxation. Since all the inhabitants were responsible for taxation, they had social networks with tax collectors.⁶⁴ Second, the public fund was often used for large-scale projects of the provincial government, such as infrastructure and industrial construction, designed to support the local economy.⁶⁵ The local inhabitants and slaves of cities, towns, and villages had to cooperate with each other for these projects. This kind of cooperation and collaboration aided in strengthening the density of social networks between different ethnicities in the same region. Third, the local elites were responsible for overseeing the production and distribution of goods, as well as managing local trade networks in the public marketplace.⁶⁶

These socioeconomic activities involve language contact with multiethnic people. To be sure, local elites did not know all the vernacular languages in their territories. Therefore, the question arises as to which language served as *lingua franca*

⁶² See Helleran, *Shopping*, 232–57; Erdkamp, *Grain Market*, 114–18.

⁶³ Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 44–45; Helleran, *Shopping*, 302–6.

⁶⁴ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 135–38.

⁶⁵ Katsari, *Roman Monetary System*, 51–52.

⁶⁶ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 138–45.

and as the official language for their socioeconomic activities. As explored above, not only Latin but also other vernacular languages could not rival the overall dominance of Greek. The popularity of Greek education facilitated the adoption of Greek as their L1 or L2 by both Italian and local elites. As a result, the local inhabitants of the eastern provinces recognized Greek as an important language for scholarship, philosophy, religion, and culture. In addition, Greek was used as the legal language, but the use of other vernacular languages as a legal language is unknown before the second century CE. Furthermore, with the decline of Phoenicia and Carthage, Greek became the international language of the port cities in the Mediterranean Sea, replacing Aramaic. As explored in the previous chapter, the epigraphic, archaeological, and historical evidence from the ancient Mediterranean world suggest that Greek was the most commonly used language for official documents and public inscriptions in the first century CE. These factors contributed to the use of Greek as an official language by local elites for communication with multiethnic people in the eastern provinces.

The socioeconomic activities of local elites played a crucial role in driving the economic development of their respective regions, focusing on large-scale industries and urban advancements. Through their extensive socioeconomic networks, including international connections, these local elites facilitated the flow of large amounts of funds into the region, thereby stimulating economic growth and development. In particular, the establishment and growth of port cities exerted a profound influence on the linguistic ideologies of the inland settlements such as the cities, towns, and villages significantly. This influence was primarily driven by the increasing internationalism associated with the port cities. Based on the strong socioeconomic networks between the port cities and the inland settlements, the international economy of the port cities set off a chain

reaction within the local economy of the inland settlements, resulting in significant language contact among diverse multiethnic groups speaking various vernacular languages.⁶⁷

Socioeconomic activities fostered social connections among coworkers and business partners, thus contributing to the formation of linguistic ideologies specific to the prestige language in the business and trade contexts. In particular, two socioeconomic factors affected the linguistic ideologies of non-institutional communities in meso contexts. First, international trade in the port cities resulted in a rise in the international division of labor, namely the emergence of specialized industries within local economies which in turn increased their dependence on trading with other regions for different products and resources.⁶⁸ This specialization allowed for increased efficiency and productivity, as each local community focused on producing specific goods or services in which they had a comparative advantage.⁶⁹ Comparative advantage refers to the ability of a country or region to produce a particular good or service at a lower opportunity cost than another country or region. Therefore, when one country or region is less efficient in producing a certain good or service, it can benefit from trading with another country or region that has a comparative advantage in that product.⁷⁰ As a result of the international division of labor, local economies of the eastern provinces became more specialized and interdependent on each other for different products and

⁶⁷ Manning analyzes the social networks of the rural settlements that relied on international trade. See Manning, *Open Sea*, 41–43.

⁶⁸ Bresson, *Ancient Greek Economy*, 340. Freeman also explains an international division of labor on the basis of the overseas trade. See Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 528–31.

⁶⁹ See Bresson, *Ancient Greek Economy*, 374–80.

⁷⁰ Liverani (*Near East*, 17–21) points out the importance of the concepts of interfaces, borders, and niches for the understanding of the networks of relations in division of labor.

resources.⁷¹ This complexity in the formation of international and local trading networks fostered strong social networks between different regions, leading to increased language contact among various ethnicities who spoke different L1.

The economy of the first-century Greco-Roman world can be categorized into five types of economic community: (1) primary product industry, (2) processing industry, (3) construction industry, (4) commerce, and (5) government. Table 5.1 shows major jobs, products, and works that involved the five types of social practices.

Type	Job	Work / Product
Primary Product Industry	Farmer	Crop, Orchard, Vineyard, Poultry, Livestock, etc.
	Woodcutter	Lumber
	Hunter	Wild Animal and Bird, Leather, Ivory, etc.
	Fisher	Fish, Seafood, etc.
	Miner	Gold, Silver, Copper, Bronze, Gemstone, Ore, Stone, etc.
Processing Industry	Craftsman	Textile, Cloth, Pottery, Metalwork, Oil, Perfume, Artwork, Wooden Craft, Tool, Weapon, Jewelry, Spice, Salt, Meat, Processed Food, Condiment, Glass, Brick, Cement, etc.
Construction Industry	Craftsman	Building Construction (Residential and Non-Residential Buildings), Infrastructure (Large Public Work, Bridge, Road, Water System, and etc.), Shipbuilding (Fishing Boat, Trading Ship, and Battleship), and Industrial Construction (Port, Mining, Quarrying, Refineries, and etc.)
Commerce	Merchant	Local Trade and International Trade
Government	Tax Collector	Collecting Tax

Table 5.1. Social Practices for the Local Economy

Due to this division of labor, trade was not optional but essential for ancient people in the Greco-Roman world. Workers in the primary product industry sold their raw materials to the processing and construction industries, while also purchasing raw materials from other primary product industries, processed goods, and occasionally required infrastructure or buildings. The processing industry supplied tools and materials to workplaces but relied on raw materials, other processed commodities, infrastructure,

⁷¹ Bresson, *Ancient Greek Economy*, 187–88.

and buildings in order to produce their goods. Similarly, individuals in the construction industry had to obtain raw materials and processed products for their work. All industries were interconnected, forming a dense network of trade that was crucial for the functioning of the economy; therefore, people had to engage in communication and interaction to facilitate the exchange of goods and services. The division of labor played a pivotal role in shaping complex and dynamic socioeconomic networks that endured over an extended period, leading to active language contact among diverse ethnic groups who spoke various vernacular languages.

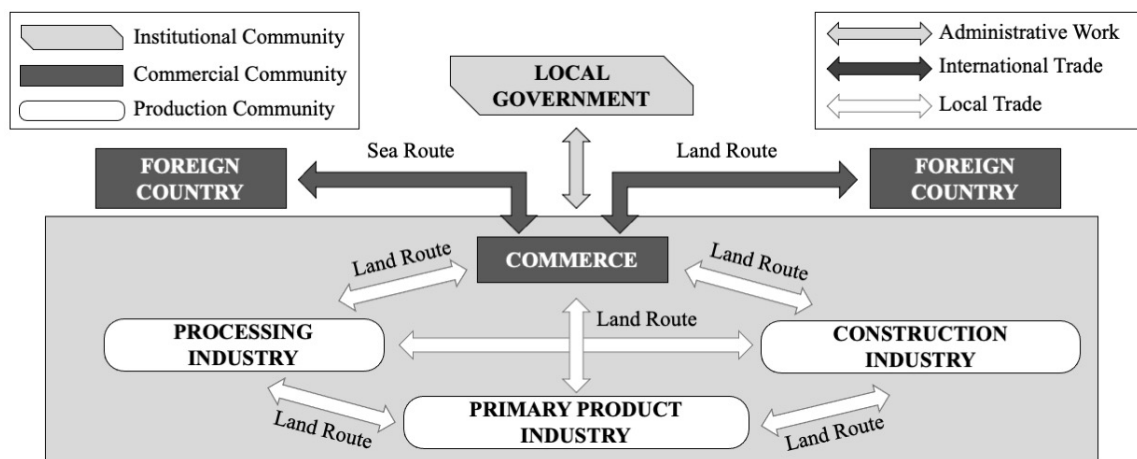


Figure 5.4. Trade Networks for the Economy of the Eastern Provinces⁷²

Second, the development of the Roman road system had a significant impact on the socioeconomic networks of cities, towns, and villages.⁷³ The Romans focused on recovering previous highways and establishing new ones that tied together long-distance territories, expanding trade networks and infrastructure.⁷⁴ This expansion of trade networks and infrastructure helped to strengthen the local economy and facilitated the

⁷² This figure is mine.

⁷³ Regarding the road system of the Roman Empire, see Nardo, *Roads and Aqueducts*, 13–39; Isaac, “Roads and Harbors,” 351–56; Kolb, “Roman Road,” 8.

⁷⁴ See Isaac, “Roads and Harbors,” 356–58; Speidel, “Fernhandelswege,” 55.

growth of international trade throughout the Roman Empire as a whole.⁷⁵ Moreover, archeological evidence of the traces of infrastructure used by travelers along the roads, such as rest stops, accommodations, and convenience stores, shows vibrant economic activity centered around the road system.⁷⁶ As Figure 5.4 shows, the road system connected the social networks of one inland settlement not only with other inland settlements but also with port cities, enabling them to participate in international trade.⁷⁷

In the ancient socioeconomic system, rural sellers relied heavily on trade networks with urban buyers in order to sell their goods and sustain a living.⁷⁸ Safrai demonstrates five movements within the trade networks of the Greco-Roman world:

- (1) The owner of the goods markets them himself using his own means of transportation.
- (2) The owner of the goods markets them himself using professional means of transportation. He hires the means of transport but undertakes the actual transport or supervision himself.
- (3) The original owner of the goods sells the merchandise to a professional to transport it to market and sell it there himself.
- (4) The owner of the goods sells the merchandise to a transport professional who brings the goods to market. This professional then sells them of his own volition to another merchant who will market them.
- (5) The owner of the goods sells them to a merchant located in the city. The latter then transports them himself to market, either through the use of professional services or by himself.⁷⁹

Marketplaces and stores served as central hubs for local trade. Even rich people who could be self-sufficient neither broke off their social relations with others nor rejected exchange or trade.⁸⁰ Rather, they actively engaged in local trade networks in order to maximize their profits. Particularly, urban dwellers showed a preference for the

⁷⁵ Regarding information of local trade, see Migeotte, *Economy*, 128–31.

⁷⁶ See Kold, “Roman Road,” 14; France, *Statio*, 75–84.

⁷⁷ Migeotte, *Economy*, 118–19; Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 42.

⁷⁸ Regarding the study of the socioeconomic activities in the urban regions, see Helleran, *Shopping*, 258–306.

⁷⁹ Safrai, *Economy*, 148.

⁸⁰ Bresson, *Ancient Greek Economy*, 229.

large marketplaces, known as Agoras, within the cities, where transactions were conducted in a more regulated and secure manner.⁸¹ Meanwhile, each town typically had at least one store and occasionally a regional marketplace, which facilitated commerce for residents from other towns and villages.⁸² Given that villages often lacked their own stores, they relied heavily on nearby cities or towns for access to stores or marketplaces.

In addition, there existed direct trade between cities, towns, and villages.⁸³ Traveling peddlers played a crucial role as intermediaries in such local trade.⁸⁴ With the advancement of the economy, some urban sellers delegated marketing and transportation responsibilities to professionals who carried out these tasks with greater efficiency.⁸⁵ Conversely, individuals operating within primitive economic systems were often required to manage all aspects of trade themselves.⁸⁶ That is to say, rural sellers frequently had to engage in transactions without the aid of brokers or transporters. This suggests that individuals in rural small towns and villages also had to acquire proficiency in the lingua franca for communication with other sellers and buyers who might speak different vernacular languages.

On the basis of the social networks, three additional socioeconomic activities influenced the linguistic ideology of non-institutional communities in the meso contexts. First, with the development of road systems, businesses catering to travelers became active in cities and towns. These urban areas, situated along the routes, offered inns,

⁸¹ Regarding more detailed information of the marketplaces of city, see Bresson, *Ancient Greek Economy*, 234–59.

⁸² Safrai, *Economy*, 126.

⁸³ Safrai, *Economy*, 133–34.

⁸⁴ Safrai, *Economy*, 132–33, 149–51.

⁸⁵ Safrai, *Economy*, 148.

⁸⁶ Regarding information of the brokers, see Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 53.

restaurants, and snack bars that provided essential services for travelers.⁸⁷ Given that foreign merchants, businessmen, soldiers, and pilgrims frequently visited and rested in these cities and towns, workers in these establishments had to learn the lingua franca to communicate effectively with their guests. As a result of the growing business from foreign visitors, the cities and towns located at significant junctions in the road network adopted a linguistic ideology of internationalism.

Second, a large-scale project of construction established strong social networks between the Romans and the local inhabitants. Road construction was one of the most important projects of the Roman Empire and was too extensive for the Roman soldiers to carry out alone. As a result, the local inhabitants of the cities and towns through which the road passed also shared responsibility for participating in these projects.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the local government frequently offered other temporary projects, such as constructing water systems, temples, public buildings, and institutional structures.⁸⁹ When individuals from different ethnicities had to collaborate on these projects, they had to communicate with each other using the lingua franca of the respective regions.

Third, the Roman military had a profound impact on the local socioeconomic networks within the provincial government. A significant portion of the taxes collected by the Roman government was used to pay the salaries of the Roman military.⁹⁰ The soldiers disbursed their earnings within the regions where they were stationed. Given the expansive size of the Roman military, their socioeconomic activities played a pivotal

⁸⁷ France, *Archéologie*, 75–84.

⁸⁸ Nardo, *Roads and Aqueducts*, 24–25; Safrai, *Economy*, 195.

⁸⁹ Regarding the water system of the city and town, see Nardo, *Roads and Aqueducts*, 49.

⁹⁰ Regarding the further information of the expenses for the Roman military, see Katsari, *Roman Monetary System*, 36–40.

role in regional economic development.⁹¹ Legions consisted of approximately five thousand soldiers, further divided into groups of around one hundred soldiers, ranging from eighty to one hundred sixty individuals, with each group being under the command of a centurion. The Roman military's consumption of food and various military supplies was extensive, with an average daily consumption of over seven tonnes of food per legion.⁹²

Taking all these factors into consideration, alongside the strong influence of international social networks, both urban and rural regions of the eastern provinces became multilingual societies. The primary objective of this chapter is to determine the language that served as the *lingua franca* and as the official language in the language contacts that emerged from the socioeconomic networks discussed above. As Ramsay MacMullen points out, "several languages in the Roman empire proved their ability to sustain themselves in spoken and even in written form against the competition of Greek and Latin."⁹³ To be sure, some ethnicities and nations still had independent linguistic ideologies that maintained their vernacular languages. According to literary and epigraphic evidence, Syriac, Aramaic, Hebrew, Coptic, Punic, Phrygian, Galatian, and Lycaonian still survived in the first century CE.⁹⁴ However, it is important to note that these kinds of vernacular languages were restrictively used in the private and public

⁹¹ Mattingly, *Imperialism*, 25–26.

⁹² Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 48.

⁹³ MacMullen, "Provincial Languages," 1.

⁹⁴ See the following historical records that explain the vernacular languages that survived: (1) the Punic language (*Digest of Justinian* 32.1.11), (2) the Phrygian language (Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.23.8), (3) the Galatian language (Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians* 2.26.357), (4) the Syriac and Celtic languages (Lucian, *Alexander* 51), and (5) the Lycaonian language (Acts 14:11).

settings of the same ethnic family, group, and community.⁹⁵

The sociopolitical and socioeconomic contexts indicate that Greek was the trade language in all regions of the eastern provinces in the first century CE. Even those who spoke other vernacular languages as L1 had to learn Greek at least as L2 for their economic activities, owing to its widespread use as the *lingua franca* for over four centuries following Alexander the Great's conquests. Other vernacular languages seldom found application in cross-cultural interactions due to their limited comprehensibility among people of diverse ethnic origins. This phenomenon illustrates that proficiency in Greek was a prerequisite not exclusively for the literate but also for the illiterate segments of society, facilitating their routine transactions. Therefore, Sofia Torallas Tovar states,

Greek education in schools was not limited to the Greek population in the metropoleis. . . learning Greek became a necessity if one wanted to find a place in the economy. The bilingual population grew, and eventually mixed into the Greek population. These natives often had a Greek name beside their own [native] name, each of them used in the public and private sphere respectively.⁹⁶

Since all types of settlements relied on international business and trade, speaking Greek was crucial for anyone with ambitions to succeed in the socioeconomic activities of the eastern provinces.

The same situation can be observed in language contact between Roman soldiers and the local population in the eastern provinces. It is worth noting the multilingual environment of the Roman military in order to determine which language

⁹⁵ Henson (*Origins*, 19) states, "ethnic cohesion is achieved through interaction between members of intimate networks like close family and friends, effective networks such as kinship or occupation, and the extended networks of neighborhood or social group."

⁹⁶ Tovar, "Greek in Egypt," 259.

was used for their socioeconomic activities in the eastern provinces. As explored in the previous chapter, the Roman military's linguistic ideology was characterized by a balance between Latin and Greek; while Latin served as the language for high-ranked soldiers, Greek was used as the language for low-ranked soldiers in the Roman military. This linguistic ideology of the Roman military suggests that Greek was the prestige language used for day-to-day interactions between Roman soldiers and local inhabitants. There are two reasons for this. First, it was more common for both parties to know Greek than any other vernacular language. In contrast, Latin was not widely spoken, even among the local elites in the eastern provinces. Second, it was rare for Roman soldiers and local inhabitants to coincidentally know the same vernacular language, except in extremely uncommon situations. Therefore, the use of other vernacular languages for communication was less likely.

Although its speed varied depending on the socioeconomic conditions, it is apparent that the use of Greek as the *lingua franca* gradually extended throughout the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. It is worth noting sociolinguistic theories and models regarding the patterns of multilingual children's language acquisition of the majority language in multilingual environments.⁹⁷ Children's language acquisition is higher than adults' language learning because as they grow, they lose plasticity in the brain and the specialization of the left hemisphere for language functions.⁹⁸ The critical period of language acquisition mostly lasts until adolescence. Therefore, people acquire the family language as L1 by the adolescent period and, afterward, learn other languages

⁹⁷ For information regarding studies of children's language acquisition, see Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 181–83.

⁹⁸ Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 238–39.

as L2. Following Edith Harding and Philip Riley's early childhood bilingualism model, Suzanne Romaine suggests six broad types of family bilingualism by investigating three factors: (1) the native language of the parents, (2) the language of the community at large, and (3) the parents' strategy in speaking to the child.⁹⁹ Hughson T. Ong adds one type of childhood bilingualism to Romaine's model and argues for seven categories of family bilingualism:

- (1) The first type of childhood bilingualism is known as "one-person-one language." The parents have different native languages, but each has some degree of competence in the other's language. The language of one of the parents is the dominant language of the community. Both parents speak their native languages to the child from birth.
- (2) The second type is known as "non-dominant home language" or "one language-one-environment." The parents have different native languages. The language of one of them is the dominant language of the community. Both parents speak the non-dominant language to the child, but the child is fully exposed to the dominant language when outside the home, especially in the education domain.
- (3) The third type is called "non-dominant home language without community support." The parents speak the same native language, which is different from the dominant language of the community. The parents speak their native language to the child.
- (4) The fourth type is called "double non-dominant home language without community support." The parents have different native languages, neither of which is the dominant language. The parents each speak their own languages to the child from birth.
- (5) The fifth type is labeled as "non-native parents." The parents share the same native language, which is the dominant language of the community. But one of the parents always addresses the child in a language that is not his or her native language.
- (6) The sixth and last type is labeled as "mixed languages." The parents are bilingual. Sectors of the community may also be bilingual. Parents speak both languages to the child and tend to code-switch and mix languages.
- (7) The seventh type can be called "non-native parents and mixed languages," perhaps an amalgamation of the fifth and sixth type. The parents are bilingual who share the same native language. The native language is not the dominant language of the community. The parents speak their native language to the child, but the child speaks the dominant language outside the home. . .—type A, or the

⁹⁹ Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 183–86; Harding and Riley, *Bilingual Family*, 47–48; Romaine, "Bilingual Language Development," 30, 33.

parents speak the dominant language to the child, mixing languages and code-switching on occasions. . .—type B.¹⁰⁰

Regardless of the type of family bilingualism, it is generally observed that the majority of immigrants, whose parents transition from being monolingual in a minority language to becoming bilingual in both the minority and dominant languages, tend to become monolingual in the dominant language rapidly.¹⁰¹ As noted in Chapter 2, moreover, language death of local languages gradually takes place after the local language lost its prestige role in the public settings. It is worth noting that the language death could occur even if its language users have a population of a million or more within three generations.¹⁰² As many case studies show, imperialism and internationalism drastically strengthen the linguistic ideology of the language shift.¹⁰³ This is because it becomes necessary for local residents to learn the lingua franca in order to engage in socioeconomic activities with individuals who speak different languages once the local language no longer plays a prestige role in such activities. Even though only one of the parents speak a non-local language which serves as the lingua franca in the workplace, children inevitably became bilingual of both the local language and non-local language and, consequently, fluent in the non-local language as generations pass.

If parents implement a systematic language policy for maintaining the minority language in their families, it is possible for subsequent generations to learn the minority

¹⁰⁰ See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 249–50.

¹⁰¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 249; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 263

¹⁰² See Fishman, *Reversing*, 1.

¹⁰³ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 175; Ostler, *Empires*; Coupland, “Introduction,” 7–8; Busch, “Language Systems,” 56–72.

language as the family language, thereby strengthening language maintenance efforts.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, providing minority language education in schools and religious communities before adolescence can support the language maintenance of minority families.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, without a strong and systematic language policy for maintaining vernacular languages, language shift occurs rapidly within families. Considering the short lifespans of ancient people and the strong imperialism and internationalism under Alexander, Diadochi, and the Roman Empire, it is highly likely that the language shift from the minority languages to the dominant language occurred within approximately fifty years (around the third generation) among those who did not have an independent linguistic ideology for the language maintenance of their minority languages.

During the approximately three hundred years from Alexander's conquest to the beginning of the first century, Greek served as the prestige language not only for the administrative works of most territories of the eastern provinces but also for trade and business among the Mediterranean port cities based on the strong density of the social networks that connected multiethnic people. As a result, the language shift of the prestige language for various socioeconomic practices had gradually taken place from the cities to the villages in the eastern provinces. The Hellenistic program which established the Greek education and economic system with a large number of Greek immigrants strengthened this language shift (see next section). Three hundred years of the popularity of Hellenism was sufficient time for the strong density of political and economic social networks within each region of the eastern provinces to establish Greek

¹⁰⁴ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 20–22.

¹⁰⁵ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 28–30.

as the lingua franca, supplanting the prestige role of previous vernacular languages. The rise of international social networks for various socioeconomic activities was the major factor that led a multilingual society in the eastern provinces of the Roman state. To be sure, some minorities which had a strong linguistic ideology for language maintenance of their language could still use their language as the prestige language for family, local, and ethnic social practices. However, the majority of their languages lost their prestige role for various socioeconomic activities, as the economy of each region heavily relied on international social network in the first century CE.

Social Networks of the Jewish Families and Communities

Inquiry into the sociolinguistic landscape of the regions presented in the book of Acts warrants consideration of the meso contexts within Jewish communities. Within these meso contexts, familial networks emerged as the most pivotal influencers of individuals' plurilingualism.¹⁰⁶ In addition, it was common that ancient people had strong kinship social networks for their family businesses and works. Especially, Jews established strong ethnic and religious social networks with each other. With this in mind, this study delves into the meso contexts of Jewish communities in Palestine and the diaspora in order to address the following two questions: (1) Did Jews develop independent linguistic ideologies for the language maintenance of Hebrew and Aramaic? and (2) Did Jews hold strong linguistic ideologies that successfully resisted the rise of internationalism with Greek as the prestige language?

Following the Babylonian invasion, the Judeans were forced to abandon their

¹⁰⁶ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 16–24.

homelands and settle in diaspora regions. Esther 9:20–32 demonstrates the enduring solidarity among Jews even during their exile. As Spolsky notes, the Babylonian Talmud scriptures reveal that the Judeans maintained Jewish traditions, such as observing kosher food and Shabbat, throughout their exile.¹⁰⁷ Simultaneously, they had to establish robust socioeconomic networks with Aramaic-speaking gentiles for their daily livelihood. Despite the Judeans' efforts to pass on Jewish traditions to the next generation, their descendants quickly lost proficiency in the Hebrew language. Nehemiah 13:24 states that upon their return from exile to their hometowns (ca. 539–444 BCE), the majority of Judean children did not comprehend Hebrew and instead became Aramaic speakers.¹⁰⁸ As a result, subsequent generations of Judeans lost their native language, Hebrew, and adopted Aramaic as a prestige language for various social activities during the exile. The fact that ordinary Jews needed Ezra's Aramaic translation from Hebrew scriptures in the official settings for the religious practice suggests that only a few Jewish scholars were proficient in reading and speaking Hebrew (Neh 8:8). In view of this, Hebrew survived solely as the prestige language for the Jewish scholars' religious activities.

This historical event evinces that despite the Judeans having robust ethnic and religious networks during the exile, a period of fifty years was sufficient for their language to shift from Hebrew to Aramaic.¹⁰⁹ Specifically, the loss of Hebrew by the

¹⁰⁷ Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Spolsky (*Languages of the Jews*, 41–43) insists that Hebrew was still used by ordinary Jews after the return to Judea. Spolsky argues for the Hebrew influence on Aramaic writings and heavily relies on the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, he does not provide any important evidence and historical record about ordinary people's Hebrew knowledge in other regions.

¹⁰⁹ Spolsky (*Languages of the Jews*, 42) argues that fifty years was not enough time for a language shift from Hebrew to Aramaic because Judeans had strong social networks based on religious practices. It is possible that some Judeans continued to keep Shabbat once a week. Spolsky, however, overlooked other important socioeconomic networks that Judeans had with Aramaic-speaking gentiles on a daily basis.

Judeans during the exile indicates that the intensity of their socioeconomic interactions with Aramaic speakers in their daily work lives was significant enough to disrupt the language maintenance of Hebrew within the family, kinship, ethnic, and religious networks of Judeans. This illustrates a key sociolinguistic phenomenon that in the absence of a strong and systematic language policy, the transition from an ethnic language to a lingua franca, or even the complete extinction of the ethnic language, could easily occur within two or three generations.

After the Babylonian captivity, some Jews returned to Judea, while the majority were dispersed throughout the diaspora. It is worth noting that this divergent resulted in different linguistic ideologies regarding Aramaic between Judean Jews and those in the diaspora.

Judea was primarily inhabited by Jewish populations after 539 BCE when tens or hundreds of thousands of Jews returned.¹¹⁰ After their return from the Babylonian exile, the majority of Judean Jews did not speak Hebrew but Aramaic as L1. Only a small number of Jewish scholars knew Hebrew. During the Hellenistic period, it became necessary for both Judean elites and ordinary Judeans to learn Greek due to its emergence as the lingua franca, replacing Aramaic. Because the Jewish ethnic language was not Aramaic, Jews did not have any motivation to maintain Aramaic as their ethnic, kinship, or family language. As the prestige language in the political and economic activities changed from Aramaic to Greek during the Hellenistic period, some Jews, particularly those with strong social networks with Greek-speaking individuals, adopted Greek as L1 gradually relinquished their proficiency in Aramaic. In addition, there were

¹¹⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 163–64.

Greek-speaking Jews who moved from diaspora regions to Judea during the Hellenistic period. As Greek served as the *lingua franca* of Judea, these Greek-speaking Jews did not need to learn Aramaic for political, religious, or economic activities. Moreover, a small number of Jewish elites also acquired knowledge of Latin as their L2 for sociopolitical interactions with the Romans following the Roman occupation.¹¹¹ As a result, the Jewish communities in Judea became multilingual, with languages such as Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin coexisting.¹¹²

Nevertheless, Aramaic was still used in local social interactions due to the dominant population of Aramaic-speaking Jews in Judea.¹¹³ Due to their dominant population, Aramaic-speaking Jews established robust social networks that encompassed not only religious practices but also various economic activities. This could have hindered the transition of the prestige language within Judean families from Aramaic to Greek. With this in mind, in the first century CE, the dominant population were bilingual speakers who spoke Aramaic as L1 and Greek as L2, and Greek-speaking Jews who did not know Aramaic were the minority.

During the Hellenistic period, diaspora Jews had to learn Greek as their L2 in order to interact with individuals who spoke Greek as the *lingua franca*.¹¹⁴ Their daily work and social interactions, which took place in workplaces where Greek served as the

¹¹¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 166.

¹¹² Rabbi Jonathan of Bet Gubrin states, “Four languages are appropriately used in the world, and these are they: everyday speech [Greek] for song; Latin for war; Sursi [Aramaic] for wailing; Hebrew for [clear] speech” (y. *Sota* 7.2).

¹¹³ Estimates place the population of Judea around forty-two thousand in the early Hellenistic period and between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand in the first century CE. Despite the debates regarding the population of Judeans, scholars have consensus that Jews were the dominant population in first-century Palestine. See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 164–65; Weinberg, *Community*, 132–33; Carter, *Emergence of Yehud*, 195–205.

¹¹⁴ Collar, “Re-thinking Jewish Ethnicity,” 228–29.

language of trade and business, necessitated fluency in Greek.¹¹⁵ The use of Greek names by diaspora Jews suggests that, as ethnic minorities in their respective regions, they had to adapt to the Hellenistic environment in order to establish social connections with Greek-speaking people. Collar states,

In the epigraphy, those who chose to define themselves as Jewish are understood to be part of the Jewish ethnos, and indicators of Jewishness are understood to have been used for the purpose of self-definition: mention of synagogue, use of Hebrew, Jewish names, and so on. However, the epigraphic evidence pertaining to the Jewish Diaspora at this time is limited: although the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora was considerable, there is little evidence for Jews self-identifying, and where there is, it is limited to particular contexts such as manumission, or the collective dedications of Egyptian prayer houses. It seems that Jews at this stage were comfortable with their integration with the societies they lived in—they did not need to separate themselves explicitly.¹¹⁶

Given this, the language shift from Aramaic to Greek took place easily and rapidly among the diaspora families, as the lingua franca of the eastern provinces shifted from Aramaic to Greek. In light of the Hellenistic environment prevalent in diaspora regions, the majority of Jews soon lost their knowledge of Aramaic. Whereas a small number of diaspora Jews might have learned Latin as their L2 for the political activities, the majority of diaspora Jews did not need to know Latin due to the role of Greek as the prestige language for the political and economic activities of the eastern provinces.

After the Babylonian captivity, Judean and diaspora Jews lacked a linguistic ideology of vernacularization for Hebrew to ordinary Jews.¹¹⁷ Spolsky points out that a

¹¹⁵ As Collar points out, the epigraphic evidence and the literature show varying degrees of diaspora Jews' interaction and assimilation with the Hellenized environment. See Collar, "Networks," 106.

¹¹⁶ Collar, "Networks," 106.

¹¹⁷ Linguistic ideology of vernacularization refers to the process of reviving or expanding an indigenous language and establishing it as an official language. Various processes of vernacularization encompass the revival of extinct languages, the restoration of classical languages, the elevation of indigenous languages to official status, and their subsequent standardization. See Cobarrubias, "Ethical Issues," 66.

potential indication of early Hebrew language education is found in the story of Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi (135–217 CE), which depicts his maid’s proficiency in Hebrew.¹¹⁸ However, it remains unclear to ascertain whether this story implies the presence of Hebrew language education across all Judean communities or solely within a small village. Regardless of the interpretation of the tale of Rabbi Yehuda Hanasi, there is no explicit evidence or declaration of a language policy pertaining to Hebrew in the Judean and diaspora regions during the first century CE. As Collar notes, it was not until the expulsion of Judeans from Judea to diaspora following the Jewish–Roman War (135 CE) that ordinary Jews showed interest in Hebrew language education.¹¹⁹

Since the majority of ordinary Jews lost their knowledge of Hebrew by the first century CE, it was permissible to use the lingua franca of their respective regions in the synagogue to ensure that everyone understood the Jewish rituals. Numerous scriptures of Babylonian Talmud and Jerusalem Talmud attest to the need for translation from Hebrew to Aramaic or Greek by many individuals (e.g., *b. B. Qam.* 38a, 116b; *b. B. Bat.* 12b; *b. Abod. Zar.* 17b; *b. Hul.* 80a; *y. Sota* 21a). According to the records, Jewish scholars had regulations in place to translate Hebrew scriptures into other languages, primarily Aramaic and Greek, to ensure comprehension (e.g., *Neh.* 8:8; *b. B. Mes.* 29. *b. Meg.* 8b, 9a–b, 18a; *b. B. Qum.* 83a; *y. B. Mes.* 8d, 12b; *y. Shabb.* 15c; *y. Meg.* 71b–c; *y. Ber.* 9C). Moreover, Porter points out that the following five types of Greek inscriptions suggest that Greek was used as a prestige language for the religious practices of Judaism in first-century Palestine: (1) a Greek inscription forbidding non-Jews to enter the inner courts of the temple (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.5.2, 193–194; 6.2.4, 124–125; *Ant.* 15.11.5, 417),

¹¹⁸ Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 43–44.

¹¹⁹ Collar, “Networks,” 107; Collar, “Re-thinking Jewish Ethnicity,” 229–30.

(2) a Greek inscription identifying a man named Paris for his generosity in funding a stone pavement near the temple, benefiting those who visit Jerusalem (ca. 37–4 BCE), (3) the Theodotus inscription discovered in a cistern to the south of the Temple Mount (ca. before 70 CE), (4) Caesar’s Greek decree that forbade the violation of sepulchers (ca. the first century CE), and (5) a Greek dedication inscription on a column in Capernaum (ca. the first or second century CE).¹²⁰

During the second temple period, the social practices that brought together Judean and diaspora Jews were the Jewish ritual ceremonies held at the Jerusalem temple during major holidays such as Pesach, Sukkot, and Hanukkah. The visits of pilgrims to Jerusalem not only contributed to the city’s economic growth, but also had political implications. Recognizing the significance of diaspora Jews, the Hasmoneans and Herodians implemented pro-Greek linguistic policies. Martin Hengel notes various historical records regarding experienced Greek chancery in the temple and the language policy of the Hasmoneans and Herodians for translation of the Jewish literatures from Hebrew to Greek:

The pilgrims who came to the feasts in Jerusalem from the West brought their Greek mother tongue to Jerusalem. The various documents in Greek from the second century BC in Josephus and in Maccabees indicate an experienced Greek chancery in the Temple. The Hasmoneans later attempted quite deliberately to strengthen the religious and political influence of the Jerusalem sanctuary on the Diaspora, and to this end even encouraged the dissemination of nationalistic Jewish literature in the Greek-speaking Diaspora and probably also its translation into Greek. Herod gladly continued this policy, and even more markedly than the Hasmoneans made himself the political advocate and protector of Diaspora Judaism. Under him Jerusalem became even more of a Greek-speaking city—at least as far as the upper classes were concerned.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Porter, “Scholarly Opinion,” 157–59.

¹²¹ Hengel, *Jews, Greek and Barbarians*, 115–16.

The earliest form of the LXX was translated probably between the third and second centuries BCE. The widespread use of the LXX suggests that Greek became a prestige language for the religious practices in synagogues.¹²² The reliance on the LXX by almost all the authors of the New Testament when directly quoting from the Jewish Scriptures serves as evidence for this.¹²³ While there is debate surrounding the language of the original texts, it is evident that all the scriptures of the New Testament, as well as numerous Jewish literary works such as Josephus's books, Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, the books of Maccabees, the Testament of Job, and many others, were circulated in Greek among diaspora Jews, rather than in other languages such as Hebrew or Aramaic.¹²⁴ Since Rabbi Meir (139–63 CE) could not find Hebrew scrolls (probably the book of Esther) in the diaspora synagogue of Asia Minor, he had to transcribe it from his memory and read it (*b. Meg.* 18b). This episode reflects a lack of Hebrew scripture in the synagogue of Asia Minor.

The same was true not only in the diaspora but also in Judea. The scriptures of the Talmud note that some Jewish scholars in Judea had the same language policy with the Hasmoneans and Herodians. Although Gamaliel II was one of the Jewish leaders who advocated the First Jewish Revolt, he still acknowledged the significance of the use of Greek as the prestige language for the religious practices of the house of Hillel:

But you said: If one read it in any language other than Hebrew he has not fulfilled his obligation. . . Said R. Aha, said R. Eleazar: This is possible when it is also written in Greek. . . Shimon ben Gamaliel says: Even scrolls of the Torah, they did not permit them to be written, in a non-Hebraic language other than Greek (*b. Meg.* 7b)

Is it so that one may not teach his children Greek? And did not Rabbi say, "In the land of Israel why use Syriac? Let it be either the Holy Language or the

¹²² Clackson, *Language and Society* 153; Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 120–21.

¹²³ Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 121.

¹²⁴ See Gruen, *Diaspora*, 159, 200; Kosmin, *Time*, 135, 125, 161, 164; Barkley, *Diaspora*, 22.

Greek language.” . . . But is Greek learning, for its part, forbidden at all? And did not R. Judah say Samuel said in the name of R. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel, . . . “There were a thousand children in my father’s house, five hundred of them studied Torah, and five hundred studied Greek learning.” . . . The household of Rabban Gamaliel is in a separate category and may study Greek, for they had a relationship with the government (*b. Sota* 49a–b). Even though Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel has said, “As to sacred scrolls, they have permitted them to be written only in Greek,” still, here he concurs that they may save them from fire (*y. Shabb. 15c*).¹²⁵ It has been taught: Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel says, “Even in the case of the sacred Scriptures, they have permitted only that they be written in Greek”. They investigated and found that the Torah can be properly translated only into Greek (*y. Meg. 71c*).

These records indicate that certain Jewish scholarly groups in Judea, who had a strong affiliation with the government, regarded Hebrew and Greek as the prestige languages for the religious practices of Judaism, excluding other languages like Aramaic. According to these records, some Jewish scholars held an anti-Aramaic linguistic ideology, aiming to prevent the translation of scriptures from Hebrew to Aramaic, the presence of an anti-Greek ideology is not clearly apparent.

In addition, one scripture of the Talmud, the second-century Jewish oral tradition, shows that linguistic ideology for teaching Greek in Jewish families was controversial among Jewish scholars:

They asked R. Joshua, “What is the law as to a man’s teaching his son a book in Greek?” He said to them, “Let him teach [Greek to his son] at the hour that is neither day nor night, as it is said, ‘And you will meditate there in the Torah day and night.’ (Josh. 1:8).” . . . R. Ba b R. Hiyya bar Vava in the name of R. Yohanan: “[One is forbidden to teach Greek to one’s son because of informers.” R. Abbahu in the name of R. Yohanan: “It is permitted for someone to teach his daughter Greek, because it is an adornment for her.” When Simeon bar Va heard this he said, “Since he wanted to teach Greek to his daughters, he assigned his opinion to R. Yohanan. May something bad happen to me if I didn’t hear that teaching from R. Yohanan!” (*y. Peah 16a*)¹²⁶

¹²⁵ I reference this translation from Neusner, *Babylonian Talmud*.

¹²⁶ See also *y. Shabb 7d*.

The debates among the Rabbis in this passage do not focus solely on language education for the Jewish elite but rather on language education within the family, as indicated by the inclusion of daughters in the discussion.¹²⁷ The conflicting statements between Rabbis Hiyya bar Vava, Abbahu, and Simoen bar Va make it difficult to ascertain the language policy of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, one of the Tannaim during the late Second Temple period. Despite the interpretive challenges surrounding Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai's language policy, the ongoing debate regarding Greek education within families even after the *First Jewish Revolt* (66 CE) implies a lack of a clear and consistent language policy among Judeans before the First Jewish Revolt. This observation is particularly relevant given the historical context, where pro-Greek linguistic ideology was more prevalent prior to the First Jewish Revolt. With this in mind, the decision to provide Greek language education in the family was a matter of personal preference before the First Jewish Revolt. Considering other historical records regarding the language policy of the Hasmoneans, Herodians, and the house of Hillel, it becomes apparent that a significant number of Jewish scholars, like Rabbis Joshua and Abbahu, advocated a pro-Greek linguistic ideology in favor of Greek education within the family, and this ideology gained popularity prior to the First Jewish Revolt.

In sum, evidence from the economy shows that the sudden rise of international trade in the Mediterranean Sea between the first century BCE and the first century CE formed strong social networks between cities and towns where Greek was used as the language of trade. As a result, it was no longer feasible for each mono-ethnic group to be

¹²⁷ Spolsky (*Languages of the Jews*, 50) argues that this passage shows the third dimension of language policy of Judeans: "Judeans are used to persuade people to learn and use Greek rather than Aramaic."

self-sufficient, but rather necessary for different ethnicities to actively engage in trade with one another to acquire resources and sell surplus goods. With the growth of internationalism, Greek became the trade and business language for communication between different ethnic groups, facilitating active trade between port cities and local towns. The rise of Greek as the prestige language within the eastern provinces from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE facilitated language shift from Aramaic to Greek not only within sociopolitical and socioeconomic networks of the Greco-Roman world but also within the religious, ethnic, kinship, and family networks of Jews. Nevertheless, the speed of language shift varied depending on the density of the social networks in which local inhabitants spoke minority languages. While local inhabitants were compelled to employ Greek for international social practices, they might have preferred to use their minority language in local social networks for some reasons. This could have contributed to a slower language shift from minority languages to Greek as the prestigious language for local social activities in some regions. With this in mind, the following section delves into the linguistic ideologies regarding Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Hebrew, and other minority languages in each region, as presented in Acts.

The Sociolinguistic Landscape of the Regional Communities

This section delves into the sociolinguistic landscape of the regions visited by the historical figures of Acts. It is important to note the methodology to identify the prestige languages for various social practices within the regions of the eastern provinces. There is limited available written data to determine the absolute dominant population of

illiterate individuals.¹²⁸ Therefore, this study carefully investigates inscriptions, writings, archeological evidence, and historical records related to local social practices. Two approaches will be employed to investigate the meso contexts of historical societies using this limited data. First of all, some pieces of epigraphic evidence demonstrate the linguistic knowledge of illiterate individuals through their *Epigraphic Habit*.¹²⁹ This term refers to the limited knowledge possessed by illiterate inhabitants in preparing memorials and writing texts.¹³⁰ The Epigraphic Habit gained significant popularity across the regions of the eastern provinces during the first millennium BCE. It is worth noting that unlike the inscriptions used for decorative and symbolic purposes (e.g., handicraft, accessory, statue), the code choices in the inscriptions found in burial sites reflects the family languages spoken by the dead people.

Therefore, it is important to analyze code choices regarding names on tombstones. The fact that Greek was chosen for tombstones is noteworthy because it indicates that these families were acquainted with Greek and utilized it for personal purposes in their daily lives.¹³¹ As John C. Poirier notes, “anyone who has observed how often Greek shows up in inscriptions [of the tombstones] must admit that somebody knew Greek.”¹³² Moreover, Jan Sevenster states,

If Greek is used on the majority of the tombstones and ossuaries, this is a strong indication that Greek was mainly spoken in that region and that consequently the Semitic language had become the secondary one for many people, though

¹²⁸ Mattingly (*Imperialism*, 29–30) states, “[The study] in relation to the ancient world is that unlike with more recent imperialisms we have little surviving written testimony of subject people. The twenty-first-century narrative of Roman history will thus always struggle to break free of the influence of the historical winners who penned it. However, the absence of evidence is not the same as evidence of absence . . . Fundamentally, we need to move away from interpretational models that stress only the advantages and “self-evident” attractions of being subject to Roman dominion.”

¹²⁹ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 85–86.

¹³⁰ See also Gregory, “Village Society,” 285–96, 390–91, 405–6, 407–9, 413, 417.

¹³¹ Porter, “Scholarly Opinion,” 160.

¹³² Poirier, “The Linguistic Situation,” 112–13.

still used as a sacred language in the funerary inscriptions.¹³³

In addition, the presence of Latin names also indicates their knowledge of Greek. Some tombstones recorded with a Latin name are occasionally followed by an epigram written in Greek.¹³⁴ These bilingual inscriptions suggest fluency in Greek among those who had Latin names. This is supported by the research findings in Chapter 3, which reveal that while all Romans who used Latin names in the eastern provinces were proficient in Greek, some lacked knowledge of Latin.

Although the information provided by Greek and Latin names is helpful in assessing knowledge of Greek, it has its limitations in determining ancient individuals' language proficiency in other languages. Greek and Latin names indicate a strong Hellenistic influence and knowledge of Greek but do not necessarily imply a lack of proficiency in other vernacular languages, as some Hellenized people retained their native languages. Furthermore, individuals with vernacular language names may still have been able to speak Greek. Some Hellenized people might have preferred vernacular language names because they indexed their ethnic identities. Considering these factors, the inquiry into ancient individuals' plurilingualism is too complex to be solely determined by the code choices for their names. Therefore, additional methods are necessary to effectively investigate ancient individuals' plurilingualism.

Another way to focus on various types of evidence is by examining various types of social networks in people's daily lives. Although there are very few historical records providing information regarding the social networks of ancient people before the

¹³³ Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* 138–42.

¹³⁴ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 25.

first century CE, they can still offer valuable insights. Additionally, several types of archaeological evidence shed light on the social networks in the Greco-Roman world:

- (1) Transportation System: Two important types of transportation systems existed in the Greco-Roman world. The first type is maritime, as the development of harbor systems made port cities central to international networks. It is crucial to examine the archaeological evidence of these port cities. The second type is the road system, which facilitated the transportation of goods for socioeconomic activities between inland settlements. Ancient people preferred using large, paved roads for the safe passage of cargo and wagons. Therefore, the scale and materials of the roads provide information regarding the density of socioeconomic networks, where language contact took place.
- (2) Public marketplace: The public marketplace played a vital role as a hub connecting international and local social networks within a region.¹³⁵ Agoras featured colonnades along the market streets, linking them to the international road system and facilitating trade with other countries.¹³⁶ Additionally, there were many Hellenistic marketplaces that followed the Agora model, featuring open spaces surrounded by colonnades and buildings serving various purposes.¹³⁷ As transportation developed, individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds converged in Agoras and Hellenistic marketplaces for international and local business and trade. In

¹³⁵ Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 45–46; Regarding various types of marketplaces, see Segal, *Function*, 61–81; Köse, “Market-buildings,” 141–54.

¹³⁶ Segal, *Function*, 8–9.

¹³⁷ Köse, “Market-buildings,” 140–53.

addition, Greek temples within Agoras functioned as banks and storage facilities.¹³⁸ Moreover, Agoras held great significance as a sociopolitical and socioreligious gathering place for Greek scholarly debates, Hellenistic cult practices, and the Imperial cult.¹³⁹ Taking all these factors into consideration, the traces of Agora and Hellenistic marketplaces serve as important evidence for the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* in the given regions.

- (3) Products: Archaeological evidence of products may not directly demonstrate ancient peoples' knowledge of languages, since inscriptions were likely used for decorative or symbolic purposes. Nevertheless, they can still indicate trade networks between sellers and buyers. The importation of decorative or symbolic products with religious, cultural, and ethnic styles implies their place of origin (e.g., Hellenistic-style artifacts, Jewish-style artifacts, and Syrian-style artifacts). However, it is important to carefully investigate this type of evidence since trade networks often involved several intermediaries. Furthermore, with the expansion of international networks, new artifact technologies were frequently distributed rapidly throughout the eastern provinces.

By investigating literary and archaeological evidence, this study focuses on three factors that influence the speed of language shift from vernacular languages to Greek during the time of Peter and Paul. The first factor is linguistic demography, wherein the vernacular languages of dominant populations tend to persist longer than

¹³⁸ Köse, "Market-buildings," 154–58; Quigley, *Divine Accounting*, 19–23.

¹³⁹ Segal, *Function*, 55.

those of minority populations. The second factor pertains to linguistic ideology, whereby an independent linguistic ideology strongly hinders language shift from vernacular languages to the lingua franca, whereas a conformative linguistic ideology leads to significant language shift and, at times, language death. The third factor relates to the density of social practices, wherein strong social networks formed through regular gatherings for social activities reinforce independent or conformative linguistic ideologies.

This study explores the sociolinguistic landscape of the regions visited by the historical figures mentioned in Acts. Since scholarly debates have focused on the linguistic ideology of the Syrian province in the first century CE, this study takes a closer look at the sociolinguistic landscapes of Judea, Samaria, Galilee, Phoenicia, and Syria. The linguistic ideology of other regions has been comparatively less controversial, thus prompting this study to concentrate on the controversial sociolinguistic issues within these specific regions. Additionally, this study investigates the linguistic ideology of the Parthian Empire, as early Christianity involved diaspora Jews from Media, Elam, and Mesopotamia.

This study does not examine these regions solely based on the geographical boundaries of the eastern provinces. Due to the frequent territorial modifications imposed by the Roman State, linguistic ideologies within the same province became complex. This is because the policy of regional integration did not consistently shape the linguistic ideology that was adopted within these unified regions. Hence, this study explores these regions by considering regional groups that may have shared similar linguistic ideologies.

Judea

In the first century CE, Judea was a multilingual society with four languages: Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. As previously discussed, Hebrew and Latin were minority languages in Judea, utilized by a small number of individuals for specific social practices. Hebrew was not spoken as L1 by the Jewish population, but rather served as the prestige language for the religious practices primarily among Jewish scholars. Latin was employed by Romans as the prestige language for the administrative works of the central government, although Greek was often utilized for communication with provincial governments and local residents. This was due to the fact that not only did the local inhabitants lack knowledge of Latin, but some Roman citizens from the eastern provinces were also unfamiliar with it.

With this in mind, the issue of the linguistic demography of Judea should focus on two inquiries: (1) How many Greek-speaking individuals settled in Judea and (2) How many Aramaic-speaking Judeans were proficient in Greek and how many Greek-speaking Judeans were fluent in Aramaic. Regarding the first inquiry, it is worth noting three potential groups of Greek-speaking individuals who migrated to Judea during the Hellenistic period. The first group consists of diaspora Jews. As noted in the previous section, diaspora Jews were an ethnic minority in the eastern provinces. Therefore, they lost their knowledge of Aramaic rapidly and became monolingual Greek speakers during the Hellenistic period.¹⁴⁰ Although it is impossible to determine their population, some diaspora Jews, who were monolingual Greek speakers, settled in Judea during this period.¹⁴¹ The second group comprises Roman soldiers. Following the incorporation of

¹⁴⁰ Collar, "Re-thinking Jewish Ethnicity," 228–29.

¹⁴¹ Safrai, *Economy*, 17.

Judea as a province of Rome after 6 CE, Roman governors, troops, and officials were deployed to Judea. Since the Italian contingent, who spoke Latin as their L1, was not substantial prior to the First Jewish Revolt, the Roman troops consisted primarily of non-Italians who were fluent in Greek. They were accompanied by three to six auxiliary units and local militia from Sebaste and Caesarea.¹⁴² The third potential group includes Greek-speaking gentiles. As part of the Hellenistic program introduced by the Herodians, a significant number of Greek-speaking gentiles settled in port cities and coastal areas such as Caesarea, Joppa, and Lydda. In comparison to the population in the port cities, a smaller number of Greek-speaking gentiles resided in inland cities (e.g., Jerusalem).

Given the complex sociolinguistic environment associated with the second inquiry above, the remainder of the present section will examine various types of evidence. First of all, it is important to note that the Hasmonaeans and Herodians had a pro-Greek linguistic ideology, popularizing Greek education in Judea.¹⁴³ As explored in the previous section, the Talmudic scriptures indicate that Rabbis who were in close proximity to the government also adopted a pro-Greek linguistic ideology, advocating for the use of Greek as the educational language of Judaism; moreover, Rabbis of the house of Hillel held an anti-Aramaic linguistic ideology (*b. Meg. 7b*). Such linguistic preferences among the Rabbis suggest that both political and religious leaders not only refrained from hindering Greek education but likely actively supported its proliferation in Judea.

¹⁴² Safrai, *Economy*, 191.

¹⁴³ Hengel, *Jews, Greek and Barbarians*, 115–16.

