PETER'S CODE CHOICE IN THE PENTECOST SERMON: A HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO THE PRESTIGE RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE OF THE JERUSALEM CHURCH

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The issue of a prestige religious language has been closely related to the question of which language first-century Christians used to transmit the Jesus tradition (i.e. *logia* or sayings of Jesus).[1] The scholarly debates of this issue can be categorized into two main hypotheses.[2] First, the advocates of the 'Aramaic Jesus tradition' insist that Jesus predominantly spoke Aramaic; eyewitnesses of Jesus handed down their testimonies of Jesus in Aramaic; and Hellenistic Christians translated the Aramaic Jesus tradition into Greek.[3] Second, the advocates of the 'early Greek Jesus tradition'

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1. Sung Min Park, *The Prestige Language of Christianity in the Book of Acts: Historical Sociolinguistic Approaches to Multilingualism* (LBS, 29; Leiden: Brill, 2025), pp. 28-29.

2. Concerning further information on these hypotheses, see Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 1-5, 8-50.

3. The following scholars support this hypothesis: Rudolf Bultmann, *Exegetica: Aufsätze zur Erforschung des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967), pp. 102-3; Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (trans. Bertram Lee Woolf; London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1934), pp. 32-34; and Richard Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), p. 20. This hypothesis relies on the Aramaic Hypothesis—Aramaic was the predominant vernacular language among Palestinian Jews even after the conquest of Alexander. Concerning the advocates of the Aramaic Hypothesis, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD', *CBQ* 32 (1970), pp. 501-31; Charles C. Torrey, 'The Aramaic of the Gospels', in Stanley E. Porter (ed.), *The Language of the New*

claim that Jesus often employed Greek for his sermons and teaching as nec-essary; and some of Jesus' disciples and other eyewitnesses of Jesus passed down the Jesus tradition in Greek.[4]

Along with the general recognition of the multilingual environment of ancient Palestine, recent scholars have pointed out the weaknesses of the Aramaic Jesus tradition hypothesis in various ways. The Aramaic Jesus tra-dition hypothesis oversimplifies individual historical figures' code choices, which can be examined through statistical analyses of their preferred data from the targums and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Moreover, the Aramaic Jesus tradition hypothesis relies on a functional monolingual perspective of first-century Palestinian communities, which assumes that the inhabitants mostly spoke their mother tongues. From sociolinguistic perspectives, bilingual speakers' code choices are not as simple as what the Aramaic Jesus tradition hypothesis proposes.[5] Despite its weakness, however, the Aramaic Jesus

Testament: Classic Essays (JSNTSup, 60; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 98-111; Maurice Casey, *An Aramaic Approach to Q: Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (SNTSMS, 122; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-50.

4.   The following scholars support this hypothesis: Alexander Roberts, *Greek, the Language of Christ and his Apostles* (London: Longmans, 1888); Stanley E. Porter, 'The Greek of the Jews and Early Christians', in Duncan Burns and J.W. Rogerson (eds.), *Far from Minimal: Celebrating the Work and Influence of Philip R. Davies* (New York: T. & T. Clark, 2012), pp. 350-64 (esp. 361-64); Hughson T. Ong, *The Multilingual Jesus and the Sociolinguistic World of the New Testament* (LBS, 12; Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 325-26. This hypothesis is based on the Koine Greek Hypothesis—the Hellenization program of Alexander the Great shifted the lingua franca of ancient Palestine from Aramaic to Greek. For arguments in favor of the Koine Greek Hypothesis, see Gustav Adolf Deissmann, 'Hellenistic Greek with Special Consideration of the Greek Bible', in Porter (ed.), *Language of the New Testament*, pp. 39-59; Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG, 1; New York: Peter Lang, 1989), pp. 141-56. To be clear, a lingua franca is 'a language serving as a regular means of communication between different linguistic groups in a multilingual speech community' (Janet Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* [New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017], p. 86).

5.   For further information on the criticism of the Aramaic Hypothesis, see Stanley E. Porter, 'The Role of Greek Language Criteria in Historical Jesus Re-search', in Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter (eds.), *Handbook for the Study of the*

tradition hypothesis has still maintained popularity in the study of Gospel transmission.

Formerly, biblical scholars heavily relied on logical inferences for the sociolinguistic issues of a prestige religious language of the Jerusalem church in multilingual environments.[6] However, the debate regarding a prestige religious language of first-century Christianity should focus on a sociolinguistic inquiry of which language Jesus and the apostles used for their sermons in public and official settings.[7] Jesus' predominant use of Greek for his sermons is confirmed by both Stanley E. Porter and Hughson T. Ong.[8] Although the apostles' code choices in the Jerusalem church were often noted, they have not been investigated thoroughly with sociolinguistic approaches.[9]

By employing macro-, meso- and micro-sociolinguistics, I argue that Peter spoke Greek in the Pentecost sermon (Acts 2.14-42) based on the fact that Peter's audience who spoke different first languages (L