In addition, it is worth noting the presence of two distinct ideologies regarding internationalism among the Judeans, as international interactions played a role in establishing socioeconomic networks between the Judeans and Greek-speaking gentiles.¹⁴⁴ Some Rabbis rejected engaging in international trade with gentiles and instead encouraged self-sufficiency within the community.¹⁴⁵ According to *b. Avod. Zar.* 35b–39b, they debated and implemented strict regulations for trade or commerce with gentiles based on Tannaim. Conversely, other Rabbis emphasized the significance of international trade networks and actively participated in commercial activities themselves.¹⁴⁶ Ordinary Jews were compelled to participate in both international and local trade due to the socioeconomic structure that had been established in Judea under the influence of the Hellenistic programs implemented by the Hasmonean and Herodian kingdoms.¹⁴⁷ Safrai states, “the sages realized that trade was inevitable, and both the sages and the public in general accommodated themselves to this reality.”¹⁴⁸

In Judea, the Qumran community distinguished itself through its pronounced ideological opposition to the Hasmonean and Herodian kings concerning the Hellenistic program. They adhered to a sacred language ideology that upheld Hebrew as the language of God and criticized Judeans’ linguistic practices using the following phrases: “a weird tongue” (1QHa 10:19; 1QHa 12:16); “the mouth of prophets of fraud” (1QHa 12:16); “a blasphemous tongue” (1QS 4:11); and “an uncircumcised lip” (1QH 10:7,

¹⁴⁴ Josephus (*J.W.* 2.591–92) explains some Jews who dwelt in Cyria were obliged to make use of oil that was made by others than those of their own nation in Galilee. According to *y. Abod. Zar.* 1.4 (11b), there were still debates among the Rabbis regarding the purchase of the gentiles’ products at the fair in Tyre in the third century CE.

¹⁴⁵ Safrai, *Economy*, 177.

¹⁴⁶ Safrai, *Economy*, 177–78.

¹⁴⁷ Hengel, *Jews, Greek and Barbarians*, 81, 114.

¹⁴⁸ Safrai, *Economy*, 178.

18). This suggests that the Qumran community had a different linguistic ideology from that of other Jews. Particularly noteworthy is the fact Qumran documents avoided Greek loanwords, and only a minimal number of Greek texts, approximately three percent, were discovered at the Qumran site.¹⁴⁹ It is important to note that since the Qumran community was a sect that existed in isolation from other Judean communities, the linguistic environment depicted in the DSS does not reflect that of the broader Judean population, but rather that of the Qumran community.

Herod the Great established extensive international networks between Judea and other nations by developing port cities.¹⁵⁰ Simultaneously, the construction of roads by the Romans expanded the local networks and increased their density, thereby facilitating both international and local trade among cities, towns, and villages. Through these networks, a significant number of Greek-speaking Jews and gentiles visited Judea, leading to language contact between Judeans and Greek-speaking individuals. The influx of Greek-speaking visitors brought substantial income, prompting the local inhabitants to prepare businesses for their needs such as accommodation, food, clothing, and other necessities.¹⁵¹

Foreign travelers, merchants, and politicians did not need to learn every local vernacular language, but it was required for them to have a working knowledge of Greek at least as their L2. This is because, with the rise of internationalism, Greek emerged as the lingua franca and the prestige language for the political and economic affairs in the eastern provinces. The local inhabitants also had to learn Greek at least as their L2 in

¹⁴⁹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 62; Kutscher and Kutscher, *A History*, 100.

¹⁵⁰ Patrich, *Caesarea Maritima*, 28–35

¹⁵¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 56.

order to participate in their business and trade with Greek-speaking individuals, as the majority of their customers did not understand Aramaic. Given this, the significant influx of Greek-speaking visitors to Judea on a regular basis suggests that Aramaic-speaking Judeans had to acquire Greek at least as their L2, while Greek-speaking visitors did not require any knowledge of Aramaic.

A large number of pieces of Greek inscriptional and documentary evidence imply the widespread use of Greek for various social activities in Judea.¹⁵² According to Daniel Sperber's study, rabbinic literature includes approximately one thousand Greek loanwords, indicating the Rabbis' familiarity with Greek culture, particularly Homeric poems and legal terminology.¹⁵³ Additionally, the Rabbis frequently utilize Greek wordplays in the Talmud.¹⁵⁴ While these pieces of evidence do not demonstrate the Rabbis' fluency in Greek, they suggest that a significant number of Rabbis were likely to have some level of familiarity with Greek.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, Greek papyri from the Judean Desert sites, including commercial transactions, fiduciary notes, and contracts of marriage, suggest that not only Judean elites but also ordinary Judeans used Greek as the prestige language for socioeconomic activities.¹⁵⁶ In particular, seventy-five percent of the Greek inscriptions on Judean tombstones, including rabbis, officials, merchants, and craftsmen, indicate that even ordinary Judean families were acquainted with Greek.¹⁵⁷

The sociolinguistic landscape of Judea indicates that regardless of their literacy, a large number of Judean families had gradually shifted from Aramaic to Greek in the

¹⁵² See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 55–64; Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Tradition*, 106–12.

¹⁵³ Sperber, *Greek*, 115, 184–215.

¹⁵⁴ Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 49.

¹⁵⁵ Porter, "Scholarly Opinion," 151–60; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 48–49.

¹⁵⁶ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 59–60.

¹⁵⁷ Porter, "Scholarly Opinion," 160; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 48; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 59–60.

first century CE. While records from the Jerusalem Talmud and Babylonian Talmud suggest that there were still many Aramaic-speaking Judeans, the widespread use of Greek for sociopolitical and socioeconomic activities meant that they inevitably had to learn Greek. In contrast, Greek-speaking Jews did not need to learn Aramaic as it had lost its prestige role. Although the presence of a significant number of Aramaic-speaking Judeans may have hindered the language shift from Aramaic to Greek among their families, the pro-Greek linguistic ideology had already been promoted by the Hasmonean dynasty over two centuries, based on strong sociopolitical and socioeconomic networks. This suggests that the language shift among the Aramaic-speaking Judeans resulted in bilingual families speaking both Aramaic and Greek. On the other hand, the gradual language death of Aramaic among the Greek-speaking Judean families led to the emergence of Greek-monolingual families. These two types of families were already prevalent in the first century CE, with the exception of regions that were isolated from Greek-speaking visitors, like the Qumran community.

Jerusalem

Jerusalem was the largest inland city in Judea. Many attempts were made to transform Jerusalem as a Polis since the period of the Seleucid Empire. Although the Hasmoneans tried to build Judea as a Hellenistic state on a Jewish national foundation, some radical zealots strongly opposed this Hellenistic project.¹⁵⁸ The project of reshaping Jerusalem into a Hellenistic city was successfully carried out by Herod the Great. Herod the Great built various Hellenistic constructions and established Greek education systems in

¹⁵⁸ Hengel, *Jews, Greek and Barbarians*, 81; Safrai, *Economy*, 177.

Jerusalem.¹⁵⁹ It is not clear whether Jerusalem received the status of Polis in the first century CE. In light of the socioeconomic networks, nevertheless, Jerusalem functioned as the Metropolis of Judea.¹⁶⁰

The Hellenistic project for Jerusalem suggests that the majority of Judeans in Jerusalem were multilingual speakers who spoke Greek at least as L2. Aristocratic and military circles of Judaism used Greek as the prestige language for international social practices between 260 and 250 BCE. It had thoroughly infiltrated into the Jewish society in Judea through Greek education in a gymnasium around 175 BCE.¹⁶¹ As Martin Hengel notes, a range of archeological evidence attests to Jews' knowledge of Greek: Palestinian Greek inscriptions and graffiti, the letters of Tobias, the record of the well-educated Jewish translators of the Greek Old Testament discussed in the Letter of Aristeas, Greek loan words in the Old Testament, the presence of a gymnasium and ephebate in Jerusalem, and the increase of Greek names among Jews.¹⁶²

Moreover, Jerusalem served as a prominent hub for local and international trade with various social activities. These included barter and small-scale trade conducted by local shopkeepers and hawkers, as well as wholesale transactions carried out by merchants at the local level.¹⁶³ Additionally, Jerusalem engaged in numerous international trade ventures, encompassing both official and private enterprises. Historical records attest to the robust international networks that existed between the institutional community of Judea and other nations: a large number of the importation of

¹⁵⁹ Jones, *Cities*, 276.

¹⁶⁰ See Safrai, *Economy*, 12, 18, 36.

¹⁶¹ Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 103–4.

¹⁶² See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 58–106.

¹⁶³ Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 35.

timbers from Lebanon (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.36), the importation of glass from Sidon (*y. Sabb.* 15b), Corinthian bronze (*b. Yoma* 38a; Josephus, *J.W.* 5.201), and Babylonian materials used for the curtain in front of the holy place (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.212). As Joachim Jeremias points out, a considerable number of gentile merchants regularly visited Jerusalem for private business purposes during the reign of Hyrcanus II:

At the time of Hyrcanus II (76–67 and 63–40 BC) there were Greek merchants from Athens in Jerusalem: this is doubtless the meaning of the statement that Athenians were in Jerusalem on private business as well as official. There must have been constant connections and considerable traffic between the two places, otherwise the Athenians would not have honoured Hyrcanus II with the Golden Crown of Athens as a sign of gratitude, nor set up a bronze statue of him in Athens (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.153).¹⁶⁴

It is worth noting that a significant number of pilgrims' final destinations was Jerusalem during the Jewish festivals. According to Josephus (*J.W.* 6.422–27), each Jewish group of ten to twenty people killed one sacrifice, and two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred animals were killed for their sacrifice during the Passover.¹⁶⁵ While it is impossible to estimate the exact number of pilgrims in this population, their visits undeniably played a significant role in the development of the tourist industry in Jerusalem. Jewish feasts were not only important religious rituals but also lucrative business opportunities. As a result, the Judeans prepared various socioeconomic activities, including accommodations, markets, and currency exchange, to cater to the needs of the pilgrims, leading to language contact between Judeans and pilgrims. Given the dependence of Jerusalem's economy on international business and trade, Greek served as the *lingua franca* for all social classes within the city of Jerusalem.

¹⁶⁴ Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 35.

¹⁶⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 165–66.

Alongside international socioeconomic activities and the influx of non-Aramaic speakers, Jerusalem became a multilingual society. As Acts 6:1 shows, there existed two distinct language groups among the Judeans: (1) Greek-speaking Judeans used Greek as their family language and group language, and (2) Aramaic-speaking Judeans employed Aramaic for the same purpose. Given the sociolinguistic landscape of Jerusalem described above, Greek-speaking Judeans were monolingual, while Aramaic-speaking Judeans were bilingual, proficient in both Aramaic and Greek.

In addition, it is worth noting a division of labor based on socioeconomic networks between Jerusalem and surrounding towns and villages. The towns and villages near Jerusalem provided significant sources of income for its economy. Archeological evidence from the towns and cities around Jerusalem shows the existence of their local trade networks with Jerusalem since the Persian period. As Charles E. Carter points out, “discoveries suggest that [Jerusalem] was more than an agricultural or trading outpost.”¹⁶⁶ These towns and villages had a mixed agrarian and animal husbandry economy based on grain, wine, and oil. Each town and village had very different major productions depending on the geographic features (especially soil types) and climate.¹⁶⁷ As a result of these different primary industries, each village and town had to engage in local and international trade in order to acquire scarce resources. The Hellenistic and Roman periods witnessed significant advancements in agricultural technology, leading to increased production in these towns and villages. Probably, this abundance made it possible to support Jerusalem’s international export to other nations.

¹⁶⁶ Carter, *Emergence of Yehud*, 252.

¹⁶⁷ Carter, *Emergence of Yehud*, 255–56.

There were numerous construction and maintenance projects that required cooperation between local inhabitants who spoke a different L1. Several settlements had agricultural installations, including threshing-floors, terraces, winepresses, storage facilities, farmsteads, and olive presses.¹⁶⁸ The towns surrounding Jerusalem featured various processing industries, such as a pottery kiln at Tell en-Nasbeh, industrial rooms for fabric and stone production at Abu et-Twein and En-Gedi, and possibly industrial installations for the perfume industry at En-Gedi.¹⁶⁹ Additionally, there were large-scale national projects for the construction and maintenance of public buildings, such as libraries, gymnasiums, and temples. It is likely that the vernacular language, probably Aramaic, was used for small-scale projects that the local population could handle. However, Greek was evidently the most suitable language for large-scale projects, as there was a significant number of individuals who did not know Aramaic but had at least learned Greek as L2. This included Roman officials, Roman soldiers, diaspora Jews, and slaves.

Both international and local socioeconomic networks of Jerusalem indicate active language contact between Greek-speaking and Aramaic-speaking people. Despite the presence of a significant number of Aramaic-speaking inhabitants in Judea who spoke Aramaic as their L1 and Greek as their L2, there were also a number of Judean families who spoke Greek as their L1 and lost their knowledge of Aramaic due to the three centuries over which Greek education and internationalism were promoted by four dynasties, the Ptolemies (301–200 BCE), the Seleucids (200–140 BCE), the

¹⁶⁸ Carter, *Emergence of Yehud*, 250.

¹⁶⁹ Carter, *Emergence of Yehud*, 252.

Hasmonaeans (140–63 BCE), and the Herodians (63 BCE–93CE).¹⁷⁰ As a result, Greek served as the lingua franca between Greek-speaking and Aramaic-speaking people.

While other vernacular languages were limited to private settings, such as with families, kinships, or friends, Greek became the preferred language for public and official settings where people of various ethnicities gathered.

Caesarea Maritima¹⁷¹

Around 25–13 BCE, Herod the Great constructed Caesarea as a magnificent maritime city renowned for its expansive port industry and Hellenistic architecture.¹⁷² Known as Caesarea Maritima, the city derived its name from Caesar Augustus, and it featured a temple and a statue dedicated to the Roman Imperial cult.¹⁷³ Although geographically located in Samaria, Caesarea functioned as the administrative hub of the provincial government of Judea within the Roman Empire, starting from 6 CE when Herod erected a palace. Herod's *Praetorium*, the residence of the Roman governor, also served as the place where Paul was held in custody. As the governor predominantly resided in Caesarea, they occasionally traveled to Jerusalem accompanied by their soldiers during significant Jewish festivals as a precautionary measure due to the anticipation of large crowds and the potential for unrest.¹⁷⁴

Caesarea was a major port city of Palestine that was bigger than the Piraeus port of Athens in Greece (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.408). It was located on the important trade

¹⁷⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 166–67.

¹⁷¹ Throughout the present work, the regional name of Caesarea refers only to Caesarea Maritima, never to Caesarea Philippi.

¹⁷² Regarding Hellenistic constructions, see Patrich, *Caesarea Maritima*, 28–35.

¹⁷³ See Patrich, *Caesarea Maritima*, 19–22.

¹⁷⁴ Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 582. For instance, see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.223–27.

network between Alexandria and Asia Minor. Caesarea served as a refuge from the strong south winds between Joppa and Dora (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.339), attracting many merchants who would stop by the city. However, Caesarea was not suitable for agriculture, so people from other inland settlements in Palestine would bring various agricultural products for international trade.¹⁷⁵ The main export product was the agricultural products from Samaria. Additionally, Caesarea Maritima imported various international products to Palestine.

Caesarea was the center of Hellenistic culture in Palestine. As Lee I. Levine points out, Caesarea was built in a similar fashion to Alexandria in Egypt, as both cities were considered the city of the king and enjoyed the status of a free and autonomous Greek city.¹⁷⁶ Greek institutions established by Herod the Great continued to flourish and expand during the first century CE. The city's extensive port industry and Hellenistic architecture were key elements in attracting and accommodating the pagan population.¹⁷⁷ Prior to the First Jewish Revolt, the estimated population of Caesarea was around fifty thousand, including approximately twenty thousand Jews but with the rest comprised of gentiles.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, numerous gentiles and diaspora Jews regularly visited the harbor of Caesarea for international business and trade.

Caesarea was a cosmopolitan city where people from different ethnic backgrounds came together for business and trade. From its earliest days, the Hellenistic influence in Caesarea, along with a significant population of gentile settlers and a focus

¹⁷⁵ Safrai, *Economy*, 212.

¹⁷⁶ Levine, *Caesarea*, 13.

¹⁷⁷ Levine, *Caesarea*, 12.

¹⁷⁸ Patrich, *Caesarea Maritima*, 32 n.109. Josephus (*J.W.*, 2.457) notes that over twenty thousand Jews were killed in Caesarea.

on international connections, led to a strong preference for Greek as the language of commerce, trade, and public affairs. Aramaic, which had lost its prestigious status in the Mediterranean port cities, could no longer serve as a *lingua franca*. As a result, only those who were fluent in Greek could fully engage in international trade and business in Caesarea. This sociolinguistic environment exerted pressure on Aramaic-speaking Jews to learn Greek and use it in their everyday lives. Consequently, over a relatively short period of time, this environment inevitably caused a language shift within Jewish households from Aramaic to Greek.

To be sure, Latin inscriptions were primarily employed for recording information concerning local and Imperial authorities as well as the Roman military.¹⁷⁹ However, inscriptions from the first and second centuries CE reveal the significant role of Greek as the prestige language for various social practices. The dedication in Greek to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus within the city and the Greek inscription proclaiming the city's metropolitan status, bestowed by Alexander Severus, indicate that Greek was used as the prestige language for public social practices.¹⁸⁰

Moreover, additional evidence supports the use of Greek in the daily lives of Caesarea's residents. Apollonius praised Caesarea for its Hellenistic culture.¹⁸¹ The utilization of a Greek title to address a municipal official and the imprinting of an official weight with the Greek term *ἀγορανόμος* to ensure its applicability in business transactions within the city's market further substantiate this pattern.¹⁸² Furthermore,

¹⁷⁹ The important dedicatory inscriptions, whether for an emperor or local official, were written in Latin. In the fourth century CE, public places were still referred to by their Latin names. Levine, *Caesarea*, 37–38.

¹⁸⁰ Abel and Barrois, "Fragments de Césarée," 294–95; Lifschitz, "Note," 255–56.

¹⁸¹ Levine, *Caesarea*, 40.

¹⁸² Lifschitz, "Grecques de Césarée," 121; Lifschitz, "Inscriptions de Césarée," 57–58; Harper Jr., *Village Administration*, 133–34.

with a few exceptions, the majority of funerary inscriptions discovered in Caesarea were also composed in Greek.¹⁸³

Taking all of these factors into consideration, Greek was the dominant language spoken by Roman governors, officers, and soldiers, not only in public and private settings but also occasionally in official contexts. The same is true for Jews of Caesarea, as the initial Jewish settlers played significant roles in international business and trade within the city.¹⁸⁴ Considering the sociolinguistic environment of the city, Greek was employed as the prestige language for the religious practices by the Jews of Caesarea during this period.¹⁸⁵

Joppa (Jaffa)

Joppa's strategic location as a port city has rendered it a significant center for trade and travel throughout history. Its development as a port industry dates back to the Bronze Age. Alexander the Great recognized the value of Joppa's harbor and utilized it as a strategic location to exert control over the Land of Israel.¹⁸⁶ The abundance of coins discovered suggests that Joppa thrived during the reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty.¹⁸⁷ Despite its notoriety for treacherous reefs and storms, as noted by Josephus (*J.W.* 3.9.3), Joppa's harbor remained a vital gateway for Judea to access the islands of the sea (1 Macc. 14.5). In the first century CE, Joppa held the position of being the second most important port in Judea, with at least eleven roads connecting it to various significant

¹⁸³ See Lifschitz, "Grecques de Césarée," 115–20; Lifschitz, "Nécropole Juive"; Lifschitz, "Inscriptions de Césarée en Palestine"; Lifschitz, "Note"; Lifschitz, "Inscriptions de Césarée."

¹⁸⁴ Regarding information of the first Jewish settlers' jobs, see Levine, *Caesarea*, 23.

¹⁸⁵ In the third century CE, Levi Bar Haitah heard that Jews in Caesarea recited the scripture in Greek (*y. Sota* 21a).

¹⁸⁶ Rodan, *Maritime-Related Cults*, 12–13.

¹⁸⁷ Rodan, *Maritime-Related Cults*, 12–13.

cities and towns.¹⁸⁸ This made it a central hub for merchants, troops, and diaspora Jews who utilized the port for travel between Jerusalem and their respective home regions.¹⁸⁹

Although gentiles constituted the majority population of Joppa during the Babylonian captivity, the demographic makeup of the city underwent a significant change, with a substantial influx of Jews.¹⁹⁰ Simon Maccabee expelled the gentiles from Joppa due to their lack of cooperation with his army and their alleged plans to betray the city to Demetrius's generals (1 Macc. 13.6–11, Josephus, *Ant.* 13.5.10; 13.6.4). The massacre of thousands of inhabitants by Romans during the First Jewish Revolt indicates that Joppa had a sizable Jewish population at that time, despite the prevalence of Hellenistic influences within its culture (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.18; 3.9.2–3).¹⁹¹

The influence of Hellenized culture in Joppa can be traced back to the late Persian period. Archaeological evidence, such as imported Greek pottery and Attic Ware, provides testament to Joppa's connections with Hellenized port cities across the Mediterranean during this period.¹⁹² Joppa served as a port town throughout the Hellenistic period, with various rulers such as Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, and the Seleucids frequently stationing troops in the city.¹⁹³ The existence of a Ptolemaic mint during the reigns of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309–246 BCE) and Ptolemy III Euergetes (280–22 BCE) further confirms the close political and economic relationship between Joppa and the Ptolemaic kingdom, as revealed by archaeological findings in the

¹⁸⁸ See Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 166–68, 181–85, 189–91, 197, 202–3.

¹⁸⁹ Applebaum, "Status of Jaffa," 143.

¹⁹⁰ Applebaum, "Status of Jaffa," 140.

¹⁹¹ In light of Joppa's important role in the trade networks of the Roman Empire, Radan explains the strategic importance of Joppa for the Jewish Revolts. See Radan, "Importance of Joffa," 76–83.

¹⁹² Notley, *Greco-Roman Jaffa*, 95.

¹⁹³ Regarding the Hellenistic culture of Joppa, see Rodan, *Maritime-Related Cults*, 12–13, 17.

Jacob Kaplan archive. An example of this relationship can be seen in the Greek dedicatory inscription to Ptolemy IV Philopater (244–204 BCE).¹⁹⁴ The Xenon Papyri also mentions Joppa as a significant harbor for Greek merchants and officials during the third century BCE.¹⁹⁵

Even after the Maccabean conquest and the expulsion of gentile inhabitants, there was no implementation of an anti-Greek linguistic ideology in Joppa. As noted above, rather, the Maccabean and Herodian dynasties promoted a pro-Greek linguistic ideology. The relatively significant distribution of Hellenistic-style pottery from Joppa to other regions of Judea between the second and first centuries CE indicates the existence of socioeconomic networks between Joppa and Greek port cities during this period.¹⁹⁶ In 63 BCE, following Pompey's conquest of Joppa, he restored its status as a Polis, allowing for the settlement of gentiles in Joppa.¹⁹⁷ Herod the Great later downgraded its status to a mere administrative center, though the Hellenistic program in Joppa continued under his rule. Eventually, Claudius restored Joppa's status as a Polis.¹⁹⁸

Three hundred years of Hellenistic rule provided ample time for a language shift from Aramaic to Greek within the majority of families in Joppa. During the Second Temple period, the road system connecting Joppa and Jerusalem played a crucial role in the socioeconomic networks of Judea, considering Joppa's status as the second-largest port city in Judea. Additionally, this road system facilitated the travel of numerous

¹⁹⁴ Notley, *Greco-Roman Jaffa*, 98–99.

¹⁹⁵ Tsuf, "Jaffa-Jerusalem Relationship," 271–72.

¹⁹⁶ Tsuf, "Jaffa-Jerusalem Relationship," 275.

¹⁹⁷ Rodan, *Maritime-Related Cults*, 17; Safrai, *Economy*, 12.

¹⁹⁸ Applebaum, "Status of Jaffa," 139–40; Jones, *Cities*, 273–75.

Greek-speaking pilgrims to Jerusalem during the three festivals as part of Jewish tradition, thereby significantly contributing to Joppa's economy. These circumstances suggests that this social network fostered language contact between Greek-speaking individuals and Judeans. The prevalence of Greek epitaphs in the Jewish cemetery at Abbu Kabir, a satellite village of Joppa, strongly implies that Greek was L1 spoken by the majority of Joppa's families.¹⁹⁹

Azotus

Azotus was an inland city located approximately five kilometers from the sea, playing a crucial role in international trade.²⁰⁰ The road network of Azotus connected the port cities with the inland cities, towns, and villages.²⁰¹ Prior to the second century BCE, Azotus and its surrounding towns and villages had a substantial population of gentiles.²⁰² The Maccabeans successfully conquered and ruled over Azotus (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.99–100, 395); however, Pompey liberated the city from Jewish control (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.75). As Azotus underwent restoration, many gentiles resettled in the area (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.85). During the first century CE, Azotus became a multilingual society under the rule of the Herodians. Strabo's writings (*Geogr.* 16.2.2) demonstrates that the inhabitants consisted primarily of Hellenistic Syro-Phoenicians, with various minor ethnic groups such as Judaeans, Idumaeans, Gazans, and Azotians who were engaged in occupations such as farming or trade.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ See Applebaum, "Status of Jaffa," 143.

²⁰⁰ Regarding the locations of the settlements of Azotus, see Dothan, "Ashdod," 178.

²⁰¹ Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 58, 60, 64–65, 188–89, 194, 196.

²⁰² Cotton et al., *Corpus inscriptionum*, 3:200; Dothan, "Ashdod," 186.

²⁰³ Cotton et al., *Corpus inscriptionum*, 3:200.

Archeological and epigraphic evidence regarding the socioeconomic and socioreligious activities indicates Greek was the public language of the city. Extensive remains of the Hellenistic city Azotus, including pottery and other objects, have been discovered in the Hellenistic marketplace run by the Hasmoneans.²⁰⁴ According to the pottery and coins found at the Azotus Yam, it appears that the Hellenistic buildings were left deserted between the second and first centuries BCE.²⁰⁵ A large number of Greek inscriptions indicate the widespread use of Greek as the lingua franca of Azotus.²⁰⁶ Since Jews were a minority in the city of Azotus, they had to speak Greek for their business and trade. Specifically, the chancel screen in the synagogue of Azotus, with Greek inscription [-]ΝΙΣΘΙΕΙΣΑ[.]ΑΘΟΝΚΕΗΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΝ and the Hebrew embedded word שלום (ca. 4–6 CE), demonstrates that many Jews used Greek as the prestige language for the religious practices in the synagogue.²⁰⁷ These pieces of evidence suggest that language shift from Aramaic to Greek took place among the majority of Jewish inhabitants as well.

Lydda

Lydda was a town located approximately fifteen kilometer east of Joppa, situated on the main crossroad from Caesarea and Joppa to Jerusalem.²⁰⁸ Two direct routes to Jerusalem and at least two secondary routes passed by Lydda.²⁰⁹ This strategic location made Lydda a vital center for trade and commerce, connecting the road system between major

²⁰⁴ Freedman, “Second Season,” 139.

²⁰⁵ Fantalkin, “Ashdod-Yam,” 49, 51.

²⁰⁶ Cotton et al., *Corpus inscriptionum*, 3:202–23.

²⁰⁷ Cotton et al., *Corpus inscriptionum*, 3:202.

²⁰⁸ Safrai, *Economy*, 131–32.

²⁰⁹ Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 64–65, 184–85; Schwartz, “Roman Lydda,” 34.

coastal cities and Jerusalem.²¹⁰ In light of its role as the major bridge between the coastal cities and Jerusalem, it is worth noting Greek-speaking visitors to Lydda. Roman military had to pass through Lydda while traveling between Caesarea and Jerusalem. Likewise, foreign visitors and pilgrims from the ports of Caesarea and Joppa had to visit Lydda on their way to Jerusalem. The businesses established for their visits, such as accommodations, restaurants, and international trades, were the major source of income for the economy of Lydda.

The merchants of Lydda capitalized on this geographical advantage, as the sale of primary and secondary industry products, such as textiles (particularly those dyed with high-quality purple dye) and Lyddan jars, were easily facilitated by the proximity of Lydda's workers to the port cities and Jerusalem.²¹¹ Lydda was developed into a large town, comparable in size to a city (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.130). In his research on the Rabbinic literature, Joshua Schwartz illustrates that Lydda had a guild-like association within its market, although it did not possess the Agora. Rather, it consisted of "a street lined with booths or shops and there were apparently residential units near or actually within the market."²¹² However, Lydda became a slaved city due to non-payment of taxes in 43 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.275). As Aharon Oppenheimer notes, subsequently, Lydda served as a hub for tax collection.²¹³

Due to a lack of archaeological evidence, identifying the physical form and structure of Lydda is challenging. Lydda was not exclusively Jewish but had a

119. ²¹⁰ A few historical records mention "Lydda's merchants." See Oppenheimer, "Jewish Lydda,"

²¹¹ Schwartz, "Roman Lydda," 41.

²¹² Schwartz, "Roman Lydda," 40.

²¹³ Oppenheimer, "Jewish Lydda," 117.

significant Jewish population.²¹⁴ The Jewish residents of Lydda displayed a strong devotion to Judaism during the Second Temple period. According to Josephus (*J.W.* 2.515–16), all Jews of Lydda, except for fifty individuals, would travel to Jerusalem for the feast of Tabernacles. Several Rabbis, such as Eliezer ben Hurcanus and Tarfon, established their academies of Judaism in Lydda. Additionally, numerous synagogues were present in the first century CE.²¹⁵

Due to a lack of available data, it is difficult to ascertain the number of bilingual Aramaic and Greek speakers and monolingual Greek speakers within the Jewish families. To be sure, the dominant Jewish population might have impeded the language shift of their familial language from Aramaic to Greek. However, the socioeconomic context of Lydda which relied on the international business and trade indicates that a significant number of Jewish families underwent a language shift from Aramaic to Greek in the first century CE. Numerous Greek-speaking merchants and visitors from port cities had to pass through Lydda in order to reach Jerusalem for several centuries. Given that these visits brought substantial economic benefits to Lydda, its inhabitants needed to employ Greek for socioeconomic interactions with Greek-speaking Jews and gentiles from the diaspora. Even those engaged in primary and secondary industries had to sell their products to visitors at the street market in Lydda and the large marketplaces in the port cities. This sociolinguistic environment demonstrates the active language contact between the inhabitants of Lydda and Greek-speaking individuals for socioeconomic activities, resulting in the emergence of monolingual Greek-speaking families.

²¹⁴ Oppenheimer, “Jewish Lydda,” 116.

²¹⁵ Oppenheimer, “Jewish Lydda,” 119; Schwartz, “Roman Lydda,” 48.

Samaria

The Samaritans were descendants of the Northern Israelites. Following the Assyrian occupation and the loss of political power over their territories, a diverse population of ethnic groups settled in the Samaria region.²¹⁶ By approximately 720 BCE, Mesopotamians had taken control of the cities in Samaria (1 Kgs 17:24). When Alexander the Great conquered Samaria, there were already Sidonians residing in the area (Josephus, *Ant.* 11. 340–44). Following Alexander's conquest, a significant number of Macedonians, Greeks, and Hellenized Syro-Phoenicians also settled in Samaria, contributing to the formation of a more complex multiethnic society.²¹⁷ The continuous influx of various ethnicities over an extended period resulted in Samaria becoming a multiethnic society, where Samaritans interacted and integrated socially and economically with non-Jewish individuals. Even after the conquest of the Hasmonean dynasty in the second century BCE, Samaria remained multiethnic. Due to the complex formation of the multiethnicity, scholars differentiate between Samaritans, descendants of Northern Israelites, and Samaritans, all ethnic inhabitants.

After the division of the Southern and Northern Kingdoms of Israel, their religious traditions developed differently, resulting in the emergence of Judaism and Samaritanism following the return from the Babylonian exile.²¹⁸ Despite their different traditions, it seems that Jews and Samaritans did not perceive each other as belonging to gentiles. After the destruction of the Samaritan temple by John Hyrcanus I in 128 BCE, however, negative attitudes towards each other gradually developed.²¹⁹ Some Jews

²¹⁶ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 169.

²¹⁷ Segal, "Samaria–Sebaste Portrait," 409–11.

²¹⁸ Meek; *Prophet King*; 216–57; Nodet, "Israelites," 164.

²¹⁹ Pummer, *Early Christian Authors*, 2.

considered Samaritans to be gentiles (Jubilees 30.1–26; Judith 9:2–4; Testament of Levi 7.1–3; *y. Sabb.* 2.6; 19.2; *b. Nid.* 4.1–2; 7.3; *y. Git.* 1.5; *y. Ketub.* 3.1; *y. Qidd.* 4.3).

Nevertheless, this linguistic ideology did not encompass all Jews, as other Jews still considered Samaritans as the descendants of Israelites who worshipped God (Josephus, *Ant.* 9.290; *y. Dem.* 3.4; 5.9; *y. Ter.* 3.5; 9.3) and followed Torah (*b. Nid.* 7.3; *y. Git.* 1.5; *y. Ber.* 7.1). The scripture of *y. Dem.* 6:8 records a debate concerning this issue: Rabbi Yudan classified the Samaritan as a gentile, while Rabbi Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel regarded Samaritans as Israelites in all respects. These conflicting linguistic ideologies show that Rabbis did not reach a consensus on the social identities of Samaritans even in the third century CE. Given this, the linguistic ideologies held by Judeans concerning the social identities of Samaritans were not simply homogeneous but rather varied significantly in the first century CE.

The long-term separation of social networks between Judeans and Samaritans after the division of the Israelite kingdom resulted in the development of distinct dialectal features in their Aramaic language.²²⁰ In addition, Samaritans and Judeans employed distinct variants of Hebrew script.²²¹ However, the sociolinguistic dynamics regarding the language shift from Hebrew to Aramaic within Samaritan families were comparable to those of Judean families. In Samaria, Hebrew continued to be preserved as a prestige language for the religious practices among the scholarly elite but ceased to be used as a spoken language. Excavations at two sites, the Wadi ed-Daliyeh cave and the Ketef Jericho cave, have yielded numerous ostraca, namely stone fragments, written in Aramaic. These ostraca contain records of shipments of dates, oil, and wine, as well

²²⁰ Regarding Samaritans' dialect of Aramaic, see Florentin, *Samaritan Hebrew*, 14, 22.

²²¹ Samaritans used the Paleo-Hebrew alphabet. See Pummer, "Material Remains," 136–38.

as dates themselves, indicating that Samaritans utilized Aramaic for socioeconomic activities during the Persian period.²²²

Samaria was situated in the middle of Judea, Galilee, and Syria, granting it a geographical advantage and making it the socioeconomic center of Palestine.²²³ The road system in Samaria facilitated trade networks connecting Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and Syria.²²⁴ The Samaritan hills, characterized by relatively high rainfall and fertile soil, were well-suited for agricultural activities, including the cultivation of grains, grapes, figs, and olives. Notable agricultural regions in Samaria included the Sharon Plain and the Jezreel Valley. Despite differences in their religious and ethnic perspectives, Judeans and Samaritans actively engaged in socioeconomic interactions with each other for business purposes, as they became one nation politically after the Hasmoneans occupied Samaria and annexed the Samaritans in the second century BCE.²²⁵ As Knoppers states:

How much Jews and Samaritans distinguished between holding strictly to their theological tenets and dealing practically with the realities of ordinary life also varied. A Samaritan could express hostility toward the Jerusalem temple and yet have practical dealings with contemporary Jews. Similarly, a Jew might firmly hold to the notion that Jerusalem was elect of God and still do business with his Samaritan neighbors.²²⁶

Therefore, merchants from Caesarea and Joppa procured Samaritan agricultural products, particularly wine, oil, and grain, and exported them to other nations via shipments.²²⁷

²²² Stern, *Archaeology*, 422–23.

²²³ Smith, *Historical Geography*, 332–41.

²²⁴ Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 163–80; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 169–70; Zangenberg, “Jerusalem,” 401–2.

²²⁵ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 168–69.

²²⁶ Knoppers, *Jesus*, 227.

²²⁷ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 169; Zangenberg, “Jerusalem,” 401–2.

Samarians' international networks with Greeks can be traced back before the Hellenistic period. Josephus (*Ant.* 11.340–46) mentions that there was a garrison of Macedonians and a colony of Sidonian merchants in Samaria during the Hellenistic period. The archaeological evidence, including Greek pottery and Athenian coins from the fifth century BCE, implies that Samarians had established international networks already before the early Hellenistic period.²²⁸ Reinhard Pummer conducts an investigation of inscriptions, documents, handcrafts, and coins in the excavation sites of Samaria and concludes that “all the finds, including the coins, date from the time before the coming of Alexander. . . show[s] how much Greek influence there was in Samaria before Alexander.”²²⁹

It is worth noting the Hellenized city of Sebaste, which was the largest city in Samaria. Sebaste had been rebuilt by various conquerors on the foundations of the previous city of Samaria. During the period of Persian rule, the city of Samaria served as a district capital. After Alexander's conquest in 332 BCE, Macedonians and Syro-Phoenicians reconstructed the city of Samaria as a Polis and settled there.²³⁰ Although the Polis of Samaria was destroyed by the Hasmonean ruler, John Hyrcanus, in 108 BCE, the Roman governor Gabinius attempted to revive the city of Samaria in 57 BCE. In 12 BCE, Herod the Great undertook a massive building project to expand and fortify the city of Samaria.²³¹ To honor the Roman emperor, Augustus, Herod named the city Sebaste, which was a Greek translation of the Latin title Augustus. The buildings of Sebaste exhibit a strong influence of Hellenism on the culture and religion of its

²²⁸ Stern, *Archaeology*, 425.

²²⁹ Pummer, “Material Remains,” 177.

²³⁰ Segal, “Samaria–Sebaste Portrait,” 411.

²³¹ Segal, “Samaria–Sebaste Portrait,” 412.

inhabitants. There were two pagan temples for the Roman imperial cult: the Augustan temple and the temple of Kore.²³² The construction of a large stadium, forum, and theater reflects the inhabitants' Hellenistic lifestyles.²³³

Although it is challenging to determine the population of each ethnic group of Sebaste, it is evident that Sebaste was a multiethnic society. The Samaritans were likely the dominant ethnic group in Sebaste. Meanwhile, a considerable number of Greek-speaking gentiles, such as Macedonians and Hellenized Syro-Phoenicians, moved to Sebaste. Arguably, these gentiles played a significant role in socioeconomic activities by exporting the abundant agricultural resources of the surrounding settlements in Samaria and importing various products from the international networks via the port cities of Syro-Phoenicia. Additionally, there were a subsequent number of residences for Roman soldiers (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.356, 364–366). Herod's six thousand war veterans and colonists, consisting of Samaritans and gentiles, also settled in Sebaste.²³⁴

Archaeological evidence reveals the significant role of Sebaste in the socioeconomic networks of Samaria. Sebaste had two extensive roads that spanned the entire city, including a colonnaded street, measuring one thousand meters in length and a width of twelve meters, with two five-meter-wide sidewalks. It comprised street stores characterized by uniform facades and single-slope roofs.²³⁵ The foundation of this colonnaded street was built in the time of Herod the Great and completed as the perfect shape around the end of the second century CE.²³⁶ Moreover, the Agora was constructed

²³² Segal, "Samaria–Sebaste Portrait," 420–25.

²³³ There are scholarly debates about whether a theater was built in the first century or second century CE. For more information regarding the stadium, forum, and theater in Sebaste, see Segal, "Samaria–Sebaste Portrait," 418–19, 425–28.

²³⁴ See Pummer, "Material Remains."

²³⁵ Segal, "Samaria–Sebaste Portrait," 415; Segal, *Function*, 37–38.

²³⁶ Segal, "Samaria–Sebaste Portrait," 415.

in a rectangular shape, measuring 120m from east to west and 72.5m from north to south. It was situated to the east of the Acropolis hill and theater and dates back to the first century CE.²³⁷ The archaeological evidence of these road systems and marketplaces clearly indicates that Sebaste served as a key hub for international and local trade networks, attracting various ethnicities for business and trade in Palestine.

Samaria has a rich history of language contact with Greek-speaking people, particularly in relation to Hellenistic influence prior to the conquest of Alexander the Great. The establishment of the Hellenistic city of Sebaste played a significant role in promoting a pro-Greek linguistic ideology. Over the course of four centuries, the influx of Greek-speaking settlers into Sebaste precipitated a language shift from Aramaic to Greek, establishing Greek as the prestige language in public setting. Given this, the dominant population of Sebaste was comprised of monolingual Greek-speaking families in the first century CE. Considering the local networks of Sebaste, it is apparent that the surrounding cities, towns, and villages were strongly influenced by this pro-Greek linguistic ideology. That is to say, the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements also required Greek knowledge at least as L2 for their business and trade with the inhabitants of Sebaste.

Galilee

Galilee is a region located in northern Israel, known for its diverse landscapes, including rolling hills, fertile valleys, and numerous freshwater lakes, such as Lake Tiberias, so-

²³⁷ According to the archeological evidence of the Agora in Sebaste, see Segal, *Function*, 58.

called the Sea of Galilee.²³⁸ After the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel in the late eighth century BCE, many Israelites were exiled, leaving Galilee with small gentile towns and villages. The resettlement of the Galilean regions began with the reestablishment of Phoenician coastal cities before the Persian period.²³⁹ It was not until the first Hasmonean king of Judaea, Aristobulus I, conquered and annexed Galilee in 104–103 BCE that diaspora Jews started to return to the area. Under the new Hasmonean administration, dozens of new settlements and outposts were established in Galilee, providing a safe environment for Jewish settlers.²⁴⁰

The ethnic demography of first century CE Galilee has traditionally been regarded as having a gentile dominant population, as the Gospel of Matthew 4:15 refers to “Galilee of the Gentiles.” However, an alternative hypothesis has been popularized by contemporary scholars, in which the dominant population of Galilee consisted of Aramaic-speaking Jews who relocated from Judea.²⁴¹ Mark Chancey and Bradley W. Root, the leading proponents of this hypothesis, argue that the archaeological evidence—including *miqva’ot* (Jewish ritual baths), a lack of pork in bone profiles, and burial practice styles—suggests a dominant population of Judean settlers in Galilee. They maintain that Jewish Galileans who spoke Aramaic lived separately from Greek-speaking gentiles, and that the population of Jewish Galileans was large enough to sustain itself within the multiethnic society of the region.²⁴²

²³⁸ In light of the fact that the body of water in Galilee is actually a lake and not a sea, this study will refer to it as ‘Lake Tiberias’ instead of ‘the Sea of Galilee.’

²³⁹ There are a significant number of Phoenician inscriptions during the Persian period, indicating active involvement of the Phoenicians in the region’s affairs. The abundance of Phoenician inscriptions in Palestine suggests that Phoenician presence was widespread and rooted in the area. See Jigoulov, *Social History*, 59.

²⁴⁰ Moreland, “Inhabitants of Galilee,” 142, 151.

²⁴¹ Chancey, *Myth*, 168; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 112–13.

²⁴² Chancey, *Myth*, 80, 82, 85–86, 88; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 101–4, 128–29.

The evidence presented by Chancey and Root is not decisive in proving their hypothesis. In light of the rapid diffusion of new technology, the presence of *miqva'ot* does not serve as critical evidence for the settlement of Judeans in Galilee. Due to the development of transportation, new technologies were widely and rapidly distributed throughout the Roman state. For instance, only a few years was taken for the distribution of new technologies of glass-blowing tubes and water-lifting throughout the Roman state without the need for foreign craftsmen to settle in new locations, relying solely on international networks.²⁴³ The same is true for the distribution of technologies for building *miqva'ot* from Judea to Galilee. Furthermore, considering the Hasmoneans' policy of forcing Judaism upon the gentiles (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257), the lack of pork in bone profiles and the Judean style in secondary burials do not suggest a significant Judean population in Galilee.²⁴⁴

In addition, Charlesworth states that Chancey overlooks a number of important considerations:

- (1) The unrepresentative nature of the extant evidence does not allow general conclusions to be drawn about Greek literacy by comparing the quantity of inscriptions dated to each century.
- (2) The nature and context of individual pieces of evidence is important and may reveal much more than a mere survey of the evidence can show.
- (3) A minimalist picture of an isolated Jewish enclave barely touched by Hellenization fails to acknowledge other possibilities inherent in the wider evidence.
- (4) The same approach, however inadvertently, tends toward the drawing of a stark dichotomy that cannot capture the socioeconomic and cultural diversity of Galilee in the early Roman period (63 BCE–136 CE).²⁴⁵

²⁴³ See Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 531–32.

²⁴⁴ Chancey (*Myth*, 67) argues that the presence of ossilegium, small chests employed to house bones after flesh decomposition, serves as compelling evidence of a Judean burial site.

²⁴⁵ Charlesworth, “Use of Greek,” 357.

Milton Moreland argues that not many Judeans migrated to Galilee because they had to forsake the socioeconomic benefits of living in Judea.²⁴⁶ Rather, Moreland insists that a huge population of diaspora Jews from Phoenician coastal cities migrated to Galilee, attracted by the socioeconomic advantages provided by the business and trade networks connecting these regions.²⁴⁷ Moreland's study represents a significant advancement in the socioeconomic analysis of the resettlement of diaspora Jews from Phoenician coastal cities to Galilee.

However, Moreland's assertion regarding the dominant Jewish population in Galilee following the Hasmonean conquest is highly questionable. Instead, it is more plausible that the Hasmoneans converted the indigenous gentile inhabitants of Galilee. While the Hasmonean administration actively propagated Judaism through the coercive conversion of gentiles, it remains uncertain whether the Hasmoneans actively encouraged Jewish migration to Galilee following their conquest.²⁴⁸ In fact, the Hasmoneans paid little attention to the regions of Galilee even after conquering them, as their focus remained on the southern and eastern borders of Judea and Samaria.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that the Hasmoneans either expelled the gentile inhabitants or prohibited gentile migration from Phoenician coastal cities to Galilee. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is more likely that the Hasmoneans enforced the conversion of the gentiles who had already relocated from Phoenicia to Galilee. Additionally, if a significant number of Jews migrated from Phoenicia to the

²⁴⁶ Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 142.

²⁴⁷ Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 138, 143–44.

²⁴⁸ For instance, the Maccabeans did not slaughter Idumeans but forced them to convert to Judaism after the conquest of Idumea (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257–58; *J.W.* 1.63).

²⁴⁹ Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 142, 151.

Galilee regions due to socioeconomic advantages after the time of the Hasmoneans, it is evident that many gentiles moved to Galilee during this period as well.

Due to the limited available data, it is difficult to determine the population of the Jews who moved from Judea, Phoenician coastal cities, and other diaspora regions to Galilee. However, regardless of how one assesses the evidence, it is almost impossible that Aramaic-speaking Judeans constituted the dominant population in Galilee by the first century CE. This is because the economy of Galilee heavily relied on socioeconomic interactions with the inhabitants of the Phoenician coastal cities, where Greek served as the language of trade and business. This socioeconomic environment suggests that a large number of Galileans from the Phoenician coastal cities already became Greek-speaking monolingual people. If any Judeans did migrate to Galilee, they must have been proficient in Greek and capable of participating in the socioeconomic activities of the Greek-speaking society. Therefore, it can be concluded that the dominant linguistic population of Galilee had a high fluency of Greek-speaking, regardless of the ethnic composition.

The socioeconomic networks of Galilee with Greek-speaking cities and towns indicate that Galilee in the first century CE was a multilingual society with Jewish and gentile populations intermingling for trade and commerce.²⁵⁰ Ong points out the towns with an intermixed population of Jews and gentiles in Galilee:

When Jesus prevented his disciples from going to the Gentiles and Samaritans and instructed them to go instead to the lost sheep of Israel (Matt 10:5–6), his instruction suggests that there were actually Gentile populations in both Judea and Galilee, two regions in which he and his disciples had spent most of their time. Additionally, it seems that the Gentile populations in those two regions were so intermixed with the Jewish population. The sociolinguistic concepts of

²⁵⁰ Chancey (*Myth*, 19–20, 65) also acknowledges that archeological evidence supports the trade networks of Galileans with other ethnicities.

isogloss and language border make it clear that there is fluidity in the intermingling of border and adjacent territories. Whereas Upper Galilee transacted business with the northern and western regions, Lower Galilee was not only exposed to visitors from but also engaged in intraregional trade with the Decapolis, Samaria, Caesarea Maritima, Judea, and other regions (see Matt 4:25; Mark 3:7–8; Luke 6:17–18).²⁵¹

Richard A. Horsley characterizes Galilee as a “crossroad of empires.”²⁵² It is important to acknowledge the socioeconomic networks within two distinct regions of Galilee: Lower Galilee and Upper Galilee.²⁵³ The strong trade networks between Galileans and the Phoenician coastal cities are conspicuous in the socioeconomic environment of Galilee. Following the reestablishment of Ptolemais (Akko) as the port city and the construction for accessing a road system to access the Lower Galilee, Ptolemais emerged as the major port of Galilee, facilitating social networks of business and trade between Lower Galilee and international regions during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.²⁵⁴ Eric M. Meyers examines the road system of the Lower Galilee and notes,

All of these Lower Galilean sites thus are great urban centers linked to the more pagan and hence Greek-speaking west, with its more cosmopolitan atmosphere and multi-lingual population. Strangely enough, the bulk of Jesus’ career is located in Lower Galilee (Nazareth, Nain and Cana) and in the Rift Valley region, with headquarters in Capernaum. The isolation that often is associated with the Galilean personality is therefore quite inappropriate when we speak of Jesus of Nazareth, who is growing up along one of the busiest trade routes of ancient Palestine at the very administrative centers of the Roman provincial government.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 180.

²⁵² Horsley, *Archaeology*, 15–42. Chancey also knew the road system of Galilee but overlooked its importance in shaping linguistic ideology of Galilee and in demographic movement from Phoenicia to Galilee. See Chancey, *Myth*, 53–54, 157–63.

²⁵³ Regarding these two geographic types of Galilee, see Josephus, *J.W.* 3.35–40.

²⁵⁴ As Josephus (*J.W.* 2. 188) notes, “Ptolemais is a maritime town of Galilee built at the entrance to the Great Plain.” Regarding the information of the road networks between the Lower Galilee and Ptolemais, see Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 104.

²⁵⁵ Meyers, “Cultural Setting of Galilee,” 698.

Sean Freyne also notes,

The Zenon Papyri give ample evidence of the commercial links with the interior, since the list of produce which we know entered the Egyptian markets from Syria—grain, olive oil, smoked fish, cheese, meat, dried figs, fruit, honey, dates, etc.—represents most if not all the produce of Galilee.²⁵⁶

Especially, Sepphoris and Tiberias were central to the socioeconomic networks of cities and towns in the Lower Galilee.²⁵⁷ Sepphoris and Tiberias were founded as Poleis by Herod Antipas in 20 CE and served as the administrative centers of Galilee (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.27).²⁵⁸ The fact that the Romans directly controlled Sepphoris as their administrative capital in Galilee after deposing Antipas in 39 CE suggests that Greek served as the official language of the government.

Due to the lack of evidence, scholars have not reached a consensus on the ethnic demography in Sepphoris in the first century CE.²⁵⁹ Chancey argues that the lack of pagan temples and gymnasia in Sepphoris indicates a dominant Jewish population who spoke Aramaic as the lingua franca.²⁶⁰ However, Chancey's argument is not plausible, considering that Herod the Great prioritized allocating his resources to extensive construction of Caesarea, which held greater significance than Galilee.²⁶¹ Chancey overlooks other important pieces of evidence indicating a strong Hellenistic influence on the inhabitants of Sepphoris. Archaeological findings of statuettes of Greek gods such as Prometheus and Pan, together with a large theater with thousands of seats,

²⁵⁶ Freyne, *Galilee*, 105.

²⁵⁷ Meyers, "Cultural Setting of Galilee," 697; Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?," 211.

²⁵⁸ Lewin, *Archaeology*, 76–78; Batey, "Sepphoris," 403–4.

²⁵⁹ For instance, McRay ("Tiberias," 1236) insists that Antipas might have settled both Jews and Gentiles in Sepphoris based on the discovery of construction tombs that made the city ritually unclean for Jews. Meyers ("Sepphoris," 322) argues for a considerable number of well-to-do aristocratic Jews. Moreland ("Inhabitants of Galilee," 147) argues that there was long-term agrarian settlements in Sepphoris from the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

²⁶⁰ Chancey, *Myth*, 50–51.

²⁶¹ Lee, "Multilingual Galilee," 190–91.

suggest a deep connection to Greek culture.²⁶² Furthermore, their steadfast loyalty to the Roman Empire during the First Jewish Revolt underscores the enduring influence of Hellenistic culture.²⁶³ This strong Hellenistic influence suggests that Greek served as the official language of the Palestinian government among the local elites of Sepphoris and Tiberias under the reign of the Herodians.

Unlike Sepphoris, Tiberias had a significant Jewish population, as evidenced by the support of its inhabitants for the Jewish Revolt against the Romans (Josephus, *Life* 42).²⁶⁴ However, Josephus's account of the First Jewish Revolt indicates that at least the elite group, composed of highly Hellenized Jews and Greeks, opposed the rebellion (Josephus, *Life* 43, 67, 97–99). More importantly, the socioeconomic networks of the Lower Galilee region suggest strong ties between the residents of Tiberias and Greek-speaking individuals. According to Charlesworth's study, an inscription of the lead market dating back 29 to 30 CE displays the market overseer's Latin name, Gaius Julius.²⁶⁵ His Latin name indicates that he was a fluent Greek speaker. As Porter notes, Tiberias was "a city built by Herod Antipas, where there was a population that was probably even more bilingual than Jerusalem."²⁶⁶

In addition, the use of Greek as the lingua franca in the Lower Galilee can be supported by the widespread presence of Greek inscriptions in the region, particularly in the vicinity of the lake and at the burial site in Beth She'arim.²⁶⁷ Greek inscriptions found at the burial site, in particular, suggest that Greek was used at home by these

²⁶² Lewin, *Archaeology*, 83.

²⁶³ Lewin, *Archaeology*, 80.

²⁶⁴ See Avi-Yonah, *Foundation*, 163.

²⁶⁵ Charlesworth, "Use of Greek," 359.

²⁶⁶ Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?," 212.

²⁶⁷ Chancey, *Myth*, 18.

families. These pieces of evidence indicate that a pro-Greek linguistic ideology in the Lower Galilee was strong enough to lead to the use of Greek as a family language.²⁶⁸

Moreover, the glass industry shows the international division of labor between Galilee and Ptolemais.²⁶⁹ One of the major exports in Ptolemais was glass utensils which began in the first century BCE.²⁷⁰ While Akko Valley was abundant in the raw materials required for the glass industries, the necessary fuel and combustible materials could be obtained from the Galilee regions. As the industries were constructed in Galilee, Galilean artisans had to purchase raw materials from the marketplace in Ptolemais and sold glass utensils to the merchants in Ptolemais. This division of labor indicates that despite their geographic distance, the inhabitants of Ptolemais and Galilee had strong socioeconomic networks, resulting in language contact between Phoenicia and Galilee in the first century BCE.

The Upper Galilee, characterized by its cool and rugged terrain, encompassed a mountainous terrain with fertile valleys. It was the better setting for pastoralism and the growth of resilient crops such as barley, grapes, olives, figs, and pomegranates. The Upper Galilee had public markets along with artisan guilds and families.²⁷¹ Although it is difficult to determine the Hellenized cities that had strong socioeconomic networks with the Upper Galilee due to a lack of data, considering its geographical feature and road networks, the Upper Galilee had international trade networks with Tel Anafa, Tyre, and Ptolemais.²⁷² Given the route of Jesus' ministry in the Decapolis presented in the

²⁶⁸ Horsley, *Archaeology*, 59.

²⁶⁹ Safrai, *Economy*, 258.

²⁷⁰ Regarding the technology of glass-blowing tubes in Palestine, see Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 531.

²⁷¹ Safrai, *Economy*, 120–21.

²⁷² See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 177–79; Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 79, 94, 104.

Gospels (Matt 8:28–34; Mark 4:25), it is also possible that there were socioeconomic networks between the Upper Galilee and the Decapolis.

Archeological evidence suggests strong socioeconomic networks between the Upper Galilee and other Hellenized cities. The discovery of extravagant Hellenistic items in the Upper Galilee, including six thousand molded glass bowls, numerous metal vessels and ornaments, molded lamps, and fine red-slipped pottery, indicates active international connections with Greek cities from 150 BCE to 20 CE.²⁷³ Furthermore, recent excavations at Caesarea Philippi have revealed an extensive Roman palace complex with a prominent Hellenistic influence.²⁷⁴ A well-known grotto shrine dedicated to the Greek god Pan has been excavated, and it is likely that a white marble temple constructed by Herod the Great to honor Augustus and Roma also stood in this vicinity.²⁷⁵ According to Josephus (*Life* 51, 53, 59), Jews constituted a minority in this city, with Syrians (and Itureans) forming the majority of the population. Linguistic demography and linguistic ideology in Caesarea Philippi suggest that these Jewish inhabitants spoke Greek as L1.

Taking all these into consideration, it is important to differentiate two different types of Jewish settlers who lived in (1) Jewish-minority towns and (2) Jewish-majority towns. Jewish Galileans residing in Jewish-majority towns and cities likely spoke Aramaic as their L1. As the Gospels show, Jesus spoke Aramaic in private settings (Matt 27:46; Mark 5:41; 7:34; 14:36; John 1:42). However, they must have frequently interacted with Greek-speaking gentiles for local business and trade, as self-sufficiency

²⁷³ Herbert, “Anafa”; Herbert, *Tel Anafa*, 1–2; Moreland, “Inhabitants of Galilee,” 148; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 178.

²⁷⁴ Turnage, “Linguistic Ethos,” 157; Lee, “Multilingual Galilee,” 193–94.

²⁷⁵ Moreland, “Inhabitants of Galilee,” 155.

was not possible. These interactions with gentiles occurred in the context of their daily lives, necessitating the frequent use of Greek by Jewish Galileans in their conversations with gentiles. Given this, Jewish Galileans in Jewish-majority towns were bilingual speakers of Aramaic as L1 and Greek as L2.

On the other hand, Jewish Galileans who lived in multiethnic territories would have had to interact with gentiles for their day-to-day work even more frequently than those who lived in the Jewish majority territories. Arguably, the transition from Aramaic to Greek as the dominant language may have occurred more easily and rapidly for the Jews in the Gentile-majority towns and cities. Moreover, nothing rules out the possibility that some Jewish Galileans were monolingual Greek speakers living in Jewish minority towns and cities.

In the first century CE, Aramaic was used as the spoken language of the Jewish-majority towns and cities. Some passages in the Babylonian Talmud (e.g., *b. Ber.* 32a; *b. Erub.* 53b; *b. Meg.* 24b) mention the Gallian dialect of Aramaic, in which Galileans had difficulty distinguishing between several guttural sounds. Scholars have commonly believed that the word $\lambda\alpha\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}$ in Matt 26:73 refers to Peter's Galilean gutturals in Aramaic.²⁷⁶ As Johnathan M. Watt points out, Galileans in the first century CE spoke a Galilean Aramaic that included phonological, morpho-syntactic, or lexical differences from Judean Aramaic.²⁷⁷ However, this traditional view has been criticized because the passages in the Talmud do not supply evidence concerning the linguistic features of

²⁷⁶ Jerome (*Commentary on Matthew*, 26.73) states, "It is not that Peter spoke another language or that he was from an outside nation. For they were all Hebrews, both those who were accusing him and he who was being accused. Rather, they say this because each province and region have their own characteristics and could not avoid a vernacular sound of speaking." This refers to Scheck's translation. See Jerome, *Matthew*, 308. Many contemporary scholars advocate this view. For instance, see Dibelius, *Jesus*, 40; Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 52–53; Spolsky, "Diglossia," 90.

²⁷⁷ Watt, "Gutturals and Galileans," 117–18.

Peter's speech, as they were written after the third century CE.²⁷⁸ On the basis of a lexical study of Hellenistic Greek, Matthew W. Mitchell insists that the Greek word *λαλία* cannot be translated "dialect," as the Greek words *διάλεκτος*, *φωνή*, and *γλῶσσα* have that meaning.²⁷⁹

Mitchell's study of the Greek word *λαλία* is less plausible than Watt's sociolinguistic study of the multilingual environment of Galilee. Mitchell's study focuses on the standard use of the Greek word *λαλία* by exploring Greek documents. However, the utility of Mitchell's standard lexical analysis in examining the bystanders' use of the Greek word *λαλία* is dubious, given the ambiguity surrounding their education in the standard usage of Greek. Mitchell assumes that people always employ the standard indexical meaning of the lexicon (Audience Design) but could not attempt to convey a unique indexical meaning for a discursive purpose (Referee Design).²⁸⁰ As explored in Chapter 2, the indexical meaning of language used by individual speakers or writers is more complicated than Mitchell's lexical study suggests, as a specific language could be employed with the unique indexical meaning depending on their respective Indexical Fields. It is possible that the Greek word *λαλία* implies a Galilean dialect because the Referee Design style is bound to occur frequently in casual conversations.

As Watt points out, the long geographical distance between Galilee and Judea was the major factor that disturbed the same language maintenance of Aramaic. In light of the sociolinguistic concept of heteroglossia, it is impossible that Judean and Galilean Jews maintained the same Aramaic in the first century CE, as they lived in different

²⁷⁸ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 80–81; Kutscher, *Galilean Aramaic*, 84.

²⁷⁹ Mitchell, "The Case of Matthew 26:73," 118–24.

²⁸⁰ See Chapter 2.

multilingual environments and had weak social networks with each other for more than three generations.²⁸¹ Acts demonstrates that diaspora Jews who heard Galilean Christians' conversation easily recognized the followers of Jesus as Galileans (Acts 2:8).²⁸² These illustrations regarding the easy and quick recognition of Peter and other followers of Jesus as Galileans suggests that they used distinctive linguistic features that signified the social identity of Galileans.

Nazareth

Nazareth is well-known as the hometown of Jesus' family. It was a small Jewish village with a population ranging from five hundred to two thousand. The economy of Nazareth relied primarily on agriculture, and the villagers supplemented their income through trade. Sepphoris, situated ten kilometers north of Nazareth, and Beth She'arim, which was thirty kilometers west of Nazareth, had a large public market featuring official announcers and various artisan guilds.²⁸³ His occupation as a carpenter suggests that Jesus often visited Sepphoris for his works.²⁸⁴ The proximity of Nazareth to the Via Maris, a major trade route stretching from Damascus to the Mediterranean, provided the villagers with opportunities to trade their agricultural products with people from diverse cultures and backgrounds.²⁸⁵ Additionally, some gentile merchants would often visit the

²⁸¹ Lesley Milroy defines the social network as a web of ties of the social relationship between individuals. According to Milroy's study, the weak density of the social network between two groups results in two different social dialects. Regarding more information about Milroy's study of the social network, see Milroy and Milroy, "Belfast"; Milroy, *Social Networks*, 40–69; Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 126.

²⁸² See Watt, "Gutturals and Galileans," 109–10.

²⁸³ Safrai, *Economy*, 120–21.

²⁸⁴ Batey, "Sepphoris," 404.

²⁸⁵ Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?," 211.

Nazareth marketplace.²⁸⁶ This exposure to other civilizations and economic exchanges shaped the multilingual environment of Nazareth, where the inhabitants had to learn Greek for socioeconomic activities.

Since Nazareth was founded as a predominantly Jewish town, a high number of Galilean Jews might have spoken Aramaic in private settings. However, it is worth noting significant language contact between Aramaic-speaking Jews and Greek-speaking people. The international socioeconomic networks resulted in the Greek language exerting a strong influence on the inhabitants of Nazareth, necessitating their acquisition of Greek for socioeconomic activities involving Greek-speaking individuals. Given this, the first-generation female settlers, who spoke Aramaic as their L1, spent more time in the house, where Aramaic was predominantly spoken, compared with the male settlers who primarily worked outside with Greek. From sociolinguistic perspectives, regardless of their genders, the second generations became bilingual speakers of Aramaic and Greek, growing up with a bilingual father and monolingual mother. The language shift from Aramaic to Greek within families became more pronounced in subsequent generations. Since Aristobulus I's conquest of Galilee (104–103 BCE), this language shift process had taken place and more than three generations during the time of Jesus. This indicates that the inhabitants of Nazareth who spoke Aramaic as L1 were fluent in Greek.

Bethsaida

Bethsaida is well known as a small town where Peter, Andrew, and Philip spent their

²⁸⁶ Bagatti, *Excavations*, 1:249.

early years (John 1:44). According to Luke 9:10 and Josephus, Bethsaida is close to Lake Tiberias. The name Bethsaida itself suggests that it was a fishing village. Markus Bockmuehl argues that et-Tell was a fishing village with a Jewish minority population, supporting this claim with three key pieces of evidence:

- (1) Faunal remains include the overwhelming majority of prohibited fish and animals in Jewish laws.
- (2) There is no evidence of a synagogue, Jewish writings, or Jewish arts but a small handful of Jewish coins.
- (3) There is no evidence to support the Jews' resettlement after Alexander Jannaeus's conquest that resulted in the decline of the village's fortunes.²⁸⁷

However, R. Steven Notley rejects the hypothesis of et-Tell as Bethsaida proposed by previous scholars and argues that it became a now-vanished historical site.²⁸⁸ According to Josephus (*Ant.* 18.28), the village Bethsaida, situated at the lake of Gennesareth, attained the dignity of a city. Given this, Notley insists that et-Tell was not a fishing village because the altitude of et-Tell's old dock facility is over twenty-two feet higher than the first-century lake levels, and other historical sites with lower altitudes than Bethsaida, such as Capernaum, the ports of Tiberias, and Kursi, still survive.²⁸⁹ That is to say, if the lake of Gennesareth in the first century CE was high enough for Bethsaida to exist as a fishing village, other cities were under the water.²⁹⁰

Due to the lack of data, to be sure, it is almost impossible to identify the exact location of Bethsaida. Nevertheless, it is likely that the inhabitants of Bethsaida were

²⁸⁷ See Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter," 82–83.

²⁸⁸ Notley, "Et-Tell."

²⁸⁹ Notley, "Et-Tell," 223–24.

²⁹⁰ Notley, "Et-Tell," 224.

fluent in Greek due to their reliance on the fishing industry.²⁹¹ Fishing was only practiced in towns located near Lake Tiberias or along the coast of Palestine; therefore, other regions had to depend on these areas for their supply of fish. In the first century CE, salt held immense value, comparable to silver coins.²⁹² Since fish had to be sold quickly to prevent spoilage, it is likely that the fishers of Bethsaida had to regularly interact with customers and merchants to sell their catch as soon as possible. As Jews had strict regulations for the preserved condition of fish (e.g., *b. Avod. Zar.* 29b, 35b, 38b, 39; *b. Hul.* 6a, 21a) and for avoiding non-kosher fish (*b. Avod. Zar.* 39a–b), the inhabitants of Bethsaida had to frequently meet the gentiles as customers or merchants. This would have necessitated a knowledge of the Greek language among the inhabitants of Bethsaida involved in the fishing trade. Considering the significance of the fishing industry in the economy of Bethsaida, it is likely that other aspects of daily life, such as trade and commerce, would have also demanded a certain level of proficiency in Greek.²⁹³

Capernaum

Capernaum was a town in the northwestern part of Lake Tiberias not far from the mountainside. Despite not being a large city, Capernaum had an estimated population of twelve thousand to fifteen thousand, making it potentially one of the most densely populated regions in the Roman world.²⁹⁴ Jesus preached and performed miracles here, and also chose five of his disciples from among its inhabitants: Matthew, Simon Peter,

²⁹¹ Porter, “Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek,” 211–12.

²⁹² Safrai, *Economy*, 216.

²⁹³ Porter, “Scholarly Opinion,” 151.

²⁹⁴ Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology*, 58; Horsley, “Galilee,” 214.

Andrew, James, and John, sons of Zebedee. The Gospel of Mark mentions a synagogue in Capernaum (Mark 1:21–27). The Gospel of Luke states that Jesus encountered a Roman centurion who built a synagogue (Luke 7:1–10). In view of this, Jews (and proselytes) of Capernaum seem to have had Jewish religious networks based around the synagogue. Archaeological excavations have uncovered an octagonal church constructed during the Hellenistic-Roman era, situated on top of a residential dwelling with one worship room built in the first century CE, implying Jewish Christians in Capernaum.²⁹⁵ While it is clear that a substantial number of Jews resided in Capernaum, the specific ethnic composition, including the ratio of Jews to Gentiles, remains uncertain.

The socioeconomic networks of the inhabitants of Capernaum indicate their frequent interactions with Greek-speaking individuals in their daily lives. Porter states that “the evidence from first-century construction witnesses to a community which very likely possessed greater financial means that [sic] is often associated with Capernaum.”²⁹⁶ This suggests strong socioeconomic networks of Capernaum with other affluent cities. Although Capernaum was not a walled city, it played a crucial role as a gateway to Gaulanitis (Golan Heights), enabling the collection of taxes and tolls.²⁹⁷ The Gospels (Matt 18:24–27; Mark 2:14) mention the presence of tax collectors in Capernaum. The primary source of income in Capernaum was fishing, as it was a fishing village located on the northern shore of the Lake Tiberias.²⁹⁸ As mentioned earlier, fishermen needed to communicate in Greek with neighboring populations. Considering

²⁹⁵ More information of the archeological evidence of the synagogue in Capernaum, see Lewin, *Archaeology*, 66–71; Tzaferis, “Capernaum,” 198–204; Strange, “Herodium Publications.”

²⁹⁶ Porter, “Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?,” 211.

²⁹⁷ Porter, “Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?,” 211.

²⁹⁸ Lewin, *Archaeology*, 66; Richardson, “Cana,” 331.

this information, it can be inferred that the socioeconomic networks of Capernaum involved regular interactions with Greek-speaking individuals from various regions. This would have contributed to a diverse cosmopolitan environment in the community, attracting people from different backgrounds and regions who converged in Capernaum for economic purposes.

Phoenicia

The Phoenicians were seafaring people who established international trade networks through their colonies and trading posts in the Mediterranean Sea during the early Iron Age. Punic was widely spoken in their territories and served as the *lingua franca* and the prestige language for trade and communication among the diverse populations of the Mediterranean.²⁹⁹

The Hellenistic program in the port cities of eastern Phoenicia began after the conquest of Alexander the Great.³⁰⁰ The strong influence of Hellenistic culture on Phoenicians can be traced back to the fifth century BCE.³⁰¹ Phoenicians' tendency towards cosmopolitanism, economic prowess, and proficiency in Greek undoubtedly hastened the assimilation of Phoenician city-state residents into the Hellenistic world during the Hellenistic period.³⁰² Along with the Hellenistic program of the Diadochi and the Roman State, many Phoenician cities were renamed with Greek or Latin-Greek

²⁹⁹ Guzzo, "Language," 198–200; Sader, *History*, 148–50.

³⁰⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 188–89; Bonnet, "Hellenistic Period," 101–3.

³⁰¹ The fourth-century archaeological evidence such as the "Alexander Sarcophagus" and the "Sarcophagus of the Satrap" found in Phoenician sites show a mix of Achaemenid and Greek culture. The Cypriot, Persian, and Greek-style motifs of the luxurious specimens found in burial sites also suggest a strong influence of Hellenistic culture on high-status Phoenicians. See Jigoulov, *Social History*, 117–22. Bonnet ("Hellenistic Period," 102) states, "Phoenicia began to 'Hellenize' itself from at least the fifth to fourth centuries."

³⁰² Jigoulov, *Social History*, 171–72.

names and given the status of being a Metropolis, Polis, or Roman colony.³⁰³ To be sure, a decline in Seleucid control and the rise of local autonomy and regional powers might have resulted in pro-Phoenician linguistic ideology in some regions during the end period of the Seleucid Empire. After Pompey took over Phoenician territories, however, the “Helleno-Phoenician Identity,” namely the mixed identity of Greek and Phoenician tradition, was successfully constructed in all the cities of Phoenicia, leading to the rise of pro-Greek linguistic ideology.³⁰⁴ This identity reflected a fusion of Greek and Phoenician culture, as well as the adoption of Roman political and social institutions.

Under the reign of Alexander, Punic lost its prestige role in its international networks.³⁰⁵ After the Third Punic War (149–146 BCE), the Roman State took away the hegemony of the Mediterranean Sea from Cartago founded by the Phoenician descendants, leading to a language shift of the prestige language from the Punic to Greek and Latin in official settings. This decline of Punic can be attributed to two significant factors: (1) the increasing dominance of Greek as the prestige language for international trade and business and Latin as the prestige language for administrative affairs in the Mediterranean and (2) the linguistic and cultural assimilation of Phoenicians with the Greco-Roman world.³⁰⁶

The decline of Punic as the prestige language of the Mediterranean port cities gradually influenced the linguistic ideologies of the Phoenician cities. Greek graffiti inscriptions provide evidence that Greek-speaking merchants visited and resided in

³⁰³ Millar, *Greek World*, 3:226; Aliquot, “Phoenicia,” 111–17.

³⁰⁴ Regarding Helleno-Phoenician Identity, see Bonnet, “Hellenistic Period,” 99–109; Kaldellis, “Neo-Phoenician Identities,” 686–91; Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 191.

³⁰⁵ Bonnet, “Hellenistic Period,” 100–101.

³⁰⁶ Jigoulov (*Social History*, 62) argues that Phoenicians were not hostile to the Greeks and Greek culture.

Phoenicia even during the end of the Persian period, leading to language contact between Greeks and Phoenicians.³⁰⁷ With the rise of Greek education in Phoenicia after 230 BCE, Phoenician elites and merchants had to adapt and learn Greek in order to participate in the marketplaces of the port cities.³⁰⁸ This led to a shift from the use of Phoenician to Greek in the contexts of trade, commerce, and government during the Hellenistic period.³⁰⁹ According to Josephus (*Ant.* 8.144, 147–49; 9.283–87), some scholars translated documents into Greek and stored them in the archive even after the Romans' conquest.³¹⁰

Greek was frequently employed as the prestige language in official settings by local governments due to the inability of some local elites in Phoenicia to understand Latin.³¹¹ As a result, Punic was rarely used as the prestige language in the official settings of institutional and non-institutional communities in the first century CE.³¹² The bronze coin-shaped tesserae were written in Punic and Greek up to 60 BCE.³¹³ The last Phoenician inscription was a bilingual dedication to Heracles-Melqart from Arados written in Punic and Greek around 25 BCE.³¹⁴ As Kevin Butcher notes,

While there is plenty of evidence for the use of Phoenician in Hellenistic times (in contrast to the paucity of evidence for Aramaic in this period), all the evidence suggests that by the beginning of the first century AD it had been supplanted by Greek, at least as a language for inscriptions.³¹⁵

³⁰⁷ Jigoulov, *Social History*, 60.

³⁰⁸ Millar, *Greek World*, 3:39; Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 80–81.

³⁰⁹ Bonnet, "Hellenistic Period," 105–8.

³¹⁰ Aliquot, "Phoenicia," 115–16.

³¹¹ Ong (*Multilingual Jesus*, 188) points out "the local culture and the temple worship in the Sidonian territory, which had no means of expression other than Greek."

³¹² Kaldellis, "Neo-Phoenician Identities," 684.

³¹³ Bonnet, "Hellenistic Period," 106.

³¹⁴ Aliquot, "Phoenicia," 115.

³¹⁵ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 287.

Based on international trade networks, linguistic ideologies of non-institutional communities regarding the use of Greek as the lingua franca and the prestige language first gained popularity in Phoenician port cities, and subsequently influenced the linguistic ideologies of the inland cities, towns, and villages.³¹⁶ The process of language shift from Phoenician to Greek was gradual and complex during the end period of the Seleucid Empire, primarily due to the rise of local autonomy.³¹⁷ As a result, its speed varied from city to city and from region to region, depending on the linguistic ideology regarding the use of Greek as the lingua franca. To be sure, there were some Phoenicians who strongly advocated a pro-Aramaic linguistic ideology for the language maintenance of Aramaic.³¹⁸ However, the span of two hundred years between the second century BCE and the first century CE provided ample time for Phoenician families to undergo a language shift from Punic to Greek.³¹⁹ Furthermore, the conquest of the Romans led to a drastic decline in local autonomy, which in turn resulted in a pro-Greek linguistic ideology based on the concept of “Helleno-Phoenician Identity.”

Tyre

After Alexander destroyed Tyre in 332 BCE, Tyre was reconstructed with a new population.³²⁰ During the Ptolemaic period, immigrants from various regions including neighboring Phoenician cities, Greece, and Macedonia settled in Tyre, creating a

³¹⁶ Regarding socioeconomic networks between rural and urban communities, see Bellard, “Agriculture,” 458–60. Concerning socioeconomic networks of pottery industries, see Núñez, “Pottery,” 328–37; Sader, “Phoenician Cities,” 129.

³¹⁷ See Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 110–11; Bonnet, “Hellenistic Period,” 100–101.

³¹⁸ Regarding Greek inscriptional evidence found in Phoenicia, see Jigoulov, *Social History*, 60–63.

³¹⁹ Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 82–83, 191; Elayi, *Phoenicia*, 289.

³²⁰ Fleming, *History*, 67; Elayi, *Phoenicia*, 281.

multilingual environment.³²¹ Since Alexander's conquest, Tyre had sustained a military garrison comprised of Macedonian soldiers. Evidence from painted gravestones in Sidon indicates that a group of soldiers from Asia Minor, Greece, and Crete remained in Sidon and Tyre following the Ptolemies' occupation.³²² Various Hellenistic activities, such as athletics, competitions, the gymnasium, Greek education, and Greek forms of worship, suggest a strong pro-Greek linguistic ideology in Tyre.³²³ The elite class in Tyre, who adopted Greek names, learned and spoke the Greek language while participating in Greek customs and traditions at banquets and gymnasiums.³²⁴

In the first century BCE, Tyre still served as the Metropolis of Phoenicia (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.22). Along with its rival Metropolis, Sidon, Tyre was the foremost port city in the Mediterranean Sea, connecting the eastern Mediterranean cities with all the Mediterranean port cities. Being the only city allied with the Roman Empire, Tyre had *ius Italicum* "right of the Italians," which granted it exemption from head tax, tolls, and shipping taxes.³²⁵ Especially, the city of Tyre gained renown for its exceptional manufacturing of purple dye, which enjoyed international popularity and was widely exported, and for supporting a prominent economic activity of exporting slaves from Palestine.³²⁶ The export products of the inland cities, towns, and villages in Phoenicia, Galilee, and Syria were delivered to the market place or harbor of Tyre for oversea trade with other port cities. On the other hand, the merchants of Tyre brought a large number

³²¹ Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 117–18.

³²² Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 57. All the inscriptions in the buried site were written in Greek. See De Jong, *Roman Syria*, 105–6.

³²³ Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 118.

³²⁴ Bonnet, "Hellenistic Period," 100.

³²⁵ Aliquot, "Phoenicia," 113–14.

³²⁶ Elayi, *Phoenicia*, 37; Grainger, *Phoenicia*, 76.

of international products from various port cities of other regions to its marketplace.³²⁷

Based on these international networks, the marketplace of Tyre was bustling with people from various ethnicities.

Since Tyre was the center of international trade for the Mediterranean cities, it underwent the most rapid language shift from Punic to Greek. Several factors, including Greek education, social interactions, and cultural preferences, likely influenced the adoption of Greek among the Tyrian elite in the earliest stage of its reconstitution as Polis. In addition, Tyre's redevelopment with a number of Greek immigrants likely played a crucial role in the early linguistic shift from Punic to Greek within families, occurring earlier compared to other Phoenician cities.³²⁸

Ptolemais (Akko)

Alexander the Great conquered the Phoenician port city of Akko and renamed it Antiochia Ptolemais. After Ptolemy I Soter's occupation, Akko was renamed Ptolemais. Under Ptolemy's Hellenistic program, Ptolemais underwent urbanization following the model of a Polis, incorporating Greek architectural and cultural influences.³²⁹ The population of Ptolemais primarily consisted of local Phoenicians. According to Josephus (*J.W.* 2.192), a great number of diaspora Jews also appear to have settled in Ptolemais.

³²⁷ The Talmudic scripture in *y. Dem.* 1:3 (1.22a) states the regulation of tithing for the import products from Tyre in the first century CE.

³²⁸ The Tyre coin used a monolingual Greek inscription, while other cities employed bilingual coin inscriptions in Greek and Phoenician in the second century CE. Furthermore, the representation of the guardian deity Tyche conveyed the concept of the city's strength and prestige in Greek much earlier than in other cities, although religious inscriptions were bilingual. Bonnet, "Hellenistic Period," 104–7.

³²⁹ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 25–26.

In addition to the Phoenicians and Jewish settlers, there was an influx of Greeks into Ptolemais.³³⁰

Ptolemais was later conquered by Romans (ca. 37 BCE). It is worth noting that a significant number of Roman militaries resided in Ptolemais. Under the reign of Claudius (52–54 CE), Ptolemais underwent reconstruction as a colony city for Roman legion veterans, and the Romans bestowed the title “Colonia Claudia Felix Ptolemais Garmanica Stabilis,” resulting in a substantial number of Roman veterans living in their district within Ptolemais.³³¹ According to Josephus’s writing (*J.W.* 2.184–87, 457–60, 477–80), Ptolemais served as a military lodging base where the Roman legions and auxiliaries stayed when they suppressed the Jewish revolt during the reigns of Caligula (ca. 37–41 CE) and the First Jewish Revolt.³³² As explored above, the presence of the Roman military had a significant influence on the strong linguistic ideology of using Greek as the trade and business language as the Roman soldiers’ extensive socioeconomic activities greatly supported the local economy. The fact that Ptolemais was often used as a military lodging for the Roman legions indicates that the inhabitants of Ptolemais were strongly Hellenized, possibly before its reconstruction as a colony city for Roman legion veterans.

Despite its limited data, archaeological evidence supports “Helleno-Phoenician Identity” in the inhabitants of Ptolemais before the Romans’ occupation. The discovery of painted funerary steles suggests Hellenistic influences on Ptolemais or the presence of Greek artisans settling there towards the end of the third century BCE.³³³ Additionally,

³³⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 189.

³³¹ Millar, *Roman Near East*, 23–26; 268; Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 112, 230.

³³² Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 189.

³³³ See Gatier, “Inscriptions,” 91–92.

approximately nine kilometers away from Ptolemais, there is a Greek inscription dating back to the second century BCE. The inscription depicts a man with a Greek name dedicating an altar to ancient Near Eastern deities, Hadad and Atargatis, referred to as “the listening gods.”³³⁴ This inscription is significant as it represents the earliest use of Greek as a prestige language for religious practices associated with these Near Eastern deities, highlighting the integration of Greek religious practices and beliefs with the local religious traditions. The archaeological site also contains Hellenistic remnants, including a temple and a Greek inscription honoring Zeus Soter, which date back to 130/129 BCE.³³⁵ The story regarding Rabbi Gamaliel II’s visit to Aphrodite’s bathhouse (*b. Abod. Zar.* 44b) also depicts the Hellenistic influence on Ptolemais.³³⁶ These pieces of evidence further underscore the incorporation of Greek religious elements into the religious and cultural landscape of Ptolemais during the Hellenistic period.

The international network of Ptolemais reveals their frequent language contact with Greek-speaking people in their daily lives. Prior to the establishment of Caesarea, Ptolemais held a crucial role as a harbor for Galilee, with merchants from the city engaging in the international trade of diverse agricultural products with other port cities.³³⁷ The primary export products of Ptolemais focused on secondary industry products, such as purple dye, metal goods, and pottery.³³⁸ As noted earlier, there was a division of labor in the production of glass utensils between Ptolemais and Galilee. The expansion of the harbor and the construction of a new breakwater facilitated the entry of

³³⁴ Millar, *Rome*, 3:21.

³³⁵ Chancey, *Myth*, 149

³³⁶ Millar, *Rome*, 3:246.

³³⁷ Regarding the road networks between Ptolemais and Galilee, see Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 29–30, 73–74, 79, 81, 91–92, 105–6, 160–62.

³³⁸ Sader, *History*, 41, 299–300, 302, 306–7.

a greater number of Greek-speaking merchants into Ptolemais, thus contributing to the city's economic development. With the increasing significance of international trade, even ordinary residents had to acquire a knowledge of Greek in order to participate in business and trade within Ptolemais' marketplace.³³⁹ This socioeconomic environment indicates that Greek functioned as the language of commerce, business, and public affairs in Ptolemais during the first century CE.

Syria

Syria has a rich history characterized by the rise and fall of city-states, kingdoms, and empires, including the Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. The first Hellenistic program began with the conquest of Alexander the Great in 333 BCE. After Alexander's death in 323 BCE, Seleucus I Nicator inherited the territory of Syria, leading to a period of significant cultural and urban development. The Seleucid rulers encouraged the settlement of Macedonian soldiers and administrators in Syria, resulting in the establishment of numerous cities following the Greek Polis model.³⁴⁰

The Roman conquest of Syria in 64 BCE, led by Pompey, marked a significant turning point in the region's history. Syria became an official Roman province, and the Roman authorities continued to support and maintain the Hellenistic program established by the Seleucids.³⁴¹ The popularity of Greek education among the Syrian elite led to the spread of Greek language and customs, fostering a strong sense of Greek

³³⁹ Jigoulov, *Social History*, 58–59.

³⁴⁰ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 277–78; Millar, *Roman Near East*, 237.

³⁴¹ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 98–99, 270; Andrade, "Assyrians," 303.

identity among many Syrians.³⁴² As Nathanael J. Andrade notes, “many Syrians conceived of themselves as Greek citizens” in the first century CE.³⁴³ The establishment of Greek-style cities, the promotion of Greek education, and the adoption of Greek customs by the Syrian elite created a cultural environment where different ethnicities found common ground through shared Greek citizenship and civic participation. These networks facilitated cultural exchange and integration, contributing to the coexistence of diverse populations under Hellenistic and Roman rule in Syria.³⁴⁴

Syria, situated strategically on the eastern border of the Roman Empire, played a significant role in defending against external threats, such as the Parthian Empire. In order to maintain control and stability in the region, the Roman state deployed several legions to Syria.³⁴⁵ As a result of this military presence and the interaction between different groups, the cities and Poleis of Syria became diverse and cosmopolitan. In the early stages of its Hellenistic program, the native population in Syria primarily spoke Syriac, while Greek-speaking Greeks and Macedonians represented a significant segment of the population. Among these groups, Greek served as the *lingua franca*. Additionally, the elite groups in Syria, including the Syrian elites, Macedonian elites, and Roman elites, were educated individuals who had access to higher learning and participated in the broader cultural and intellectual exchange of the time. Greek was the language of scholarship, trade, and administration, and therefore, the elite members of these groups had to be proficient in Greek.

³⁴² Millar, *Roman Near East*, 237–38.

³⁴³ Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 112.

³⁴⁴ Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 129–36.

³⁴⁵ Each legion consisted of five thousand six hundred infantry and two hundred auxiliaries.

Syria was established as a Roman province, incorporating various territories over time. These territories included not only Central Syria, such as Phoenicia, Decapolis, Iturea, and Trachonitis, but also gradually encompassed Southern Syria, including Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. This expansion occurred after 6 BCE when the territories of the Herodian Kingdom were divided into tetrarchies.³⁴⁶ Greek played a significant role as the administrative language within the institutional communities of the Syrian province. While Latin served as the administrative language for communication with the central government of the Roman Empire, possibly including Greek translation, Greek was commonly used by the elites in Northern Syria for official documents.³⁴⁷ However, signatures might be written in other languages. For instance, the official legal documents for the Roman soldiers were written in Greek but included their Latin signatures.³⁴⁸ Legal documents, including those for Roman soldiers and Palmyra merchants facilitating trade networks, were typically written in Greek.³⁴⁹ Throughout the late Roman period, Greek remained the dominant language used in official documents across cities, towns, and villages of Northern Syria.³⁵⁰ Other languages were rarely employed in these contexts, further highlighting the prominence of Greek in Northern Syria during that time.

A language shift from the vernacular language to Greek rapidly took place in the Poleis of Northern Syria. As a result of the successful Hellenistic program, the Poleis of Northern Syria gradually lost their Syrian identity and adopted a Hellenistic

³⁴⁶ Millar, *Roman Near East*, 236.

³⁴⁷ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 284–85.

³⁴⁸ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 143.

³⁴⁹ Bowersock, “Economic History,” 69–74.

³⁵⁰ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 144; Millar, *Roman Near East*, 242, 251.

identity.³⁵¹ The inhabitants of these Poleis, even those who had originally identified themselves as Syrians or Assyrians and used Syrian names, began expressing their ethnic identities in Greek rather than other languages during the first century CE.³⁵² Meanwhile, the native Syrian families in small towns and villages possibly continued to use Syriac, which is a dialect of Aramaic, as their family language. Strabo (*Geogr.* 1.2.34, 16.4.27) attests to speaking Assyrian, which likely refers to the Syriac dialect.³⁵³ This indicates that Syriac still survived as a spoken language within certain communities, but its usage was limited primarily to family and local contexts.

According to epigraphic evidence mostly from the first to third century CE, except for Palmyra, over sixty percent of the inscriptions in the burial sites were written in Greek.³⁵⁴ This data shows that the inhabitants of cities, towns, and villages sometimes used bilingual Semitic-Greek inscriptions in the first century CE and eventually transitioned to using Greek inscriptions for burial services after the second century CE. There were also twenty-three percent of Latin inscriptions. As explored in Chapter 3, all Latin speakers of the eastern provinces also were fluent in Greek because there were no

³⁵¹ Millar, *Roman Near East*, 241; Andrade, “Assyrians,” 300–301, 306–7. Edessa was one of the exceptional cases in that although it was a Polis, Syriac did not lose its prestige role as the official language under the Abgarid dynasty from 132 BCE to 242 CE. Although it is difficult to determine its authenticity, the legend reported by Eusebius in the fourth century CE states that Addai, one of the seventy disciples of Jesus, founded the church of Edessa during the reign of Abgar V. It is possible that the use of Syriac as the prestige language for the religious practices was popularized in the churches of Edessa after the middle of the second century CE, if Bardaisan, the founder of the Bardaisanites, used Syriac. Due to a lack of data before the middle of the second century CE, however, it is almost impossible to identify who started using Syriac as the prestige language for the religious practices and when this linguistic ideology was formed in the church of Edessa. The earliest Syriac Christian manuscripts were dated after the fifth century CE. Regarding the sociolinguistic environment of Edessa, see Gzella, “Imperial Aramaic,” 604–5. Regarding the literary and epigraphic evidence of the early churches in Edessa, see Chatonnet, “Syriac,” 653–54. Chatonnet, “Syriac,” 653.

³⁵² Andrade, “Assyrians,” 299–300; Andrade, *Syrian Identity*, 94–96.

³⁵³ Andrade, “Assyrians,” 304.

³⁵⁴ Regarding data of the inscriptions in the burial sites, see De Jong, *Roman Syria*, 104–7. This data may include very few inscriptions in the fourth century CE.

monolingual Latin speakers, but there were bilingual speakers of Latin and Greek.³⁵⁵

This epigraphic evidence points that Greek was not only spoken in the cities but also in the towns and villages of Northern Syria.³⁵⁶ From the time of Alexander's conquest to the first century CE, the strong socioeconomic networks between the Poleis and other settlements seem to facilitate the spread of Greek as their L2 among the local inhabitants for several generations. The influence and dominance of Greek in various aspects of life, including trade, administration, and cultural activities, would have encouraged people from different backgrounds to learn Greek to engage in these spheres.

Syrian Antioch

Syrian Antioch had the title of Metropolis (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.119) and probably served as the capital of the Roman province of Syria.³⁵⁷ It was situated halfway between al-Mina-Sabouni and the eastern towns of the Amuk plain in northern Syria. Even before the Macedonian period, some Greek settlers had already migrated to the region that would later be known as Syrian Antioch. The Amuk road, which would become the future international highway of Antioch, played a crucial role as a trade network connecting Anatolia and Palestine, and Greek merchants resided in and around al-Mina-Sabouni.³⁵⁸ According to Glanville Downey, moreover, there might have been more Greek settlements in the future location of Syrian Antioch, facilitated by three significant trade networks in Iopolis, Herakleia, and Kasiotis prior to the Macedonian

³⁵⁵ Regarding data of the inscriptions in the burial sites, see De Jong, *Roman Syria*, 104–7.

³⁵⁶ Bowersock, “Economic History,” 66–69.

³⁵⁷ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 101; Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 83.

³⁵⁸ Downey, *History*, 47–48.

conquest.³⁵⁹

It was not until the Seleucid period that a large number of Greeks settled down in Antioch.³⁶⁰ According to Strabo (*Geogr.* 16.2.4), Syrian Antioch was a Tetrapolis, divided into four quarters or districts with walls. The first quarter was built for Athenians who lived in the city of Antigonía and another quarter for native Syrians.³⁶¹ The identity of the other two quarters is unknown. Several sources mention the other inhabitants of Antioch: (1) Athenians and Macedonians (John Malalas, *Chron.* 8.15), (2) some Cretans, Cypriots, and Argives (John Malalas, *Chron.* 8.15), and (3) retired soldiers of Seleucus (Libanius, *Orat.* 11.19).³⁶² According to Getzel M. Cohen's study, the population of the initial Greek settlers ranged from eighteen thousand to twenty-five thousand.³⁶³ Two sculptures depicting Hellenistic soldiers, found near the city, reflect the Hellenistic culture of these early settlers.³⁶⁴ Moreover, Greek education became popular among the native Syrians due to the Hellenistic program of the Seleucids and the Roman state.³⁶⁵ The establishment of this Hellenistic city shows a sociolinguistic environment wherein a notable language shift from the Syrian language to Greek inevitably occurred among the native Syrians during the earliest stages of Antioch's foundation.

Syrian Antioch was one of four sister cities, so-called *Tetrapolis*— Syrian Antioch, Seleucia of Pieria, Apamea, and Laodicea of Syria—that connected one inland

³⁵⁹ Downey, *History*, 51–53.

³⁶⁰ Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 83.

³⁶¹ Downey, *History*, 78; Downey, "Strabo," 95. Regarding information of Athenians who lived in Antigonía, see Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 77–78, 82.

³⁶² Downey, *History*, 79–80.

³⁶³ Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 81.

³⁶⁴ For a picture of these sculptures, see Giorgi and Eger, *Antioch*, 31.

³⁶⁵ Sandwell, *Religious Identity*, 35.

city with another port city (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.4).³⁶⁶ The road leading to the bridge originated from the south, specifically from Seleucia Pieria, which served as Antioch's seaport. This road followed the path along the right bank of the river.³⁶⁷ Notably, the grand colonnaded street in Syrian Antioch played a significant social and economic role, featuring a row of shops spanning over two Roman miles (ca. 2,275m).³⁶⁸ Probably, the early Agora of Antioch was located close to a gate known as the Philonauta Gate.³⁶⁹ In addition, as noted above, the Amuk road, the international highways between Anatolia and Palestine, focused on the road system to Syrian Antioch.³⁷⁰ The Greek dedication in honor of the city of Syrian Antioch set up at Delos shows that the merchants of Syrian Antioch had strong trade networks with Delos in the first century BCE.³⁷¹ This indicates the role of Syrian Antioch as the crucial hub between the international and local trade networks.

During the second century BCE, Syrian Antioch emerged as the biggest city in Syria with a number of immigrations.³⁷² Due to the important role of Syrian Antioch as the center of the socioeconomic networks in Syria, a number of merchants settled down in Syrian Antioch for international trade.³⁷³ After Pompey annexed Syrian Antioch in 64 BCE, an additional number of Roman merchants moved into Syrian Antioch. Roman merchants knew and spoke Greek because Greek served as the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean Sea. While vernacular languages, such as Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic,

³⁶⁶ Giorgi and Eger, *Antioch*, 23–24; Downey, *History*, 54, 71.

³⁶⁷ Downey, *History*, 15–16.

³⁶⁸ Segal, *Function*, 9–10.

³⁶⁹ Giorgi and Eger, *Antioch*, 33–35.

³⁷⁰ Grainger, *Cities*, 106; Giorgi and Eger, *Antioch*, 23.

³⁷¹ Downey, *History*, 135–36.

³⁷² Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 108.

³⁷³ Regarding the road networks of Syrian Antioch with other port cities, see Isaac, "Roads and Harbors," 352.

Syriac, Coptic, and Persian, were possibly spoken by the minority ethnicities in the private settings, Greek served as the prestige language of Syrian Antioch not only for political affairs but also for various socioeconomic activities due to the majority of local inhabitants speaking Greek as their L1, and some having learned Greek at least as their L2.

Some Jewish traditions cite the meeting of Nebuchadnezzar and the Great Sanhedrin at Daphne in order to establish the antiquity of the Jewish community at Antioch.³⁷⁴ However, there is not enough evidence to support this tradition. Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Syrian Antioch might have been large enough for exogamy to be unnecessary in the first century CE.³⁷⁵ According to Josephus (*Ant.* 12.119), the earliest settlers of Syrian Antioch included Jewish veterans who acquired citizenship after their retirement from the Seleucid army. As the city experienced socioeconomic development, subsequent Jewish settlers moved into Antioch. One possible region for a sizable Jewish community around Syrian Antioch is Daphne, in which the Matrona, a strongly Hellenized synagogue, was built.³⁷⁶ The multilingual environment of Antioch indicates a rapid language shift from Aramaic to Greek among the Jewish families of Syrian Antioch, as their third generations spoke Greek as L1. This transition was so rapid that by the third generation, Greek had become L1 for many. This shift can be attributed to the necessity for Jews engaged in local socioeconomic activities to communicate in Greek, given their minority status in the heavily Hellenized city.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Downey, *History*, 49.

³⁷⁵ Collar, *Religious Newtworks*, 160; Kondoleon, *Antioch*, 10.

³⁷⁶ Giorgi and Eger, *Antioch*, 28–29.

³⁷⁷ Kondoleon, *Antioch*, 10, 29.

Damascus

Damascus is part of the Decapolis in Central Syria. According to ancient records (Pliny, *Nat.* 5.16.74; Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 5.14.18), the Decapolis consisted of Hellenistic cities of Central Syria. There is scholarly debate regarding whether or not the Decapolis was a confederated group of cities.³⁷⁸ Aside from this debate, however, it is evident that the cities of the Decapolis became strongly Hellenized after Pompey liberated them from the Hasmoneans and placed them as the province of Syria under Augustus.³⁷⁹ As Strabo (*Geogr.* 16.2.34) notes, Philadelphia, one part of the Decapolis, had a mixed population consisting of Egyptians (probably Jews), Arabians, and Phoenicians. According to Ong, “virtually all of the temples excavated in these cities were [Greco-Roman temples], and we know from its history and from the excavated numismatic evidence that the region only became prominent after Pompey’s reign in the first century BCE.”³⁸⁰ Given the literary and archeological evidence, it is apparent that the dominant population was Hellenized people.

The Hellenistic city plan for Damascus was completed later than that of Syrian Antioch. After the death of Alexander, Damascus became a disputed territory between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires. Since the Hellenistic program of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires focused on the coastal cities, the socioeconomic significance of Damascus had been almost overlooked during the third century BCE.³⁸¹ The new city plan for Hellenizing Damascus was started by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (215–164

³⁷⁸ Regarding more information of this debate, see Isaac, “Decapolis,” 67.

³⁷⁹ See Isaac, “Decapolis,” 71, 74; Lichtenberger, “Decapolis,” 213–14; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 84–85.

³⁸⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 186.

³⁸¹ Burns, *Damascus*, 47–48.

BCE).³⁸² In the second century BCE, Damascus was granted the status of being a Polis.³⁸³ Although a small number of Greeks relocated to Damascus compared with the population of Greek settlers in Syrian Antioch, Damascus gradually transformed into a Hellenistic city through the efforts of Greeks and local inhabitants who aspired to and acquired Greek citizenship.³⁸⁴

The major income of Damascus was the agricultural industry, as it had fertile soils and accessible water sources. The economy of Damascus thrived due to a significant number of visiting merchants who traveled through its inland road systems. Damascus was constructed in a rectangular design during the Hellenistic period, featuring four colonnaded streets: (1) Via Recta (1,500m), (2) Via Sacra linking the Agora with Jupiter Temple (250m), (3) the western cardo (980m), and (4) the eastern cardo (800m).³⁸⁵ These streets, along with the markets lining their sides, served as the hub of Damascus' trade network. After the Roman State recovered and established its road system, Damascus became a prominent inland trade center, as the international highways connecting Anatolia to Arabia passed through Damascus.³⁸⁶ For Jewish merchants, Damascus held particular importance as the King's Highway (Num 20:17; 21:22) was connected with the road that ran from Damascus to Ashtaroth.³⁸⁷ In addition, at least another seven roads and highways of Palestine led to Damascus, serving as one of the major intersections to Syrian Antioch and Apamea.³⁸⁸ Merchants from Ptolemais

³⁸² Burns, *Damascus*, 54–55.

³⁸³ Lichtenberger, "Decapolis," 215.

³⁸⁴ Burns, *Damascus*, 55–56; Lichtenberger, "Decapolis," 217.

³⁸⁵ Segal, *Function*, 11–12.

³⁸⁶ Isaac, "Roads and Harbors," 353; Isaac, *Near East*, 190.

³⁸⁷ Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*, 50.

³⁸⁸ Dorsey (*Roads and Highways*, 96–97, 101–2, 105, 107, 110, 157–58) demonstrates six routes of Palestine to Damascus: (1) the Main Megiddo–Beqac Valley Highway, (2) International Highways from Hazor and Dan to Damascus, (3) the Acco–Hannathon–Yavneel Valley Road (Darb el

were able to easily visit Damascus for trade and business purposes by using the Acco-Hannathon-Yavneel Valley Road. Furthermore, Caesarea Maritima, the most important port city, had strong trade networks with Damascus.³⁸⁹ These connections indicate that people of diverse ethnicities visited Damascus for socioeconomic activities.

In light of the success of the Hellenistic program in Damascus, a rapid language shift occurred among the local inhabitants, transitioning from Aramaic to Greek. This shift was driven by the aspirations of the residents to obtain Greek citizenship during the Seleucid Empire period. The well-connected road system facilitated an international atmosphere in Damascus, where individuals from various ethnic backgrounds interacted for trade and business purposes. Greek not only served as the prestige language for business and commerce but also became the dominant public language in Damascus. Jewish families lacked strong social networks for the language maintenance of Aramaic because they constituted a minority. Given this multilingual environment, the Jews of Damascus used Aramaic as their familial language while at least acquiring Greek as L2.

Cilicia

Cilicia, a province in the Roman Empire located in southeastern Anatolia, held great strategic importance, providing it significant advantages in terms of trade routes and military projection. Cilicia served as a geographical intersection where various populations traversed between east and west, connecting the Anatolian Plateau with

Hawama), (4) The Endor–T. Rekhesh–Kh. Dalhamiya Road, (5) the Jezreel–Beth-shean Road, (6) the T. Na‘ama–T. Anafa Road, and (7) the T. Barom–Tahunat et Tabkha Road. Also, see Grainger, *Cities*, 106; Isaac, *Near East*, 70, 128–29, 137.

³⁸⁹ Lichtenberger, “Decapolis,” 214.

Mesopotamia, as well as between north and south, linking Anatolia with Phoenicia.³⁹⁰

This pivotal role positioned Cilicia as a crucial center of international trade, benefiting from the continuous flow of products passing through its territory. Additionally, the location of Cilicia facilitated the Roman Empire to effectively deploy military power throughout the eastern provinces and safeguard against potential threats emanating from the East, especially the Parthian Empire.³⁹¹ Over the course of the Roman period, Cilicia underwent several transformations and administrative changes. Initially established by Julius Caesar in 47 BCE, its boundaries and administrative structure were later modified under rulers such as Marcus Antonius and Augustus. The primary sites, namely Tarsus, Iotape, Selinus, Kestros, Nephelion, Antiochia ad Cragum, Asar Tepe (Juliosebaste), and Lamos, have historical evidence confirming their classification as Poleis.³⁹²

The population of Cilicia was diverse, encompassing indigenous inhabitants, Greek settlers, and later Roman colonists. Especially, most Greeks and Romans settled down and founded the port cities along with the coastal regions.³⁹³ Nicholas K. Rauh's analysis of nine hundred seventy-nine inscriptions found in Western Rough Cilicia between the first and third centuries CE shows the linguistic demography in nineteen settlements.³⁹⁴ According to Rauh's research data, the dominant population still spoke Luwian. He identifies Luwian names (644 inscriptions, 66%), Greco-Luwian names (261 inscriptions, 26.5%), Greek names (40 inscriptions, 4%), and Latin names (34

³⁹⁰ Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 1–3; 5–6.

³⁹¹ Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 6.

³⁹² Rauh et al., "Life," 288.

³⁹³ After the eighth century BCE, Greeks established colonies in the coastal regions of Cilicia. Greek cities such as Nagidus and Celenderis maintained their Greek character even during the Persian period (from the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE). The proof of Greek's use in Cilicia can be derived from the records of tribute payments made to Athens during the fifth century BCE. Rauh et al., "Life," 298 n.37; Scarborough, *Funerary*, 1, 11–13, 45.

³⁹⁴ Rauh et al., "Life," 296–98.

inscriptions, 3.5%).³⁹⁵ As explored in Chapter 3, the majority of Romans of the eastern provinces who used Latin names were Hellenized people who were fluent in Greek.

Rauh posits that the presence of Greco-Luwian names suggests the existence of Luwian speakers.³⁹⁶ In the multilingual context, where Greek served as the *lingua franca* in the Greco-Roman world, however, Greco-Luwian names more likely indicate a predominantly Hellenized population, for whom Greek was at least their L2.³⁹⁷ If individuals bore Greco-Luwian names bestowed upon them by their parents, it indicates that their parents were Hellenized and bilingual in Greek and Luwian. In other words, Greco-Luwian names would represent at least the second generation of Greek speakers. On the other hand, provided they themselves adopted Greco-Luwian names, they would likely comprise the first generation of bilingual Greek and Luwian speakers. Taking all these into consideration, it can be inferred that those bearing Greco-Luwian names were Hellenized Luwians, proficient in both Luwian and Greek.

If my analysis of Rauh's inscriptions from Western Rough Cilicia is correct, thirty-four percent of Greco-Luwian names in these regions suggest Hellenistic influence. Notably, inland sites had a Hellenized population of twenty-one percent (Luwian 185, Greco-Luwian 42, Greek 8, and Latin 1), whereas thirty-eight percent of the residents in coastal sites were strongly Hellenized (Luwian 459, Greco-Luwian 219, Greek 32, and Latin 33). The observation that coastal sites display a more pronounced Hellenistic influence than their inland counterparts suggests a more robust social

³⁹⁵ Rauh et al., "Life," 296–98. For evidence of Greek inscriptions in the tombs, see Scarborough, *Funerary*, 31, 33–35, 45, 49, 52, 57, 59, 60, 140, 142, 149, 155, 213.

³⁹⁶ See Rauh et al., "Life," 297.

³⁹⁷ Scarborough (*Funerary*, 2, 53) also agrees with Rauh's study that Greco-Luwian names indicates people's knowledge Luwian as their L1 but argues that the inhabitants of Cilicia knew Greek at least as their L2.

network among the inhabitants of coastal cities with Greek-speaking people, in comparison to those residing inland. This network likely facilitated the gradual language shift of their families from Luwian to Greek.

Given the Hellenistic influence on the local inhabitants of Cilicia, even those who had Luwian names likely had to speak Greek at least as their L2. Cilicia assimilated influences from Greek and Roman cultural traditions after the first century CE, resulting in the emergence of prosperous urban centers characterized by vibrant commercial and cultural activities.³⁹⁸ In addition to its strategic location as a frontier and economic center, the province of Cilicia evolved into an international territory where individuals from different cultures intermingled. Archaeological investigations have confirmed the existence of agoras in three prominent sites: Antiochia, Lamos, and Selinus.³⁹⁹ The Greek inscription found in Karahüyük (its ancient name is unknown) dating around the first or second century CE records the dedication of a grain market by one Dionysios son of Alexander, in fulfillment of a promise made by his father when he served as demiurge for the second time.⁴⁰⁰ Epiphaneia yielded a number of Greek inscriptions, indicating the prevalent use of the Greek language in the region by the third century CE.⁴⁰¹

It is worth noting the sociolinguistic environment of Tarsus, the Metropolis of the Roman province of Cilicia, since it was known as Paul's hometown. The city of

³⁹⁸ A significantly higher quantity of settlements, both large and small displays remnants of Roman-era ceramics and architecture during the early Roman period (the first to third century CE), surpassing any other historical period. There is a noticeable trend towards clustered settlements in both urban and rural areas during this era. The rise of the international trade and division of labor of these regions can be supported by the fact that nature of these regions shows specialized endeavors such as timber and wine production. Moreover, the inscriptional evidence shows the Hellenistic cult for expressing the client king as the divine savor and benefactor. The archeological and inscriptive evidence of Temples also show the local inhabitants' dedications for Imperial cult and Greek gods. See Rauh et al. "Life," 282–88; Scarborough 13–14; Bayliss, *Provincial Cilicia*, 77, 80, 82.

³⁹⁹ Rauh et al., "Life," 294.

⁴⁰⁰ Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 15.

⁴⁰¹ Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 15.

Tarsus during the Hellenistic and Roman periods was situated to the north of Gözlükule. This city served multiple functions, including as a residential area, a necropolis, and a hub for local coroplastic production and other manufacturing activities. Moreover, the surrounding countryside of Tarsus had fertile land, making it an ideal location for agriculture.⁴⁰²

Tarsus was already a completely Hellenistic city after Alexander's conquest (333 BCE).⁴⁰³ This can be supported by the archeological evidence of Greek figures found on Gözlükule mound dating from the late fourth and early third centuries BCE and the Hellenistic stele and the Greek inscription stored in the Museum of Tarsus dating from the late third to the first century BCE.⁴⁰⁴ In addition, Tarsus had been one of the Hellenistic educational centers in the eastern provinces since the period of the Seleucids.⁴⁰⁵ According to Strabo (*Geogr.* 14.5.13), Tarsus had a Greek education system, including philosophy, rhetoric, and other general curriculums, which was as competitive as the education system of Athens and Alexandria.⁴⁰⁶ The local inhabitants were devoted to Greek education in Tarsus. After finishing the initial stage of education, they went abroad for advanced education, but a few Tarsians came back. Along with this educational tradition, many native Tarsians became successful Greek philosophers and educators in the Greco-Roman world, including Julius Caesar's teacher (Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.14).

Meanwhile, Tarsus was one of the important port cities in Cilicia that served as

⁴⁰² Laflı and Christof, "Steles," 122.

⁴⁰³ Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 121–22; Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 4–5.

⁴⁰⁴ See Rous and Yalçın, "Roman City," 7–19; Laflı and Christof, "Steles," 125–29.

⁴⁰⁵ Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 121–22; Tobin, *Black Cilicia*, 5; Laflı and Christof, "Steles," 122.

⁴⁰⁶ Laflı and Christof, "Steles," 58.

centers of international trade, with land and sea routes connecting the trade route between the Cilicia Pedias, Central Anatolia, and the eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁰⁷

Particularly, a number of Greek settlers during the early stage of the Hellenistic period served a crucial role in establishing Tarsus as an international port city.⁴⁰⁸ As the harbors developed, Tarsus flourished as a wealthy and opulent port city.⁴⁰⁹ Mark Antony, the Roman general and politician, granted the city of Tarsus the status of *civitas libera et immunis* “a free and exempt city” from certain obligations. Subsequently, Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, confirmed and provided tax exemptions to the local inhabitants of Tarsus, thereby facilitating international trade within the city. As a result, Tarsus became a bustling international trade center where individuals of diverse ethnicities engaged in social and economic activities, with Greek serving as the *lingua franca*. Furthermore, due to their shared citizen identity, both Greeks and Cilicians assimilated into a Hellenistic amalgam by speaking Greek as the public language of Tarsus.⁴¹⁰

Taking all these into consideration, Greek was not only the public language but also the prestigious language in business, trade, and education. Latin may have been utilized in particular official or formal contexts, such as legal proceedings or interactions with Roman officials. However, considering the socioeconomic environment of Tarsus, Latin appears to have played no significant role in the socioeconomic activities or education of its inhabitants.

⁴⁰⁷ Laflı and Christof, “Steles,” 122.

⁴⁰⁸ Welles, “Tarsus,” 47–48; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:272; Britain, *Asia Minor*, 4:44–45.

⁴⁰⁹ Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1:272–73, 76.

⁴¹⁰ Welles, “Tarsus,” 54–55.

Anatolia

Anatolia is a large peninsula situated in the northern region of the Mediterranean Sea. It encompassed diverse ethnic groups, including Greek tribes that resided within its boundaries. The Ionian League, consisting of tribes such as the Ionians, Aeolians, Achaeans, and Dorians, established their settlements along the western coast of Anatolia, specifically along the Aegean Sea, during the eleventh century BCE. Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.142) records the existence of at least four distinct dialects of Ionic Greek spoken by the Ionian League during the fifth century BCE.⁴¹¹ The territories occupied by the league included prominent cities such as Ephesus, Troas, Asso, and Miletus.⁴¹² Despite facing invasions and conquests by non-Greek nations starting from around 700 BCE, the Ionians adhered to a pro-Greek linguistic ideology that emphasized the preservation and continuity of the Greek language. Following their victory in the Battle of Mycale (479 BC), the Athenians liberated the Ionian League and integrated it into the Delian League, a coalition of subordinate allies led by Athens.

Meanwhile, non-Greek ethnic groups were the residents of the remaining territories in Anatolia, excluding the settlements of the Ionian League. During the Iron age, non-Greeks spoke their vernacular languages (e.g., Hittite, Luvian, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian, Carian, Phrygian, Hurrian, Urartian, classical Armenian, and early Georgian).⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 13. Regarding Ionic Greek, see Hallmannsecker, *Ionia*, 180–92. McMahon (*Land and People*, 15) demonstrates that during the Middle Bronze Age, the introduction of writing to Anatolia led to the Assyrians, Hittites, Luwians, Urartians, Phrygians, and Greeks documenting.

⁴¹² Liverani, *Near East*, 531.

⁴¹³ Regarding historical and cultural contexts of these vernacular languages, see Hawkins, “Greek,” 213–16; Watkins, “Hittite,” 6–7; Melchert, *Luvian*, 31–32; Melchert, “Palaic,” 40; Melchert, “Lycian,” 46–47; Melchert, “Lydian,” 56–57; Melchert, “Carian,” 64; Brixhe, “Phrygian,” 69–72; Wilhelm, “Hurrian,” 81–83; Wilhelm, “Urartian,” 105–6; Clackson, “Classical Armenian,” 124–25; Tuite, “Early Georgian,” 145–46. Regarding the complex multilingual environment of Anatolia, see Porter, “Complex Multilingualism,” 117–18.

The dominant influence of Hellenistic culture resulted in the gradual and inevitable assimilation of the Anatolian cultural landscape according to Greek patterns, leading to a decline in the preservation of non-Greek languages. This process was significantly expedited by the conquest of Alexander the Great.⁴¹⁴ Alexander's Hellenistic program led to linguistic ideologies promoting the use of Greek as the *lingua franca* in the non-Greek territories of Anatolia.⁴¹⁵ From the fourth century to the first century BCE, this Hellenistic program was still maintained by the subsequent Diadochi, such as the Pontic kingdom (291–63 BCE), the Cappadocian kingdom (323–17 BCE), the Antigonid kingdom (306–168 BCE), the Pergamene kingdom (281–133 BCE), the Bithynian kingdom (297–74 BCE), the Ptolemy Empire (305–30 BCE), and the Seleucid Empire (301–64 BCE).⁴¹⁶

In the first century BCE, the Roman State conquered and annexed all the territories of Anatolia. The Hellenistic program of the Diadochi and the Roman State includes the construction of buildings and facilities for Greek education in urban regions. Gymnasiums were built in various areas of Anatolia, such as Ephesus, Miletus, Assus, Perga, Attalia, Iconium, Derbe, Pisidian Antioch, Pergamum and other important cities. During the classical and Hellenistic periods, writings are attested in Aramaic, Phoenician, and native Anatolian languages like Carian, Lycian, Lydian, and various Pamphylian dialects. However, by the time of the Roman era, very little evidence of these Anatolian languages remains, indicating a shift in the prestige language from Anatolian languages to Greek for the official practices of the institutional community.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁴ McMahon, *Land and People*, 16.

⁴¹⁵ Gregory, "Village Society," 395.

⁴¹⁶ Horrocks, *Greek*, 80.

⁴¹⁷ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 172.

Stephen Mitchell's study of epigraphic evidence shows that the Epigraphic Habit of using Greek in pre-Roman Galatia, Cappadocia, and Pontus gradually increased, excluding the southern coastal cities of the Black Sea between the second and first centuries BCE.⁴¹⁸

The international networks were particularly active in the western and southern coastal cities, where the major port cities of the Mediterranean Sea were located.⁴¹⁹ The Agoras of Anatolia, situated in the western regions (such as Miletos, Priene, Assos, Magnesia on the Maeander, and Pergamon) and the southern regions (such as Pisidia, Lyrbe, and Pamphylia), served as hubs for international and local trade networks.⁴²⁰ It is important to note that participating in the socioeconomic activities of the Anatolian marketplace required their knowledge of Greek. In other words, the local inhabitants had to speak Greek not only for their trades and businesses, but also to engage in the broader cultural and religious practices associated with Greco-Roman society in Anatolia. As a result of Greek-style socioeconomic activities, a rapid language shift from Anatolian languages to Greek occurred, especially in the western and southern regions of Anatolia during the first century BCE.⁴²¹

Meanwhile, historical records and inscriptions suggest that some vernacular languages still survived, implying the intricate multilingualism in some regions of Anatolia. Vernacular languages potentially used in the first century CE were Phrygian

⁴¹⁸ Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 85–86.

⁴¹⁹ Horrocks (*Greek*, 208) notes that “the coastal areas of Asia Minor had been culturally and linguistically Hellenized (and then Romanized) for nearly a millennium and a half. . . the Anatolian plateau inland had begun to come under the influence of this dominant culture only after Alexander's conquests.” On the one hand, Mitchell (*Anatolia*, 172) states, “most of the inhabitants [of Anatolia] had cast aside their native languages and their native names. But the interior and the remoter regions of the north and east were much more resilient.”

⁴²⁰ Regarding more information of these Agoras, see Köse, “Market-buildings,” 141–58.

⁴²¹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 110.

(Socrates Scholasticus, *Hist. eccl.* 5.23.8), Celtic (Lucian, *Alex.* 51; Jerome *Comm. Gal.* 2.26.357), and Lycaonian (Acts 14:11).⁴²² Phrygian was an Indo-European language that was once spoken in the central regions of Anatolia, including Phrygia, Pisidian Antioch, and Iconium, and continued to be used in the fifth century CE. As Porter notes, over one hundred Phrygian inscriptions dating between the second and third century CE survive.⁴²³ The use of Lycaonian in Lystra is mentioned in Acts 14:11, which describes a language barrier between Paul and the Lycaonian-speaking inhabitants of Lystra.⁴²⁴ Since this is the only record of Lycaonian, it is not possible to determine whether or not Lycaonian was used in other regions. According to Porter, Lycaonian “was a form of Luwian and was part of the New Anatolian group of Indo-European languages that had not yet been totally eradicated and that persisted especially in more rural areas.”⁴²⁵ Given this evidence, Phrygian and Lycaonian were still used as a family language mostly by local inhabitants of the central regions of Anatolia. However, they lost their prestige roles as the public and official languages of the regions with the rise of pro-Greek linguistic ideology throughout Anatolia.

It is worth noting the use of Celtic in Galatia because, compared with other regions, the northern regions of Galatia were a more complicated multilingual environment with a strong linguistic ideology for language maintenance of Celtic. The northern regions of Galatia were ruled by the Celts who migrated from Gaul (ca. 276 BCE) before the conquest by the Roman consul Gnaeus Manlius Vulso (189 BCE).

⁴²² Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak,” 141–46; Gregory, “Village Society,” 396.

⁴²³ Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak,” 141.

⁴²⁴ Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak,” 146–49.

⁴²⁵ Regarding more information of Lycaonian language, see Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak,” 140–46, and here 147. And also see Porter, “Complex Multilingualism,” 126–27.

During the period of Celtic rule, other Anatolian inhabitants who spoke non-Celtic languages also settled in the region, resulting in a multilingual environment.⁴²⁶ The Celtic political system in the Galatian territories significantly declined after the Roman conquest, as a pro-Greek linguistic ideology became popular among the local elite group of Galatia.⁴²⁷

Nevertheless, a linguistic ideology for maintaining Celtic was still strong in the first century CE. Jerome (ca 342–420 CE) states: *Galatas, excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis oriens loquitur, propriam linguam candem habere quam Treviros* “The [northern] Galatians, apart from speaking the Greek language, which is spoken by everyone in the East, have their own distinct language [the Celtic language] similar to that of the Treveri” (Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 2). Before Jerome’s time, the Roman province of Galatia had undergone territorial reduction, resulting in the loss of its southern regions.⁴²⁸ This implies that Jerome’s reference to the Galatians is not to the later generations of the southern Galatians, but rather to the northern Galatians. Consequently, Jerome’s statement indicates that although the prestige of the Celtic language as the political and commercial language in northern Galatia was diminishing, it continued to be predominantly used by the northern Galatians even in the fourth century CE.

Unlike the northern regions, the population residing in the southern regions of Galatia underwent significant Hellenization and embraced a pronounced pro-Greek linguistic ideology, leading to a language shift from Anatolian languages to Greek within their families. The Seleucid Empire established military settlements in some

⁴²⁶ Mitchell, “Roman Galatia,” 1057–58.

⁴²⁷ Mitchell, “Roman Galatia,” 1057–58.

⁴²⁸ See Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 118.

cities of the southern regions of Galatia, such as Pisidia, Pisidian Antioch, and Laodicea Catacecaumene.⁴²⁹ Although not all inhabitants of these cities were Greeks, traces of Greek settlers can be identified in these cities even in the Roman Empire.⁴³⁰ Moreover, there were a considerable number of Roman settlers throughout all the Galatian regions.⁴³¹ An abundance of both Greek and Latin inscriptions in Pisidian Antioch shows the complex multilingual environment where Greek was used as the *lingua franca* and Latin as the prestige language for the administrative affairs among the high-ranking Italian elites.⁴³²

There were three factors that facilitated this pro-Greek linguistic ideology in the northern regions of Galatia during the period of Roman rule. First, Greek sometimes served as the prestige language for the official affairs of the government for political communication with Roman citizens. Second, the inhabitants of Galatia already had socioeconomic networks with the Ionian League since the eighth century BCE.⁴³³ Third, for socioeconomic activities with inhabitants of the southern and northern regions, the inhabitants of the northern regions had to learn Greek.

These different multilingual environments between southern Galatia and northern Galatia resulted from their different socioeconomic environment. In southern

⁴²⁹ In addition, many coastal regions of southern Anatolia were the colonies of the Greeks after the eighth century BCE. See Sams, "Anatolia," 753–54.

⁴³⁰ See Mitchell, "Roman Galatia," 1066–67.

⁴³¹ See Mitchell, "Roman Galatia," 1067–68.

⁴³² Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 125–26.

⁴³³ Liverani (*Near East*, 534) states, "the main Phrygian and Lydian political developments known to us concern their relations with their Near Eastern neighbours (Assyrians, Medes and Persians). However, it seems that on a cultural and commercial level interactions with the west were equally, if not more, intense. Around the eighth century BC, the Phrygians adopted an alphabet substantially similar to the one developed by the Greeks slightly earlier. . . The same phenomenon would again appear with the Lydians, who would also adopt an alphabetic writing of Greek origins. Due to Lydia's position, relations with the Greek cities of Asia Minor were even more intense. We know that Phrygian and Lydian kings left several valuable dedications in Greek sanctuaries, especially at Delphi." Regarding the Roman road system of Galatia, see Macpherson, "Roman Road."

Galatia, which was an international region characterized by well-developed harbor infrastructures and market plazas, the southern Galatians utilized Greek as the *lingua franca* for communication with individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Southern Galatia included Lystra, Derbe, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch. Conversely, in the mountainous rural areas of northern Galatia, the Celtic language continued to be employed for communication among the Celtic population and other Galatian ethnic groups.⁴³⁴ The rural regions underwent a slower process of linguistic assimilation and cultural adaptation compared to the urban areas.⁴³⁵ Specifically, factors such as distance from major international trade centers and a smaller number of Greek immigrants likely impeded the language shift from vernacular languages to Greek among families in northern Galatia.

Sicilia and Cyprus

In light of the sociolinguistic concept of isolation, the islands often found themselves in a situation where the inhabitants, with stronger social networks compared to outsiders, developed island identities.⁴³⁶ This, in turn, may have strengthened a linguistic ideology for language maintenance based on isolated social networks from outsiders.⁴³⁷ However, strong social networks with outsiders may weaken a linguistic ideology for language maintenance, leading to language shift or language death for island vernacular

⁴³⁴ See Mitchell, "Roman Galatia," 1058.

⁴³⁵ Brixhe (*Anatolien*, 11) points out that this adaptation and assimilation process unfolded gradually over an extended period in rural regions.

⁴³⁶ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 237; Holmes, *Introduction*, 218–19.

⁴³⁷ Regarding examples, see Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 202, 245–47; Holmes, *Introduction*, 90, 106, 216, 218, 232.

languages.⁴³⁸ In addition, language shift or language death often takes place if the government has a systematic language policy for a standard language.⁴³⁹

It is worth noting the prominent islands in the eastern provinces: (1) Malta and (2) Cyprus. Malta became the first province of Sicilia under the Roman Republic, which incorporated within its provincial jurisdiction the island of Sicily, the island of Malta, and other smaller islands. Cyprus was a senatorial province of the Roman Empire. As a senatorial province, Cyprus had its own administrative structure and was integrated into the wider Roman administrative system.⁴⁴⁰

Malta

Malta was a small island that served as a Phoenician stronghold for the first millennium BCE.⁴⁴¹ During the Punic Wars, the Romans occupied and incorporated Malta into the Sicilian province.⁴⁴² The dominant population of Malta was Phoenician settlers.⁴⁴³ It is highly possible that the majority of the inhabitants of Malta still spoke Punic as their family language in the first century CE, considering its geographical feature that it was a small island where the local inhabitants had strong social networks with each other.

However, the local elites of Malta were strongly influenced by Greek education. The local elites based the constitution of Malta on those of its Greek neighbors.⁴⁴⁴ In the earliest period of the Roman Empire, the official inscriptions of

⁴³⁸ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 251, 260.

⁴³⁹ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 258.

⁴⁴⁰ Ersin, *Roman Cyprus*, 30–36.

⁴⁴¹ Sagona, *Archaeology*, 93.

⁴⁴² Ashby, “Roman Malta,” 23–24.

⁴⁴³ Sagona, *Archaeology*, 173–74.

⁴⁴⁴ Ashby, “Roman Malta,” 25.

Malta were written mostly in Greek and a few in both Greek and Punic.⁴⁴⁵ These Greek inscriptions serve as evidence of the fluency of the local elites in the Greek language.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Malta had businesses and trade with the inhabitants of other islands and port cities.⁴⁴⁶ Malta had coves, natural harbors, and an advanced port where ships were able to be beached.⁴⁴⁷ For their businesses and trade, a number of the inhabitants of Malta had to learn Greek as Greek became the trade language of the Mediterranean Sea.⁴⁴⁸ This socioeconomic environment suggests that non-elites were likely to learn Greek as their L2.

Cyprus

The influence of Greek on Cyprus can be traced back to the fifteenth century BCE, when it had social networks with the Mycenaean civilization, the oldest Greek civilization.⁴⁴⁹ It is challenging to determine when the Greeks started to settle down in Cyprus. The earliest use of Greek is presented in the *Opheutau* inscription with a Greek name (ca. 1050–950 BCE) found in a Cypro-Geometric tomb of Palaepaphos, located in the southwestern part of Cyprus.⁴⁵⁰ There has been a scholarly debate regarding the language in the the *Opheutau* inscription. According to this debate, a Greek name in the *Opheutau* inscription might imply either the first Greek settler in Cyprus or the non-Greek inhabitant who employed a Greek name for socioeconomic activities with the

⁴⁴⁵ Ashby, “Roman Malta,” 25.

⁴⁴⁶ Ashby, “Roman Malta,” 23.

⁴⁴⁷ Ashby, “Roman Malta,” 27–29; Sagona, *Archaeology*, 195–96, 223.

⁴⁴⁸ Sagona, *Archaeology*, 174–75.

⁴⁴⁹ Horrocks, *Greek*, 12–13.

⁴⁵⁰ Steele, *Ancient Cyprus*, 41–42; Steele, “Population,” 11–15.

Greeks.⁴⁵¹ Regardless of this interpretive debate, however, both scholarly groups point out that the *Opheutau* inscription shows a strong Hellenistic influence in Cyprus.

In light of literary, art, and cultural aspects, the *Opheutau* inscription is an example of a transitional phase of a strong Greek influence on Cyprus in the eleventh century BCE.⁴⁵² The widely circulated myths of that time had a substantial impact on the art and daily lives of the Cypriots.⁴⁵³ The period from the twentieth to the eleventh centuries BCE saw a peak in the incorporation of Aegean characteristics into different aspects of material culture on the island.⁴⁵⁴ This gradual transformation of daily life and collective identities, including sensitive aspects such as Greek-style culture, burial rituals, and dietary customs, suggests a large-scale migration of Greek-speaking populations or a strong Greek identity among the native people of Cyprus.⁴⁵⁵ While there is an ongoing debate regarding when Greeks initially settled in Cyprus, there is a scholarly consensus that by at least the eighth century BCE, a significant number of Greeks had already established themselves in the majority of Cyprus' territories.⁴⁵⁶

Cyprus served as a hub of international trade between Greece, Anatolia, Syria, and Phoenicia, beginning in the late Bronze period. Cyprus was the major source to provide Phoenicia with copper.⁴⁵⁷ Cypriot pottery was popular especially in Ugarit, a northern city of Syria.⁴⁵⁸ In addition, Cypriot Gypsum might have been used within the

⁴⁵¹ Iacovou ("Configurations," 633) argues that the *Opheutau* inscription suggests the Greek settlers. However, Steele ("Population," 15) insists that the *Opheutau* inscription implies the native Cyprus who had a social relation with Greeks.

⁴⁵² Kearns, *Archaic Cyprus*, 99.

⁴⁵³ Regarding the study of Greek myths in relation with Cyprus, see Voskos, *Ancient Cyprus*, 13–24; Ristorto and Silvia, *Sacred Place*, 70–75.

⁴⁵⁴ Voskos, *Ancient Cyprus*, 18.

⁴⁵⁵ Voskos, *Ancient Cyprus*, 18.

⁴⁵⁶ See Steele, *Ancient Cyprus*, 89; Liverani, *Near East*, 429.

⁴⁵⁷ Liverani, *Near East*, 232, 280, 425; Kearns, *Archaic Cyprus*, 82–83.

⁴⁵⁸ Liverani, *Near East*, 287.

sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Greek cities as well.⁴⁵⁹ Based on a number of the shipwrecks in the sea route between Cyprus and Anatolia, it would seem that the inhabitants of Amathus exported amphorae to the coastal cities in Anatolia.⁴⁶⁰

Cyprus was conquered by Sargon II, the Neo-Assyrian king (ca. 709 BCE), and Cambyses II, the Persian king (525 BCE).⁴⁶¹ It is possible that the inhabitants of Cyprus might have offered tribute to the empires. Due to its isolated nature as an island, however, their political influence over Cyprus was minimal except for tribute, because they did not have any systematic policy for Cyprus.⁴⁶²

The migration of a significant number of Phoenicians to Cyprus might have influenced the multilingual environment of Cyprus. After Luli resigned from the king of the Phoenician city of Tyre and fled to Kition, the western coastal region of Cyprus, some Phoenicians seem to have settled in Kition (ca. 694 BCE).⁴⁶³ As Phoenician international trade expanded across the Mediterranean Sea under the support of Neo-Assyria and Persia, the inhabitants of Kition and Idalion in Cyprus had robust trade connections with Phoenicians in the fifth century BCE.

Although some Greek inhabitants of Cyprus might have spoken Phoenician for international trade with its Phoenician inhabitants, this by itself was not enough to facilitate language change from Greek to Phoenician in the inhabitants of other regions. This is because archeological evidence indicates that after Alexander's conquest of Tyre (332 BCE), international trade between Cyprus and Phoenicia significantly declined.

⁴⁵⁹ Kearns, *Archaic Cyprus*, 208.

⁴⁶⁰ Kearns, *Archaic Cyprus*, 190–91.

⁴⁶¹ Kearns, *Archaic Cyprus*, 76–77.

⁴⁶² Liverani, *Near East*, 490.

⁴⁶³ Liverani, *Near East*, 490.

Out of five-hundred forty-nine Phoenician inscriptions, three-hundred twenty-six inscriptions were found in Idalion and fourteen inscriptions in Kiton in exclusively the fifth century BCE. In the fourth century BCE, sixty-one inscriptions were discovered in Kiton and only six inscriptions in Idalion.⁴⁶⁴ These pieces of evidence evince the decline of Phoenician as the international trade language not only in Cyprus but also in the international trade networks across the Mediterranean Sea.

Some Hellenized inhabitants in the rural regions of Cyprus might have spoken other vernacular languages, such as the Eteocypriot language, even in the fourth century BCE.⁴⁶⁵ After Alexander took control of the Mediterranean Sea, however, his linguistic ideology of promoting Greek as the predominant spoken and written language became even more pronounced.⁴⁶⁶ The same trend continued true after Pompey's conquest in 58 BCE, as the Roman State did not have a specific language policy but rather embraced a pro-Greek linguistic ideology for the eastern provinces. Given this four-hundred-year history of a pro-Greek linguistic ideology in Cyprus, Greek-speaking inhabitants were the dominant population of Cyprus; even if there were a small number of inhabitants who spoke other vernacular languages as their L1 in the first century CE, along with the rise of internationalism, they were highly likely to speak Greek as their L2.

Achaia and Macedonia

Achaia and Macedonia were the Roman provinces with the most dominant Greek-

⁴⁶⁴ Regarding the data of Phoenician inscriptions, see Steele, *Ancient Cyprus*, 179.

⁴⁶⁵ Regarding information of the inscription of the Eteocypriot language, see Kearns, *Archaic Cyprus*, 201. The bilingual inscriptions of the Eteocypriot and Greek languages and the use of the Eteocypriot language for Greek religion imply a strong Hellenistic influence on the inhabitants of Cyprus.

⁴⁶⁶ Regarding Greek literature, poetry, and Epigrams in Cyprus, see Voskos, *Ancient Cyprus*, 24–37.

speaking population. While it is true that Greek jurists may have received a Latin education and some politicians and scholars might have learned Latin to communicate with Italians, it is unlikely that Latin served as the official language of the municipal institutions except for a few regions. Greek not only functioned as the *lingua franca* but also predominantly as the prestige language for the administrative affairs in the majority of regions of Achaia and Macedonia.⁴⁶⁷ The fact that Greek jurists translated Latin law into Greek shows that the official language of the court was not Latin but Greek.⁴⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the majority of Italians knew Greek as their L2 and hence could communicate with Greek-speaking Achaeans and Macedonians. As explored in the previous chapter, even the Roman governors who advocated a pro-Latin linguistic ideology frequently spoke Greek in the courts and in other public places in the eastern provinces, because the local inhabitants did not understand Latin.

It is worth noting the Latinization of Corinth and Philippi because these cities were strongly Romanized and Latinized in the first century CE.⁴⁶⁹ After their conquest by Rome, both cities were designated Roman colonies. The city of Corinth was destroyed and incorporated into the Roman Republic in 146 BCE (Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.6.23; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 21.71.31).⁴⁷⁰ Julius Caesar rebuilt the city of Corinth with a mixed population of Romans and Greeks in 44 BCE (Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.6.23; 17.3.15; Dio Cassius, *Hist. rom.* 43.50.3–5). It subsequently became the capital of the province of Achaia. Philippi was re-established as a small Rome and served as a

⁴⁶⁷ Rochette, “Language Policies,” 553; Rochette, “Greek and Latin,” 283–84; Horrocks, *Greek*, 141–42.

⁴⁶⁸ Huttner, “Latin Law,” 144–51.

⁴⁶⁹ Murphy-O’Connor (*Corinth*, 8) and Souter (“Did Paul Speak Latin?,” 341–42) believes that Corinthians predominantly spoke Latin in the first-century CE.

⁴⁷⁰ Horrocks, *Greek*, 125.

settlement for Roman soldiers in 42 BCE. Additionally, Augustus Caesar granted *Ius Italicum* to Philippi, which conferred Roman citizenship upon all its inhabitants. Overall, therefore, the Latinization of Corinth and Philippi was due to the influx of a considerable number of Italians and to the Romans' plans for re-establishing these cities.

The inscriptions of Corinth and Philippi imply the role of Latin as the prestige language. According to John Harvey Kent's archeological study of the inscription of Corinth between 1926 and 1950, unfortunately, the seismic event that transpired in 70 BCE and the sack of the city resulted in significant damage to the city, leading to a huge loss of inscriptions.⁴⁷¹ Prior to the destruction of the city of Corinth in 146 BCE, inscriptional evidence indicates that Greek served as the prestige language for various social practices.⁴⁷² In Corinth, more than one hundred documents have been discovered in Latin, but only three Greek documents from 44 BCE to 177 CE.⁴⁷³ The same is true for Philippi. As Porter points out, of the first-century inscriptions discovered in Philippi, only fifteen percent were written in Greek with the others in Latin.⁴⁷⁴

In light of inscriptional evidence, Kent assumes that Latin served as the *lingua franca* in the city of Corinth after 27 BCE to the late second century CE:

It might be assumed a priori that in the early days of the colony the language would be Latin, not only because the earliest settlers seem to have been for the most part of Italian stock, but also because after 27 B.C. Corinth was the official residence of the Roman governor and was therefore the "capital" of the province of Achaia. It might also be assumed that as time went on and more and more Greeks settled in the city, Corinth would first become bilingual and eventually almost entirely Greek speaking. In official documents, however, we might expect the Latin language would be used exclusively for some time after the language spoken in the city was largely Greek, and that Latin would never be completely supplanted by Greek as long as the Roman provincial

⁴⁷¹ Kent, *Corinth*, 1–2.

⁴⁷² Kent, *Corinth*, 1–16.

⁴⁷³ Kent, *Corinth*, 31–38, especially 19.

⁴⁷⁴ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 299.

government lasted, or at any rate until the second half of the second century, when the Emperor himself chose Greek rather than Latin as the medium for his *Meditations*.⁴⁷⁵

Nevertheless, it is important to note that this evidence may not be as compelling as it appears. The inscriptions encompassed in this enumeration consist predominantly of public inscriptions and are primarily sourced from the forum and theater precincts, which constitute the city's nucleus and its most conspicuously Romanized region.⁴⁷⁶ This data confirms the high level of Latin literacy among local elites in Corinth. It might be true that the Roman Empire required Latin official documents to Corinthians for political purpose right after rebuilding the city of Corinth. In light of the high illiteracy rate, however, this inscriptional evidence does not show all of the inhabitants' plurilingualism but rather a few numbers of the elite group. In fact, Kent overlooks evidence that Greek freedmen, Jews, Samaritans, Egyptians, and other ethnicities also settled down in the city of Corinth who less likely knew Latin but Greek.⁴⁷⁷

Due to the lack of data, it is impossible to determine the ethnic population in the city of Corinth. Although it is true that a large number of the first settlers consisted of Romans, it is unclear whether they were Italians or the local elites of the eastern provinces who acquired Roman citizenship later.⁴⁷⁸ As explored in Chapter 3, moreover, it is worth noting that the majority of Italians were not monolingual Latin speakers but bilingual speakers of Latin and Greek. Even if the Italians were the dominant population, they could speak Greek predominantly in their daily lives for the communication with

⁴⁷⁵ Kent, *Corinth*, 18.

⁴⁷⁶ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 23.

⁴⁷⁷ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 30–35; Pawlak, "Corinth," 145; Ekaputra, *Contesting Language*, 76–84.

⁴⁷⁸ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 22–23.

other ethnicities just as they did in the Italian peninsula.

In light of the socioeconomic activities in Achaia and Macedonia, the inhabitants of the Greek cities, including Corinth and Philippi, frequently intermingled. As the division of labor increased after the classical period (the sixth to fourth century BCE), permanent markets were established in the Greek cities. The market of Corinth regularly took place and attracted large crowds during festival periods (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.4.2).⁴⁷⁹ In addition, Corinth was a port city with two seaports where foreign ships visited for international business and trade (Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.6.20).⁴⁸⁰ As Kathleen Warner Slane points out, the port of Corinth was developed as the center of large-scale international trades where different kinds of products came to Corinth from various regions in the early stage of the establishment of Corinth as a Roman colony:

Arretine sigillata, an occasional piece of decorated Late Italian terra sigilata from Luni or Pisa, Campanian (and possible Ostian) cooking pots and pans, and at least two types of Campanian amphorae (both for wine and fruit) show strengthened ties to Etruria and Campania; lamps and thinwalled wares are still from unidentified central western Italian sources, too. . . from the eastern Mediterranean come still Syrian and Pamphylian material, also very occasional fine-ware from Cyprus (?) and Egyptian faience.⁴⁸¹

Meanwhile, the international marketplaces in Corinth served as the center of the local socioeconomic networks within Greek cities in Achaia and Macedonia.⁴⁸²

Moreover, laborers freely traveled between different regions without the need for passports, visas, or work permits, because the Greek state did not establish obstacles to hinder the movement of workers.⁴⁸³ The financial records of the construction of the

⁴⁷⁹ Harris et al., "Introduction," 12.

⁴⁸⁰ Migeotte, *Economy*, 135; Slane, "Corinthian Ceramic Imports," 219–20; Pettegrew, "Diolkos," 139.

⁴⁸¹ Slane, "Corinthian Ceramic Imports," 222.

⁴⁸² Pettegrew, "Diolkos," 139.

⁴⁸³ Harris et al., "Introduction," 17.

Erechtheum from the late fifth century to the early fourth century BCE list one hundred twenty two workers, including two Corinthians.⁴⁸⁴ Arguably, this strong density of social networks between Greek cities continued in the first century CE, strengthening the language maintenance of Greek in Corinth. The same is true for Philippi. Philippi was an inland city located approximately sixteen kilometers from the Greek port city of Neapolis, which is situated on the Aegean Sea. According to Argyro B. Tataki's prosopography, Macedonians had wide social networks throughout the regions of Achaia and Macedonia not only in the Hellenistic period but also in the Roman period.⁴⁸⁵ Therefore, inhabitants of Philippi also had strong socioeconomic networks with other Greek cities, strengthening the language maintenance of Greek.

The archeological and inscriptional evidence support the active socioeconomic activities between Corinth and other Greek cities. The evidence from pottery includes a greater prevalence of Greek graffiti and dipinti in comparison to Latin ones.⁴⁸⁶ This evidence indicates that the local inhabitants of Corinth had stronger trade and business networks with Greek-speaking people than with Latin-speaking people. As Mills points out, "the graffiti strongly suggest that there existed at Corinth in the Early Roman period a significant portion of the population which, regardless of the language they may have used in public life, used Greek as the language of choice when communicating privately and amongst themselves."⁴⁸⁷ In addition, the dominant uses of Greek for manufacturers' marks of simas, antefixes, and water pipes support the strong socioeconomic networks

⁴⁸⁴ Feyel, *Artisans*, 346–48.

⁴⁸⁵ Tataki (*Macedonians*, 39–501) displays the following information: (1) Macedonians' name, (2) place of the settlement, (3) time, and (4) source of record.

⁴⁸⁶ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 26–27.

⁴⁸⁷ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 28.

of Corinthians with Greek-speaking people.⁴⁸⁸

Given all of this, Greek was widely spoken and served as the *lingua franca* among the inhabitants of Achaia and Macedonia, including among the Italians living in Corinth and Philippi. Greek was the *lingua franca* and the prestige language for various social practices in the region, and it was commonly used by both the elites and the general population. A large number of Latin documents in Corinth and Phillip imply Latin literacy among the local elites but not necessarily among the illiterates who were a dominant population of Achaia and Macedonia. In light of the sociolinguistic environment of all these regions, it is important to note that even among those individuals who acquired Roman citizenship and adopted Latin names, they still had to communicate in Greek for their socioeconomic activities with other Greek-speaking people. Greek remained the dominant language for everyday interactions, trade, and social interactions, even in regions with a Roman presence. The widespread use of Greek as a *lingua franca* persisted throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, even during periods of Roman rule.

Seleucid Empire and Parthian Empire

Neither Peter nor Paul visited the territories of the Parthian Empire. According to the book of Acts, however, the first Christians after Peter's Pentecostal sermon included a significant number of diaspora Jews from Media, Elam, and Mesopotamia in the Parthian Empire. Given this, it is important to determine which language these Christians spoke in Jerusalem. In order to assess their language proficiency in Greek,

⁴⁸⁸ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 29.

Aramaic, and Hebrew, this study examines the multilingual environment of these regions in the Parthian Empire during the first century CE. However, obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the multilingual environment of these regions poses a challenge due to the limited availability of archeological and literary data in the Parthian Empire. Scholars must rely heavily on the Romans' historical description of the Parthian Empire. The study examines the available data regarding the sociolinguistic environment of the Seleucid Empire and the Parthian Empire.

Seleucid Empire

During the third century BCE, Media, Elam, and Mesopotamia were occupied by the Seleucid Empire. Moreover, the Seleucid Empire encompassed a vast territory, including Anatolia, Persia, the Levant, Mesopotamia, parts of Central Asia, and even (briefly) parts of India. As part of the Hellenistic program of the Seleucid Empire, Greeks and Macedonians settled down and built the Poleis in these regions.⁴⁸⁹

Scholarly consensus holds that the Greek rulers had a limited impact on Babylonian society.⁴⁹⁰ However, archaeological data indicate that Greek did serve as the official language of most territories of the Seleucid Empire.⁴⁹¹ The Seleucid epigraphical evidence, comprising two distinct types, supports this notion: (1) Akkadian clay tablets found predominantly in the former Babylonian territories and (2) Greek stone

⁴⁸⁹ Wiesehöfer, "Greek Poleis," 331.

⁴⁹⁰ Grainger, *Seleucid Empire*, 33.

⁴⁹¹ Stevens ("Empire Begins," 67–68) insists that the predominant languages spoken in the region were Aramaic and, to an increasing degree, Greek, as Greek served as the official administrative language during the rule of the Seleucid Empire. By comparison, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (*Samarkhand*, 50, 102) argue that Greek was not the official language of the Seleucid Empire. Their conclusion is problematic because they rely quite heavily on bilingual inscriptions in local public settings, such as milestones and distance markers on the road. These inscriptions do not reflect the linguistic ideology of the Seleucid Empire as regards its official language, but rather that of the local language.

inscriptions discovered in the western territories of the Seleucid empire, with a few also found in its central and eastern territories.⁴⁹² Apart from a few territories, while Akkadian was used solely for private documents and Babylonian tablets stored in temples, Greek stone inscriptions carried social significance as official documents publicly showcased in prominent locations within sanctuaries, cities, and forts.⁴⁹³

The Seleucid emperors implemented the Hellenistic program with the establishment of Greek cities or the *Poleis*.⁴⁹⁴ The Seleucid Empire does not seem to impose a strict language policy that enforced the use of Greek as the official language in all official settings. Alongside the Hellenistic program, rather, a pro-Greek linguistic ideology gained popularity throughout the vast territory of the Seleucid Empire, promoting the assimilation of both Hellenistic culture and local vernacular culture.⁴⁹⁵ This assimilation can be observed in the bilingual text of Greek and Persian found in Ashoka's Major Rock Edicts; while the Greek version of the inscription uses vocabulary that is suitable for oracular statements and reflects contemporary philosophical ideas, the Aramaic version, influenced by Old Persian, connects the concept of dhamma with the principles of Zoroastrianism.⁴⁹⁶ The depiction of Heracles at Behistun in the middle Zagros is an example of Hellenistic art with a bilingual dedication in both Greek and

⁴⁹² Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 8, 171–72; Grainger, *Seleucid Empire*, 33; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand*, 3.

⁴⁹³ Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 9.

⁴⁹⁴ Kosmin (*Elephant Kings*, 183–86) demonstrates the following emperors' construction of the *Poleis*: (1) Seleucus I (34 cities), (2) Antiochus I and Antiochus II (22 cities), (3) Seleucus II and Antiochus III (4 cities), (4) Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV (21 cities), and (5) Lysias, Demetrius II, and Demetrius III (4 cities). Regarding the Seleucid Empire's Hellenistic program with the construction of *Polis*, see Grainger, *Seleucid Empire*, 107–8. Herodotus (*Hist*, 4.78–80) explains the Hellenistic program in the intermarriage between Greek and other ethnicities.

⁴⁹⁵ With regard to the Hellenistic program, see Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 117–18, 124–25; Kosmin, *Time*, 188–203.

⁴⁹⁶ Regarding more information, see Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 54–56.

Aramaic.⁴⁹⁷ In addition, Berossus's three Greek books, titled *Babyloniaca* and composed in the third century BCE, evince the translation of Babylonian culture and civilization into Greek.⁴⁹⁸ These texts highlight the significant role of Greek as the academic language in Babylonia.⁴⁹⁹ A Greek alphabetic numbering system was widely employed in both state and domestic archives.⁵⁰⁰ According to John D. Grainger, a pro-Greek linguistic ideology was strongly popularized in the city of Babylon:

Being the capital it was subjected to much greater Greek and Macedonian influence. For anyone of any importance or standing it would be necessary to learn Greek. The soldiers in the citadel were, or at least spoke, Greek; the government was conducted in Greek, the kings and the governors were Greek-speakers, and so far as we know, none of them ever learned any Babylonian language. The main priests must have learnt Greek even as they learned to speak (and write) Aramaic and Akkadian, and cuneiform. But the evidence of the written remains indicates that Akkadian and Aramaic and Greek were all employed in the city. There are Greek inscriptions, and the survival of a few bullae show that written materials on parchment (or possibly papyrus), existed, and that was the material used for Greek; there are also many clay tablets written in cuneiform dated throughout the period of Seleukid rule and beyond – including, of course, the *Astronomical Diaries*.⁵⁰¹

To be sure, some inhabitants resisted the language shift within the family from vernacular languages to Greek.⁵⁰² The Greek authorities of the central government were gradually weakened following their defeat in the Syrian War (192–189 BCE) and faced several revolts. However, there is no conclusive evidence supporting the widespread adoption of an anti-Greek linguistic ideology throughout the territories of the Seleucid Empire.⁵⁰³ Since some cuneiform scholars in Babylonia solely emphasized the

⁴⁹⁷ Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 162–64.

⁴⁹⁸ Kosmin, *Time*, 109–10.

⁴⁹⁹ Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 10.

⁵⁰⁰ Kosmin, *Time*, 45–47, 50, 65.

⁵⁰¹ Grainger, *Seleukid Empire*, 33.

⁵⁰² This can be supported by the coin minting and inscriptions with the non-Greek languages in some territories. See Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 60; Kosmin, *Time*, 207, 216.

⁵⁰³ Kosmin, *Time*, 188–89, 288–29.

fathomless antiquity of their scribal and religious culture, their efforts alone were not strong enough to change the linguistic ideology for a lingua franca in the multilingual environment of Babylonia.⁵⁰⁴ Their efforts were primarily academic and religious in nature, rather than aimed at changing the socioeconomic system or reverting to the use of vernacular languages for business and trade. Considering all of these factors, the transition period for language change from vernacular languages to Greek appears to have been prolonged during the period of the Seleucid Empire, suggesting that Greek still served as the lingua franca for sociopolitical and socioeconomic activities.

Parthian Empire

The Seleucid Empire was conquered by the Parthians in 63 BCE. When the Parthian Empire took over its territories, they did not enforce a specific language policy to standardize the Parthian language, known as Arsacid Pahlavi and Pahlawānīg.⁵⁰⁵ Despite their formidable military prowess, the Parthians did not exhibit significant technological and cultural advancements when compared to the Seleucid Empire. Rather, the Parthian Empire had been influenced by Hellenistic culture since the end of the second century BCE.⁵⁰⁶ Therefore, the Parthian Empire favored a Hellenistic program in the Middle East, which involved blending Persian and Greek elements within the Parthian socioeconomic environment.⁵⁰⁷

The Parthian Empire granted more local representation and autonomy to communities, resulting in increased regional autonomy and power for local elite

⁵⁰⁴ Kosmin, *Time*, 190–91.

⁵⁰⁵ Wiesehöfer, “Greek Poleis,” 332–33.

⁵⁰⁶ Wiesehöfer, “Greek Poleis,” 333.

⁵⁰⁷ Regarding an amalgamation of Persian and Greek culture, see Overtoom, *Reign*, 30–31.

groups.⁵⁰⁸ According to Tacitus (*Annals*, 6.42), during the reign of Artabanus II (10/11–38 CE), the Parthian king, Greek communities were supported in maintaining their Greek-style way of life.⁵⁰⁹ As a result, many Greek Poleis continued to exist with their Greek socioeconomic systems. This policy hindered a language shift from Greek to the Parthian languages. While the Parthian government used the Parthian language for political purposes, the lack of a language policy meant that a significant number of Greeks, Macedonians, and Hellenized inhabitants still used Greek as the language for trade and business.

After establishing a peace treaty in 20 BCE with Augustus, the second Roman Emperor, the Parthians developed international trade networks, particularly along the “Royal Road.” This ancient highway stretched from Sardis in western Anatolia through Media and Mesopotamia to Susa in Elam.⁵¹⁰ This road network was already established in order to facilitate the growing trade between these regions before the first century CE.⁵¹¹ The Assyrians had improved the previous road system of this route for military and administrative purposes. Under the reign of Darius, moreover, the road network underwent significant development, including the introduction of Royal Roads for the main routes.⁵¹² According to Herodotus (*Hist.* 8.98), Darius is well-known for his notable contributions, such as the establishment of an efficient and speedy postal system. During the Hellenistic period, even the Seleucid emperors, Antiochus I, Antiochus III,

⁵⁰⁸ Overtoom, *Reign*, 33.

⁵⁰⁹ Wieschöfer, “Greek Poleis,” 337.

⁵¹⁰ The Royal Road was first built by the Persian king Darius the Great around the fifth century BCE. This highway was used in the first century CE. See Joannès, *Empires*, 237.

⁵¹¹ Marek, *Thousand Gods*, 158.

⁵¹² Darius’s interventions in road engineering gained recognition, expanding upon the groundwork laid by the Assyrians and Babylonians. These routes featured resting stations equipped with fresh horses and fortified structures to protect river crossings and mountain passes. See Liverani, *Near East*, 567.

Seleucus IV, and Antiochus XII, also frequently used this road.⁵¹³ These frequent visits of emperors imply the change of the resting stations through the Royal Road from Aramaic-style to Hellenistic-styles.

For both Romans and Parthians, the Royal Road was an important route for international business and trade between the Roman Empire and Parthian Empire in the first century CE.⁵¹⁴ Therefore, a significant number of individual merchants were involved in this international trade as their personal business.⁵¹⁵ Especially, the fact that international trade between the two empires was still active even during the war between the Roman Empire and Parthian Empire (the second to third centuries CE) shows that the government of both the Roman Empire and Parthian Empire did not control the commercial networks of individual merchants.⁵¹⁶

The sociolinguistic environment of the regions of the Royal Road suggests that pro-Greek linguistic ideology was popularized based on this road system. Greek was used as the business and trade language of the eastern provinces.⁵¹⁷ As explored above, the majority of the western and southern territories of Anatolia could speak Greek at least as their L2.⁵¹⁸ However, there is no evidence that they spoke Aramaic during the Hellenistic period. This means that without knowledge of Greek, the Parthian merchant could not participate in international trade through this road. On the other hand, the fact that the merchants of the eastern provinces visited Parthian cities for international trade

⁵¹³ Regarding the frequency of these emperors with the royal roads, see Kosmin, *Elephant Kings*, 144–46.

⁵¹⁴ Liverani, *Near East*, 568. Regarding the archeological study of this road in the second and third century CE, see Comfort, “Travelling.”

⁵¹⁵ Facella, “Economy,” 232–34.

⁵¹⁶ Ellerbrock, *Parthians*, 158–60.

⁵¹⁷ As Horrocks (*Greek*, 90) points out, the inscriptions of the cities of Asia Minor evince Greek was the language of businesses.

⁵¹⁸ Düring, “Millennia,” 806–9.

implies that Parthians did not lose their knowledge of Greek yet. Thus, active international trade between the Romans and Parthians shows the language maintenance of Greek among the Parthian merchants and local inhabitants in the settlements located along the important trade sites of the Royal Road.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the linguistic ideologies of various regions visited by figures in Acts. In light of the meso contexts of the Roman Empire, there were two important factors that established Greek as the *lingua franca* of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. First, the Hellenistic program of Alexander, the Diadochi, and the Roman State popularized Greek education among the local elite groups of the eastern provinces. Second, with the development of international trade networks, Greek became the trade and business language of the non-institutional communities.

The evidence presented in this chapter reveals the linguistic ideologies of non-institutional communities in all the regions presented in Acts. A linguistic ideology in all regions fostered the use of Greek as the *lingua franca*. Along with this linguistic ideology, a language shift from vernacular languages to Greek rapidly took place in some urban regions as they became strongly Hellenized or (and) focused on international trades and businesses since the conquest of Alexander. In the first century CE, the linguistic ideology for using Greek as the trade and business language was popularized in rural regions on the basis of trade and business networks with the urban regions. To be sure, many vernacular languages were still used as family languages or ethnic languages in private settings. However, the vernacular languages could not be used as the public and official language of institutional and non-institutional

communities because local inhabitants did not understand other ethnicities' vernacular languages. Consequently, the multilingual environment of the eastern provinces shows the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* and prestige language for various social practices in all the regions which the historical figures of Acts visited, whereas other vernacular languages were still employed in the private setting.

PETER AND PAUL'S CODE CHOICES AND THE PRESTIGE RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE OF FIRST-CENTURY CHRISTIANITY IN THE BOOK OF ACTS

As Nikolas Coupland notes, individuals possess linguistic Competence, which refers to their ability to utilize sociolinguistic resources when speaking, considering its indexical meaning within the macro and meso contexts of their conversation.¹ The previous chapters have explored the linguistic ideologies prevalent in the macro and meso contexts of the regions depicted in the book of Acts. This chapter focuses on the micro contexts where individual church leaders select their speech code based on either accommodating the most suitable conversation situation or projecting their social identities.

This chapter focuses on three main inquiries related to the prestige religious language of first-century Christianity. The first inquiry explores the plurilingualism of the church leaders presented in Acts, aiming to identify the various factors that contribute to their multilingual proficiencies. Employing the Style models of Bell and Coupland, the second inquiry investigates the processes of identity contextualization through which the historical figures chose their codes. The third inquiry determines the prestige religious language(s) of first-century Christianity, specifically the most predominant code(s) employed by the church leaders in the official settings of the churches.

¹ Coupland, *Style*, 103–5.

The Plurilingualism of Peter, Paul, and other Church Leaders

The book of Acts mainly deals with the stories of Peter and Paul but also offers some brief information regarding other church leaders. This study will identify Peter and Paul's multilingual proficiencies and determine the most probable presumption regarding other church leaders' plurilingualism by employing sociolinguistic theories. To be sure, uncanonical books and writings of the Church fathers offer information regarding the church leaders featured in Acts. Nevertheless, this study will refrain from delving into these records, as it is nearly impossible to verify the authenticity of other ancient documents.

Criteria for Measuring the Church Leaders' Plurilingualism

This section aims at determining the church leaders' multilingual proficiencies. As mentioned in Chapter 4, children tend to outperform adults in language acquisition due to factors such as the diminishing plasticity of the brain and the increasing specialization of the left hemisphere for language functions as individuals mature.² Therefore, the crucial period for language acquisition generally continues until adolescence. Moreover, a language shift from vernacular languages to a prestige language among the ancient people's families took place within approximately fifty years (by the third generation) if their families did not have an independent linguistic ideology for maintaining their languages. With this in mind, it is important to investigate the historical figures' multilingual environments in which they learned the prestige languages and maintained their vernacular languages. This study investigates the following three factors that are

² Romaine, *Bilingualism*, 238–39.

useful in identifying the historical figures' multilingual proficiency: (1) birthplace and residence, (2) Greek and Latin name, and (3) social networks.

Birthplace and Residence

The birthplace and residences before a youth age offers information regarding people's multilingual proficiency. This is because the second and third generations learned the dominant language of their settlement as L1 before reaching adolescence. In addition, the linguistic ideologies of their settlements after the adolescent age indicate languages with which the historical figures of Acts had to engage when interacting with friends, neighbors, co-workers, and others in a multilingual society.

As explored in Chapter 4, Greek became not only the lingua franca but also the prestige language in the Metropoleis, Poleis, and the majority of cities during the first century CE. The same is true for the towns and villages which had strong socioeconomic networks with Greek-speaking people. While the language shift from the vernacular languages to Greek or language death of the vernacular languages took place along with the Hellenistic program, some vernacular languages survived as a family language or ethnic language, resulting in the multilingual environment of the eastern provinces in the first century CE. Since the degree of language shift varied depending on the sociolinguistic environment of each region, it is important to determine the multilingual environment in a Christian leader's birthplace and residences. Chapter 4 determined the linguistic ideologies of the regions where Peter, Paul, and other church leaders of Acts visited as presented in Acts.³ Based on the research findings in Chapter 4, this study will

³ See Appendix I.

investigate the sociolinguistic landscape of the historical figures' settlements in order to identify the possible language(s) they knew.

Name

Kevin Butcher believes that “it is often unclear whether the use of a Greek personal name means that the individual was a Hellenized Greek speaker, or that a Semitic personal name signifies someone who was less Hellenized.”⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is true that the vernacular language names of ancient people do not necessarily imply their language proficiency in either vernacular languages or Greek. This is because some Hellenized people who were fluent in Greek still used vernacular language names as a way to preserve their ethnic identities. That is to say, those who used vernacular language names were mixed with Hellenized people and non-Hellenized people.

However, the ancient people's Greek (or Greek-style) and Latin names suggest their language proficiency in Greek.⁵ Greek names were useful to build solidarity with other Hellenized people because using Greek names and speaking Greek indexed Hellenized identity. Moreover, Greek names were easy for other Greek-speaking people to remember. Due to the socioeconomic advantages for using Greek names in the Hellenized society, a large number of Hellenized people changed vernacular language names into Greek names and, furthermore, offered Greek names to their descendants.⁶ In

⁴ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 283–84.

⁵ Porter, “Scholarly Opinion,” 160; Poirier, “The Linguistic Situation,” 112–13; Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* 138–42; Tovar, “Greek in Egypt,” 259.

⁶ Woolf (*Rome*, 259–61) notes that only Hellenized people could take advantage in the Greco-Roman society. As Woolf points out, diaspora Jews serve as a prime example of Hellenized people.

light of ancient culture expressing their social identities by means of the code choice for their names, however, it is less likely that non-Hellenized people employed Greek names.

Roman citizens generally had the standard triple Roman form of *praenomen* “given name”, *nomen* “principal name,” and *cognomen* “additional name, nickname, or denoted a branch of a family.”⁷ Some Romans did not have three names but two names: *praenomen* and *nomen*. It is important to note that Latin names themselves do not indicate proficiency in the Latin language. Although all Roman citizens in the eastern provinces used Latin names, the majority of non-Italian citizens did not know Latin because Greek served as the *lingua franca* among Roman citizens in the eastern provinces. Some diaspora Jews with Latin names consistently wrote in Greek.⁸ Additionally, some local elites who lacked Roman citizenship adopted Latin names due to their close social networks with Roman soldiers.⁹ Moreover, some Roman auxiliaries used Latin names before they acquired Roman citizenship.¹⁰ Even many local elites did not receive a Latin education but Greek education in the first century CE; the majority of Roman auxiliaries did not know Latin but were fluent in Greek. Given this, using Latin names implies their knowledge of Greek at least as L2 but does not evince their knowledge of Latin.

⁷ Regarding information on Roman citizens’ Latin names, see Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 98.

⁸ Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 129–30.

⁹ Butcher, *Roman Syria*, 284.

¹⁰ Isaac, “Decapolis,” 73.

Social Networks

The social networks of the historical figures of Acts provide useful information for identifying their plurilingualism. Ong is the first biblical scholar who proposed the application of Lesley Milroy's social network model to the inquiry of Jesus' multilingual proficiency in Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin.¹¹ Ong specifically focuses on the first-order zone of social networks, where people have direct relationships with each other.¹² This is because the first-order zone of social networks leads to frequent language contacts between individuals who could use the same language. Through this approach, Ong argues that Jesus' extensive social network shows not only his language fluency in Aramaic and Greek but also suggests a potential knowledge of Latin and Hebrew, which he used to establish both private and public social relations with others. Moreover, Ong determines the density of Jesus' first-order zone of social networks by investigating both uniplex relationships (single type of relationship) and multiplex relationships (various types of relationship) of Jesus with others.¹³ As Ong points out, the presence of multiplex relationships suggest that individuals share language proficiency in the same language(s), as limited language proficiency hinders the formation of their multiplex relationships.

This study will identify the historical figures' plurilingualism by investigating their social networks. In light of social network theory, the strong density of the social network that individuals build up implies that they are fluent in the same language because individuals have strong solidarity when they are able to communicate in the

¹¹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 227–31.

¹² Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 229.

¹³ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 229.

same language. It also means that only the people who are fluent in the most appropriate language for a particular social network are able to participate in the strong density of the first-order zone of that social network. Given this, this study aims at investigating the strong density of the first-order social network of the historical figures of Acts in order to determine their multilingual proficiency.

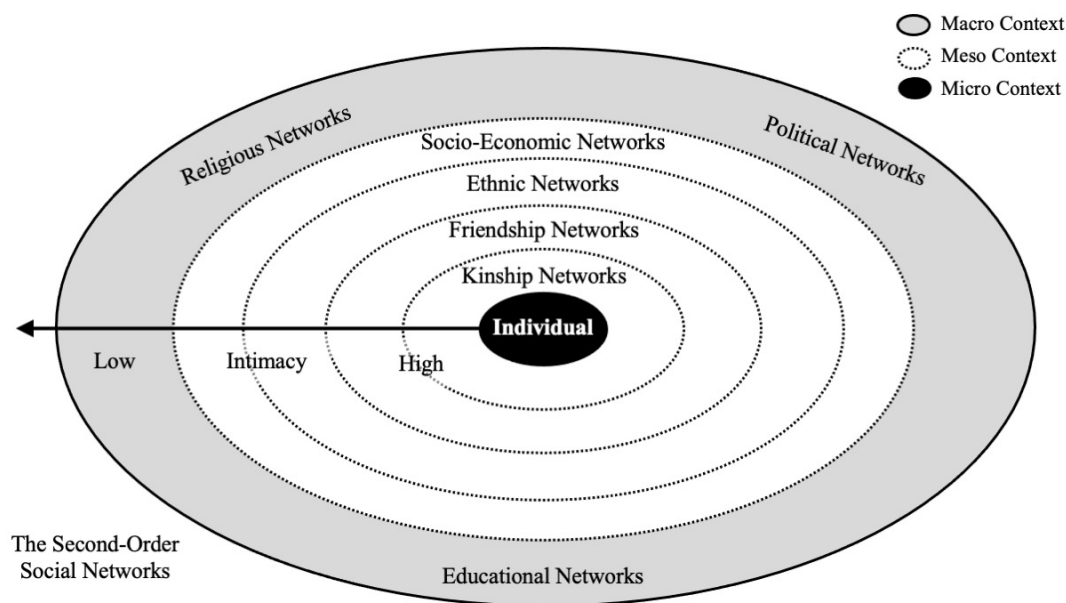


Figure 6.1. The Eight Types of Social Networks

This study examines eight types of the social networks of Peter, Paul, and other church leaders as presented in Acts (see Figure 6.1). The first type is kinship networks.¹⁴ In ancient times, the members of the family exhibited strong solidarity. Since children acquired their L1 within the family by adolescent age, the family language used by parents when communicating with their children significantly influenced the children's language proficiency. If parents spoke the vernacular language to their children, it is likely that the children would learn their vernacular language as the primary family

¹⁴ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 16–24.

language. Given the role of Greek as the prestige language for various social practices, conversely, language shift from a vernacular language to Greek also occurred within families if both or one of the parents used Greek when interacting with their children.

The second type is friendship networks.¹⁵ The strong solidarity among friends shows their fluency in the same language(s) since close friendships are built upon communication. In particular, long-standing friendships from youth offer more reliable insights into the historical figures' fluency in their language(s).

The third type is ethnic networks. The majority of ancient people had solidarity based on a shared ethnic identity. As explored in the previous chapter, to be sure, many different ethnic languages waned or went extinct after the Hellenistic program of the Diadochi and the Roman State. If the same ethnicities with a dominant population had robust social networks and independent linguistic ideology, however, they might have still spoken their ethnic language.

The fourth type is socioeconomic networks.¹⁶ Except for a few cases, the majority of ancient people spend most of their daily time in the workplace. The degree to which Greek was required in the workplace varied depending on the reliance of their work on international trade. Whereas workplaces with or for various ethnicities required fluency in Greek, Greek knowledge was not necessary for the workplace that did not rely on other ethnicities.

The fifth type is educational networks.¹⁷ As Greek education gained popularity among the elite groups of the eastern provinces and Italian peninsula, they became fluent

¹⁵ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 45–50.

¹⁶ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 51–52.

¹⁷ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 26–43.

in Greek. Meanwhile, only a few Jewish scholars and elites in Palestine learned Hebrew.

In the first century CE, ordinary Jews did not yet start Hebrew education in their families. As Spolsky points out,

[300 CE] was the time when the rabbis called on fathers to teach the language to their children, and when the synagogues spread through Palestine and the Diaspora included what developed into Hebrew schools, permitting the educational maintenance of the language until natural intergenerational transmission was restored at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁸

The sixth type is religious networks.¹⁹ As explored in Chapter 3, there were no uniform linguistic ideologies of the Imperial cult. Whereas there were Latin inscriptions in the pagan temples, Greek was predominantly employed for the Imperial cult in the eastern provinces. As discussed in Chapter 4, Judaism also did not enforce a strict language policy for its religious language(s). Jewish scholars often translated the Hebrew scriptures into Greek and Aramaic because ordinary Jews did not understand Hebrew. Considering the lack of Hebrew scriptures in the synagogues of the Greek-speaking diaspora regions (*b. Meg.* 18b), Greek was employed as their religious language.

The seventh type is political networks.²⁰ As noted in Chapter 3, the Romans had a flexible language policy regarding the official language of the eastern provinces. Roman officials and soldiers in the eastern provinces often used Greek to communicate with the local inhabitants who did not understand Latin but knew Greek. There were even some Roman citizens in the eastern provinces who did not know Latin at all. While Latin-speaking Romans spoke Latin for official works with other Latin speakers, they

¹⁸ Spolsky, *Languages*, 63

¹⁹ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 56.

²⁰ Spolsky, *Rethinking*, 58–66.

had to switch to Greek in the official settings of the provincial government in order to interact with the local inhabitants and the Roman citizens who did not know Latin. Therefore, Greek frequently served as the official language of the eastern provinces.

The eighth type is the second-order zone of social networks.²¹ The above seven types of social networks are the first-order zone of social networks where individuals build up solidarity when conducting the same social practices together. The second-order zone of social networks refers to social relationships that are one degree of separation away from an individual's direct connections. In this study, the second-order zone encompasses social networks characterized by very weak solidarity with unfamiliar individuals, such as strangers and bystanders.

These eight types of social networks provide useful information regarding the multilingual proficiency of Peter, Paul, and other historical figures of Acts. In the former two types of social networks (the family networks and kinship networks), people mostly used the language in private settings, with intimate relationships, and/or for casual topics. The latter five types (ethnic networks, socioeconomic networks, educational networks, religious networks, political networks, and the second-order zone) concern the languages which were employed in official and public settings, with non-intimate relationships, and/or for professional topics. Generally, the former two types indicate people's L1. The latter five types include both L1 and L2. I will next consider these types of social networks in order to assess the plurilingualism of Peter, Paul, and other historical figures.

²¹ Milroy, *Social Networks*, 46–52.

Peter's Plurilingualism

The books of the New Testament mention Peter's use of Aramaic (Matt 26:73). Since there is no clear information regarding other languages such as Greek, Latin, or Hebrew, it is difficult to determine Peter's knowledge of these languages. Nevertheless, Peter did not acquire proficiency in Hebrew and Latin, considering the social context of the time, where only a limited number of Jewish elites were well-versed in these languages. However, scholarly debates have focused on the issue of Peter's knowledge of Greek due to the complex multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. With this in mind, this study investigates Peter's places of residence, name, and social networks in order to identify his language proficiency of Greek.

Birthplace and Residence

Peter was born in Bethsaida (John 1:44; 12:21) and later moved to Capernaum (Matt 8:5, 14; Mark 1:21, 29–31).²² Both Bethsaida and Capernaum were fishing towns with predominantly Hellenized populations, suggesting that Peter's father was indeed a fisherman. His occupation as a fisherman in Bethsaida and Capernaum suggests that Peter's father was fluent in Greek. This is because Galilean fishermen often engaged in trade with neighboring Gentiles, which would have required knowledge of the Greek language. The fact that Peter and Andrew were also fishers further supports that they were at least the second generation of bilingual speakers of Aramaic and Greek.

In addition, the books of the New Testament show four residences during Peter's ministry after Jesus' death: (1) Jerusalem (Acts 1:12—5:42), (2) Joppa (9:36–43;

²² Regarding the debate of the location of Bethsaida, see Notley, "Et-Tell," 223–24.

10:6, 23), (3) Caesarea Maritima (10:48), and (4) Syrian Antioch (Gal 2:11–12). In Jerusalem, a significant number of Aramaic-speaking people who were bilingual in Aramaic (L1) and Greek (L2) resided.²³ However, the linguistic demography of Joppa, Caesarea, and Antioch was different from that of Jerusalem.²⁴ These regions experienced a language shift from Aramaic to Greek among the local inhabitants, alongside a strong Hellenistic influence. Joppa and Caesarea Maritima still had a small number of Aramaic-speaking people, and Aramaic-speaking residents were very few in Syrian Antioch.²⁵

Peter's birthplace and residences suggest Peter's proficiency in Greek. Growing up in the multilingual environment of Bethsaida and Capernaum, where Jews frequently spoke Greek, contributed to Peter's ability to speak Greek. Moreover, Peter's ministries in Joppa, Caesarea Maritima, and especially Syrian Antioch imply that he was able to speak Greek fluently to communicate with the local inhabitants of Greek-speaking regions.

Name

The Gospels state Peter's three different language names: (1) שִׁמְעוֹן (Simon: Hebrew name), (2) כֵּפָא (Kepa: Aramaic name), and (3) Πέτρος (Petros: A Greek translation of his Aramaic name). According to the Gospel of John (1:42), Peter's given name from his father is Simon, meaning "listen" and "hearing." Jesus gave his Aramaic name, Kepa, referring to rock. Probably, Peter's Aramaic name was translated into Greek as Petros later. His father's given name is יֹנָה (Jonah: Hebrew name).

²³ See Appendix I.

²⁴ Applebaum, "Status of Jaffa," 139–40; Jones, *Cities*, 273–5 ; Levine, *Caesarea*, 13; Sandwell, *Religious Identity*, 35.

²⁵ See Appendix I.

Peter's Aramaic given name does not suggest that Greek was his family language. However, his brother had the Greek given name Ἀνδρέας (Andreas: Greek name), meaning "strong" and "manly." Andrew's name implies his father's proficiency in Greek considering the fact that, as noted above, Greek names did not just index their families' Hellenistic identity but also showed their social networks with other Hellenized people.²⁶ Based on this information, it can be inferred that Peter and Andrew were at least the second generation of Jews who spoke Greek in the family.

Social Networks

The books of the New Testament show Peter's social networks with forty-five people and two groups of people. These networks underwent significant transformations after two pivotal events involving Jesus: Jesus' calling and death. This study aims at identifying three distinct stages of Peter's social networks: (1) *Stage A*: Peter's life after birth but before Jesus' calling, (B) *Stage B*: Peter's life after Jesus' calling but before Jesus' death, and (C) *Stage C*: Peter's life after Jesus' death (see Table 6.1).

First, Peter's social networks in Stage A reveal that the strongest connections were established during his youth with individuals such as Andrew, Philip^A, James^A, and John^A. Although limited data makes it challenging to ascertain their proficiency in other languages, information regarding their names, settlements, and social networks suggests that they were fluent in Greek. Andrew and Philip^A possessed Greek names. Additionally, Andrew, James^A, and John^A were fishers who had to speak Greek in order

²⁶ Porter, "Scholarly Opinion," 160; Poirier, "The Linguistic Situation," 112–13; Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* 138–42; Tovar, "Greek in Egypt," 259.

Stage	Social Network			Language Proficiency Level			
	Type	Density	Participants	Greek	Aramaic	Hebrew	Latin
A	Kinship	10	Andrew	H	H-L		
	Hometown	9	Philip ^A , Andrew	H	H-L		
	Fisherman	8	James ^A , John ^A , Andrew	H	H-L		
B	Twelve Disciples	7	Matthew, Thomas, (Andrew, James ^A , John ^A , Philp ^A)	H	H-L		
		7	Nathanael, James ^B , Judas ^A , Simon, Judas ^B	H-M	H-L		
	Jesus' Follower Group	6	Mark	H	H-L		
		6	Matthias, Cleopas	H	?		
		6	Justus	H	?		?
		5	Mary ^A , Martha, Lazarus, Mary ^B , Salome, Johanna	H-M	H-L		
		5	Mary ^D , Rhoda	H-L	H-M		
	Second Order Zone	0	Caiaphas's Three Servants	?	H-M		
		0	Collectors of Temple Tax	H-L	H-L		
C	Apostle	7	Andrew, James ^A , John ^A , Philp ^A , Matthew, Thomas	H	H-L		
		7	Nathanael, James ^B , Judas ^A , Simon	H-L	H-L		
		7	Matthias	H	?		
	Leaders	7	James ^C	H-M	H-L		
		6	Mark, Barnabas	H	H-L		
		4	Paul	H	H-L	H-L	?
	Deacon	6	Stephen, Philip ^B , Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolaus	H	?		
	Jerusalem Church	6	Cleopas	H	?		
		6	Justus	H	?		?
		5	Mary ^A , Martha, Lazaros, Mary ^B , Salome, Johanna	H-M	H-L		
		5	Mary ^D , Rhoda	H-L	H-M		
		4	Ananias ^A , Sapphira	H	?		
	Joppa Church	3	Simon	H	?		
		2	Tabitha	H	?		
	Lydda Church	2	Aeneas [?]	H	?		?
	Caesarea Church	2	Cornelius	H			H-L
	Judaism	1	Annas, Ciaphas, Gamaliel I	H	H	H	?
			Alexander ^A	H	H-L	?	
			John ^C	H-M	H-M	?	
	Second Order Zone	0	Crippled Beggar of Temple Gate	M-L	H-L		

Table 6.1. Peter's Social Networks²⁷

²⁷ This study distinguishes between homonyms with superscript "A, B, and C." Regarding the detailed information of different persons with the same name, see Appendix II. The following abbreviations refer to: (1) G: Greek, (2) A: Aramaic, (3) H: Hebrew, and (4) Latin. The following abbreviations stand for: (1) H: High Level, (2) M: Middle Level, and (3) L: Low Level. Regarding my inquiry of the density of Peter's social networks, see appendix III.

to interact with Greek-speaking gentiles.²⁸ The proficiency of these individuals in Greek, given their shared multilingual settlement, strongly suggests that Peter, growing up in such an environment, was likely raised as a fluent Greek speaker during his early years. The conversation of Andrew and Philip^A with Greeks presented in John 12:20–22 support their fluency in Greek.²⁹

Second, Peter's social networks in Stage B were primarily influenced by the social networks of Jesus' group of followers, which consisted of a larger number of Hellenized Jews compared to non-Hellenized Jews. Among the twelve disciples, seven disciples were fluent Greek speakers: Peter, Andrew, James^A, John^A, Philip^A, Matthew, and Thomas. Matthew regularly interacted with both Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking people in his line of work because he was a tax collector in Capernaum.³⁰ Considering that Thomas was referred to as "Didymus," a Greek name, he was also fluent in Greek. Additionally, the Gospels provide insights into three disciples who joined Jesus during the early stages of his ministry. Two of these disciples, Matthias and Cleopas, had Greek names, while Justus had a Latin name. Judging by their names, it can be inferred that they were Hellenized Jews who had a proficient command of the Greek language. Furthermore, the fact that Mark was the author of the Gospel of Mark, written in Greek, and one of the members of Paul's first missionary group to Greek-speaking regions clearly exhibits his fluency in the Greek language.

Third, Peter's social networks of Stage 3 were established based on the members of the Jerusalem Church after his Pentecostal preaching. In fact, Peter's code

²⁸ Porter, "Scholarly Opinion," 151.

²⁹ Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter," 61.

³⁰ Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?," 211.

choice for his sermons was the foundation for building not only his social networks but also the religious network of the Jerusalem Church, as those who could comprehend his sermons became participants in the Jerusalem Church. Acts provides information about four new members, excluding the seven Hellenized deacons who were fluent in Greek. There is no doubt that Barnabas was a fluent Greek speaker in that he served as the leader for the mission to the diaspora regions. The fact that Ananias^A and Sapphira had Greek names implies that they were Hellenized Jews. In view of this, James^C was able to speak Greek considering the fact that James was raised in the same multilingual environment as Jesus who spoke Greek as L2.³¹ If James^C was the author of the epistle of James, the use of the compound word *δίψυχος* and the Hellenistic-style allusion to Jesus tradition indicate his fluency in Greek.³² In view of this, Peter should employ Greek for his sermons, resulting in a subsequent influx of Greek speakers into the Jerusalem Church.

In light of the illiteracy prevalent in ancient society, it is probable that Peter was not educated, as he belonged to the low-income profession of a fishers. In the first century CE, not only Jewish families but also synagogues did not have a systematic language policy for the educational purpose of ordinary people. Given this, it is legitimate to assume that Peter did not learn a professional writing skill before he became Jesus' disciple. Due to the lack of data, however, it is impossible to determine Peter's language education after meeting Jesus.

³¹ Regarding Jesus' fluency in Greek, see Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 363–76; Porter, "Greek Language Criteria," 378–80; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 241–56.

³² In light of the Aramaic hypothesis, Agouridis ("Origin," 70–72) asserts that James was not able to speak and wrote Greek and assumes the Aramaic original of the epistle of James. However, Davids (*Epistle*, 12–13) provides evidence for James' fluency in Greek. Regarding the study of the compound word *δίψυχος* in the epistle of James, see Porter, "Christian Word?" 473–74. With regard to the study of the allusion of Jesus tradition, see Kloppenborg, "Hellenistic Sychagogy," 37–38.

Paul's Plurilingualism

Although Paul's plurilingualism has attracted minimal attention, there has been a common consensus as to Paul's competence and use of Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew. The narrator of Acts notes Paul's use of Aramaic (Acts 21:40; 22:2) and the Lord's use of Aramaic to Paul (26:14). Considering Paul's upbringing in a Pharisaic family in Tarsus and his education from Gamaliel, the great Rabbi in the house of Hillel (22:3), it is reasonable to assume that he was educated in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew.³³ Pauline epistles evince that Paul was a fluent Greek writer. However, there has been no overall agreement on whether or not Paul could speak Latin.

Some scholars have made assumptions regarding Paul's knowledge of Latin.³⁴

H. W. Tajra asserts that Paul testified about his Roman citizenship to the Romans by speaking Latin (Acts 16:37–38; 22:25–29).³⁵ However, it is noteworthy that there are no historical records indicating when and how Paul studied Latin.³⁶ To be sure, knowledge of Latin might have been one of the clues to affirming Roman citizenship considering the lack of Latin education in the eastern provinces. However, there were three additional ways to prove Roman citizenship without relying on speaking Latin. First, if Paul's family had a prominent status or reputation among the Roman elite, he could mention the name of his family. Second, Paul could present a wooden attestation of his Roman citizenship. Third, Paul could request confirmation of his Roman citizenship

³³ Greek served as the prestige language for religious teaching in the house of Hillel (b. *Meg.* 7b; b. *Sota* 49a–b; y. *Shabb.* 15c; y. *Meg.* 71c).

³⁴ Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 213–14. Souter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 340–41; Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 86.

³⁵ Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 86.

³⁶ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 306–7.

through the legal documents stored in the imperial archives. It is highly possible that Paul pursued one of these additional options.

More importantly, it is not apparent that the Roman soldiers and officials who arrested Paul were proficient in Latin, considering the fact that not all Romans were knowledgeable in that language. As explored in Chapter 3, Greek was predominantly spoken by Romans in official settings within the eastern provinces, as the Roman central government did not enforce a systematic language policy making Latin the official language in those regions. Given this, the most appropriate language for the conversation between Paul and other Romans in the legal setting was Greek, rather than Latin.

In Acts 21:47, the Tribune asked Paul “Do you know Greek?” It was the Tribune’s responsibility to determine the most suitable language for Paul to testify in, as defending himself in a language he was not fluent in could result in an unjust conviction. Although the majority of the inhabitants of Jerusalem had learned Greek to some extent as their L2, their proficiency levels varied. In other words, not all of them were fluent enough in Greek to effectively present themselves in legal matters. In light of the multilingual environment of Jerusalem, the Tribune himself will have been less likely to know Aramaic and he will not have expected Paul to speak Latin.³⁷ In view of this, the Tribune first inquired about Paul’s language proficiency in Greek in order to ascertain whether or not he required a translator. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that Paul had to employ Latin in the official settings of the court.

³⁷ Regarding the functional distribution of Aramaic, Greek, and Latin in Jerusalem, see Appendix I.

Birthplace and Residence

Paul's birthplace was Tarsus, one of the Hellenistic educational centers in the eastern provinces. However, there is no information available regarding Latin education in Tarsus.³⁸ Acts 22:3 states that Paul received the initial stage of Hellenistic education in Tarsus and later moved to Jerusalem at a young age for Jewish education.³⁹ The exact timing of Paul's move from Tarsus to Jerusalem is unclear. However, considering the education system in Tarsus, Paul completed his elementary education in Tarsus and then moved to Jerusalem for advanced education.⁴⁰ During his youth in Jerusalem, Paul learned Aramaic and, probably, Hebrew.⁴¹ Additionally, with the rise of the Hellenistic educational system in Jerusalem, Paul also continued learning Greek.

It is worth noting that Paul's teacher was Gamaliel I who was the leader of the house of Hillel. Due to the lack of available data, it is impossible to determine the language policy of Gamaliel I. As explored in the previous chapter, Gamaliel II, the son of Gamaliel I, was not only the Jewish leader who advocated the first Jewish–Roman War but also was the strong supporter of a pro-Greek linguistic ideology for using Greek as the religious language of Judaism (*b. Meg. 7b*; *b. Sota 49a–b*; *y. Shabb. 15c*; *y. Meg. 71c*).⁴² According to the records of the Talmud (*b. Meg. 2:1*; *b. Sota 49B*), Jewish scholarly groups who had a close relationship with the government considered Hebrew and Greek to be the religious language of Judaism. In view of this, it is highly possible

³⁸ In terms of the functional distribution of Greek and Latin in Tarsus, see Appendix I.

³⁹ With regard to interpretation of Peter's childhood education in Acts 22:3, see Porter, "Hellenistic Oratory," 331–32.

⁴⁰ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 290–91.

⁴¹ Porter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 291–92.

⁴² I reference this translation from Neusner, *Babylonian Talmud*.

that Gamaliel I also taught Greek as his son did. This leads us to conclude that Paul studied Greek and, probably, Hebrew in the house of Hillel.

Some scholars insist that Paul's conversation with the local inhabitants of the following Latin-speaking regions evince Paul's Latin proficiency: (1) Lystra, (2) Pisidian Antioch, (3) Corinth, (4) Philippi, (5) Caesarea, and (6) Rome.⁴³ It is true that Latin served as the official language of these regions for communication with the central governments. However, it is problematic to assume that the local inhabitants of these regions were solely monolingual Latin speakers. As noted in Chapter 4, Greek was also used as the trade language, business language, and public language in these regions.⁴⁴ More importantly, the Roman governors and officials often had to speak Greek for official announcements in public places and for conversations with the local inhabitants in official settings because a considerable number of the local inhabitants did not know Latin. In view of this, it is not necessary to assume that Paul had to speak Latin even in Rome.⁴⁵ In fact, the majority of local inhabitants of the Italian peninsula were fluent Greek speakers. Given this, the regions of Paul's missionary trip do not indicate his language proficiency in Latin.

Name

The books of the New Testament note Paul's two language names: (1) שָׁאוּל (Saul: Hebrew Name) and (2) Παῦλος (Paulos: Greek name). The book of Acts introduces Paul with his Hebrew name and describes him with his Greek name after his mission to

⁴³ Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 213–14; Moulton, *New Testament Greek*, 1:233; Souter, "Did Paul Speak Latin?," 340–42; Tajra, *Trial of St. Paul*, 86.

⁴⁴ Regarding the various roles of Greek in these regions, see Appendix I.

⁴⁵ See Appendix I.

Cyprus (Acts 13:9). Paul identifies himself as a Hellenistic Jew who moved from Tarsus to Jerusalem and as a Pharisee who strictly followed Jewish tradition (Acts 22:3; 23:6; 26:4–5; Rom 11:1; Gal 1:13–14; 2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5–6). In light of the indexical meaning of Hebrew and Greek names among the Jews, Paul's Hebrew name indexes his social identity as a zealous Jew devoted to Jewish tradition, while his Greek name signifies his social identity as a Hellenistic Jew.

The scholarly debate has centered on Paul's Roman citizenship.⁴⁶ It is supposed that Paul would have had a Latin name, considering the fact that Acts identifies him as a citizen of Tarsus (Acts 21:39) and a Roman citizen (16:37; 22:3, 25–28).⁴⁷ However, his Latin name is unknown. Moreover, only Acts mentions Paul's possession of Roman citizenship, but other books do not. John Clayton Lentz argues that the Lukan portrayal of Paul as a citizen of Tarsus, as a citizen of Rome by birth, and as a Pharisee is not historically plausible; he considers it to be the author's literary creation.⁴⁸ Lentz believes that Luke presents Paul as a model citizen and authority figure deserving of emulation and veneration by the Roman world. Additionally, Lentz points out that Paul could not have received Roman citizenship because he was a Pharisee who rejected a Hellenistic lifestyle such as the Imperial cult.

According to Brian Rapske, however, there was no issue with Jews devoted to Torah receiving the citizenship of Tarsus and Rome.⁴⁹ The tolerant policy towards the religious practices of Judaism clearly provided Jews with numerous socioeconomic benefits, despite their non-participation in the Imperial cult since the Jewish military

⁴⁶ Lentz, *Luke's Portrait*, 23–61.

⁴⁷ Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 213–14.

⁴⁸ Lentz, *Luke's Portrait*, 23–61.

⁴⁹ Rapske, *Roman Custody*, 72–90; Berthelot, "Judaism," 121–28.

actively supported Caesar during his Egyptian campaign against Pompey (Josephus *Ant.* 14.127–36). Following this campaign, Caesar granted religious freedom to Judaism as a token of appreciation for their assistance in his conflict with Pompey in 47 BCE (Josephus *Ant.* 14.214–16). As explored in Chapter 3, neither Caesar nor the subsequent Roman emperors in the first century CE enforced the Imperial cult on the local population of the eastern provinces. It was not until the second century CE that the Roman government compelled its citizens to partake in the Imperial cult.⁵⁰ In view of this, even Jews who were devoted to Judaism were able to acquire Roman citizenship.⁵¹

Paul barely used his Latin name during his ministry potentially due to his reluctance to leverage his Roman citizenship unless faced with an urgent circumstance. As Porter points out,

It is perhaps surprising that in Paul's letters, even with his ministry to the Gentile world, he does not mention his origin in Tarsus, his citizenship of Tarsus, or his Roman citizenship. This may be because, for Paul, his most important citizenship was "in heaven" (Phil 3:20). But the argument that Paul was neither a Roman citizen nor born in Tarsus because he does not mention it in his letters is, finally, an argument from silence and does not hold much weight. It seems probable, then, especially in light of the way this evidence is used in Acts, that he was a full citizen of Tarsus and of Rome on the basis of his family origins.⁵²

Paul's use of a particular language name implies his social networks with particular language speakers. It is highly possible that Paul introduced himself with his Hebrew name to Aramaic-speaking Jews while using the Greek name when communicating with Greek-speaking people. The absence of Paul's usage of his Latin

⁵⁰ Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 20–21.

⁵¹ Regarding more information on Paul's Roman citizenship, see Rapske, *Roman Custody*, 72–90; Wallace and Williams, *Apostle*, 10. Concerning the study of Roman citizenship, see Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, 144–93; Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 119–20, 274.

⁵² Porter, *Apostle Paul*, 17–18.

name suggests limited social connections with Latin-speaking individuals. Considering his education in Tarsus and Jerusalem, it is even doubtful whether Paul acquired proficiency in Latin. Paul did have strong educational networks with Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking people, however, so he predominantly employed the Hebrew name in Jerusalem and the Greek name in the diaspora Church.

Social Networks

This study examines fifty-five individuals and four groups of people associated with Paul in order to analyze changes in his social networks. The analysis identifies three significant stages that influenced Paul's relationships: (1) *Stage A*: Paul's life after birth but before Jesus' calling, (2) *Stage B*: Paul's life after Jesus' calling but before his missionary life, and (3) *Stage C*: Paul's life during his missionary life (see Table 6.2).

First, Paul's social relationship with Gamaliel in Stage A provides important information regarding Paul's language education in his youth. As noted above, Paul acquired proficiency in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew while studying in the house of Hillel. However, there is little evidence to suggest that Paul received any education in Latin, both in the house of Hillel in Jerusalem and in the elementary education in Tarsus. Even if he received a Latin education in Tarsus, it is plausible that Paul lost his knowledge of Latin after moving to Jerusalem, as there is little indication that he pursued Latin studies in that city.

Second, Stage B shows Paul's social networks after his Damascus Road experience. Due to his notoriety as a persecutor of Jesus' followers, Paul was unable to remain in Jerusalem but had to return to Tarsus although he believed in Jesus (Acts

Stage	Social Network			Language Proficiency Level					
	Type	Density	Participants	G	A	H	L	P	LC
A	Kinship	?	Anonymous Paul's Nephew	H	?		?		
	Hose of Hillel	9	Gamaliel I	H	H	H	?		
	Sanhedrin	3	Caiaphas	H	H	H	?		
		0	Stephen	H	H-L?				
	Christianity	8	Barnabas	H	H-L?				
		5	Ananias ^B	H	H-L?				
B	Antioch Church	8	Barnabas	H	H-L?				
		7	Simeon, Lucius	H	?		?		
		7	Manaen	H	?		H-L?		
		7	Mark	H	H-L		?		
C	Missionary Group ^A	8	Barnabas	H	H-L?				
		7	Mark	H	H-L		?		
	Missionary Group ^B	8	Silas	H	?		?		
		7	Timothy	H	?				
	Missionary Group ^C	8	Silas	H	?		?		
		7	Timothy	H	?				
	Missionary Group ^D	6	Sopater, Luke, Tychicus	H	?				
		6	Gaius	H			?		
		6	Aristarchus, Trophimus	H					
		6	Secundus	H	?		?		
	Tent Maker	7	Aquila, Priscilla	H	?		H-L?		
	Leaders of Diaspora Churches	7	Aquila, Priscilla	H	?		H-L?		
		7	Titius	H			?		
		6	Apollos, Erastus	H	?				
		4	Agabus	H	H-L?				
	Host of House	5	Philip ^B 's Family, Mnason	H	?				
		5	Jason	H					
	Jerusalem Church	4	Peter, John ^A	H	H-L				
		4	James	H-M	H-L				
	Church of Philippi	4	Lydia	H					
	Church of Athens	4	Dionysius, Damaris	H					
	Corinthian Church	4	Crispus	H	?		?		
		4	Sosthenes	H	?				
	Church of Antioch	2	Anonymous Jewish Christians from Judea	H-L	H-L				
	Government of Cyprus	3	Sergius Paulus	H			H		
		1	Bar-Jesus	H	?				
	Government of Caesarea	4	Felix, Festus	H			H		
		3	Ananias ^C	H	H	H	?		
		3	Tertullus	H	?		H-M		
		3	Drusilla, Agrippa II, Bernice	H	H		H-L?		
	Government of Philippi	2	Anonymous Magistrates	H			H		
		3	Anonymous Prison Guard	H					
	Government of Achaea	2	Gallio	H			H-L		
	Military	2	Anonymous Tribune	H	?		?		
	Malta	3	Publius	H				H	
	2 nd Order Zone	0	Anonymous Slave-Girl who Had a Spirit of Divination	H					
		0	Anonymous Crippled Man	H					H

Table 6.2. Paul's Social Networks⁵³

⁵³ The following abbreviations refers to: (1) P: Punic and (2) LC: Lycaonian. Regarding my inquiry of the density of Paul's social networks, see appendix IV.

9:26–30). It was not until Barnabas's invitation to the Syrian Antioch church that Paul started to establish relationships with other believers. Paul spent approximately one year teaching the believers in Syrian Antioch alongside Barnabas (11:25–26). During this time, Paul developed connections with other Christians, particularly forming a strong bond with the leaders of the Syrian Antioch church, such as Simeon, Lucius, Manaen, and Mark. As explored in Chapter 4, Syrian Antioch was a region heavily influenced by Hellenistic culture, where the majority of the population spoke Greek. Given the multilingual environment of Syrian Antioch, the majority of Christians in the Syrian Antioch church were Greek-speaking people.⁵⁴ Based on this information, moreover, Paul's co-workers, Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, Manaen, and Mark, were fluent Greek speakers. However, their language proficiencies in other languages were different. It is possible that Barnabas and Mark were also able to speak Aramaic, though it is less likely for Simeon, Lucius, and Manaen, as there is no indication that they resided in Aramaic-speaking regions or received an Aramaic education. Due to the lack of available data, it is almost impossible to determine their knowledge of Latin. While Mark is a Latin name, it does not imply his proficiency in Latin. Moreover, there are no indications that these men received a Latin education or had a strong social network with Latin speakers. Considering these factors, Greek was most likely the religious language and education language in the Antioch church.

Third, Paul's social networks of Stage C were drastically expanded based on his international activities during the missionary trips. In particular, Paul had a strong

⁵⁴ Regarding the various roles of Greek in Syrian Antioch, see Appendix I.

density of social networks with the members of the missionary groups.⁵⁵ It is worth noting three groups of Paul's mission:

- (1) Missionary Group^A: This group consisted of Barnabas and Paul; afterward, Mark participated in this group from the Jerusalem church but soon returned to Jerusalem in the early stage of the missionary trip.
- (2) Missionary Group^B: The original members of this group were intended to be Barnabas, Paul, Mark, Judas^C, and Silas. However, this missionary group split into Paul's missionary group (Paul and Silas) and Barnabas's missionary group (Barnabas, Mark, and Judas^C). Since the book of Acts does not mention Barnabas's missionary trip, this study focuses on Paul's missionary group.
- (3) Missionary Group^C: In the middle stage of Paul's missionary trips, Timothy, Priscilla, and Aquila participated in this group. They were occasionally sent to diaspora churches in order to support Paul's missionary work.
- (4) Missionary Group^D: Sopater, Luke, Tychicus, Gaius, Aristarchus, Trophimus, and Secundus accompanied Paul and Silas during the latter part of Paul's missionary trip.

While all members were fluent Greek speakers, it is unclear how proficient they were in Aramaic and Latin. Aristarchus, Trophimus, and Gaius likely did not know Aramaic because Trophimus was Ephesian, and Aristarchus and Gaius were Macedonian. Apart from Silas, Mark, Gaius, and Secundus, the other members did not

⁵⁵ Ellis, "His Co-Workers," 437–39.

receive Latin names. Given this information, Paul and other members probably used Greek as the *lingua franca* of the missionary groups, as some individuals were not familiar with Aramaic or Latin. The same is true for all the communities and groups of the diaspora church. While some diaspora people may have known different vernacular languages, they all spoke Greek fluently. In view of this, Greek was the most appropriate language when communicating with these groups of people in the official and public settings.

The book of Acts suggests six possible languages that Paul might have connected with in Stage 3: Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, Latin, Punic, and Lycaonian.⁵⁶ According to Acts, Paul was able to speak Greek and Aramaic. Although a specific time when Paul started to learn Hebrew is unknown, considering his education in Jerusalem, Paul probably received Hebrew education in the house of Hillel.⁵⁷ However, it is less likely that Paul spoke Latin, Punic, Lycaonian. As Porter points out, Paul and Barnabas seem not to understand Lycaonian in Acts 14:11.⁵⁸ Considering Paul's education during his youth, there is no evidence to assume that Paul learned Latin and Punic. Instead, those who knew Latin, Punic, and Lycaonian also learned Greek because Greek served as the international language of the eastern provinces. As Table 5.2 shows, moreover, Paul neither visited the regions where local inhabitants did not understand Greek nor met those who were not able to speak Greek during his missionary trips. Given this, Paul

⁵⁶ See Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 143–49.

⁵⁷ Paul states that he was circumcised on the eighth day, of the line of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, Hebrew from Hebrews, according to law a Pharisee (Acts 23:6; Phil 3:4–6). If Paul's family had a strong linguistic ideology for Hebrew education, such as that held by Pharisees, it is not impossible that Paul learned Hebrew in Tarsus. However, it is worth noting that this statement could also be interpreted as Paul's knowledge of Aramaic, as the term "Hebrew" is often used generically to refer to a Semitic language without specifying the particular variety involved. See Porter, "Complex Multilingualism," 122–23.

⁵⁸ See Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 146–49.

likely spoke Greek with those who knew Punic and Lycaonian as L1 because they also learned Greek as L2.

Other Church Leaders' Plurilingualism

The book of Acts describes other historical figures' speeches. It is worth noting three historical figures' code choices: James^C, Stephen, and Philip^B. This study aims at determining the most possible language proficiency of these historical figures by investigating personal information about their speeches and conversations presented in Acts.

First of all, for the inquiry of James^C's language proficiency, it is useful to start with the inquiry of Jesus' plurilingualism because he was raised and lived in the same multilingual environment as Jesus before Jesus' public life. Ong argues that Jesus spoke Aramaic as L1 and Greek as L2 and might have possessed some degree of knowledge of Hebrew and Latin.⁵⁹ While Ong correctly acknowledges Jesus' language fluency in Aramaic and Greek, his assumption regarding Jesus' knowledge of Hebrew and Latin is unclear. Ong believes that Jesus might have spoken Hebrew in the official settings of Judaism and Latin for communication with Pilate.⁶⁰ To be sure, some Jewish scholars received a Hebrew education in Jerusalem. However, it is important to note that although some Jewish scholars received a Hebrew education in Jerusalem, there is little evidence to suggest that Galilean Jews from Nazareth learned Hebrew, particularly considering the lack of evidence of a Hebrew education for ordinary Galilean Jews. Instead, it is more plausible that Jesus primarily used Greek in official settings of

⁵⁹ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 256.

⁶⁰ Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 255–56.

Judaism, as the LXX was popular among ordinary Jews. Additionally, it is inappropriate to assume that Jesus spoke Latin with Roman citizens such as the centurions (Matt 8:5–13; Luke 7:1–10; John 4:43–54) and Pilate (Matt 27:1–2, 11–14; Mark 15:1–5; Luke 23:1–5; John 18:28–38). Romans predominantly used Greek even in official settings of the provincial government, as they did not expect the local inhabitants to speak Latin. Given this, it is unnecessary to assume that Jesus and Romans communicated in Latin in official settings because they were fluent in Greek.

In light of Jesus' plurilingualism, James^C was probably able to speak Aramaic as L1 and Greek as L2. Especially, Jesus' uses of Aramaic in private settings show that Jesus and James^C's family language was Aramaic. Additionally, James had to learn Greek at least as L2, due to the economy of Nazareth relying on local and international trade with neighbors who did not speak Aramaic but Greek. However, it is inappropriate to assume James^C's knowledge of Hebrew and Latin, as there is no evidence of his education in these languages. More importantly, James^C's social networks presented in the books of the New Testament do not provide any situations where he would have needed to speak Hebrew or Latin.

The book of Acts is the only record that provides information regarding Stephen and Philip^B. Their Greek names imply their strong density of social networks with Greek-speaking people. The book of Acts also presents that Stephen and Philip^B were among seven deacons who represented the group of Hellenistic Christians and their strong social networks with Greek-speaking people. The depiction of Stephen and Philip^B as Hellenistic Christians proficient in Greek in the book of Acts indicates that their L1 was not Aramaic but Greek. Due to a lack of information, however, it is difficult to determine Stephen's and Philip^B's language education in other languages.

The book of Acts does not depict any situations where Stephen and Philip^B had to speak Aramaic or any other language. Stephen preached to Greek-speaking individuals in the synagogue of Freedmen who came from Cyrenia, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia Minor (6:8–9).⁶¹ Philip^B visited the Hellenized city of Sebaste, which had a significant number of Greek-speaking inhabitants (8:4–25).⁶² Afterward, Philip^B settled down in Caesarea where the dominant population was Greek-speaking Jews and gentiles (8:40; 21:8–9).⁶³

Philip^B's private conversation with an Ethiopian eunuch presented in Acts 8:26–39 implies his proficiency in Greek. The Ethiopian Eunuch's L1 was Ge'ez, and he possibly acquired either Greek or Aramaic as L2 for political purposes.⁶⁴ Considering the prominence of Greek as the political language in the eastern provinces, it is more plausible that he learned Greek. Notwithstanding his high social status, he was unable to worship in the inner courts of the Jerusalem temple but in the outer courts of the Jerusalem temple because he was a gentile and eunuch. Greek was used as the religious language of proselytes in the outer courts of the Jerusalem temple, as gentiles from different regions knew Greek as L2, even though their L1 was different. More importantly, there is a strong consensus that the Ethiopian Eunuch was reading from the LXX.⁶⁵ Based on this, the Ethiopian Eunuch knew Greek, but his proficiency in Aramaic

⁶¹ Regarding the multilingual environment of Cilicia and Asia Minor, see Appendix I.

⁶² With regard to the roles of Greek in Sebaste, see Appendix I.

⁶³ See Appendix I.

⁶⁴ Despite the ongoing debate regarding the region of origin the Ethiopian Eunuch, the scholars have reached a consensus regarding the significant Hellenistic influence on the Ethiopian Eunuch. Provided the Ethiopian Eunuch came from Ethiopia, he was fluent in Greek due to Ethiopia's longstanding and amicable ties and cooperation with Jerusalem, a relationship dating back to the time of King Solomon (1 Kings 10:1–13). With regard to the argument that Ethiopian Eunuch came from Ethiopia, see Shauf, "Locating," 764–65. However, even if he did not come from Ethiopia but from another country, the kingdom of Meroë, it remains highly possible that he could still speak Greek because of the strong Hellenistic influence on the kingdom of Meroë. see Yamauchi, "Acts."

⁶⁵ Asale, "Millennium Translation," 57 n. 26.

remains unclear. Since Philip was less likely to know Ge'ez, Greek was the most appropriate language for communication between Philip^B and the Ethiopian Eunuch.

Consequently, the research findings from this section lead to the conclusion that Peter, Paul, James, Stephen, and Philip^B were all fluent Greek speakers. Although Stephen and Philip^B's knowledge of Aramaic is unclear, Peter, Paul, and James were capable of speaking Aramaic. Only Paul, who was a student of the house of Hillel, probably received Hebrew education considering the fact that ordinary Jews rarely learned Hebrew. The fact that these church leaders did not have social networks with Latin speakers implies their lack of proficiency in Latin.

Prestige Religious Language of First-Century Christianity

It is important to determine which code was predominantly used by individuals in the official settings of Christianity for the inquiry of the prestige religious language. Before delving into this issue, it is worth noting the scholarly debates regarding the influence of speaking in tongues on the prestige religious language of Christianity. Johann Gottfried Herder's argument notes a distinction of the description regarding the speaking in tongues between the book of Acts and the first Corinthians letter.⁶⁶ On one hand, the book of Acts demonstrates that people could comprehend the meaning of speaking in tongues, implying that it referred to actual languages. On the other hand, the first Corinthians letter suggests that speaking in tongues does not represent a spoken language but rather a distinctive linguistic style characterized by emotional and unintelligible expressions that were beyond people's comprehension.

⁶⁶ Herder, *Gabe der Sprachen*, 92–95.

However, Ekaputra Tupamahu rejects Herder's arguments and interprets the speaking in tongues as actual languages both in Acts and the first Corinthians letter.⁶⁷ Building upon Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, Tupamahu posits that vernacular languages continued to be used by diverse ethnicities in Corinth, which was a multiethnic society.⁶⁸ Given this, Tupamahu argues that Paul refers to speaking in tongues as actual languages in order to prohibit the use of vernacular languages in the official settings of the Corinthian church.⁶⁹

Unlike Tupamahu's assumption, the survival of minority languages which have lost their prestige in a multilingual society cannot be explained solely by the concept of heteroglossia. Bell highlights the four concepts of language in sociolinguistic studies: (1) language as social, (2) language as dialogue, (3) language as heteroglossia, and (4) language as ideology.⁷⁰ Tupamahu overemphasizes the concept of language as heteroglossia but overlooks other significant concepts of language as social, dialogue, and ideology. As noted in Chapter 2, sociolinguistic case studies have demonstrated that reversing language shift of vernacular languages is a more complex and challenging task than Tupamahu assumes.

In light of the role of Greek as the lingua franca in the Greco-Roman world for over four centuries, the majority of Jews, Samaritans, Egyptians, and other ethnicities, who moved from the Greek-speaking regions to the city of Corinth, spoke Greek as their L1 but mostly lost the knowledge of their ethnic languages. Vernacular languages gradually declined and some of them became endangered alongside the rise of

⁶⁷ Tupamahu, *Contesting Languages*, 52–54.

⁶⁸ Tupamahu, *Contesting Languages*, 75–84.

⁶⁹ Tupamahu, *Contesting Languages*, 119–41.

⁷⁰ Bell, *Guidebook*, 1–3.

internationalism, with Greek assuming the role of the prestige language for various social practices. As Chapter 4 has explored, even if some of the first-generation immigrants to Greek-speaking regions from other areas spoke a minority language as L1 in the private settings, the second and third generations became fluent in Greek and soon lost their knowledge of other minority languages. This language shift easily and rapidly occurred because they no longer required these minority languages for various sociopolitical and socioeconomic activities.

Many case studies show that only individuals with a strong social network may choose whether they shape an independent linguistic ideology for the language maintenance of a minority language or a conformative linguistic ideology for the language shift from minority language to dominant language.⁷¹ It is also worth noting that the success of language maintenance requires a systematic language policy and planning.⁷² Tupamahu's hypothesis is not plausible in that he does not provide any crucial evidence regarding the independent linguistic ideology for the maintenance of minority languages but relies solely on the possibility of the presence of Jews, Samaritans, and Egyptians in Corinth.⁷³

Taking all these considerations into account, in the first Corinthians letter, Paul does not refer to speaking in tongues as actual languages but rather as emotional and unintelligible expressions that required translation for comprehension. In contrast to this description of speaking in tongues in the first Corinthians letter, the book of Acts portrays speaking in tongues as the use of genuine languages that could be understood

⁷¹ Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 126. Regarding the sociolinguistic studies in the language death of the minority languages, see Newman, "Endangered Languages," 1–2.

⁷² Spolsky, *Language Policy*, 223.

⁷³ Tupamahu, *Contesting Languages*, 75–84.

by the listeners. Due to a lack of sufficient data, it is impossible to conclusively determine the authenticity of this depiction of speaking in tongues as presented in Acts. Even if we were to assume that believers became capable of speaking various languages after Pentecost, however, they could not employ these languages in official and public Christian settings because not everyone could understand all of these languages. In light of the concept of language as communication, individuals had to employ minority languages only in private and informal settings with those who could comprehend the given languages. In the public and official setting, on the other hand, individuals must employ the most appropriate language which everyone can understand.

In order to determine which language was the most appropriate language in the public and official settings of the churches, it is worth noting the church leaders' code choices as presented in Acts. In light of Coupland's concept of linguistic Competence, individuals do not freely employ any code but carefully determine the most appropriate code based on the indexical meaning of the macro and micro contexts of their conversation.⁷⁴ As noted in Chapter 2, Coupland's Identity Contextualization model provides a comprehensive theoretical framework that identifies the five processes through which people select their language corresponding to the given conversation situation: (1) Targeting, (2) Framing, (3) Voicing (4) Keying, and (5) Loading.⁷⁵ By employing Coupland's Identity Contextualization model, this study identifies the most probable code choices of the historical figures presented in seventy-three scenes of Acts (see Appendix V).

⁷⁴ Coupland, *Style*, 103–5.

⁷⁵ Coupland, *Style*, 112–14.

On the basis of this analysis of the church leaders' code choices presented in Acts (Appendix V), this study attempts to reconstruct the Indexical Cycle of first-century Christianity, wherein church leaders' code choices played a significant role in establishing a linguistic ideology for the movement, resulting in a prestige religious language for early Christianity. To be specific, this study will focus on two different Indexical Cycles: (1) the Indexical Cycle of Palestinian churches and (2) the Indexical Cycle of diaspora churches. The inquiry of Peter, other apostles, and deacons' code choices in the official and public settings of Christianity will show the Indexical Cycle of Palestinian churches. On the other hand, the Indexical Cycle of diaspora churches will be determined by the inquiry of Paul and his co-workers in the official and public settings of Christianity.

Indexical Cycle of Jerusalem Church

The book of Acts presents the process of creating the linguistic ideology of the Jerusalem church. The first Christian group, the prototype of Christianity, was a small group that consisted of one hundred twenty people.⁷⁶ After Peter's two sermons (Acts 2:14–42; 3:11–26), thousands of people participated in the Jerusalem church. The huge influx of these people drastically changed the linguistic demography of the Jerusalem

⁷⁶ This study will consider the disciples and followers of Jesus to be the first Christian group (the prototype of Christianity) after Jesus' resurrection. According to Acts 11:26, technically, the term "Christians" was first used to describe the followers of Jesus in Antioch. However, it is worth noting that the fundamental belief of Christians originated from the group of Jesus' followers. After Jesus' resurrection and ascension, his disciples and followers began spreading his teachings, primarily among Jewish communities. As they did so, Christianity gradually began to take shape as a distinct religious movement, separate from Judaism. The recognition of this distinction by some Jewish leaders (Acts 4:1–21; 5:17–40; 7:54–8:3). The early Christian community gradually grew and spread beyond its Jewish roots, welcoming Gentile converts, and developed into the distinct religious tradition known as Christianity.

church, influencing the linguistic ideology. This section investigates the Indexical Cycles of the Jerusalem Church presented in Acts 1:6—6:6 that created and changed the linguistic ideology, where the apostles' code choice for official social practices gradually came to be regarded as the prestige religious language of the movement.

*The Linguistic Ideology in the Prayer Meeting*⁷⁷

This study starts with Indexical Cycle-0 in the first Christian group.⁷⁸ The first Christian group primarily consisted of Jewish Galileans, with only a small number of non-Galileans. The majority of the members in the first Christian group were Galileans, as evidenced by the fact that diaspora Jews referred to this group as Galileans (Acts 2:7). In light of Jesus' social network with Judeans and gentile individuals, however, there were a few non-Galileans in this group.⁷⁹

The book of Acts demonstrates that the first Christian group operated as a Community of Practice, since its members gathered based on strong social networks. This group originated with one hundred twenty people who followed Jesus' command to pray.⁸⁰ The social network of the first Christian group was formed around a daily prayer meeting, which encompassed three types of religious practices: prayer (1:14), sermon

⁷⁷ Regarding the analysis of the historical figures' code choices in this passage, see Appendix V.2.

⁷⁸ In this study, the first Christian group refers to the earliest stage of the Jerusalem church where Jesus' followers kept gathering for the prayer meeting following his resurrection to Peter's Pentecostal sermon as presented in Acts 1:6–2:4.

⁷⁹ Non-Galileans also followed Jesus during his travel to Jerusalem. For instance, Bartimaeus participated with Jesus' followers after Jesus' visit to Jericho (Mark 10:46–52). In addition, Jesus' statement "Daughters of Jerusalem (Luke 23:28)" implies that there were Jerusalem women who followed Jesus in his crucifixion.

⁸⁰ Jesus' command for prayer for his followers right after his resurrection (Acts 1:8). Although around five hundred people saw Jesus' resurrection (1 Cor 15:6), only one hundred twenty people followed Jesus' command for prayer (Acts 1:15).

(1:15–25), and announcement (1:26).⁸¹ According to Acts, the social network of the first Christian group was tightly knit, as “all these were constantly devoting themselves to prayer” (1:14).⁸²

The first-order social network of the first Christian group were primarily Galileans. The use of the term “Men of Galilee” (1:11) implies that the majority of the eyewitnesses of Jesus’ ascension were Galileans. The prayer meeting was initiated by the Galileans such as Jesus’ disciples, brothers, mother, certain women (1:13–14), and a few others, such as Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, who were lifelong supporters of Jesus. Moreover, those who met the criteria for voting on a candidate to replace Judas as an apostle had to be Galilean, as Jesus began his ministry in Galilee (1:21–22). That is to say, all the leaders of this prayer meeting were Galileans. These Galileans served as the core of the first-order networks of this prayer meeting. Meanwhile, it is possible that a few non-Galileans participated in this prayer meeting, considering Jesus’ social networks with non-Galileans during his public life.⁸³

Since Jesus gave the order for this prayer meeting to the apostles (1:4, 10), the twelve disciples were responsible for leading the official religious practices.⁸⁴ The fact that all apostles who were Galileans made speeches in the official settings indicates that the linguistic ideology for the prestige religious language in this prayer meeting was shaped by Galilean apostles’ code choices.

⁸¹ The social network is made by those who engage in the same social practice. For Eckert, social practices serve as the symbol of the social identity by sharing and developing “doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values.” See Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 35.

⁸² The density of the social network depends on the regularity of the social practice. On the one hand, the regular social practice makes a strong social network; on the other hand, a weak social network is formed by irregular social practice. See Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 126.

⁸³ Regarding Jesus’ social networks with diverse ethnic individuals and social groups, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 239–40.

⁸⁴ For instance, Peter made an official speech in the prayer meeting (Acts 1:15–22).

The majority of the first Christian group were Jewish Galileans who were bilingual speakers of Aramaic and Greek, since Greek served as the *lingua franca* for the socioeconomic activities in Galilee. Meanwhile, the sociolinguistic environment of Galilee does not exclude the possibility that the first Christian group had some monolingual Greek speakers.⁸⁵ As explored in Chapter 4, unlike non-Hellenized people who spoke Aramaic as their L1 and had to learn Greek as their L2, the majority of the second or third generations of Hellenized people became monolingual Greek speakers, as they did not need to speak Aramaic with non-Hellenized people. In addition, diaspora Jews who recently settled down in Galilee spoke Greek as L1 but were unfamiliar with Aramaic. Given this, there were a small number of Jewish Galileans who did not understand Aramaic in the first Christian group.

The first Christian group had three official social practices: sermons, announcements, and public prayer. Since the apostles had multilingual proficiency in Greek and Aramaic, they were able to freely switch their codes if they wanted to focus on a particular group of people. However, the apostles often had to use Greek for official social practices, as the Greek monolingual speakers could not understand Aramaic. Code-mixing was less likely to be employed in official settings because it was not an effective method for capturing attention; generally, speaking more than two languages not only takes a long time more than speaking one language, but also tends to distract the audience when they hear an unfamiliar language. In view of this, the apostles were highly likely to use Greek, because Greek was the most accessible language that could be understood by everyone in public settings.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ See Appendix I.

⁸⁶ See Appendix V.2.

*The Linguistic Ideology after Peter's Sermons*⁸⁷

The book of Acts reports that a large number of people participated in the Christian group after Peter's two sermons. Afterward, the Christian group grew significantly in its size and scope, establishing the Jerusalem church as a Community of Practice.⁸⁸ After Peter's Pentecostal sermon (Acts 2:14–36), three thousand people became initial converts. The number of converts increased to approximately five thousand after Peter's sermon in Solomon's Portico (3:11–26). The fact that the initial converts evangelized other people (2:47; 5:14–16) shows that a significant number of subsequent converts participated in the Jerusalem church through the social networks of these first converts.

Despite the influx of a large number of people from diaspora regions whose L1 was different, the Jerusalem church maintained a strong density of social networks based upon various social practices. The fact that Acts records the majority of members attempting to gather together every day demonstrates the strong solidarity of the Jerusalem church (2:46). Acts 4:32 states, "Now the whole group of those who believed were of one heart and soul." This statement indicates that the strong density of the social networks made a solid group identity.⁸⁹ Daily gatherings forged stronger bonds among the members of the Jerusalem church. As a result, even though the high priests arrested the apostles, they could not weaken the solid unity of the Jerusalem church (4:3; 5:18). Instead, the social networks of the Jerusalem church were reinforced in the face of persecution by the high priests (4:23–31; 5:26).

⁸⁷ Regarding the analysis of the historical figures' code choices in this passage, see Appendix V.3–11.

⁸⁸ Because the huge influx of a large number of diaspora Jews and proselytes changed the Christian group in many ways, this study will use the term "the Jerusalem church" for the Christian group after Peter's Pentecostal sermon.

⁸⁹ Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 268–70.

The book of Acts presents five types of official social practices by the apostles: (1) sermon (2:14–41; 3:11–26), (2) prayer (2:42; 4:23–31), (3) baptism (2:41), (4) teaching (2:42; 5:42), and (5) the distribution of possessions (2:44–45; 4:32–5:11). As the Jerusalem church grew as a large Community of Practice, where at least eight thousand bilingual or multilingual individuals participated in its official social practices every day, the apostles had to choose the most appropriate code for their audiences fitting with the official social practices more carefully than before. In other words, it became more difficult to employ Aramaic for official social practices because the influx of diaspora Jews and proselytes brought about the population growth of those who did not know Aramaic in the Jerusalem church. As a result of this change in the linguistic demography of the Jerusalem church, Greek most likely came to be recognized as the prestige religious language of the Jerusalem church for official social practices.

Taking into account his audience from diaspora regions (2:14–41), Peter had to preach his Pentecostal sermon in Greek.⁹⁰ It is uncertain how many people were pilgrims visiting Jerusalem from diaspora regions for the Jewish feast and how many were Judeans who had settled in Jerusalem from diaspora regions. Regardless of this issue, it is more important that Acts demonstrates that the majority of the first converts came from Parthia (Mede, Elam, and Mesopotamia), Anatolia (Cappadocia, Pontus, Phrygia, and Pamphylia), Judea, Egypt, Libya, and Rome (Acts 2:9–11), who still knew the vernacular languages of these areas. According to the inquiry of the multilingual environment of the Italian peninsula in Chapter 3, the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula often used Greek as the *lingua franca* for communication with the non-Italians.⁹¹ In

⁹⁰ See Appendix V.3.

⁹¹ See Appendix I.

Chapter 4, it was shown that except for the northern regions of Galatia, the majority of the inhabitants of Anatolia were fluent in Greek, and there were a considerable number of people who knew Greek as their L2 in Parthia.⁹²

In light of their multilingual environment, the same is true of people from Egypt and Libya.⁹³ They underwent a strong Hellenistic program over several centuries. The eastern coastal region of Libya was founded by Greek colonists from the island of Thera in the seventh century BCE. The cities of Cyrenaica, Apollonia, and Euesperides were established as Greek colonies by Greek settlers. As Phoenician influence drastically weakened after the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek was used as the business and trade language, firstly in the port cities and subsequently in the inland cities and towns of Libya. Following the death of Alexander in 323 BCE, the western regions of Libya and Egypt were ruled by the Ptolemaic dynasty. As noted in Chapter 3, Egypt was the most influential place of Greek education with the Alexander library, the biggest library in the eastern provinces. This Hellenistic program was further intensified following the subsequent conquest by the Roman State. Given this history, the local inhabitants already had been speaking Greek for several generations, resulting in a language shift from the vernacular languages to Greek. This can be supported by a large number of Greek documentary papyri and Hellenistic architectures.

The multilingual environment of the regions from which Peter's audience originated indicates that Greek was the sole language used for public speeches before

⁹² See Appendix I.

⁹³ The translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, known as the LXX, was initiated in Alexandria, the Hellenized city of Egypt. A substantial number of Oxyrhynchus papyri discovered in Egypt were written in Greek.

people from these various regions in this official setting.⁹⁴ This was because a significant number of Peter's audiences consisted of bilingual speakers of Greek and Aramaic as well as monolingual Greek speakers who had settled in Greek-speaking regions for several generations. Therefore, Peter had to speak Greek because a large number of Hellenized people did not know Aramaic, whereas both Hellenized and non-Hellenized people understood Greek.

In addition, Peter also spoke Greek for his preaching in Solomon's portico (3:11–26).⁹⁵ As discussed in Chapter 4, a considerable number of Hellenized people settled down in Jerusalem before the first century CE, although the dominant population was still non-Hellenized Jews who spoke Aramaic as their L1 and had to learn Greek as L2. Considering the multilingual environment of Jerusalem, Greek was the most appropriate language for public speech in Jerusalem because both Hellenized and non-Hellenized people understood it.⁹⁶ Given this, Peter probably employed Greek for his preaching instead of speaking Aramaic so that everyone understood his sermon. Whereas the apostles spoke Greek for prayer, baptism, teaching, and the distribution of possessions in public settings, they might have switched their code from Greek to Aramaic when they wanted to discuss private topics or when these social practices happened in private settings.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Herder, *Gabe der Sprachen*, 12.

⁹⁵ See Appendix V.6.

⁹⁶ Hengel offers strong evidence regarding the dominant influence of Hellenism in the education, culture, and politics of Palestinian Judaism after the conquests of Alexander. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 58–106; Hengel, *Jews, Greek and Barbarians*, 49–126.

⁹⁷ See Appendix V.4, 8, 9.

The Linguistic Ideology after the Appointment of Seven Deacons

The book of Acts records the conflict between non-Hellenistic Christians who spoke Aramaic as their L1 and Greek as their L2 and Hellenized Christians who were monolingual Greek speakers, regarding the issue of the distribution of possessions in the Jerusalem church (Acts 6:1).⁹⁸ The unfair distribution of possessions, which favored Aramaic-speaking individuals, resulted from the two distinct social networks in which Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking people gathered separately. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it is natural for small groups based on L1 within the same community to create social issues that disrupt the unity of the community.⁹⁹ Generally, the leaders of the Community of Practice implement specific language management that handles these kinds of social problems.¹⁰⁰ According to Acts, the apostles attempted to address the conflict between Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking groups by appointing Greek-speaking people as deacons. Due to the limited available data, it is challenging to investigate the sociolinguistic environment of this incident. In light of sociolinguistic perspectives, this study aims at identifying the most possible and plausible sociolinguistic environment.

Whereas the distribution of possessions was an official social practice of the Jerusalem church (4:32—5:11), collecting private information regarding individuals in

⁹⁸ On the basis of the Aramaic hypothesis, Bousset (*History of Belief*, 119–20) and Bultmann (*Theology*, 1:64) do not take Hellenists in Palestine seriously and argue that the primitive Hellenistic communities originated from Tarsus, Damascus, and Antioch. Hurtado (*Lord Jesus Christ*, 207–10) also advocates the Aramaic hypothesis on the interpretation of Hellenists. However, after Hengel (*Judaism*, 1:313–14) articulates the extensive Hellenistic influence on Jews in Palestine, the significance of Hellenists in the Jerusalem church has garnered significant attention by the following scholars: Berger, *Theologiegeschichte*, 166–67; Walter, “Paul,” 74–76; Seland, *Establishment*, 224–27, 252–54; Seland, “Once More.” As Penner (*Praise*, 331–37) notes, it is almost impossible to determine the historical authenticity of Luke’s description of Hellenists. As explored in Chapter 4, nevertheless, Hengel’s argument of the Hellenistic influence on Judeans in the first century CE is highly possible.

⁹⁹ Reaume and Pinto, “Philosophy,” 39–57.

¹⁰⁰ Cooper, *Language Planning*, 34–35.

need of financial support was a private social practice.¹⁰¹ Given the apostles' busy schedules following Peter's sermons (6:2), they relied on other Christians within the apostles' first-order social network zone in order to gather information regarding those requiring financial aid. It is probable that these Christians' L1 was Aramaic, considering the fact that the distribution of the possessions was conducted based on the social networks of the Aramaic-speaking people. Although non-Hellenistic Christians knew Greek as their L2, it is more likely that they engaged in private conversations with non-Hellenistic Christians more frequently than with Hellenistic Christians, as they might have felt more comfortable using Aramaic in these contexts.¹⁰² As a result, the apostles might not have been able to collect sufficient information regarding Greek-speaking people.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the appointment of Greek-speaking individuals as the seven deacons reveals the apostles' language management of a pro-Greek linguistic ideology favoring the use of Greek as the prestige religious language for the distribution of possessions. As noted earlier, these seven deacons were fluent in Greek. Arguably, therefore, the appointment of Greek-speaking deacons served as an official affirmation of Greek's role as the group's prestigious religious language, enabling the collection of private information necessary for the distribution of possessions. Since non-Hellenistic Christians knew Greek as their L2, they could explain their private situation for financial need in Greek. Arguably, the apostles

¹⁰¹ See Appendix V.8.

¹⁰² From the perspective of the sociolinguistics of multilingualism, even bilingual speakers generally establish close relationships with those who share their L1 rather than those whose L1 is different. For instance, those who are not fluent in the majority language have a limited scope of the social network because they spend the majority of time at home or work with only those who can use their vernacular language. See Holmes, *Introduction*, 63.

expected that the appointment of the seven deacons provided equal opportunity to both Hellenistic and non-Hellenistic Christians for receiving financial support since everyone knew Greek at least as their L2.

Linguistic Ideology after Persecution¹⁰³

The intense persecution faced by Christianity following Stephen's death resulted in a significant population shift of Christians from Jerusalem to other regions. According to Acts, except for the apostles, the rest of the believers were scattered throughout the countryside of Judea and Samaria (8:1). It appears that some Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem soon returned to Jerusalem, as evidenced by Mark's return to his house in Jerusalem (12:25). Over time, the apostles and other Christians seem to engage in evangelistic efforts among Jews, leading to a resurgence in the growth of the Jerusalem Church; this can be seen in James and the elders' statement that there were many thousands of believers among the Jewish population (21:20).

Considering the multilingual environment of Jerusalem where a considerable number of Greek Jews lived, Aramaic could not serve as the prestige religious language of the Jerusalem church. Due to a lack of available data, to be sure, it is challenging to determine the relative population sizes of Hellenized and non-Hellenized Christians. Nevertheless, it remains true that there were assuredly Hellenized Christians present, including some who did not speak Aramaic.¹⁰⁴ This assertion is supported by the

¹⁰³ Regarding the analysis of the historical figures' code choices, see: (1) Acts 11:1–18: Appendix V.23, (2) 15:4–39: Appendix V.37, and (3) 21:17–25: Appendix V.61.

¹⁰⁴ Hengel (*Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:313–14) highlights the importance of Hellenized Christians' religious activities in the Jerusalem church. According to Hengel, Stephan's speech and the subsequent persecution of Christianity illustrate the strong Hellenized influence on the Jerusalem church.

absence of evidence indicating that persecution of Christians was exclusively directed towards Hellenistic Christians.

The twelve apostles and James^C, fluent Greek speakers, still played an important role in the Jerusalem church following the persecution of the Jerusalem church. It might be inferred that the church could have appointed non-Hellenized leaders, lacking proficiency in Greek, who then might have resorted to a mix of Greek and Aramaic in their communication. Nonetheless, the apostles already recognized the critical need for Greek-speaking leaders within the multilingual fabric of the Jerusalem church, which included monolingual Greek speakers. This understanding stemmed from their experiences of past conflicts between Hellenized and non-Hellenized Christians, highlighting the role of Greek as the prestigious religious language. Therefore, the apostles had to prioritize the appointment of leaders proficient in Greek to cater to the diverse linguistic landscape of the church.

In addition, persecution of Christians does not imply the expulsion of Greek-speaking Jerusalemites. Even before the advent of Christianity, Jerusalem was significantly influenced by Hellenism, with a considerable Greek-speaking population. Assuming that the Aramaic-speaking people became the mainstream of the Jerusalem church after the persecution, it was still necessary for the church leaders to use Greek in official settings so that everyone could understand what they were saying.

Therefore, the church leaders had to speak Greek as the prestige religious language in Peter's report (11:1–18) and Jerusalem council (15:4–21).¹⁰⁵ Due to the linguistic limitations of some of Paul's collaborators, who lacked fluency in Aramaic, it

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix V.25 and V.39.

was necessitated that the church leaders use Greek in their official communications in Paul's Report (21:18–26).¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, the book of Acts illustrates the situation of the distribution of the letters to Greek-speaking gentile Christians. The apostles and elders in Jerusalem dispatched Judas, also called as Barsabbas, and Silas, accompanied by Paul and Barnabas, to Antioch in Syria with the specific mandate of conveying a letter to the gentile believers in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (15:22–35). Given the intricate multilingual context of these areas, it was imperative for the apostles and elders to compose the letter in Greek, ensuring comprehensibility for the gentile recipients who may not have been versed in other vernacular languages. This underscores the significance of the role of Greek as the prestige religious language for the authorities in the Jerusalem church when they wrote the letters to the diaspora believers.

Taking all these factors into consideration, it can be concluded that Greek still served as the prestige religious language of the Jerusalem church even after the persecution. Given this, it becomes clear that Peter and Paul had to speak Greek in the meeting of the leadership of the Jerusalem church (11:1–18; 15:4–39; 21:17–25) because church leaders were fluent Greek speakers, and some of them possibly did not understand Aramaic.¹⁰⁷

To sum up, Acts shows the progress by which the apostles used Greek as the prestige religious language for the official social practices of the Jerusalem church. Table 6.3 shows the analysis of four Indexical Cycles of the Jerusalem church presented in Acts:

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix V.39.

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix V.25, 39, 62.

Indexical Cycle		Social Practice	Code Choice
1st Cycle	Indexical Cycle-0	The Prayer Meeting (1:12—2:5)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-1	Peter's Pentecostal Sermon (2:6–42)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2b and Cycle 2-c	Sermon, Public Prayer, and Teaching in Private Settings (2:43–47)	Greek, Aramaic
	Indexical Cycle-1	Sermon, Public Prayer, and Teaching in Official Settings (2:43–47)	Greek
2nd Cycle	Indexical Cycle-1	Peter's Sermon in Solomon's Portico (3:1–4:4)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2b and Cycle 2-c	Apostle's Reporting to Other Christians in Private Settings (4:23)	Greek, Aramaic
	Indexical Cycle-2c	Public Prayer (4:24–30)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2b and Cycle 2-c	Distribution of Possession in Private Settings (4:32–37)	Greek, Aramaic
	Indexical Cycle-2c	Distribution of Possession in Official Settings (5:1–10)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2c	Apostle's Healing in Official Settings (5:12–16)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2b and Cycle-2c	Apostle's Healing in Private Settings (5:12–16)	Greek, Aramaic
	Indexical Cycle-1	Apostle's Teaching (5:21, 25, 28, 42)	Greek
3rd Cycle	Indexical Cycle-3	Discussion regarding the Issue of Distribution of Possession (6:1–6:6)	Greek
4th Cycle	Indexical Cycle-1	Peter's Report (11:1–18)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2a		
	Indexical Cycle-2b		
	Indexical Cycle-3		
5th Cycle	Indexical Cycle-1	Jerusalem Council (15:4–21)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-2a		
6th Cycle	Indexical Cycle-2b	Letter to Gentile Believers (15:22–31)	Greek
	Indexical Cycle-3		
	Indexical Cycle-1		
	Indexical Cycle-2a		

Table 6.3. The Indexical Cycle of the Jerusalem Church

- (1) *The First Indexical Cycle*: The first Christian group used Greek and sometimes code-mixing for official social practices. After Peter's Pentecostal sermon, however, Greek served as the prestige religious language for sermons, public prayer, and teaching.
- (2) *The Second Indexical Cycle*: Greek was used as the prestige religious language by Peter after his Pentecostal sermon. As Peter preached in Greek

in the public places of Jerusalem, more Greek-speaking people became Christians.

- (3) *The Third Indexical Cycle*: The appointment of seven deacons involved language management to change the language used for collecting private information regarding the need for the distribution of possessions from Aramaic to Greek. Peter and other church leaders employed Greek in official settings but spoke either Aramaic or Greek in the private settings.
- (4) *The Fourth Indexical Cycle*: Following persecution, the leaders of the Jerusalem church saw no need to alter their language policy, continuing to use Greek as the prestigious religious language in official settings.
- (5) *The Fifth Indexical Cycle*: Greek was utilized in the official proceedings of the Jerusalem Council. Moreover, the decision to dispatch the letter to gentile believers in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia underscores the status of Greek as the prestigious religious language for formal written announcements.
- (6) *The Sixth Indexical Cycle*: Paul and his coworkers reported their missionary works to the leaders of the Jerusalem church in the official settings. These leaders also were required to communicate in Greek during official discussions.

Indexical Cycle of Palestine Churches

The book of Acts demonstrates that after Stephen's death, a large number of Christians of the Jerusalem Church were scattered throughout the countryside of Palestine (Acts 8:1). It is worth noting that subsequently, Peter, John^A, and Philip^B established religious

networks with Christians in various Palestine churches. They visited churches across different regions of Palestine and preached in official settings. This study aims at investigating the linguistic ideology behind the prestige religious language used in Palestine churches, which was shaped based on the social networks of the apostles, deacons, and other church leaders.

Philip^B's Religious Networks

The book of Acts presents three scenes that reveal Philip^B's religious networks with Palestine churches. The first scene is his evangelism in the public places of Sebaste (8:4–12).¹⁰⁸ The second scene is Philip^B's evangelism to the towns of Azotus (8:40).¹⁰⁹ The third scene is Philip^B's settlement in Caesarea (8:40; 21:8–9). As explored in Chapter 4, Sebaste and Caesarea were strongly Hellenized regions where the dominant population was Greek-speaking people, and there were a considerable number of Hellenized people in Azotus. Considering the multilingual environment of Sebaste, Azotus, and Caesarea, Philip preached the gospel in Greek.¹¹⁰ The fact that fluent Greek speaking inhabitants were able to understand Philip^B's Greek evangelism and became the first believers of these regions implies that the first churches in these regions were planted with fluent Greek speakers. In view of this, Greek served as the prestige religious language of the churches of Sebaste and Azotus.

Philip^B's settlement in Caesarea provides information regarding the role of Greek as the prestige religious language of the church in Caesarea. Arguably, Philip^B

¹⁰⁸ Regarding the analysis of Philip^B's Code choices, see Appendix V.15.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix V.17.

¹¹⁰ Regarding my analysis of the multilingual environment of Sebaste, Azotus, and Caesarea, see Appendix I.

played an important role in the church of Caesarea, considering the fact that he was one of the seven deacons in the Jerusalem church in the earliest stages. Philip^B had to employ Greek in the official settings of the church of Caesarea since the majority of the local inhabitants of Caesarea spoke Greek as L1. According to Acts 21:9, Philip^B's four unmarried daughters served as prophets in the church of Caesarea. They were Greek-speaking Jews because they were raised in a Greek-speaking family and a Greek-speaking city, Caesarea. In view of this, Philip^B's four daughters also used Greek when they spoke in official settings. The roles of Philip^B and his four daughters as the church leaders of Caesarea highlight the importance of Greek as the prestige religious language of the church.

Peter's Religious Networks

In Acts, Peter had religious networks with the Christians of Samaria, Joppa, and Lydda. First of all, Acts 8:14–24 presents Peter and John^A's visit to Sebaste.¹¹¹ John^A was a fluent Greek speaker as well, as he was a fisher in Capernaum. As noted above, the majority of the converts in Sebaste were fluent in Greek who understood Philip^B's Greek evangelism. Given this, Peter and John^A should speak Greek in the official settings of Sebaste.¹¹² While returning back to Jerusalem, Peter and John^A also preached the gospel in numerous towns and villages of Samaria (8:25). As explored in Chapter 4, the towns and villages of Samaria became a multilingual society in the first century CE due to the Hellenistic influence therein. Some non-Hellenized people might have used Aramaic as the family language and Greek as a business and trade language; there were other

¹¹¹ Regarding the analysis of Peter and John^A's code choice, see Appendix V.15.

¹¹² See Appendix V.15.

Hellenized people who only knew Greek and did not understand Aramaic. In view of this, Peter and John^A had to speak Greek so that both Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking inhabitants could understand.

In addition, Acts records Peter's visit to Lydda and Joppa (9:32–43).¹¹³ As noted in Chapter 4, Lydda and Joppa were strongly Hellenized cities.¹¹⁴ In light of the multilingual environment of these cities, two people whom Peter encountered in these regions—Aeneas (Lydda) and Dorcas (Joppa)—were fluent in Greek. Aeneas's Latin name and Dorcas's Greek name imply that they were Hellenistic Jews, possibly monolingual Greek speakers. Given this, Peter should speak Greek with these Hellenized people who might not have been fluent in Aramaic.¹¹⁵

Moreover, Peter evangelized Cornelius, his friends, and relatives and stayed in his house for a few days (10:23–48). To be sure, Cornelius was a Roman soldier who spoke Greek as the *lingua franca* of the Roman military. The multilingual environment of Caesarea, where the prestige language shifted from Aramaic to Greek among the inhabitants, indicates that Cornelius's friends and relatives were Greek-speaking gentiles.¹¹⁶ However, it remains unclear whether they had knowledge of Aramaic. Given their plurilingualism, Peter should speak Greek to communicate with Cornelius's family and friends.¹¹⁷ Following the acknowledgment of their conversion by the leaders of the Jerusalem church (11:1–18), these Greek-speaking proselytes were able to actively participate as the core members of the church of Caesarea in its earliest stage. Since the

¹¹³ In terms of Peter's code choices in Lydda and Joppa, see: (1) Lydda (Acts 9:32–38): Appendix V.20 and (2) Joppa (9:39–43): Appendix V.21.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix I.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix V.20–21.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix I.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix V.23–24.

inhabitants of Caesarea were fluent in Greek, Cornelius's friends and relatives did not need to learn Aramaic but communicated with other Christians in Greek.

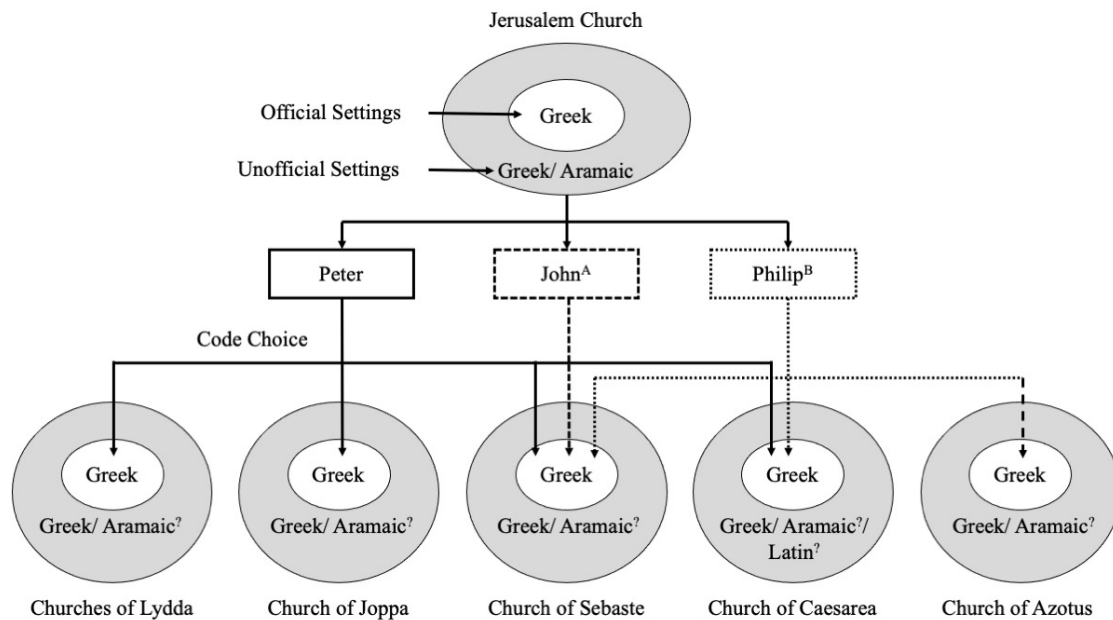


Figure 6.2. The Indexical Cycles of the Palestine Churches

Consequently, the social networks of Peter, Philip^B, and John^A were expanded to the inhabitants of other regions of Palestine. Based on my reconstruction of their likely code choices, Figure 6.2 demonstrates Indexical Cycle-1, by which Greek became the prestige religious language of the Palestine churches in their earliest stage. First, Philip^B, Peter, and John^A spoke Greek in official settings of the Palestine churches. Second, fluent Greek speakers who comprehended Peter, Philip^B, and John^A's Greek speeches became the first converts in these regions. Third, the church of each region was founded based on these Greek speakers' testimonies. Whereas other languages might have been employed in private settings, Greek served as the prestige religious language in the official settings of the churches. Taking all the available evidence into

consideration, there is no need to imagine that any another language was the prestige religious language of the Palestine churches.

Indexical Cycle of Syrian Antioch and Other Diaspora Churches

The book of Acts records the significant role of the Syrian Antioch church in the gentile mission in the first century CE. Important missionary groups departed from the Syrian Antioch church to diaspora regions. During these missionary trips, leaders of the church in Syrian Antioch evangelized and planted many diaspora churches. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Syrian Antioch church served as an important hub for establishing strong religious networks between the Jerusalem church and diaspora churches; they sometimes visited the Jerusalem church in order to report their missionary works (Acts 11:29–30; 15:1–21; 22:17–26; Gal 1:18; 2:1–9). Given the roles of the Syrian Antioch church leaders in the diaspora and Jerusalem churches, their speeches played a crucial role in shaping the Indexical Cycles in the diaspora churches.

With this in mind, this study aims at the following questions: “What was the Indexical Cycle of the Syrian Antioch church and other diaspora churches? How did the code choices of their leaders influence the emergence of a prestige religious language in these communities?” Compared to the Jerusalem church, the Indexical Cycles of diaspora churches were not complicated, as a language shift from Aramaic to Greek had already taken place in most diaspora regions. There were four possible vernacular languages that Paul encountered during his missionary trips: Punic, Phrygian, Lycaonian, and Latin.¹¹⁸ The only region where Paul is reported to have encountered a

¹¹⁸ See Porter, “Paul Did Not Speak,” 141–43; Porter, “Did Paul Speak Latin?,” 296–302.

Punic speaker was Malta.¹¹⁹ However, Paul did not have enough time to plant a church in Malta but had a very short conversation with a few people, as he just passed by the region due to the shipwreck on his way to Rome for trial (28:1–10).¹²⁰ That is to say, Paul had a minimum influence on the Indexical Cycle for the prestige religious language of Christianity in Malta. Therefore, this study determines the Indexical Cycle of the Syrian Antioch church and the Indexical Cycles of Paul’s missionary groups, including Paul and his coworkers, within some diaspora churches of the regions in which these vernacular languages might have been used: (1) Phrygian: Churches of Phrygia, Pisidian Antioch, and Iconium, (2) Lycaonian: Lystra Church, (3) Latin: Corinthian Church, Philippian Church, and Church of Rome.

Indexical Cycle of Syrian Antioch Church¹²¹

The book of Acts recounts that the Syrian Antioch church was planted by some Christians of Cyprus and Cyrene: “some men of Cyprus and Cyrene who, on coming to Antioch, spoke to the Hellenists (Ἑλληνιστὰς) also, proclaiming the Lord Jesus (11:20).” For these Christians of Cyprus and Cyrene to evangelize the Hellenized inhabitants of Antioch in Greek, they had to take into account the prestige role of Greek among the inhabitants of Cyprus, Syrian Antioch, and Cyrene so that everyone understood what they were saying.¹²² Their Greek evangelism contributed to a dominant population of Hellenistic Christians in the earliest stage of the Antioch church, as Greek-speaking

¹¹⁹ Paul did not visit Iotom and Idalion which were the possible Punic-speaking regions of Cyprus. See Appendix I and Acts 13:4–12.

¹²⁰ See Appendix V.73.

¹²¹ With regard to the analysis of the historical figures’ code choices, see Appendix V.24, 28, 34.

¹²² See Appendix V.26.

people who understood their Greek evangelism could be the first believers of the Antioch church (Indexical Cycle-0).¹²³

As the Syrian Antioch church grew with a significant number of believers, the Jerusalem church sent Barnabas as a teacher, and Barnabas came to the Syrian Antioch church with Paul (11:25–26). Given their fluency in Greek, Paul and Barnabas were able to teach the gospel to Hellenistic Christians in Greek.¹²⁴ According to Acts 13:1, there were three more leaders who served as prophets and teachers: Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen. As noted above, all these church leaders were almost certainly fluent Greek speakers. Therefore, they will have utilized Greek as the prestigious religious language for teaching and preaching in the Syrian Antioch church (Indexical Cycle-1).¹²⁵ Although Acts does not provide information regarding other church leaders, Acts gives no indications of a change in the role of Greek as the prestige religious language of the Syrian Antioch church, considering the fact that Syrian Antioch was a Hellenized city in the first century CE.

The Syrian Antioch church served as a launching point for several missionary activities directed at the diaspora regions. This missionary endeavor was suggested by the leaders of the Syrian Antioch church (13:1–3). The missionary trips began from the Syrian Antioch church and concluded with a final report of their mission there. It is worth noting the linguistic ideology of Paul's missionary groups as all individuals within these groups worked for Paul's mission, with some of them returning to the Syrian Antioch church for a final report. Although Paul's co-workers were fluent in Greek, their

¹²³ Regarding the functional distributions of languages in Cyprus and Syrian Antioch, see Appendix I. Cyrene was known as one of five Hellenized cities in Libya, so-called the Pentapolis.

¹²⁴ See Appendix V.26.

¹²⁵ See Appendix V.30.

language proficiency in other languages remains unclear (Table 5.2).¹²⁶ Given that all members of Paul's missionary group were fluent in Greek, Greek served as the prestige religious language not only within this missionary group but also for reporting their mission to the Syrian Antioch church.

Pisidian Antioch Church, Iconium Church, and the Church of Phrygia¹²⁷

Pisidian Antioch and Iconium were located in western-central Anatolia. Inscriptional evidence shows that Phrygian still survived in these regions during the second to third centuries CE.¹²⁸ After the Hellenistic campaigns of Alexander the Great, the Diadochi, and the Roman State, as explored in Chapter 4, Greek became the prestige language of western-central Anatolia. With the rise of internationalism, those who still spoke Phrygian had to use Greek as the trade and business language, as Greek became the *lingua franca* and the prestige language for various socioeconomic activities among the local inhabitants.¹²⁹ Therefore, the language shift from Phrygian to Greek gradually occurred among the local inhabitants of western-central Anatolia in the first century CE, resulting in the use of Phrygian only as some inhabitants' family language.

In light of the multilingual environment of western-central Anatolia, it can be assumed that some Phrygian speakers participated in the Pisidian Antioch church or Iconium church.¹³⁰ However, Acts indicates that Greek served as the prestige religious

¹²⁶ Regarding my analysis of the plurilingualism of Paul's co-workers, see Appendix II.

¹²⁷ Regarding the analysis of historical figures' code choices in Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, see: (1) Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13–52): Appendix V.32, (2) Iconium (14:1–5): Appendix V.33, and (3) Lystra (14:8–19): Appendix.34.

¹²⁸ Tzitzilis, "Phrygian," 754–56. Greek would have been the prestige language, once it had come into contact with Phrygian, and thus syntactical transference would have moved from Greek to Phrygian. On prestige language and syntax, see Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 154–55.

¹²⁹ See Appendix I.

¹³⁰ Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 141–42.

language of the Pisidian Antioch church and Iconium church in their earliest stages. Paul and Barnabas planted the Pisidian Antioch church and Iconium church during the first missionary trip (13:14—14:1, 21–22). They preached Greek sermons to Hellenized Jews in the synagogues of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, resulting in a large number of Greek-speaking Jews and converts becoming the first believers of these regions (13:43; 14:2).¹³¹ These Greek-speaking converters were appointed as the elders of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium churches by Paul and Barnabas (14:21–23). Subsequently, the Pisidian Antioch church and Iconium church were founded by these Greek-speaking believers in their earliest stages (Indexical Cycle-0). Given this background of the foundation of these churches, Greek continued to be used in the official settings of the Pisidian Antioch church and Iconium church even after Paul and Barnabas left them because all founders were fluent Greek speakers (Indexical Cycle-1).

Although Acts does not explain how the Pisidian Antioch church and Iconium church grew specifically after the first missionary trip, it seems likely that Greek still served as the prestige religious language of these churches. According to Acts, Timothy, a Hellenistic Jew, was well spoken of by the believers in Iconium (16:2). Timothy's family language was Greek, since he was at least a second generation Greek-speaking Jew, with a Greek father and a Hellenized Jewish mother (16:1). Given the language shift of the prestige language from Phrygian to Greek in these regions, Timothy who was fluent in Greek, did not necessarily need to learn Phrygian.

In addition, the book of Acts states that Paul visited Phrygia and preached sermons to the believers there (18:23). While Paul did not know Phrygian, the believers

¹³¹ See Appendix V.32–33.

of Phrygia knew Greek at least as their L2.¹³² Therefore, Paul should have employed Greek for his preaching to the believers in Phrygia (Indexical Cycle-2b).¹³³ Given this, Greek served as the prestige language among the first believers in Phrygia.

In order to determine the influence of Paul's use of Greek for the Indexical Cycle of the Phrygia church, it is worth noting two possible scenarios of the linguistic demography of the churches of Phrygia. The first scenario posits that the Hellenistic speakers were a dominant population. In this case, even if there were a small number of Phrygian speakers, they could not employ Phrygian in official settings but only in private settings, because Hellenistic people were not able to understand it. The second scenario suggests that the initial members of the church were primarily Phrygian speakers. For instance, there might have been pre-missionary Christians from Pentecost preceding Paul's arrival. However, these early Christians had to learn the word of God from Greek speakers, as Greek served as the prestige religious language within the Jerusalem church in its earliest stage. Even if we assume that the pre-missionary Christians already established a strong linguistic ideology for Phrygian, this linguistic ideology had to be shifted for using Greek as the prestige religious language after Paul and his co-workers' visit. This is because not only Paul and his co-workers but also the church leaders of the Pisidian Antioch church or Iconium church taught in Greek (Indexical Cycle-1).

In any case, considering Paul's status as the church leader, Paul's use of Greek in the official settings of their churches served a role in strengthening the linguistic ideology for using Greek as the prestigious religious language (Indexical Cycle-1).

¹³² See Appendix I.

¹³³ See Appendix V.52.

Taking all these into consideration, it is unlikely that Phrygian was used as the prestige religious language of the churches of Phrygia.

Lystra Church¹³⁴

The book of Acts demonstrates Paul's two visits to Lystra. During Paul's first visit, the local inhabitants of Lystra spoke Lycaonian to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:11).¹³⁵ It can be argued that Paul and Barnabas did not know Lycaonian. When the inhabitants of Lystra named Paul as Zeus and Barnabas as Hermes in Lycaonian, Paul and Barnabas did not understand what they were saying but understood only when the priest of Zeus brought oxen and garlands and explained it (14:11–14). Rejecting their worship, Paul and Barnabas preached in Greek (14:15–17).¹³⁶

The multilingual environment of Lystra indicates that the local inhabitants knew Greek at least as L2. As explored in Chapter 4, the southern Galatians became strongly Hellenized based on the socioeconomic networks of business and trade.¹³⁷ The book of Acts shows Lystra was a strongly Hellenized city with a Greek temple (14:13). That the local inhabitants worshipped Paul and Barnabas as Greek gods implies not only their devotion to Greek gods but also a Hellenistic lifestyle. They learned this Hellenistic lifestyle either from a Hellenistic education or from strong social networks with Hellenized people. In any case, the local inhabitants were bilingual speakers who spoke Greek at least as L2, even if some of them retained Lycaonian as a vernacular.

¹³⁴ See Appendix V.34, 42.

¹³⁵ See Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 148.

¹³⁶ Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 146–49. Appendix V.32.

¹³⁷ See Appendix I.

The first believers of Lystra were Greek fluent speakers who comprehended Paul and Barnabas's Greek speech in the public place of Lystra (Indexical Cycle-0). Shortly after, Paul and Barnabas taught these believers of Lystra and appointed some of them as elders (14:23). These elders' fluency in Greek can be supported by Timothy's social networks with the believers in Lystra (16:2–3).¹³⁸ This is because Timothy did not know Lycaonian but Greek, as Lycaonian lost its prestige role in this region. Arguably, the Christians of Lystra spoke Lycaonian in private settings and Greek in official settings of the church so that every believer understood what they were saying officially.

Given this, Paul and Barnabas had to employ Greek as the prestige religious language in official settings of the Lystra church (Indexical Cycle-1). Moreover, Paul's second visit to the Lystra church played a role in strengthening this linguistic ideology for using Greek as the prestige religious language, since Paul should speak Greek in the official settings of the Lystra church (Indexical Cycle-1).

***Corinthian Church, Philippian Church, and Church of Rome*¹³⁹**

Corinth and Philippi were the most Romanized regions that Paul visited in the eastern provinces. Rome served as the capital city of the Roman Empire, with the highest population of Italians in the world. As explored in Chapters 3 and 4, the majority of local inhabitants of Corinth, Philippi, and Rome were fluent in Greek. This is attributed

¹³⁸ See Appendix V.40.

¹³⁹ Regarding the analysis of the historical figures' code choices in Corinth, Philippi, and Rome, see: (1) Corinth (18:1–17): Appendix V.47, (2) Philippi (16:12–40): Appendix V.43, and (3) Rome (28:16–31): Appendix V.73.

to the fact that even Italians who primarily spoke Latin as their L1 were fluent in Greek for engaging in their socioeconomic activities with Greek-speaking individuals.¹⁴⁰

The book of Acts presents that the initial believers of Philippi and Corinth were Greek-speaking people (Indexical Cycle-0). Lydia's family were the first believers of Philippi (1 Cor 16:5). Lydia, a proselyte from the city of Thyatira located in central Anatolia, worked as a dealer of purple cloth (16:14). Considering that Lycian, the possible vernacular language of Thyatira, was nearly extinct around the third century BCE, Lydia's origin from that region suggests that she was a Greek speaker.¹⁴¹ Lydia's fluency in Greek can be supported by the fact that she worked at the marketplace in Philippi, where Greek served as a business and trade language. Given this, it becomes clear that Paul and Silas evangelized Lydia's family in Greek (Indexical Cycle-0).¹⁴²

The linguistic ideology supporting the use of Greek as the prestige religious language was strengthened by the subsequent visits of Paul and his co-workers. According to Acts 20:1–2, Paul stopped by the region of Macedonia and preached in Greek (Indexical Cycle-1). Paul also dispatched Timothy who was a Greek speaker to Philippi for teaching (Phil 2:19). Given his fluency in Greek, Timothy employed Greek as the prestige religious language for official religious practices in the Philippian church. Moreover, Paul sent his Greek epistle to Philippians. These activities suggest that Greek served as the prestige religious language in the Philippian church.

In addition, Acts 18:4 depicts that Paul and Silas preached in Greek to diaspora Jews and Greeks in the synagogue of Corinth (Indexical Cycle-0). The first believers of

¹⁴⁰ Regarding the multilingual environment of Corinth, Philippi, and Rome, see Appendix I.

¹⁴¹ Porter, "Paul Did Not Speak," 144. And see Appendix I.

¹⁴² See Appendix V.42.

Corinth were Titus, Justus, and Crispus's family (18:8). Although they had Latin names, they were fluent in Greek because they were the members of the synagogue of Corinth, where Greek almost certainly served as the religious language.

In addition, the book of Acts presents that Paul and Silas taught both diaspora Jews and Greeks of Corinth for a year and six months (18:6, 8, 11). It is clear that Paul used Greek for preaching and teaching to them for two reasons (Indexical Cycle-1): (1) some inhabitants did not know Latin and (2) Paul and Silas's proficiency in Latin is unclear.¹⁴³ It is worth noting that gentiles were considered not to be Romans but to be Greeks in both Acts 18:4 and 1 Cor 1:22–24, which seems to imply Paul's preaching to Hellenized people who were fluent in Greek. Paul's recognition of the gentiles as Greeks in the first Corinthian letter indicates that he had taught the inhabitants of Corinth in Greek (Indexical Cycle-1).

According to 1 Cor 1:11–12, there were small factions in the Corinthian church. Due to the lack of data, however, it is challenging to determine which language was used in these factions. If these factions consisted of all Latin speakers, it could be assumed that Latin might have been employed in their official settings. Nevertheless, the fact that the factions identified themselves as groups that belonged to Paul, Apollos, Peter, and Christ implies that they valued the significance of these church leaders' Greek teaching more than the faction leaders' teaching (Indexical Cycle 2-c).

The religious activities of Missionary Group^C in the Corinthian church are noteworthy. First, Timothy stayed in the Corinthian church (1 Cor 16:10; 2 Cor 2:13).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ See Appendix V.48.

¹⁴⁴ In terms of Timothy's co-work with Paul, see Doole, "Timothy in Prison," 59–62; Holloway, "Alius Paulus," 554–56.

Timothy primarily used Greek in official settings within the Corinthian church, as there is no record of his knowledge of Latin and social networks with Latin speakers. Second, Apollos was one of the influential church leaders in the Corinthian church (Acts 18:24; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4–6; 4:6; 16:12).¹⁴⁵ Apollos from Alexandria was fluent in Greek, given that Alexandria was a Greek city influenced by a strong Hellenized program. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Apollos had knowledge of Latin. Third, Priscilla and Aquila collaborated with Paul during the initial stages of his missionary work in Corinth (Acts 18:1–3).¹⁴⁶ The record of their names in the end of the first Corinthians implies that some members of the Corinthian church had strong solidarity with Priscilla and Aquila (1 Cor 16:19). Although Priscilla and Aquila moved from Rome to Corinth, it remains uncertain whether they were proficient in Latin. As explored in Chapter 3, the majority of individuals of lower-status did not possess knowledge of Latin and predominantly used Greek for communication, even when interacting with high-status Italians who spoke Latin as their L1 on the Italian peninsula. The fact that Priscilla and Aquila left Rome after Claudius's expulsion of Jews (18:2) suggests that they did not have high social status in the Italian peninsula. Provided that Priscilla and Aquila were knowledgeable in Latin, it is less likely that they used Latin as the prestige religious language in the presence of a mixed audience of Greek and Latin speakers in the Corinthian church. In addition, Paul himself used Greek in his letters to the Corinthian churches at least three times. Paul and his co-workers' activities with Greek served to

¹⁴⁵ Regarding Apollos's leadership in Christianity, see Ellis, "His Co-workers," 440–42; Ker, "Paul and Apollos," 93–94; Smit, "What is Apollos?" 241–43; Carter, "Big Men," 58–62; Kirk, "Building with the Corinthians," 555–56, 563–64; Schliesser, "Why Did Paul Skip Alexandria?," 274.

¹⁴⁶ With regards to the important role of Priscilla and Aquila in Christianity, see Walker, "Aquila and Priscilla."

strengthen the linguistic ideology for the use of Greek as the prestige religious language in the official settings of the Corinthian church (Indexical Cycle 1).

Consequently, this study has demonstrated the processes by which Paul and his co-workers' use of Greek in the official settings of the diaspora churches established and strengthened the Indexical Cycles for the use of Greek as the prestige religious language. As Paul and his co-workers evangelized in Greek, the first believers of the local churches primarily consisted of Greek speakers (Indexical Cycle-0). While other vernacular languages were possibly used in private settings or within a small group, party, or faction, Christians of the local churches had to employ Greek in the official settings of their churches (Indexical Cycle-1). The role of Greek as the prestigious religious language was further reinforced by frequent visits from the Greek-speaking church leaders. As Figure 6.3 shows, Paul and his coworkers employed Greek in the official settings of the following churches:

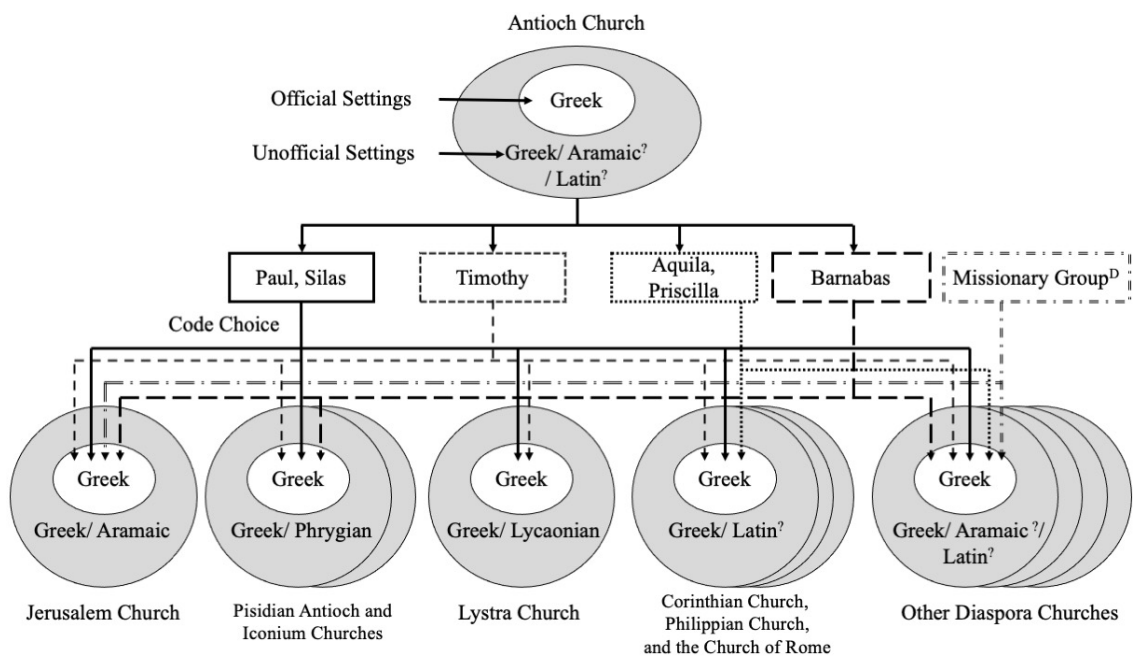


Figure 6.3. The Indexical Cycles of the Diaspora Churches

- (1) Paul and Silas: The Jerusalem church, Pisidian Antioch church, Iconium church, Lystra church, Corinthian church, Philippian church, and the church of Rome.
- (2) Timothy: The Jerusalem church, Pisidian Antioch church, Iconium church, Lystra church, Corinthian church, Philippian church, and the church of Rome.
- (3) Aquila and Priscilla: Corinthian church, Philippian church, and the church of Rome.
- (4) Barnabas: The Jerusalem church, Pisidian Antioch church, and Iconium church.
- (5) Missionary Group^D: The Jerusalem church and Ephesian church

Conclusion

This chapter identified the Indexical Cycles of Palestine churches and diaspora churches by investigating the historical figures' code choices. Although it is difficult to determine all church leaders' language proficiency in Aramaic and Latin presented in Acts, it is evident that they were fluent in Greek. According to Acts, Peter and Paul had strong religious networks with Greek-speaking church leaders in the earliest stage of Christianity.¹⁴⁷ Their social networks show the role of Greek as the *lingua franca* of the church leadership.

This study identified the Indexical Cycles of first-century Christianity, namely the processes by which Greek was used as the prestige religious language in the official

¹⁴⁷ Bauckham, "Gospels Written," 30; Klink, "Gospel Community," 63.

settings of Palestine churches (Figure 6.2) and diaspora churches (Figure 6.3). Both the Jerusalem church and the Syrian Antioch church had the same linguistic ideology for the use of Greek as the prestige religious language. As Peter, Paul, and other church leaders evangelized in Greek, the dominant population of the first believers in Palestine and diaspora churches was Greek-speaking people, resulting in a linguistic ideology that employed Greek as a prestige religious language. Given this, there is no doubt that although other vernacular languages were employed in the private settings, people had to use Greek in the official settings of the earliest Christian churches.

CONCLUSION

Many scholars who have studied the prestige religious language of Christianity have encountered limitations stemming from a lack of accessible data. This study aimed to overcome this limitation by utilizing various sociolinguistic theories in order to reconstruct the most likely multicultural environment of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the first century. Based on this reconstruction, early Christians used Greek as the prestige religious language.

Early Christian communities started from Galilean Jews and was developed with Jews and gentiles from various regions. To be sure, different kinds of vernacular languages might have been commonly used in everyday interactions within the Christian community. With this in mind, this study explored the multilingual environment within different kinds of communities in the first-century Greco Roman world and articulated the most possible vernacular languages which might have been spoken in the private and casual settings within the churches as presented in the book of Acts.

However, it is important to highlight the importance of the code choice in the official and public settings from sociolinguistic perspectives, as individuals do not freely employ any languages in the official and public settings but carefully choose the most appropriate language so that everyone would understand what they are saying. As this study articulates, only Greek had to be employed in the official and public settings of all the churches as presented in Acts so that everyone understood what the church authorities were saying. As the church leaders used Greek in the official and public

settings, the initial believers consisted of Greek-speaking people both in Palestine and the diaspora regions. The inquiry of Indexical Cycles of the Palestine and diaspora churches shows the role of Greek as the prestige religious language in the early stages of Christianity.

Some scholars have assumed the Aramaic or Latin originals of some books of the New Testament. However, as explored in this study, it is improbable that these languages functioned as the prestigious religious languages within the official settings of the churches as presented in Acts due to the limited comprehension of these languages by the general populace. Moreover, it is worth noting that no books were written in Aramaic or Latin in the early stages of Christianity. Rather, all early papyri of the entire books of the New Testament are written in Greek. The fact that Paul always employed Greek for his epistles shows the significance of the role of Greek as the prestige religious language within his religious networks of the diaspora churches. Paul laid a foundation for his religious networks that spanned across the diaspora churches through his Greek epistles. Paul wrote his Greek epistles to the targeted church and requested that they circulate some of them to other churches (Col 4:16; c.f., 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:1). Moreover, the use of Greek in all other books of the New Testaments suggests that other church leaders also employed Greek as the prestige religious language within their religious networks.

Given the research findings regarding the church leaders' code choices, it is unnecessary to assume that the translation of the gospel from Aramaic to Greek was carried out by later Hellenistic Christians. In light of the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine, Jesus and his disciples were able to speak Greek. Specifically, Jesus' disciples should employ Greek as the prestige religious language in the earliest

stage of the Jerusalem church. The international religious activities of Peter and Paul indicate that early Christianity was propagated through their Greek speeches. This aligns with the fact that all early papyri of the New Testament are written in Greek.

As I conclude this study, I would like to propose future research directions regarding the social background of the first-century church. Studying the social background of the first-century church has limitations due to a lack of data. While research applying the social structural-centered uniformitarian principle to biblical studies is actively conducted by contemporary scholars, above all, there are significant challenges in applying social scientific theories for the inquiry of the social structure in the first century CE. This is because there are fundamental differences in the social structures between the first century CE and the twenty-first century CE. As time passes, the social patterns, systems, and structures drastically change. Therefore, the social structural-centered uniformitarian principle is unreliable for the inquiry of a historical society in ancient times.

From a sociolinguistic standpoint, the historical critical approaches, literary critical approaches, and social scientific approaches rest solely on Audience Design embodied in the ancient texts. However, the writers' texts do not merely reflect Audience Design but also the Referee Design. As Bell points out, moreover, it is impossible to determine where the writers shift from Audience Design to Referee Design and vice versa within the texts.¹⁴⁸ Assuming the speakers or writers always employed familiar styles to the audiences is an oversimplification. Regrettably, this intricate sociolinguistic issue of Audience design and Referee design remains largely

¹⁴⁸ Bell, *Sociolinguistics*, 305–6.

unaddressed in biblical studies. Any attempt at the interpretation and the historical reconstruction of the ancient text solely based on the Audience Design may be deeply flawed, given the potential inclusion of the Referee Design. Therefore, future studies should not aim to reconstruct the historical context of the audience but focus rather on the writer's identity contextualization processes, which encompass both Audience Design and Referee Design, by investigating the macro and meso contexts within the ancient text.

Historical sociolinguistic methodologies have many useful aspects as sociolinguistic theories are not based on the social structure hypothesis but on communicative competence. Whereas human beings' behaviors even with the same social structures often vary for various regions, communicative competence is homogenous as it is an ability embedded in individuals biologically. Since the 1970s, a substantial number of case studies have been conducted based on sociolinguistic theories. Contemporary sociolinguistic theories and models provide robust theoretical frameworks for elucidating the relationship between social contexts and biblical texts in diverse ways. I hope this study serves as the foundation for demonstrating the potential application of historical sociolinguistic approaches to the field of biblical studies.

APPENDIX I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF LANGUAGES

Region	City / Town	Language	Functional Distribution
Southern Syria (Judea)	Jerusalem	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (minor), international language (major), local language (major), language of Judaism (major), academic language (major/ prestige), language of the local government (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (major), local language (major), language of Judaism (minor)
		Latin	Italians' family language (minor), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (minor/ prestige)
	Caesarea Maritima	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language, local language (major), language of Judaism (major), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major/ prestige), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
		Latin	Italians' family language (minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
	Joppa	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's language (minor), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
	Azotus	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language, local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (minor/ prestige)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Southern Syria (Judea)	Lydda	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language, local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (minor/ prestige)
Southern Syria (Samaria)	Sebaste	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Samaritanism (major), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Samaritanism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Samaritanism (very minor/ prestige)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
	Cities and Towns	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (depending on linguistic demography), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Samaritanism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (depending on linguistic demography), local language (minor), language of Samaritanism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Samaritanism (very minor/ prestige)
	Nazareth	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (minor), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (major), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (minor/ prestige)
Southern Syria (Galilee)	Bethsaida	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major), language of Judaism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (minor/ prestige)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Southern Syria (Galilee)	Capernaum	Greek	Hellenistic people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Judaism (minor)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
Eastern Syria (Phoenicia)	Tyre	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor)
		Punic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Imperial cult (minor)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
	Ptolemais	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Punic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Imperial cult (minor)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (very minor)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
Northern Syria	Syrian Antioch	Syriac	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor), local language (minor), language of Imperial cult (minor)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Northern Syria	Syrian Antioch	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (very minor)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
Central Syria (Decapolis)	Damascus	Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Hebrew	Language of Judaism (very minor/ prestige)
		Aramaic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor)
		Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major), academic language (major/ prestige)
Cilicia	Tarsus	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Luwian	Non-Hellenized people's family language (minor)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Southern Galatia (Anatolia)	Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Phrygia	Greek	Hellenized people’s family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians’ family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Phrygian	Non-Hellenized people’s family language (minor)
	Derbe	Greek	Hellenized people’s family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians’ family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
Southern Galatia (Anatolia)	Lystra	Greek	Hellenized people’s family language (minor/major?), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians’ family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Lycaonian	Non-Hellenized people’s family language (minor/major?)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Pamphylia (Anatolia)	Perga, Attalia	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
Asia Minor (Anatolia)	Ephesus, Miletus, Troas, Assus, Pergamum	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
	Thyatira	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
Sicilia	Sicily (Syracuse)	Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Sicilia	Sicily (Syracuse)	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Punic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (very minor)
	Malta	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (minor), international language (major/ prestige), local language (minor/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Punic	Non-Hellenized people's family language (major), local language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (minor)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
Cyprus	Paphos, Salamis	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
Achaia and Macedonia	Neapolis, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens	Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the Roman military (major)

Region	City / Town	Language	Language Status
Achaia and Macedonia	Neapolis, Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens	Latin	Italians' family language (very minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
		Greek	Hellenized people's family language (major), international language (major/ prestige), local language (major/ prestige), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of Imperial cult (major), language of the local government (minor), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the Roman military (major)
		Latin	Italians' family language (minor), language of Imperial cult (minor/ prestige), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the local government (major), language of the provincial government (major), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (minor/ prestige)
Italy	Rome	Latin	Italians' family language (major), language of Imperial cult (major/ prestige), language of the provincial government (major/ prestige), language of the local government (major/ prestige), language of the provincial government (major/ prestige), language of the central government (major/ prestige), language of the Roman military (major/ prestige)
		Greek	Hellenized people's family language (minor), international language (minor/ prestige), local language (minor), language of Judaism (major/ prestige), academic language (major/ prestige), language of the local government (minor), language of the provincial government (minor), language of the Roman military (minor)

APPENDIX II. HISTORICAL FIGURES' SOCIAL NETWORKS AND PLURLINGUALISM

Name	Birthplace/ Residence	Social Networks	Language Proficiency
Aeneas/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Lydda	(1) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew, Hellenistic Jew, Roman? (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? (3) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Church of Lydda (Believer)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-} L?, Latin?
Agabus/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Judea, Antioch, Caesarea	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Prophet), Antioch Church (Prophet), Church of Caesarea (Prophet)	L1: Greek ^H > Aramaic ^{H-} L? L2: Aramaic ^{H-} L? > Greek ^H
Alexander ^A / Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Educational Networks: ○ Jewish Education: Very High Level (Rabbis) ○ Hellenistic Education: Very High Level (4) Religious Network: ○ Judaism: Sanhedrin, Synagogue, Jerusalem Temple (5) Political Networks: Ruler of Judea	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-} M, Hebrew ^H , Latin?
Alexander ^B / Greek Name	Unknown/ Ephesus	(1) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: Judaism	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic?
Ananias ^A / Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Sapphira (Wife) (2) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-} L?
Ananias ^B / Greek Name	Unknown/ Damascus	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (House Guest, Teacher) (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Church of Damascus	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic?
Ananias ^C / Greek Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem, Caesarea	(1) Kinship Networks: Nebedeu (Father) (2) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group ○ Employee: Tertullus (Attorney) (4) Educational Networks: ○ Jewish Education: Very High Level (5) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism: High Priest/ Sanhedrin, Jerusalem Temple	L1: Aramaic ^H L2: Greek ^H , Hebrew ^H , Latin?

Andrew/ Greek Name	Bethsaida / Capernaum, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Jonah (Father), Peter (Brother) (2) Friendship Networks: Peter > James^A, John^A > Other Twelve Disciples (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - o Job / Client: Fisherman / Galilean Jews and Gentiles - o Co-worker: Peter, James^A, John^A (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Synagogue of Bethsaida?, Synagogue of Capernaum, John the Baptist Circle (Disciple) - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark) (6) 2nd Order Social Network: A Boy who Brought Five Fish and Two Bread in the Lake Tiberias (John 6:8), Greek Proselytes (John 11:20–22)	L1: Greek^H L2: Aramaic^{H-L}
Annas/ Hebrew Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Caiaphas (Son-in-Law) (2) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Educational Networks: - o Jewish Education: Very High Level (Rabbis) - o Hellenistic Education: Very High Level (5) Religious Network: - o Judaism: Priest Group (High Priest), Sanhedrin, Synagogue, Jerusalem Temple (6) Political Networks: Ruler of Judea, Quirinius (Patron)	L1: Aramaic^H L2: Hebrew^H, Greek^H, Latin?
Apollos/ Greek Name	Alexandria/ Ephesus, Corinth	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: John the Baptist Circle - o Christianity: Church of Ephesus (Believer, Leader), Corinthian Church (Believer, Leader)	L1: Greek^H L2: Aramaic?
Aquila/ Latin Name	Pontus/ Italy, Corinth, Syria, Cenchreae, Ephesus, Rome	(1) Kinship Networks: Priscilla (Wife) (2) Friendship Networks: Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen? (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? - o Job: Tent Maker - o Co-worker: Paul, Priscilla (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Corinthian Church, Church of Ephesus, Church of Rome	L1: Greek^H > Latin^{H-L?} L2: Latin^{H-L?} > Greek^H, Aramaic?
Aristarchus/ Greek Name	Thessalonica / Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem, a Ship of Adramyttium, Rome	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, Sopater, Luke (2) Ethnic Networks: Gentile, Macedonian (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Proselyte? - o Christianity: Church of Thessalonica, Paul's 3rd Missionary Group	L1: Greek^H L2: Unknown

(Bar-Jesus), (Elymas)/ Aramaic Nickname, Hebrew Nickname	Unknown/ Cyprus	(1) Kinship Networks: Jesus ^(not Christ) (2) Friendship Networks: Lucius Sergius Paulus (3) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism: False Prophet	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?]
Bernice/ Greek Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem, Chalcis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, Caesarea, Rome	(1) Kinship Networks: Herod Agrippa I (Father), Drusilla (Sister), Marcus Julius Alexander (1 st Husband), Herod of Chalcis (2 nd Husband), Polemon II of Pontus (3 rd Husband), Herodian Dynasty, Hasmonaeon Dynasty (2) Friendship Networks: Titus Caesar Vespasianus (Cohabitee), Felix, Festus > Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Idumean (Great Grand Father), Judean Jew (Great Grand Mother) (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group, Roman Elite Group (5) Educational Networks: ○ Hellenistic Education: High Level ○ Roman Education Very High Level (6) Religious Networks: Judaism, Imperial Cult [?] (7) Political Network: Local Government (Clint Ruler of the Roman Empire)	L1: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H , Latin ^{H-L?}
Caiaphas's Anonymous Three Servants	Judea/ Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Caiaphas's Servants (2) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: ○ Job / Client: Servants / Caiaphas (4) Religious Network: Judaism	L1: Aramaic ^{H-L} > Greek ^{H-L} L2: Greek ^{H-L} > Aramaic ^{H-L}
Caiaphas/ Hebrew Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Annas (Father-in-Law) (2) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Educational Networks: ○ Jewish Education: Very High Level (Rabbis) ○ Hellenistic Education: Very High Level (5) Religious Network: ○ Judaism: Priest Group (High Priest), Sanhedrin, Synagogue, Jerusalem Temple (6) Political Networks: Ruler of Judea, Valerius Gratus (Patron), Pontius Pilate (Patron)	L1: Aramaic ^H L2: Hebrew ^H , Greek ^H , Latin [?]
Cleopas/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem, Emmaus	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Cornelius/ Latin Name	The Italian Peninsular/ Caesarea	(1) Ethnic Networks: Italian, Roman (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group (3) Educational Networks: ○ Roman Education: High-Normal Level [?] (4) Religious Networks: ○ Roman Imperial Cult ○ Judaism: Proselyte ○ Christianity: Church of Caesarea (5) Political Networks: Roman Citizen, Roman Military (Centurion)	L1: Latin ^{H-L} > Greek ^H L2: Greek ^H > Latin ^{H-L}
Crispus/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Corinth	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen [?] (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group [?] (4) Educational Networks:	L1: Greek ^H > Latin [?] L2: Latin [?] or Aramaic [?] > Greek ^H

		- o Jewish Education: High Level (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Corinthian Synagogue (Official of Synagogue) - o Christianity: Corinthian Church (Believer)	
Damaris/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Athens	(1) Friendship Networks: Dionysius (Friend[?]) (2) Ethnic Networks: Greek (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - o Job / Client: Noblewoman[?] or Hetaira[?] / Greeks[?] (4) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education[?]: Very High Level[?], Athenian Areopagus (5) Religious Networks: - o Greek Philosophy[?] - o Christianity: Church of Athens	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Demetrius/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Ephesus	(1) Ethnic Networks: Greek (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - o Job / Client: Silversmith/ Greeks, Market of Ephesus, Greek Temple (3) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education: Craft Training (4) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology, Imperial Cult	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Dionysius/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Athens	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Greek (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education: Very High Level, Athenian Areopagus (5) Religious Networks: - o Greek Philosophy (Areopagite) - o Christianity: Church of Athens (Believer)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Drusilla/ Latin Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem, Caesarea, Rome	(1) Kinship Networks: Herod Agrippa I (Father), Herod Agrippa II (Brother), Bernice (Sister), Gaius Julius Azizus (1st husband), Marcus Antonius Felix (2nd Husband), Herodian Dynasty, Hasmonaean Dynasty (2) Friendship Networks: Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Idumean (Great Grand Father), Judean Jew (Great Grand Mother), Roman Citizen (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Elite Group (5) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education: High Level - o Roman Education: High Level (6) Religious Networks: Judaism (7) Political Networks: Felix's Wife	L1: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H , Latin ^{H-L?}
Erastus/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Ephesus, Macedonia, Corinth	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Gentile or Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - o Job / Client: City Treasurer[?] (4) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Synagogue - o Christianity: Church of Ephesus (Believer), Corinthian Church (Believer), Church of Macedonia (Believer)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?]
Gaius/ Latin Name	Macedonia/	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Aristarchus, Secundus, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, Sopater, Luke	L1: Greek ^H L2: Latin [?]

	Derbe, Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem	(2) Ethnic Networks: Macedonian, Roman Citizen? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Proselyte? - o Christianity: Church of Derbe, Paul's 3rd Missionary Group	
Gamaliel I/ Hebrew Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Educational Networks: - o Job: Rabbi and Leader of House of Hillel - o Jewish Education (Very High Level): Rabbi - o Hellenistic Education (Very High Level) (4) Religious Network: - o Judaism: Sanhedrin, Synagogue, Jerusalem Temple (5) Political Networks: Ruler of Judea	L1: Aramaic ^H L2: Hebrew ^H , Greek ^H , Latin?
Herod Agrippa I/ Greek Name	Jerusalem/ Rome, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Herod the Great (Grand Father), Mariamne I (Grand Mother), Aristobulus (Father), Herod Agrippa II (Son), Drusilla (Daughter), Berenice (Daughter), Herodian Dynasty, Hasmonaean Dynasty (2) Friendship Relationship: Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius (3) Ethnic Networks: (Grand Father), Judean Jew (Grand Mother) (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Elite Group (5) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education: High Level - o Roman Education Very High Level (6) Religious Networks: Judaism, Imperial Cult? (7) Political Networks: Local Government (King of Judea), Tiberius (Patron)	L1: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H , Latin ^{H-L?}
Herod Agrippa II (Marcus Julius Agrippa)/ Greek Name, Latin Name	Jerusalem/ Jerusalem, Chalcis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, Caesarea, Rome	(1) Kinship Networks: Herod Agrippa I (Father), Drusilla (Sister), Bernice (Sister), Herodian Dynasty, Hasmonaean Dynasty (2) Friendship Networks: Felix, Festus > Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Idumean (Great Grand Father), Judean Jew (Great Grand Mother) (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group, Roman Elite Group (5) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education: High Level - o Roman Education Very High Level (6) Religious Networks: Judaism, Imperial Cult? (7) Political Network: Local Government (King of Chalcis, Tetrarch of Batanaea and Trachonitis)	L1: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^H or Greek ^H , Latin ^{H-L?}
James ^A / Hebrew Name	Galilee / Capernaum, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Zebedee (Father), Mary ^B (Mother), John ^A (Brother) (2) Friendship Networks: John ^A > Andrew, Peter > Other Twelve Disciples (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - o Job / Client: Fisherman / Galilean Jews and Gentiles - o Co-worker: Peter, Andrew, John^A (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Synagogue of Capernaum	L1: Greek ^H > Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} > Greek ^H

		Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	
James ^B / Hebrew Name	Galilee/ Galilee, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Alpheus (Father: Hebrew Name), Jude ^A (Brother: Hebrew Name) (2) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: - Judaism - Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
James ^C / Hebrew Name	Nazareth/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Jesus (Brother), Mary ^B (Mother) (2) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples > Paul, Silas, Luke, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, Sopater (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: - Judaism - Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons), Other Leaders (Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Jason/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Thessalonica	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Greek (3) Religious Networks: - Judaism - Christianity: Church of Thessalonica	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Johanna/ Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Mary ^B , Salome (2) Ethnic Networks: Jew (3) Religious Networks: - Judaism - Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
John ^A , (Boanerges) / Hebrew Name (Greek Nickname)	Galilee/ Capernaum, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Zebedee (Father), Mary ^B (Mother), James ^A (Brother) (2) Friendship Networks: James ^A > Andrew > Peter > Other Twelve Disciples (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - Job / Client: Fisherman / Galilean Jews and Gentiles - Co-worker: Peter, Andrew, James^A (5) Religious Networks: - Judaism: Synagogue of Capernaum, John the Baptist Circle - Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark), Diaspora Church Leader (Paul)	L1: Greek ^H > Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} > Greek ^H

Mark, John ^B / Latin Name, Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem, Paphos, Pamphylia, Barnabas's 2 nd Missionary Trip (Cyprus)	(1) Kinship Networks: Barnabas (Cousin), Mary ^D (Mother) (2) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples, Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew, Hellenistic Jew, Roman Citizen? (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? (5) Educational Networks: Hellenistic Education? (6) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Member), Antioch Church (Member), 1st Missionary Group (Member), Barnabas's 2nd Missionary Group (Member)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} , Latin?
John ^C / Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group, Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Educational Networks: - o Jewish Education: Very High Level (Rabbis) - o Hellenistic Education: Very High Level (4) Religious Network: - o Judaism: Sanhedrin, Synagogue, Jerusalem Temple (5) Political Networks: Ruler of Judea	L1: Aramaic ^H L2: Hebrew ^H , Greek ^H , Latin?
Joseph, (Barnabas)/ Hebrew Name, (Aramaic Nickname)	Cyprus/ Jerusalem, Tarsus, 1 st Missionary Trip, Barnabas's 2 nd Missionary Trip (Cyprus)	(1) Kinship Networks: Mark (Cousin) (2) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas (3) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew, Hellenistic Jew (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Levite - o Christianity: Jerusalem Church, Antioch Church (Teacher), Syriac Churches (Founder), 1st Missionary Group (Leader), Barnabas's 2nd Missionary Group (Leader)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L}
Judas ^A , Thaddeus/ Hebrew Name, Aramaic Name	Galilee/ Galilee, Jerusalem (Assyria, Persia, Edessa)	(1) Kinship Networks: Alpheus (Father), James ^B (Brother) (2) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Judas ^B / Hebrew Name	Judea/ Kerioth, Galilee, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (3) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Judas ^C / Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem, Barnabas's 2 nd Missionary Regions	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group (3) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Barnabas's 2nd Missionary Group, Jerusalem Church	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic?
Julius/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Ship of Adramyttium to Italy	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group o Employee: Sailors, Captain (Ship of Adramyttium) (3) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology, Imperial Cult (4) Political Network: Roman Military (Centurion)	L1: Latin ^H or Greek ^H L2: Latin ^H or Greek ^H

Junius Annaeus Gallio (Marcus Annaeus Novatus)/ Latin Name	(Corduba)/ Rome, Corinth	(1) Kinship Networks: Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger (Brother) (2) Ethnic Networks: Roman Citizen (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Elite Group (5) Educational Networks: o Hellenistic Education o Roman Education? (6) Religious Networks: Imperial Cult (7) Political Networks: Proconsul of Achaia o Job / Client: Proconsul / Peter	L1: Greek ^H or Latin ^{H-L} L2: Greek ^H or Latin ^{H-L}
Justus ^A / Latin Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew, Roman Citizen? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James ^C , Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} , Latin ^{H-L?}
Lazaros/ Hebrew Name	Galilee/ Magdala, Bethany, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Martha (Sister), Mary ^A (Sister) (2) Friendship Networks: Jesus, Twelve Disciples (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Lucius Sergius Paulus/ Latin Name	(Rome?)/ Cyprus	(1) Ethnic Networks: Italian or Hellenized Gentile (2) Friendship Networks: Bar-Jesus (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Elite Group (4) Educational Networks: o Hellenistic Education o Roman Education? (5) Religious Networks: o Imperial Cult o Christianity: Church of Cyprus (Believer) (6) Political Networks: Proconsul of Cyprus	L1: Greek ^H or Latin ^H L2: Greek ^H or Latin ^H
Lucius/ Latin Name	Cyrene/ Antioch	(1) Friendship Networks: Manaen, Manaen > Paul, Barnabas (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Gentile, Roman Citizen? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Proselyte? o Christianity: Antioch Church (Leader Group)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Latin? > Aramaic?
Luke/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem, a Ship of Adramyttium, Puteoli, Rome	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, Sopater, Luke (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Gentile (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group o Job: Physician (4) Educational Networks: o Hellenistic Education: High Level (5) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Proselyte? o Christianity: Paul's 3 rd Missionary Group	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic?

Lydia/ Greek Name	(Thyatira)/ Thyatira, Philippi	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Gentile, Lydian? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group o Job / Client: Businesswoman of Purple Cloth / Market of Philippi (4) Religious Networks: o Christianity: Church of Philippi	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Manaen/ Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Antioch (Rome)	(1) Friendship Networks: Herod Antipas > Lucius, Simeon > Paul, Barnabas (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group o Job: Roman Elite Group (4) Educational Networks: o Hellenistic Education o Roman Education? (5) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Proselyte? o Christianity: Antioch Church (Leader Group)	L1: Greek ^H > Latin ^{H-L?} > Aramaic? L2: Latin ^{H-L?} > Greek ^H , Aramaic?
Marcus Antonius Felix/ Latin Name	(Asia Minor)/ Rome, Caesarea, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Marcus Antonius Pallas (Brother: Secretary of the Treasury of the Roman Empire), Descendent of Arcadian Dynasty, Drusilla (2 nd Wife: Jew) (2) Friendship Networks: Herod Agrippa II, Bernice > Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Roman Citizen, Greek Freedman (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Elite Group (5) Educational Networks: o Greek Education: Very High Level o Latin Education: Very High Level (6) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology ² , Imperial Cult (7) Political Network: Provincial Government (Procurator of Judea)	L1: Latin ^H or Greek ^H L2: Latin ^H or Greek ^H
Martha/ Hebrew Name	Galilee/ Magdala, Bethany, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Mary ^A (Sister), Lazaros (Brother) (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Mary ^A Magdalene/ Hebrew Name	Galilee/ Magdala, Bethany, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Martha (Sister), Lazaros (Brother) (2) Friendship Networks: Mary ^B , Salome, Johanna (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Mary ^B / Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Nazareth, Bethlehem, Egypt, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Jesus (Son), James ^C (Son) (2) Friendship Networks: Mary ^A , Salome, Johanna (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Salome, Mary ^C / Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Galilee, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Zebedee (Husband), James ^A (Son), John ^A (Son) (2) Friendship Networks: Mary ^A , Mary ^B , Johanna (3) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}

Mary ^D / Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Mark (Son) (2) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew, Hellenistic Jew? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Rhoda (Slave) (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} > Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} > Greek ^{H-L}
Matthew, (Levi)/ Hebrew Name, (Hebrew Name)	Galilee/ Capernaum, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - o Job / Client: Tax Collector / Galilean Jews and Gentiles (4) Educational Networks: - o Hellenistic Education (High Level) (5) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^H > Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} > Greek ^H
Matthias/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew, Roman? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L}
Mnason/ Greek Name	Cyprus/ Caesarea, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (House Guest), Silas (House Guest), Luke (House Guest), Aristarchus (House Guest?), Secundus (House Guest?), Gaius (House Guest?), Timothy (House Guest?), Tychicus (House Guest?), Trophimus (House Guest?), Sopater (House Guest?) (2) Ethnic Networks: Cyprian, Hellenistic Jew? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Church of Caesarea (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic?
Nathanael, Bartholome w/ Hebrew Name, Aramaic Name	Galilee/ Cana	(1) Friendship Networks: Philip ^A > Other Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (3) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Nicanor/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: - o Judaism - o Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Nicolaus/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Antioch, Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Gentile? or Hellenistic Jew? (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: - o Judaism: Proselyte? - o Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}

Parmenas/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Philip ^A / Greek Name	Bethsaida/ Capernaum, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Nathanael > Other Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Density: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark) (5) 2 nd Order Social Network: Greek Proselytes (John 11:20–22)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L}
Philip ^B / Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem, Caesarea	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Friendship Networks: Stephen, Philip ^B , Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolaus > Paul (House Guest), Silas (House Guest), Luke (House Guest), Aristarchus (House Guest [?]), Secundus (House Guest [?]), Gaius (House Guest [?]), Timothy (House Guest [?]), Tychicus (House Guest [?]), Trophimus (House Guest [?]), Sopater (House Guest [?]) (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Philip ^B 's Four Daughters	Unknown/ Jerusalem [?] , Caesarea	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Friendship Networks: Stephen, Philip ^B , Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolaus > Paul (House Guest), Silas (House Guest), Luke (House Guest), Aristarchus (House Guest [?]), Secundus (House Guest [?]), Gaius (House Guest [?]), Timothy (House Guest [?]), Tychicus (House Guest [?]), Trophimus (House Guest [?]), Sopater (House Guest [?]) (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism[?] ○ Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Prophet)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Porcius Festus/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Rome, Caesarea, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Herod Agrippa II, Bernice, Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Roman Citizen (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group (4) Educational Networks: ○ Roman Education: Very High Level ○ Hellenistic Education: High Level (5) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology [?] , Imperial Cult (6) Political Network: Provincial Government (Procurator of Judea)	L1: Latin ^H or Greek ^H L2: Latin ^H or Greek ^H

Priscilla/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Italy, Corinth, Syria, Cenchreae, Ephesus, Rome	(1) Kinship Networks: Aquila (Husband) (2) Friendship Networks: Paul (3) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen? (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? o Job: Tent Maker o Co-worker: Paul, Aquila (5) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Corinthian Church, Church of Ephesus, Church of Rome	L1: Greek ^H > Latin ^{H-L?} L2: Latin ^{H-L?} > Greek ^H , Aramaic?
Prochorus/ Latin Form from Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew, Roman? (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group / Roman Group (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Publius/ Latin Name	Malta/ Malta, (Athens?)	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Carthaginian?, Roman Citizen? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Local Elite Group of Malta, Roman Citizen? (4) Educational Networks: o Education of Malta: Very High Level o Hellenistic Education: High Level (5) Religious Networks: o Imperial Cult? o Christianity?: Church of Malta? (Believer?) (6) Political Networks: Local Government (Governor of Malta)	L1: Punic ^H L2: Greek ^H
Rhoda/ Greek or Latin Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Gentile? > Hellenistic Jew? (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Mary ^D (Master) (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Proselyte? o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L}
Sapphira/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Ananias (Husband) (2) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Secundus/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Aristarchus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, Sopater, Luke (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Gentile, Roman Citizen? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group? (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Proselyte? o Christianity: Church of Thessalonica, Paul's 3 rd Missionary Group	L1: Greek ^H > Latin? L2: Latin? > Greek ^H , Aramaic?
Silas, Silvanus/ Greek Name, Latin Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem, Paul's 2 nd and 3 rd Missionary Regions	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Paul's 2 nd and 3 rd Missionary Group, Jerusalem Church, Antioch Church	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic?, Latin?

Simeon (Niger)/ Hebrew Origin Name, Latin Nickname	(Africa?)/ Antioch	(1) Friendship Networks: Lucius, Manaen > Paul, Barnabas (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Gentile, Roman Citizen? (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: o Judaism? o Christianity: Antioch Church (Leader Group)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Latin [?] > Aramaic [?]
Simon ^A , (Zealot)/ Hebrew Name, (Greek Nickname)	Galilee/ Galilee, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James ^C , Barnabas, Mark) (4) Political Networks: Zealot [?]	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Simon ^B / Hebrew Name	Unknown/ Joppa	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group o Job/ Client: Tanner / Jews and Gentiles of Joppa (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Hellenistic Christian, Church of Joppa	L1: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Sopater, Sospater/ Greek Name	Beroea/ Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Pyrrhus (Father: Greek Name) (2) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Trophimus, Luke (3) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Gentile (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (5) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Proselyte? o Christianity: Church of Beroea, Paul's 3 rd Missionary Group	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?]
Sosthenes/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Corinth	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Educational Networks: o Jewish Education: High Level (5) Religious Networks: o Judaism: Corinthian Synagogue (Official of the Synagogue) o Christianity: Corinthian Church (Believer)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?]
Stephen/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon) (4) Political Networks: Sanhedrin (Caiaphas, Paul)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?}
Tabitha, Dorcas/ Aramaic Name, Greek Name	Unknown/ Joppa	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: o Judaism o Christianity: Hellenistic Christian, Church of Joppa	L1: Greek ^H > Aramaic ^{H-L?} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L?} > Greek ^H
Tertullus/ Latin Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem, Caesarea	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew or Gentile, Roman Citizen? (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group, Roman Elite Group, Jewish Elite Group	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?] , Latin ^{H-M}

		○ Job/ Client: Attorney/ Ananias^C (3) Educational Networks: ○ Roman Education: Very High Level (4) Religious Networks: Judaism[?] (5) Political Networks: Local Government (Attorney)	
Thomas, (Didymus)/ Hebrew Nickname, (Greek Nickname)	Galilee/ Galilee, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Twelve Disciples (2) Ethnic Networks: Galilean Jew, Hellenistic Jew (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jesus' Follower Group (Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples), Jerusalem Church (Apostles, Deacons, James^C, Barnabas, Mark)	L1: Greek^H > Aramaic^{H-L} L2: Aramaic^{H-L} > Greek^H
Timon/ Greek Name	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Hellenistic Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism ○ Christianity: Jerusalem Church (Hellenistic Christian, Deacon)	L1: Greek^H L2: Aramaic^{H-L?}
Timothy/ Greek Name	Rome or Lystra/ Rome, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Ephesus, Beroea, Thessalonica, Troas, Macedonia, (Corinth, Philippi, Colossae?)	(1) Kinship Networks: Lois (a Jewish Grandmother), Eunice (a Jewish Mother) (2) Friendship Networks: Paul > Silas > Philemon, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Tychicus, Trophimus, Sopater, Luke, Christians in Lystra and Iconium (3) Ethnic Networks: Greek (Father), Diaspora Jew (Mother) (4) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (5) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism: Synagogue ○ Christianity: Paul's 2nd and 3rd Missionary Group, Thessalonian Church, Corinthian Church, Philippian Church, Colossian Church	L1: Greek^H L2: Aramaic[?]
Titus Justus ^B / Latin Name	Unknown/ Corinth, Ephesus, Crete, Jerusalem, Dalmatia	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Ethnic Networks: Gentile (Greek), Roman Citizen[?] (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group[?] (4) Religious Networks: ○ Christianity: Corinthian Church (Believer), Church of Ephesus (Believer), Church of Crete (Elder), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	L1: Greek^H > Latin[?] L2: Latin[?] > Greek^H
Trophimus/ Greek Name	Asia Minor/ Ephesus, Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes, Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Tychicus, Sopater, Luke (2) Ethnic Networks: Gentile (Ephesian) (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Christianity: Church of Asia Minor, Paul's 3rd Missionary Group	L1: Greek^H L2: Unknown
Tychicus/ Greek Name	Asia Minor/ Troas, Mitylene, Asso, Samos, Miletus, Rhodes,	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul, Silas, Aristarchus, Secundus, Gaius, Timothy, Trophimus, Sopater, Luke (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew or Gentile (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (4) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism: Proselyte[?]	L1: Greek^H L2: Aramaic[?]

	Tyre, Ptolemais, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Colossae, Crete	Christianity: Church of Asia Minor, Paul's 3rd Missionary Group	
Anonymous Master of Slave-Girl (16:16)	Unknown/ Philippi	(1) Ethnic Networks: Roman Citizen (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Job: Master of Slave-Girl (3) Religious Networks: Superstition, Greco-Roman Mythology [?] , Imperial Cult	L1: Greek ^H L2: Latin [?]
Anonymous Prison Guard of Philippi (16:23)	Unknown/ Philippi	(1) Friendship Networks: Paul (2) Religious Networks: - Greco-Roman Mythology - Christianity: Church of Philippi (Believer, Disciple) (3) Political Networks: Local Government (Prison Guard)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Anonymous Magistrates of Philippi (16:20)	Unknown/ Philippi	(1) Socioeconomic Networks: Local Elite Group of Philippi, Roman Citizen [?] (2) Educational Networks: - Hellenistic Education: High Level - Roman Education: Very High Level (3) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology [?] , Imperial Cult (4) Political Networks: Local Government (Magistrate of Philippi)	L1: Greek ^H or Latin ^H L2: Greek ^H or Latin ^H
Anonymous Soldiers of Philippi (16:35)	Unknown/ Philippi	(1) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology [?] , Imperial Cult (2) Political Networks: Local Government (Soldier)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Anonymous Epicurean and Stoic Philosophers (17:18)	Unknown/ Athens	(1) Ethnic Networks: Greek (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Educational Networks: Hellenistic Education: Very High Level (Philosopher) (4) Religious Networks: Epicurean and Stoic Philosophy (Areopagus)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Latin [?]
Anonymous Ephesian Elders (20:17)	Unknown/ Ephesus	(1) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jews, Diaspora Gentile [?] (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group (3) Religious Networks: Christianity: Church of Ephesus (Elder, Co-workers)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?]
Anonymous Tribune of Jerusalem (21:31)	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Roman Citizen (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group (3) Religious Networks: Greco-Roman Mythology [?] , Imperial Cult (4) Political Networks: Roman Military (Tribune)	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?] , Latin [?]
Anonymous Paul's Nephew (23:16)	Unknown/ Jerusalem	(1) Kinship Networks: Paul (Uncle) (2) Ethnic Networks: Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen (3) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group/ Roman Group/ Roman Group (4) Religious Networks: - Judaism - Christianity (Believer[?])	L1: Greek ^H L2: Aramaic [?] , Latin [?]
Anonymous Crippled Man (14:8)	Unknown/ Lystra	(1) Ethnic Networks: Gentile (2) Socioeconomic Networks: Hellenistic Group > Non-Hellenistic Group - Job: Unknown (Low-income) (3) Religious Networks: - Greco-Roman Mythology	L1: Lycaonian ^H L2: Greek ^H

Anonymous Jewish Christians from Judea (15:1)	Judea [?] / Antioch	(1) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (2) Religious Networks: ○ Judaism: Judean ○ Christianity: Unknown	L1: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L} L2: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L}
Anonymous Crippled Beggar of Temple Gate	Unknown / Jerusalem	(1) Ethnic Networks: Judean Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: ○ Job / Client: Bagger / Judean Jews (3) Educational Networks: ○ Jewish Education (Very Low) (4) Religious Network: Judaism	L1: Aramaic ^{H-L} L2: Greek [?]
Anonymous Slave-Girl who Had a Spirit of Divination (Acts 16:16)	Unknown/ Philippi	(1) Socioeconomic Networks: ○ Job: Slave, Palmist (2) Religious Networks: Superstition, Greco-Roman Mythology [?]	L1: Greek ^H L2: Unknown
Anonymous Collectors of Temple Tax (Matt 17:24)	Unknown/ Capernaum	(1) Ethnic Networks: Jew (2) Socioeconomic Networks: ○ Job / Client: Collector of Temple Tax / Galilean Jews (3) Educational Networks: Hellenistic Education (High Level) (4) Religious Network: Judaism: Jerusalem Temple	L1: Aramaic ^{H-L} or Greek ^{H-L} L2: Greek ^{H-L} or Aramaic ^{H-L}

APPENDIX III. THE DENSITY OF PETER'S SOCIAL NETWORKS WITH OTHER HISTORICAL FIGURES

Name	Network Type	Relation with Peter	Density
Andrew	Kinship	Brother	10
	Friendship	Friend (Bethsaida, Capernaum, Jerusalem, Samaria, Galilee, Judea)	
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew, Hellenized Jew	
	Socioeconomy	Co-worker (Fisherman)	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue of Bethsaida [?] , Synagogue of Capernaum, Other Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Phliip^A	Friendship	Friend	9
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew, Hellenized Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
James^A	Friendship	Friend	8
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew, Hellenized Jew	
	Socioeconomy	Co-worker (Fisherman)	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue of Capernaum, Other Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
John^A	Friendship	Friend	8
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew, Hellenized Jew	
	Socioeconomy	Co-worker (Fisherman)	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue of Capernaum, Other Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Nathanael, Bartholomew	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Matthew (Levi)	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	

Thomas, (Didymus)	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew, Hellenized Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
James^B	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Judas^A, Thaddeus	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Simon (Zealot)	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Judas^B	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Twelve Disciples, Seventy Disciples (Jesus' Follower Group)	
James^C	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Church Leader (Jerusalem Church)	
Matthias	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Seventy Disciple (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Justus	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogues, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Seventy Disciple (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Apostles (Jerusalem Church)	
Cleopas	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Mark,	Friendship	Friend	6

John^B	Ethnicity	Jew	
	Socioeconomy	House Owner (Jerusalem)	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue?, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, First Missionary Group, Barnabas's Second Missionary Group (Jerusalem Church)	
Joseph, Barnabas	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue?, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer? (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer, Leader of First Missionary Group, Leader of Barnabas's Second Missionary Group (Jerusalem Church)	
Stephen	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Philip^B	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Prochorus	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Nicanor	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Timon	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Parmenas	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Nicolaus	Ethnicity	Jew	6
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Deacon (Jerusalem Church)	
Mary^A Magdalene	Friendship	Friend	5
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue?, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Martha	Friendship	Friend	5
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue?, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Lazaros	Friendship	Friend	5
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Synagogue?, Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	

Mary^B	Friendship	Friend's Mother	5
	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer [?] (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer (Jerusalem Church)	
Salome, Mary^C	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	5
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer [?] (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer (Jerusalem Church)	
Johanna	Ethnicity	Galilean Jew	5
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer [?] (Jesus' Follower Group) → Believer (Jerusalem Church)	
Mary^D	Ethnicity	Jew	5
	Socioeconomy	Host of House (Jerusalem)	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Rhoda	Socioeconomy	Slave of House (Jerusalem)	5
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Ananias^A	Ethnicity	Jew	4
	Socioeconomy	Donator (Jerusalem)	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Sapphira	Ethnicity	Jew	4
	Socioeconomy	Donator (Jerusalem)	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple)	
	Christianity	Believer (Jesus' Follower Group, Jerusalem Church)	
Aeneas	Ethnicity	Jew	2
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple [?])	
	Christianity	Believer (Jerusalem Church [?] , Church of Lydda)	
Tabitha, Dorcas	Ethnicity	Jew	2
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple [?])	
	Christianity	Believer (Jerusalem Church [?] , Church of Joppa)	
Simon	Ethnicity	Jew	3
	Socioeconomy	Owner of House (Joppa)	
	Judaism	Judean (Jerusalem Temple [?])	
	Christianity	Believer (Jerusalem Church [?] , Church of Joppa)	
Cornelius	Judaism	Proselyte (Synagogue of Caesarea)	3
	Socioeconomy	Host of House (Caesarea)	
	Christianity	Believer (Church of Caesarea)	
Annas	Ethnicity	Jew	1
	Judaism	Judean, Jewish Leader, High Priest (Sanhedrin, Jerusalem Temple)	
Caiaphas	Ethnicity	Jew	1

	Judaism	Judean, Jewish Leader, High Priest (Sanhedrin, Caiaphas's Backyard, Jerusalem Temple)	
John^C	Ethnicity	Jew	1
	Judaism	Judean, Jewish Leader, Rabbi (Sanhedrin, Jerusalem Temple)	
Alexander^A	Ethnicity	Jew	1
	Judaism	Judean, Jewish Leader, Rabbi (Sanhedrin, Jerusalem Temple)	
Gamaliel I	Ethnicity	Jew	1
	Judaism	Judean, Jewish Leader, Rabbi (Sanhedrin, Jerusalem Temple)	
Anonymous Collectors of Temple Tax	Socioeconomy	Tax Collector	0
Anonymous Caiaphas's Three Servants	Judaism	Caiaphas's servant (Caiaphas's Backyard)	0
Anonymous Crippled Beggar of Temple Gate	Socioeconomy	Bagger (Temple Gate)	0

APPENDIX IV. THE DENSITY OF PAUL'S SOCIAL NETWORKS WITH OTHER HISTORICAL FIGURES

Name	Network Type	Relation with Peter	Density
Anonymous Paul's Nephew	Kinship	Nephew	?
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew	
	Judaism	Judean	
	Christianity	Believer [?]	
Gamaliel I	Ethnicity	Jew	9
	Education	Rabbi and Leader of House of Hillel	
	Judaism	Judean	
Barnabas	Friendship	Friend	8
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew, Hellenized Jew	
	Christianity	Advocate (Antioch Church) → Co-worker (1 st Missionary Group)	
Silas	Friendship	Friend	8
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew, Hellenized Jew, Roman Citizen [?]	
	Christianity	Co-worker (2 nd Missionary Group) → Co-worker (Third Missionary Group)	
Simeon	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew [?] , Roman Citizen [?]	
	Christianity	Co-worker (Antioch Church)	
Lucius	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew [?] , Roman Citizen [?]	
	Christianity	Co-worker (Antioch Church)	
Manaen	Friendship	Friend, Co-worker	7
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen	
	Education	Hellenistic Education	
	Christianity	Co-worker (Antioch Church)	
Timothy	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Half Diaspora Jew	
	Christianity	Disciple (Church of Lystra) → Co-worker (2 nd Missionary Group ^{Partially}) → Co-worker (Third Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Aquila	Friendship	Friend	7
	Socioeconomy	Tent Maker	
	Christianity	Believer (Church of Corinth), Co-worker, Leader (Church of Ephesus), Co-worker, Leader (Church of Rome)	
Priscilla	Friendship	Friend	7
	Socioeconomy	Tent Maker	
	Christianity	Believer (Church of Corinth), Co-worker, Leader (Church of Ephesus), Co-worker, Leader (Church of Rome)	
Titius	Friendship	Friend	7
	Christianity	Corinthian Church (Believer, Disciple [?] , Epistle Sender, Co-worker), Church of Ephesus (Co-worker), Church of Crete	

		(Elder, Co-worker), Jerusalem Church (Co-worker)	
Mark	Friendship	Friend	7
	Ethnicity	Jew	
	Christianity	Believer (Antioch Church), Member ^{Partially} (1 st Missionary Group)	
Apollos	Friendship	Paul	6
	Christianity	Believer (Church of Ephesus), Believer, Co-worker (Corinthian Church)	
Erastus	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew?	
	Christianity	Believer, Disciple (Church of Ephesus), Believer, Co-worker (Corinthian Church), Believer, Co-worker (Church of Macedonia)	
Sopater	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew?	
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Aristarchus	Friendship	Friend	6
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Secundus	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew?, Roman Citizen?	
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Gaius	Friendship	Friend	6
	Ethnicity	Roman Citizen?	
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Luke	Friendship	Friend, Disciple	6
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew?	
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Tychicus	Friendship	Friend, Disciple	6
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew?	
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially}), Epistle Deliverer (Diaspora Church)	
Trophimus	Friendship	Friend	6
	Christianity	Co-worker (3 rd Missionary Group ^{Partially})	
Mnason	Friendship	Friend, House Guest	5
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew?	
Ananias^B	Friendship	Friend, Host of House (Damascus)	5
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew	
	Christianity	Evangelist (Church of Damascus)	
Philip^B	Friendship	Friend, Host of House (Caesarea)	5
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew	
	Christianity	Deacon (Christianity)	
Philip^B's Four Daughters	Friendship	Friend, Host of House (Caesarea)	5
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew	
	Christianity	Prophet (Christianity)	
Jason	Friendship	Friend, Host of House	5
	Christianity	Believer, Disciple (Church of Thessalonica)	
	Friendship	Paul	4
	Ethnicity	Roman Citizen	

Marcus Antonius Felix	Politics	Procurator of Judea	
Lydia	Friendship	Friend	4
	Christianity	Believer, Disciple (Church of Philippi)	
Dionysius	Friendship	Friend	4
	Education	Athenian Areopagus	
	Christianity	Believer, Disciple (Church of Athens)	
Damaris	Friendship	Friend	4
	Education	Athenian Areopagus	
	Christianity	Believer, Disciple (Church of Athens)	
Sosthenes	Friendship	Friend	4
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew	
	Judaism	Corinthian Synagogue (Official of the Synagogue)	
	Christianity	Corinthian Church (Believer, Disciple)	
Agabus	Friend	Friend	4
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew	
	Christianity	Antioch Church (Prophet), Church of Caesarea (Prophet)	
Crispus	Friendship	Friend	4
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew, Roman Citizen?	
	Judaism	Corinthian Synagogue (Official of the Synagogue)	
	Christianity	Corinthian Church (Believer, Disciple)	
Julius	Friendship	Paul	4
	Politics	Roman Military (Centurion)	
James	Friendship	Friend	4
	Ethnicity	Jew	
	Christianity	Leader of Jerusalem (Co-worker)	
Peter	Friendship	Friend	4
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew	
	Christianity	Leader of Jerusalem (Co-worker)	
John^B	Friendship	Friend	4
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew	
	Christianity	Leader of Jerusalem (Co-worker)	
Publius	Friendship	Friend	3
	Ethnicity	Roman Citizen	
	Christianity	Church of Malta? (Believer?)	
	Politics	Local Government (Governor of Malta)	
Lucius Sergius Paulus	Education	Hellenistic Education	3
	Christianity	Believer (Church of Cyprus?)	
	Christianity	Church of Caesarea (Believer), Jerusalem Church (Believer)	
Ananias^C	Ethnicity	Jew	3
	Education	Jewish Education: Very High Level	
	Judaism	Sanhedrin (High Priest)	
Tertullus	Friendship	Paul's Opponent	3
	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew?, Roman Citizen?	

	Socioeconomy	Attorney of Ananias ^c	
	Politics	Local Government (Attorney)	
Drusilla	Friendship	Paul	3
	Ethnicity	Half Jew (Herodian–Hasmonaeae Dynasty)	
	Education	Jewish Education: High Level	
	Judaism	Judean	
	Politics	Felix's Wife	
Herod Agrippa II	Ethnicity	Half Jew (Herodian–Hasmonaeae Dynasty)	3
	Education	Jewish Education: High Level	
	Judaism	Judean	
	Politics	Local Government (Tetrarch of Batanaea and Trachonitis)	
Bernice	Ethnicity	Half Jew (Herodian–Hasmonaeae Dynasty)	3
	Education	Jewish Education: High Level	
	Judaism	Judean	
	Politics	Local Government (Clint Ruler of the Roman Empire)	
Porcius Festus	Ethnicity	Roman Citizen	3
	Politics	Procurator of Judea	
Anonymous Prison Guard of Philippi	Friendship	Friend (Host of House)	3
	Christianity	Church of Philippi (Believer, Disciple)	
	Politics	Local Government (Prison Guard)	
Junius Annaeus Gallio	Ethnicity	Roman Citizen	2
	Politics	Proconsul of Achaia	
Anonymous Tribune of Jerusalem	Ethnicity	Roman Citizen	2
	Politics	Tribune	
Anonymous Magistrates of Philippi	Politics	Local Government (Magistrate of Philippi)	2
Anonymous Soldiers of Philippi	Politics	Local Government (Soldier)	2
Caiaphas	Judaism	Sanhedrin (High Priest)	2
Anonymous Christians from Judea	Christianity	Opponent (Judean Christian)	2
Bar-Jesus	Friendship	Opponent	1
	Ethnicity	Diaspora Jew	
	Judaism	False Prophet	
Stephen	Ethnicity	Hellenized Jew	0
	Judaism	Judean	
	Politics	Sanhedrin (Opponent)	
Anonymous Crippled Man	2 nd Order Zone	Bystander	0
Anonymous Slave-Girl	Christianity	Superstition (Opponent)	0

who Had a Spirit of Divination			

APPENDIX V. THE CODE CHOICES OF THE HISTORICAL FIGURES IN THE BOOK OF ACTS

1. Jerusalem: Olivet Mount (Acts 1:6–11)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
1:6	Apostles	Jesus	Galilean Jews	Teaching	High (H) Intimacy Weak (W) Power	Disciple	Private		Aramaic > Greek
1:7–8	Jesus	Apostles	Galilean Jews	Teaching	H Intimacy Strong (S) Power	Teacher	Private		Aramaic > Greek
1:11	Two Men in White Robes	Apostles	Galilean Jews	Revelation	H–Low (L) Intimacy S Power	God’s Messenger	Official, Reproof		Aramaic/ Greek

2. Jerusalem: Mark’s Room Upstairs in (1:12—2:4)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
1:13–14	One Hundred Twenty Christians	God	First Christian Group	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	To 1:24–25; 2:4	Aramaic/ Greek
1:15–20	Peter	One Hundred Twenty Persons	First Christian Group	Sermon	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	To 1:21–22	Greek > Aramaic [?]
1:21–22	Peter	One Hundred Twenty Persons	First Christian Group	Announcement	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	From 1:15–20	Greek > Aramaic [?]
1:24–25	One Hundred Twenty Christians	God	First Christian Group	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official	From 1:13–14	Greek > Aramaic [?]
2:4	One Hundred Twenty Christians	God	First Christian Group	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	From 1:13–14	Speak of Tongue

3. Jerusalem: Street (2:5–41)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
2:6	One Hundred Twenty Christians	God	Street	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private		Speak of Tongue
2:7–11	Diaspora Jews	One Another	Street	Statement	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Diaspora Jew	Public, Surprised	To 2:12, 2:13	Greek
2:12	Diaspora Jews	One Another	Street	Chatting	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Diaspora Jew	Private, Surprised	To 2:37	Greek
2:13	Diaspora Jews	One Another	Street	Chatting	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Diaspora Jew	Private, Mocking	To 2:37	Greek
2:14–36	Peter	Diaspora Jews	Street	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Public	To 2:38–40	Greek
2:37	Diaspora Jews, (People of Jerusalem)	Peter, Other Apostles	Street	Teaching	L Intimacy W Power	Brother	Private, Repenting	From 2:12, 2:13	Greek
2:38–40	Peter	Diaspora Jews	Street	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Public	From 2:14–36	Greek

4. Jerusalem: Church (2:42–47)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
2:42a	Apostles	Christians	Jerusalem Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek > Aramaic

2:42b	Christians	One Another	Jerusalem Church	Conversation	H Intimacy Moderate (M) Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic
2:42c	Christians	God	Jerusalem Church	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private		Greek, Aramaic
2:43a	Christians	One Another	Jerusalem Church	Wonder	H Intimacy M Power	Christian	Private, Feared		Greek, Aramaic
2:43b	Christians	One Another	Jerusalem Church	Sign	H Intimacy M Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic
2:44–46	Christians	One Another	Jerusalem Church	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Brother, Sister	Private, Joyful		Greek, Aramaic
2:47	Christians	God	Jerusalem Church	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private		Greek, Aramaic
2:47	Christians	God	Jerusalem Church	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official		Greek > Aramaic

5. Jerusalem: The Gate of Temple (3:1–10)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
3:3	Lame Man	Peter, John	Gate of Temple	Begging	L Intimacy W Power	Beggar	Private	To 3:8	Aramaic > Greek
3:4, 6	Peter	Lame Man	Gate of Temple	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Aramaic > Greek
3:8	Lame Man	God	Gate of Temple	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private, Joyful	From 3:3	Aramaic > Greek
3:10	People of Jerusalem	One Another	Jerusalem Temple	Conversation/Soliloquy	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Friend	Private, Surprised		Greek, Aramaic
3:10	People of Jerusalem	One Another	Jerusalem Temple	Conversation/Soliloquy	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Bystander	Public, Surprised		Greek, Aramaic

6. Jerusalem: Solomon's Portico (3:11–26)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
3:11–26	Peter	People of Jerusalem	Solomon's Portico	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek

7. Jerusalem: Sanhedrin (4:1–22)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
4:5–6	Jewish Leaders	Apostles	Sanhedrin	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Interrogator	Official	To 4:18	Greek > Aramaic
4:8–12	Peter	Jewish Leaders	Sanhedrin	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	To 4:19–20	Greek > Aramaic
4:16–17	Jewish Leaders	One Another	Sanhedrin	Conspiracy	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Friend, Family	Private		Greek > Aramaic
4:18	Jewish Leaders	Apostles	Sanhedrin	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 4:5–6	Greek > Aramaic
4:19–20	Peter, John	Members of Judean Council	Sanhedrin	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	From 4:8–12	Greek > Aramaic

8. Jerusalem: Church (4:23–5:11)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
4:23	Apostles	Christian	Church	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek, Aramaic
4:24–30	Christians	God	Church	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official		Greek > Aramaic
4:31	Christians	People of Jerusalem	Jerusalem	Evangelism	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Christian	Public		Greek > Aramaic
4:31	Christians	People of Jerusalem	Jerusalem	Evangelism	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic
4:32	Christians	One Another	Church	Conversation	H Intimacy S–W Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic
4:33	Apostle	Christian	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek > Aramaic
4:35	Christians	Apostles	Church	Offering	H Intimacy W Power	Donator	Official		Greek, Aramaic

4:37	Barnabas	Apostles	Church	Offering	H Intimacy W Power	Donator	Official		Greek > Aramaic?
5:2	Ananias	Apostles	Church	Offering	H Intimacy W Power	Donator	Official		Greek
5:3–4	Peter	Ananias	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official, Displeased		Greek
5:8a	Peter	Sapphira	Church	Offering	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	To 5:9	Greek
5:8b	Ananias	Peter	Church	Offering	H Intimacy W Power	Donator	Official		Greek
5:9	Peter	Sapphira	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official, Displeased	From 5:8a	Greek

9. Jerusalem: Solomon's Portico (5:12–16)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
5:12a	Apostles	People of Jerusalem	Solomon's Portico	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Public		Greek
5:12b	Christians	One Another	Solomon's Portico	Sermon, Announcement	H Intimacy M Power	Christian	Public		Greek > Aramaic
5:12b	Christians	One Another	Solomon's Portico	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic
5:13	Christians	God	Solomon's Portico	Praising	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Public		Greek > Aramaic
5:13	Christians	God	Solomon's Portico	Praising	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic
5:15– 16	Sick, Wounded	Apostles	Solomon's Portico	Healing	H Intimacy W Power	Sick, Wounded	Private		Greek, Aramaic

10. Jerusalem: Prison (5:18–20)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
5:19	Angel	Apostles	Prison	Revelation	H–L Intimacy S Power	God's Messenger	Official		Greek/ Aramaic

11. Jerusalem: Temple, Sanhedrin, and House (5:21–42)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
5:21a	Apostles	Jerusalem People	Temple	Teaching	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Public		Greek
5:21b	Jewish Leaders	Servants	Sanhedrin	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Aramaic > Greek?
5:23	Servants	Jewish Leaders	Sanhedrin	Report	L Intimacy W Power	Servants	Official		Aramaic > Greek?
5:24	Jewish Leaders	One Another	Sanhedrin	Monology	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Leader	Private, Anxious		Aramaic, Greek
5:25	Apostles	Jerusalem People	Temple	Teaching	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Public		Greek
5:27– 28	High Priest	Apostles	Sanhedrin	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Interrogator	Official	To 5:33	Greek/ Aramaic
5:29– 32	Peter, Other Apostles	Jewish Leaders	Sanhedrin	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	To 5:41	Greek > Aramaic
5:33	Jewish Leaders	One Another	Sanhedrin	Discussion	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Colleague	Official, Reproof	From 5:27–28 To 5:34– 39	Greek/ Aramaic
5:34– 39	Gamaliel	Jewish Leaders	Sanhedrin	Discussion	H Intimacy S Power	Rabbi	Official	From 5:33	Greek > Aramaic
5:40	Jewish Leaders	Apostle	Sanhedrin	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 5:33	Greek/ Aramaic
5:41	Apostle	God	Sanhedrin	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	People of God	Private	From 5:29–32	Greek, Aramaic
5:42a	Apostles	People of Jerusalem	Temple	Teaching, Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Leader of Christian	Public		Greek

5:42b	Apostles	People of Jerusalem	House	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Private		Greek, Aramaic
5:42c	Apostles	People of Jerusalem	House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S-W Power	Christian	Private		Greek, Aramaic

12. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Church (6:1–7)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
6:1	Hellenized Christians	Christians	Jerusalem Church	Blame	H Intimacy M Power	Hellenized Christian	Public, Displeased	To 6:2–7	Greek
6:2–4	Apostle	Christians	Jerusalem Church	Statement	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
6:6	Apostle	God	Jerusalem Church	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official		Greek

13. Jerusalem: The Synagogue of the Freedmen (6:8–10)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
6:9–10	Stephen	Diaspora Jews	Synagogue	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

14. Jerusalem: Judean Council (6:11–7:60)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
6:11–15	Diaspora Jews	Jewish Leaders	Judean Council	Accusation, Testimony	L Intimacy W Power	Witness	Official		Greek
7:1	High Priest	Stephen	Judean Council	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	To 7:57–58	Greek
7:2–56	Stephen	People of Judean Council	Judean Council	Sermon	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	To 7:59–60	Greek
7:57–58	People of Judean Council	Stephen	Judean Council	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Executioner	Private, Angered	From 7:1	Aramaic/ Greek
7:59–60	Stephen	God	Judean Council	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	From 7:2–56	Greek

15. Sebaste (8:4–25)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
8:4–6	Philip ^B	People of City of Samaria	City of Samaria	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
8:7	Philip ^B	People of City of Samaria	City of Samaria	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
8:8	People of City of Samaria	God	City of Samaria	Praising	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Public		Greek
8:8	People of City of Samaria	God	City of Samaria	Praising	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private		Greek
8:12	Philip ^B	People of City of Samaria	City of Samaria	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
8:15–17	Peter, John	God	Christian	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Leader	Official	To 8:20–23; 8:25	Greek
8:15–17	Peter, John	People of City of Samaria	Christian	Baptism	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	To 8:20–23; 8:25	Greek
8:18–19	Simon	Peter, John	Christian	Conversation	M Intimacy W Power	Secular Believer	Private	To 8:24	Greek
8:20–23	Peter	Simon	Christian	Conversation	M Intimacy S Power	Leader	Private, Reproof	From 8:15–17	Greek
8:24	Simon	Peter	Christian	Conversation	M Intimacy W Power	Repenter	Private	From 8:18–19	Greek
8:25	Peter, John	People of Towns of Samaria	Towns of Samaria	Sermon	H-L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official	From 8:15–17	Greek

16. The Road from Jerusalem to Gaza (8:30–39)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
8:30	Philip ^B	Ethiopian Eunuch	Street	Conversation	L Intimacy M Power	Bystander	Private	To 8:15	Greek
8:31–34	Ethiopian Eunuch	Philip ^B	Street	Conversation	L Intimacy M Power	Bystander	Private	To 8:36	Greek
8:35	Philip ^B	Ethiopian Eunuch	Street	Teaching, Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Private	From 8:30	Greek
8:36–38	Ethiopian Eunuch	Philip ^B	Street	Teaching, Evangelism	H–L Intimacy W Power	Disciple	Private	From 8:31–34	Greek

17. The Cities from Azotus to Caesarea (8:40)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
8:40	Philip ^B	People	Towns from Azotus to Caesarea	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Public		Greek

18. Damascus: the Road, House, and Synagogue (9:1–25)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
9:4	God	Paul	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Private, Reproof	To 9:5	Aramaic/ Hebrew
9:5	Paul	God	Judaism	Revelation	H Intimacy W Power	Jew	Private, Surprised		Aramaic/ Hebrew
9:5–6	God	Paul	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	Jesus	Private, Reproof	From 9:4	Aramaic/ Hebrew
9:10	God	Ananias	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Private	To 9:11–12	?
9:10	Ananias	God	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private	To 9:13:14	?
9:11–12	God	Ananias	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Private	From 9:10 To 9:15–16	?
9:13–14	Ananias	God	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private	From 9:10	?
9:15–16	God	Ananias	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Private	From 9:11–12	?
9:17	Ananias	Paul	Christianity	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek
9:19	Paul	Christians	Christianity	Fellowship	H Intimacy M Power	Brother, Sister	Private		Greek
9:20	Paul	People of Synagogues	Synagogue	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	To 9:22	Greek
9:21	Jews	One Another	Synagogue of Damascus	Conversation	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Bystander/ Friend	Public/ Private		Greek
9:22	Paul	People of Synagogues	Synagogue of Damascus	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	From 9:20	Greek
9:23–24	Jews	One Another	Judaism	Conspiracy	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Judean	Private		Greek

19. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Church (9:26–31)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
9:27	Barnabas	Apostles	Church	Conversation	H Intimacy W Power	Mediator	Official		Aramaic/ Greek
9:28a	Paul	Christians	Church	Conversation	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Friend	Private		Aramaic/ Greek
9:28b	Christians	Paul	Church	Conversation	H–L Intimacy S–W Power	Friend	Private		Aramaic/ Greek
9:29a	Paul	People of Jerusalem	Jerusalem	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 9:29b	Greek
9:29b	Paul	Hellenized Jews	Jerusalem	Sermon	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 9:29a	Greek

20. Lydda (9:32–38)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
9:34	Peter	Aeneas	House of Lydda	Healing	H–L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
9:38	Two People of Joppa	Peter	Lydda	Conversation	L Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private		Greek

21. Joppa (9:39–43)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
9:39	Peter	Tabitha	House of Tabitha	Healing	H–L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
9:42	Peter	Christian	House of Simon	Teaching	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
9:43	Peter	Simon ^B	House of Simon	Conversation	H Intimacy H–M Power	Guest	Private		Greek, Aramaic

22. Caesarea Maritima (10:1–8)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
10:2	Cornelius, His Family	God	House	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official	To 10:4	Greek/ Latin [?]
10:3	Angel	Cornelius	Proselyte	Revelation	H–L Intimacy S Power	Angel	Official	To 10:5–6	Greek/ Latin [?]
10:4	Cornelius	Angel	Proselyte	Revelation	L Intimacy W Power	Proselyte	Official, Surprised	From 10:2	Greek/ Latin [?]
10:5–6	Angel	Cornelius	Proselyte	Revelation	H–L Intimacy S Power	Angel	Official	From 10:3	Greek/ Latin [?]
10:7–8	Cornelius	Two Slave, a Proselyte Soldier	Roman Society	Order	H Intimacy S Power	Owner/ Higher Ranked Officer	Official		Greek > Latin

23. Joppa (10:9–23)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
10:13	God	Peter	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy S Power	God	Official	To 10:15	Greek > Aramaic
10:14	Peter	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official		Greek > Aramaic
10:15	God	Peter	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy S Power	God	Official	From 10:13	Greek > Aramaic
10:18	Cornelius's Two Slaves, Proselyte Soldier	Peter	House	Visiting Celebrity	L Intimacy M Power	Roman Visitor	Private	To 10:22	Greek
10:19–20	Holy Sprit	Peter	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Official		Greek > Aramaic
10:21	Peter	Cornelius's Two Slaves, Proselyte Soldier	House	Conversation	L Intimacy M Power	Peter	Private		Greek
10:22	Cornelius's Two Slaves, Proselyte Soldier	Peter	House	Conversation	L Intimacy W Power	Roman Visitor	Private	From 10:18	Greek

24. Caesarea Maritima (10:24–48)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
10:26	Peter	Cornelius	House	Conversation	L Intimacy M Power	Humble Person	Private	To 10:28–29	Greek
10:28–29	Peter	Cornelius	House	Conversation	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Private	From 10:26 To 10:34–43	Greek
10:30–33	Cornelius	Peter	House	Conversation	L Intimacy	Proselyte	Private	To 10:46	Greek

					W Power				
10:34–43	Peter	Cornelius	Christianity	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Apostle	Official	From 10:28–29 To 10:47	Greek
10:46	Cornelius, other gentile Proselytes	God	Christianity	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	People of God	Private	From 10:30–33	Speak of Tongue
10:47	Peter	People in Cornelius's House	Christianity	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Apostle	Official	From 10:34–43 To 10:48	Greek
10:48	Peter	People in Cornelius's House	Christianity	Baptism	H Intimacy S Power	Apostle	Official	From 10:47	Greek

25. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Church (11:1–18)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
11:1	Christians	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Church	Report	H–L Intimacy W Power	Informer	Official		Greek
11:2–3	Circumcised Christians	Peter	Christian Council	Blame	H Intimacy S Power	Jew	Public		Greek > Aramaic
11:4–17	Peter	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Christian Council	Report	H Intimacy S Power	Innocent Person	Official		Greek
11:18a	Circumcised Christians	God	Christian Council	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private	From 11:3 To 11:18b	Aramaic, Greek
11:18b	Circumcised Christians	Peter	Christian Council	Trial	H Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 11:18a	Greek > Aramaic

26. Syrian Antioch (11:19–30)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
11:19	Christians	Jews	Antioch	Evangelism	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek
11:20–21	Christians	Hellenists	Antioch	Evangelism	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek
11:23	Barnabas	Christians of Antioch	Antioch	Encouragement	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official, Joyful		Greek
11:25	Barnabas	Paul	Tarsus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Leader	Private		Greek
11:26	Barnabas, Paul	Christians	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
11:28	Agabus	Christians	Church	Prophecy	H Intimacy S Power	Prophet	Official		Greek

27. Jerusalem: Prison (12:5–11)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
12:5	Peter	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private, Earnest	To 12:11	Greek > Aramaic
12:7–8	Angel	Peter	Christianity	Conversation	H–L Intimacy S Power	Angel	Private		Greek > Aramaic
12:11	Peter	Himself	Christianity	Soliloquy		Christian	Private	From 12:5	Greek > Aramaic

28. Jerusalem: Mary's House (12:12–17)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
12:12	People in Mary's House	God	Mary ^D 's House	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	To 12:15a	Greek, Aramaic
12:13	Peter	People in Mary's House	Mary ^D 's House	Visiting Celebrity	H Intimacy S Power	Peter	Private	To 12:17	Greek > Aramaic
12:14	Rhoda	People in Mary's House	Mary ^D 's House	Conversation	H Intimacy W Power	Gril	Private, Joyful	To 12:15b	Greek > Aramaic

12:15a	People in Mary's House	Rhoda	Mary ^D 's House	Conversation	H Intimacy S Power	Adult	Private, Irritated	From 12:12 To 12:15c	Greek > Aramaic
12:15b	Rhoda	People in Mary's House	Mary ^D 's House	Testimony	H Intimacy W Power	Witness	Private	From 12:14	Greek > Aramaic
12:15c	People in Mary's House	People in Mary's House	Mary ^D 's House	Conversation	H Intimacy S Power	Jews	Private	From 12:15a	Greek > Aramaic
12:17	Peter	People in Mary's House	Mary ^D 's House	Testimony	H Intimacy S Power	Witness	Private	From 12:13	Greek > Aramaic

29. Jerusalem: Herod's Palace (12:12–25)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
12:18	Soldiers	People of Jerusalem	Jerusalem	Search	L Intimacy S Power	Soldiers	Official		Aramaic, Greek
12:19	Herod	Guards	Herod's Palace	Order	L Intimacy S Power	King	Official, Angered		Greek > Aramaic
12:21	Herod	People of Jerusalem	Herod's Palace	Speech	H–L Intimacy S Power	King	Official		Greek > Aramaic
12:22	People	Herod	Herod's Palace	Praise	H–L Intimacy W Power	People	Private		Aramaic, Greek

30. Syrian Antioch (13:1–3)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
13:1	Simeon (Niger)	Christians	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Official		Greek
13:1	Lucius of Cyrene	Christians	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Official		Greek
13:1	Manaen	Christians	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Official		Greek
13:1	Barnabas	Christians	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Official		Greek
13:1	Paul	Christians	Church	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Official		Greek

31. Paphos in Cyprus (13:4–12)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
13:4–5	Barnabas, Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
13:7a	Sergius Paulus	Barnabas, Paul	Paphos	Judaism	L Intimacy W Power	Judge	Private		Greek
13:7b	Paul	Sergius Paulus, Bar-Jesus	Paphos	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	To 13:9	Greek
13:8	Bar-Jesus (Elymas)	Sergius Paulus	Paphos	Judaism	H–L Intimacy S Power	Witness	Private		Greek
13:9	Paul	Sergius Paulus	Paphos	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 13:7b To 13:10–11	Greek
13:10–11	Paul	Bar-Jesus	Paphos	Punishment	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Angered	From 13:9	Greek

32. Pisidian Antioch (13:13–52)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
13:15a	Officials of Synagogue	Jews, Proselytes	Synagogue	Recitation	L Intimacy S Power	Worshiper	Official		Greek
13:15b	Leaders of Synagogue	Jews, Proselytes	Synagogue	Announcement	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
13:16–41	Paul	Jews, Proselytes	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
13:42	Paul	Jews, Proselytes	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	To 13:43	Greek

13:43	Paul, Barnabas	Jews, Proselytes	Pisidian Antioch	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	From 13:42	Greek
13:43	Paul, Barnabas	Jews, Proselytes	Pisidian Antioch	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 13:42	Greek
13:44	Paul, Barnabas	Jews, Gentiles	Pisidian Antioch	Teaching	H-L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 13:46	Greek
13:45	Hostile Jews	Peter, Barnabas, Amicable Jews, Gentiles	Pisidian Antioch	Dispute	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Public, Angered		Greek
13:46	Paul, Barnabas	Hostile Jews	Pisidian Antioch	Dispute	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	From 13:44	Greek
13:48	Gentiles	God	Pisidian Antioch	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private, Joyful		Greek
13:50	Hostile Jews	Devout Woman of High Standing, Leading men of City	Pisidian Antioch	Conspiracy	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Public, Angered		Greek
13:50	Hostile Jews	Devout Woman of High Standing, Leading men of City	Pisidian Antioch	Conspiracy	H-L Intimacy S-W Power	Jew	Private, Angered		Greek

33. Iconium (14:1–5)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
14:1	Paul, Barnabas	Jews, Greeks	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
14:2	Hostile Jews	Gentiles	Iconium	Instigation	L Intimacy S Power	Jews	Official		Greek
14:2	Hostile Jews	Gentiles	Iconium	Instigation	H-L Intimacy S-W Power	Jews	Private		Greek, Phrygian?
14:3	Paul, Barnabas	Jews, Greeks	Iconium	Evangelism	H-L Intimacy S-W Power	Christian	Public		Greek
14:5	Hostile Gentiles, Jews	Paul, Barnabas	Iconium	Insult	L Intimacy S Power	Hostile Jews	Public, Angered		Greek

34. Lystra (14:8–19)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
14:10	Paul	Cripple	Street	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 14:14–18	Greek
14:11–13	Crowds	People of Lystra	Street	Shout	L Intimacy W Power	Worshiper for Greek gods	Public, Passionate		Lycaonian Language
14:14–18	Barnabas, Paul	Crowds	Street	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public, Angered	From 14:10	Greek
14:19	Jews of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium	Crowds	Street	Instigation	H-L Intimacy S-W Power	Jews	Public, Passionate		Greek

35. Derbe (14:20–23)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
14:21a	Paul, Barnabas	People of Derbe	Derbe	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
14:21b–22	Paul, Barnabas	People of Derbe	Christianity	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek

36. Syrian Antioch (14:26—15:2)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
14:26–27	Paul, Barnabas	Leaders of Antioch	Church	Report	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Official		Greek
15:1	Judean Christians	Christians of Antioch	Church	Teaching	H–L Intimacy S Power	Judean	Official	To 15:2c	Greek > Aramaic?
15:2a	Paul	Barnabas	Church	Debate	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official, Passionate	To 15:2b	Greek
15:2a	Barnabas	Paul	Church	Debate	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official, Passionate	To 15:2b	Greek
15:2b	Paul, Barnabas	Judean Christians	Church	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	From 15:2a	Greek
15:2c	Judean Christians	Paul, Barnabas	Church	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Judean	Official	From 15:1	Greek > Aramaic?
15:2d	Leaders of Antioch Church	Other Leaders of Antioch Church	Church	Meeting	H Intimacy S Power	Leaders of Antioch	Official		Greek

37. Phoenicia (15:3a)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
15:3a	Paul, Barnabas	Phoenician Christians	Christianity	Report	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

38. Samaria (15:3b)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
15:3b	Paul, Barnabas	Samarian Christians	Christianity	Report	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

39. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Church (15:4–39)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
15:4	Paul, Barnabas	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Church	Report	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Official		Greek
15:5	Pharisaic Christians	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Church	Debate	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
15:7–12	Peter	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Church	Council	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
15:13–21	James	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Church	Council	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
15:22	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Christians	Church	Council	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	To 15:23–29	Greek
15:23–29	Leaders of Jerusalem Church	Gentile Christians	Church	Letter	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	From 15:22	Greek
15:32–33	Judas, Silas	Christians	Church	Conversation	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek > Aramaic
15:36–39	Paul	Barnabas	Jerusalem	Debate	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Passionate		Greek
15:36–39	Barnabas	Paul	Jerusalem	Debate	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Passionate		Greek

40. Syria (15:41a)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
15:41a	Paul, Silas	People of Syria	Syria	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

41. Cilicia (15:41b)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
15:41b	Paul, Silas	People of Cilicia	Cilicia	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

42. Lystra and Derbe (16:1–5)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
16:3	Paul	Timothy	Lystra	Conversation	H Intimacy S Power	Friend	Private		Greek
16:4–5	Paul, Silas, Timothy	Christians	Towns of Lystra, Derbe	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

43. Troas (16:8–10)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
16:9	Macedonian	Peter	Macedonia	Vision	L Intimacy W Power	Requestor	Private		Greek
16:10	Paul	Paul's Companions	Christianity	Interpretation	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek

44. Philippi (16:12–40)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
16:13	Paul	Women	Street	Conversation	L Intimacy S Power	Visitor	Public		Greek
16:14	Paul	Lydia	Street	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 16:15	Greek
16:15	Paul	Lydia's Family	Lydia's House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 16:14	Greek
16:16a	Paul	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private		Greek
16:17	Slave-Girl	Crowds	Street	Prophecy	L Intimacy S Power	Prophet	Public		Greek
16:18	Paul	A Slave-Girl	Street	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
16:19a	Owners of Slave-Girl	Paul, Silas	Street	Arrest	L Intimacy S Power	Accuser	Public, Angered	To 16:19b	Greek
16:19b	Owners of Slave-Girl	Authorities	Marketplace	Arrest	L Intimacy W Power	Accuser	Public, Angered	From 16:19a To 16:20	Greek
16:20–21	Owners of Slave-Girl	Magistrates	Court	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Accuser	Official, Angered	From 16:19b	Greek
16:22	Magistrates	Polices	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Magistrate	Official		Greek
16:23	Magistrates	Jailers	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Magistrate	Official		Greek
16:25	Paul, Silas	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	To 16:28	Greek
16:28	Paul	Jailer	Prison	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Prisoner	Private, Passionate	From 16:25 To 16:31	Greek
16:30	Jailer	Paul, Silas	Prison	Question	L Intimacy W Power	Sinner	Private, Fearful		Greek
16:31	Paul	Jailer	Christianity	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 16:28 To 16:32–34	Greek
16:32	Paul	Jailer's Family	Christianity	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 16:31 To 16:33	Greek
16:33	Paul	Jailer's Family	Christianity	Baptism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	From 16:32 To 16:34	Greek
16:34	Paul	Jailer's Family	Christianity	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Christian	Private, Joyful	From 16:33	Greek

16:35a	Magistrates	Soldier	Roman Government	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Higher Ranked Officer	Official	To 16:39	Greek > Latin?
16:35	Polices	Jailer	Prison	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Higher Ranked Officer	Official		Greek > Latin?
16:36	Jailer	Paul	Prison	Conversation	H-L Intimacy S Power	Friend	Private		Greek
16:37	Paul	Jailer	Prison	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Roman Citizen	Official, Angered		Greek > Latin?
16:38	Soldiers	Magistrates	Office	Message	L Intimacy W Power	Lower Ranked Officer	Official, Fearful		Greek > Latin?
16:39	Magistrates	Paul	Prison	Apology, Request	L Intimacy W Power	Apologizer	Official, Fearful	From 16:35a	Greek > Latin?
16:40	Paul, Silas	Christians of Philippi	Lydia's Home	Conversation	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Friendly		Greek

45. Thessalonica (17:1-9)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
17:2-3	Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
17:5a	Hostile Jews	Ruffians	Marketplace	Conspiracy	L Intimacy S Power	Client	Official		Greek
17:5b	Hostile Jews, Ruffians	Jason, Some Christians	Jason's House	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	To 17:6-7	Greek
17:6-7	Hostile Jews	City Authority	Public Place	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Proponent of the Roman Empire	Public, Angered	From 17:5b	Greek
17:8	Crowds, City Officials	One Another	Public Place	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Roman Officials	Private, Disturbed		Greek > Latin?

46. Beroea (17:10-14)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
17:10	Paul, Silas	Jews	Synagogue	Teaching	L Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
17:13	Hostile Jews	Jews of Beroea	Beroea	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered		Greek

47. Athens (17:15-34)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
17:15	Paul	Amicable People	Athens	Instruction	H-L Intimacy S Power	Leader of Christianity	Private		Greek
17:17a	Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official, Passionate	To 17:17c	Greek
17:17b	Paul	Proselytes	Synagogue	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official, Passionate	To 17:17c	Greek
17:17c	Paul	Bystanders	Marketplace	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Passionate	From 17:17a; 17:17b	Greek
17:18	Some Greek Philosophers	One Another	Marketplace	Conversation	L Intimacy S Power	Philosopher	Private, Curious	To 17:19-20	Greek
17:19-20	Greek Philosophers	Paul	Marketplace	Conversation	L Intimacy W Power	Philosopher, Learner	Private, Curious	From 17:18 To 17:32a, 32b	Greek
17:22-31	Paul	Greek Philosophers, Bystanders	Areopagus	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 17:17c	Greek
17:32a	Some Greeks	Paul	Areopagus	Mockery	L Intimacy S Power	Philosopher	Public	From 17:19-20	Greek

17:32b	Other Greeks	Paul	Areopagus	Response	L Intimacy S Power	Philosopher	Public, Prudent	From 17:19– 20	Greek
17:34	Paul	Dionysius, Damaris, Other Gentiles	Areopagus	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek

48. Corinth (18:1–17)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:2–3	Paul	Aquila, Priscilla	Corinth	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Co-worker	Private		Greek
18:4	Paul	Jews, Proselytes	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 18:5– 6	Greek
18:5	Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	From 18:4 To 18:6b	Greek
18:6a	Hostile Jews	Paul	Synagogue	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Public, Angered		Greek
18:6b	Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public, Angered	From 18:5	Greek
18:7	Paul	Titus Justus	Titus's House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	To 18:8	Greek > Latin?
18:8	Paul	Crispus's Family, Other Gentiles	Crispus's House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 18:7	Greek > Latin?
18:9– 10	God	Paul	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Private		Aramaic/ Hebrew
18:11	Paul	Christians	Houses	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official		Greek
18:13	Jews	Gallio	Court	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Complainant	Official, Angered		Greek > Latin?
18:14– 15	Gallio	Jews	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official		Greek > Latin?
18:18	Paul	Corinthian Christians	Christians's Houses	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Christian	Private		Greek > Latin?

49. Ephesus (18:19–21)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:19a	Paul	Aquila, Priscilla	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
18:19b	Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Debate	L Intimacy M Power	Christian	Public		Greek
18:20	Christians	Paul	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy W Power	Friend	Private		Greek
18:21	Paul	Christians	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

50. Caesarea (18:22)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:22	Paul	Christians	Caesarea	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

51. Galatia (18:23a)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:23a	Paul	Christians	Galatia	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

52. Phrygia (18:23b)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:23b	Paul	Christians	Phrygia	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

53. Ephesus (18:24–18:27b)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:25–26a	Apollos	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Disciple of John the Baptist	Public		Greek
18:26b	Priscilla, Aquila	Apollos	Ephesus	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public, Bold		Greek
18:27a	Christians	Apollos	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
18:27b	Christians	Christians of Achaia	Ephesus	Letter	H Intimacy H–M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

54. Achaia (18:27c–18:28)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
18:28	Apollos	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek

55. Ephesus (18:24–20:1)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
19:2–5	Paul	Disciples of John the Baptist	Ephesus	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek
19:6	Disciples of John the Baptist	God	Ephesus	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private		Speak of Tongue
19:8	Paul	Jews	Synagogue	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:9a	Hostile Jews	Paul	Synagogue	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Public		Greek
19:9b–10	Paul	Jews, Greeks	Lecture Hall of Tyrannus	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:11–12a	Paul	People	Ephesus	Healing	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:12b	Paul	Evil Spirits	Ephesus	Exorcism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:13	Jewish Exorcists	Evil Spirits	Ephesus	Exorcism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:14	Seven Sons of Sceva	Evil Spirit	Ephesus	Exorcism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:15	Evil Spirit	Seven Sons of Sceva	Ephesus	Exorcism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:17	Jews, Greeks	Jesus	Ephesus	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private, Fearful		Greek
19:18	Christians	Paul	Ephesus	Confession	H Intimacy W Power	Christian	Public		Greek
19:21–22	Paul	Other Christians	Ephesus	Statement	H Intimacy W Power	Leader	Official		Greek
19:25–27	Demetrius	Artisans, Traders	Ephesus	Conspiracy	H–M Intimacy S Power	Informant	Public		Greek
19:28	Artisans, Traders	People of Ephesus	Ephesus	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	To 19:29	Greek
19:29	Artisans, Traders	People of Ephesus	Theater	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	From 19:28 To 19:32	Greek
19:30–31	Disciples, Paul's Friends	Paul	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
19:32	Artisans, Traders	People of Ephesus	Ephesus	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	From 19:29 To 19:34	Greek
19:33a	Jews	Alexander	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

19:33b	Alexander	Artisans, Traders	Ephesus	Conversation	L Intimacy W Power	Friend	Public		Greek
19:34	Artisans, Traders	Alexander	Ephesus	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	From 19:32	Greek
19:35–40	Town Clerk	Artisans, Traders	Ephesus	Statement	L Intimacy S Power	Public Worker	Public		Greek
20:1	Paul	Disciples	Ephesus	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

56. Macedonia (20:2)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
20:2	Paul	Christians	Macedonia	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

57. Troas (20:4–12)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
20:4a, 5	Paul	Sopater	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:4b, 5	Paul	Aristarchus	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:4c, 5	Paul	Secundus	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:4d, 5	Paul	Gaius	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:4e, 5	Paul	Timothy	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:4f, 5	Paul	Tychicus	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:4g, 5	Paul	Trophimus	Troas	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek
20:7–11	Paul	Christians	House	Teaching	H Intimacy S Power	Teacher	Official		Greek
20:12	Christians	Eytychus	House	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

58. Miletus (20:15–38)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
20:17	Paul	Ephesian Elders	Christianity	Message	H Intimacy M Power	Leader	Private		Greek
20:18–35	Paul	Ephesian Elders	Christianity	Sermon	H Intimacy S Power	Leader	Official		Greek
20:36	Paul	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Official		Greek
20:37–38	Ephesian Elders	Paul	Christianity	Conversation	H Intimacy M–W Power	Friend	Private, Emotional		Greek

59. Tyre (21:3–6)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
21:4	Christians	Paul	Christianity	Advice	H Intimacy S Power	God's Messenger	Private	To 21:5	Greek
21:5a	Christians	Paul	Christianity	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	From 21:4	Greek
21:5b	Paul	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	To 21:6	Greek
21:6	Paul	Christians	Christianity	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	From 21:4	Greek

60. Ptolemais (21:7)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
21:7	Paul	Christians	Christianity	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

61. Caesarea Maritima (21:8–14)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
21:10–11	Agabus	Paul's Companions,	Christianity	Prophecy	H Intimacy S Power	God's Messenger	Official		Greek

		Other Christians							
21:12	Paul's Companions, Other Christians	Paul	Christianity	Advice	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	To 21:14	Greek
21:13	Paul	Paul's Companions, Other Christians	Christianity	Statement	H Intimacy S Power	Passionate Christian	Official, Passionate		Greek
21:14	Paul's Companions, Other Christians	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	From 21:12	Greek
21:16	Paul	Mnason	Christianity	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek

62. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Church (21:17–25)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
21:17	Christians	Paul	Church	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Brother	Private		Greek
21:19a	Paul	James, Elders	Church	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Brother	Private	To 21:19b	Greek
21:19b	Paul	James, Elders	Church	Report	H Intimacy W Power	Leader	Official	From 21:19a	Greek
21:20a	James, Elders	God	Church	Praise	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Private	To 21:20b–25	Aramaic, Greek
21:20b–25	James, Elders	Paul	Church	Advice	H Intimacy M Power	Brother	Private	From 21:20a	Greek

63. Jerusalem: Temple (21:26–36)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
21:26	Paul	Jew	Temple	Report	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Official		Greek
21:27–28	Jew from Asia Minor	Other Jews	Temple	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Public, Angered		Greek
21:30–31	Hostile Jews	Jews of Jerusalem	Jerusalem	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	To 21:34	Aramaic, Greek
21:33	Tribune	Hostile Jews	Jerusalem	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	To 21:37b–38	Greek
21:34	Hostile Jews	Tribune	Jerusalem	Interrogation	L Intimacy W Power	Mob	Official, Angered	From 21:30–31 To 21:36	Greek
21:36	Hostile Jews	Jews of Jerusalem	Jerusalem	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	From 21:34 To 22:22–23	Aramaic, Greek

64. Jerusalem: The Road to the Barracks (21:37–22:29)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
21:37a	Paul	Tribune	Roman Government	Arrest	L Intimacy W Power	Jew	Official	To 21:39	Greek
21:37b–38	Tribune	Paul	Roman Government	Arrest	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 21:33 To 21:40	Greek
21:39	Paul	Tribune	Roman Government	Arrest	L Intimacy W Power	Jewish Citizen of Tarsus	Official	From 21:37a To 22:1	Greek
21:40	Tribune	Paul	Roman Government	Arrest	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 21:37b–38	Greek
22:1	Paul	Hostile Jews	Judaism	Speech	H Intimacy S Power	Brother	Official	From 21:39 To 22:3–5	Aramaic (or Hebrew)

22:3–5	Paul	Hostile Jews	Judaism	Speech	H Intimacy S Power	Devout Jew	Official	From 21:1 To 22:6–21	Aramaic (or Hebrew)
22:6–21	Paul	Hostile Jews	Judaism	Speech	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	From 22:3–5 To 22:25	Aramaic (or Hebrew)
22:22–23	Hostile Jews	Paul	Jerusalem	Disturbance	L Intimacy S Power	Mob	Public, Angered	From 21:36	Aramaic, Greek
22:24	Tribune	Soldiers	Roman Government	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Higher-Ranked Officer	Official	From 21:40 To 22:27a	Greek
22:25	Paul	Centurion	Roman Government	Arrest	L Intimacy S Power	Roman Citizen	Official	From 22:6–21 To 22:27b	Greek
22:26	Centurion	Soldiers	Roman Government	Report	L Intimacy S Power	Lower-Ranked Officer	Official		Greek
22:27a	Tribune	Paul	Roman Government	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 22:24 To 22:28a	Greek
22:27b	Paul	Tribune	Roman Government	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Roman Citizen	Official	From 22:25 To 22:28b	Greek
22:28a	Tribune	Paul	Roman Government	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 22:27	Greek
22:28b	Paul	Tribune	Roman Government	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Roman Citizen	Official		Greek

65. Jerusalem: Judean Council and Roman Government (23:1–23:10)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
23:1	Paul	Members of Jewish Council	Judean Council	Interrogation	H Intimacy M Power	Devout Jew	Official	To 23:3	Greek
23:2	Ananias ^C	Other Jew	Judean Council	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	High Priest	Official, Angered		Greek
23:3	Paul	Ananias ^C	Judean Council	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Official, Angered		Greek
23:4	Other Jew	Paul	Judean Council	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Servant of High Priest	Official		Greek
23:5	Paul	Members of Jewish Council	Judean Council	Apology	H Intimacy S Power	Devout Jew	Official	From 23:1 To 23:6	Greek
23:6	Paul	Members of Jewish Council	Judean Council	Interrogation	H Intimacy S Power	Pharisee	Official	From 23:5	Greek
23:7–8a	Sadducees	Pharisees	Judean Council	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Pharisees	Official, Passionate		Greek, Aramaic
23:7,8b–9	Pharisees	Sadducees	Judean Council	Debate	L Intimacy S Power	Pharisees	Official, Passionate		Greek, Aramaic
23:10	Tribune	Soldiers	Roman Government	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Higher-Ranked Officer	Official		Greek

66. Jerusalem: The Barracks (23:11)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
23:11	God	Paul	Christianity	Revelation	H Intimacy S Power	God	Private		Aramaic/ Hebrew

67. Jerusalem (23:12–15)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
23:12	Forty Hostile Jews	God	Judaism	Vow	H Intimacy W Power	Jew	Official		Aramaic/ Greek

23:14–15	Forty Hostile Jews	High Priests, Elders	Judaism	Conspiracy	H Intimacy W Power	Jew	Official		Aramaic/Greek

68. Jerusalem: The Barracks (23:16–)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
23:16	Paul's Nephew	Paul	Diaspora Jewish Family	Conversation	H Intimacy S Power	Family	Private	To 23:20–21	Greek > Aramaic?
23:17	Paul	Centurion	Barracks	Request	L Intimacy H–M Power	Roman Citizen	Official		Greek
23:18	Centurion	Tribune	Barracks	Report	L Intimacy W Power	Lower-Ranked Officer	Official		Greek > Latin?
23:19	Tribune	Paul's Nephew	Barracks	Report	L Intimacy S Power	High-Ranked Officer	Official	To 23:22	Greek
23:20–21	Paul's Nephew	Tribune	Barracks	Report	L Intimacy W Power	Informer	Official	From 23:16	Greek
23:22	Tribune	Paul's Nephew	Barracks	Report	L Intimacy S Power	High-Ranked Officer	Official	From 23:19 To 23:23–24	Greek
23:23–24	Tribune	Centurions	Barracks	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Higher-Ranked Officer	Official	From 23:22 To 23:26–30	Greek > Latin?
23:26–30	Tribune	Felix	Roman Government	Letter	L Intimacy W Power	Lower-Ranked Officer	Official	From 23:23–24	Greek > Latin?

69. Caesarea (23:34–24:27)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
23:34–35a	Felix	Paul	Roman Government	Interrogation	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	To 23:35b	Greek
23:35b	Felix	Soldiers	Roman Government	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Governor	Official	From 23:34–35a To 24:22	Greek > Latin?
24:3–8	Tertullus	Felix	Court	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Attorney	Official		Greek > Latin
24:9	Ananias, Elders	Felix	Court	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Accuser	Official		Greek > Latin?
24:10–21	Paul	Felix	Court	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Innocent Person	Official		Greek
24:22	Felix	Paul, Ananias, Elders	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 23:35b To 24:23	Greek
24:23	Felix	Centurion	Roman Government	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Governor	Official	From 24:22	Greek > Latin?
24:24a	Felix, Drusilla	Paul	Roman Citizens	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	To 24:26	Greek > Latin?
24:24b–25	Paul	Felix, Drusilla	Christianity	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private, Fearful		Greek > Latin?
24:26	Felix, Drusilla	Paul	Roman Citizens	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	From 24:24a	Greek > Latin?

70. Jerusalem (25:1–5)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
25:2–3	High Priests,	Festus	Roman Government	Accusation (Conspiracy)	L Intimacy W Power	Jewish Leaders	Official		Greek

	Leaders of Jews								
25:4–5	Festus	High Priests, Leaders of Jews	Roman Government	Statement	L Intimacy S Power	Governor	Official		Greek

71. Caesarea (25:6—26:32)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
25:6	Festus	Soldiers	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	To 25:9	Greek
25:7	Jews	Festus	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Accuser	Official		Greek
25:8	Paul	Festus	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Innocent Person	Official	To 25:10–11	Greek
25:9	Festus	Paul	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 25:6 To 25:12a	Greek
25:10–11	Paul	Festus	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Innocent Person	Official	From 25:8	Greek
25:12 a	Festus	Council	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 25:9 To 25:12b	Greek
25:12 b	Festus	Paul	Roman Government	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 25:12a	Greek
25:13	Herod Agrippa II, Bernice	Festus	Roman Citizens	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	To 25:22a	Greek/Latin
25:14–21	Festus	Herod Agrippa II, Bernice	Roman Citizens	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	To 25:22b	Greek/Latin
25:22 a	Herod Agrippa II, Bernice	Festus	Roman Citizens	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	From 25:13	Greek/Latin
25:22 b	Festus	Herod Agrippa II, Bernice	Roman Citizens	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private	From 25:14–21	Greek/Latin
25:23	Festus	Soldiers	Roman Government	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Governor	Official	To 25:24–27	Greek > Latin?
25:24–27	Festus	Herod Agrippa II, Bernice, Other Prominent men	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Official	From 25:23 To 26:24	Greek > Latin?
26:1	Herod Agrippa II	Paul	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Investigator	Official	To 26:28	Greek > Latin?
26:2–7	Paul	Herod Agrippa II	Court	Trial	L Intimacy W Power	Innocent Person	Official	To 26:8–23	Greek > Latin?
26:8–23	Paul	Herod Agrippa II	Court	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Official	From 26:2–7 To 26:25–26	Greek > Latin?
26:24	Festus	Paul	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Judge	Private	From 25:24–27 To 26:31	Greek > Latin?
26:25–26	Paul	Festus	Court	Evangelism	L Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private	From 26:8–23 To 26:27	Greek > Latin?
26:27	Paul	Herod Agrippa II	Court	Evangelism	L Intimacy W Power	Christian	Private	From 26:25–26 To 26:29	Greek > Latin?
26:28	Herod Agrippa II	Paul	Court	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Jew	Private	From 26:1 To 26:31	Greek > Latin?
26:29	Paul	Herod Agrippa II	Court	Evangelism	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 26:27	Greek > Latin?
26:31	Herod Agrippa II, Festus, Bernice, Other Prominent men	One Another	Court	Trial	L Intimacy S Power	Political Authority	Official	From 26:24, 28 To 26:32	Greek > Latin?

26:32	Herod Agrippa II	Festus	Court	Trial	L Intimacy M Power	Investigator	Private	From 26:31	Greek/ Latin

72. The Ship of Adramyttium (27:1–43)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
27:3	Julius	Paul	Roman Citizens	Escort	L Intimacy M Power	Centurion	Official, Kind		Greek > Latin?
27:10	Paul	People of Ship	Ship	Statement	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
27:21–22	Paul	People of Ship	Ship	Statement	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	To 27:23–24	Greek
27:23–24	Paul	People of Ship	Ship	Revelation	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	From 27:21–22 To 27:25	Greek
27:25	Paul	People of Ship	Ship	Statement	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	From 27:23–24	Greek
27:31	Paul	People of Ship	Ship	Revelation	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public		Greek
27:33–34	Paul	People of Ship	Ship	Conversation	H–L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	To 27:35	Greek
27:35	Paul	God	Christianity	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Public	From 27:33–34	Greek
27:42	Soldiers	Centurion	Ship	Order	L Intimacy W Power	Lower-Ranked Soldier	Official		Greek/ Latin
27:43	Centurion	Soldiers	Ship	Order	L Intimacy S Power	Lower-Ranked Soldier	Official		Greek/ Latin

73. The Island of Malta (28:1–10)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
28:2	Natives of Malta	People of Ship	Malta	Conversation	L Intimacy W Power	Friend	Private, Kind		Greek
28:4	Natives of Malta	One Another	Malta	Conversation	H–M Intimacy H–M Power	Friend	Private	To 28:6	Punic
28:6	Natives of Malta	One Another	Malta	Statement	H–M Intimacy H–M Power	Friend	Public, Surprised	From 28:4	Punic
28:8	Paul	God	Publius's House	Prayer	H Intimacy W Power	Worshiper	Public	To 28:9	Greek
28:9	Paul	Natives	Town	Healing	L Intimacy S Power	Christian	Public	From 28:8	Greek
28:10	Natives of Malta	People of Ship	Malta	Conversation	H Intimacy W Power	Friend	Private, Kind		Greek

74. Puteoli (28:13–14)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
28:14	Christians	Paul	Puteoli	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Friend	Private		Greek > Latin?

75. Rome (28:16–31)

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
28:17–20	Paul	Local Leaders of Jews	Diaspora Jews	Conversation	H Intimacy M Power	Brother	Private		Greek > Latin?
28:21–22	Local Leaders of Jews	Paul	Diaspora Jews	Statement	H Intimacy M–W Power	Leader, Leaner	Official, Curious		Greek > Latin?
28:23	Paul	Local Leaders of Jews	Paul's House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	To 28:23	Greek > Latin?

28:25–28	Paul	Local Leaders of Jews	Paul's House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private	From 28:25–28	Greek > Latin?
28:30–31	Paul	People of Rome	Paul's House	Evangelism	H Intimacy S Power	Christian	Private		Greek > Latin?

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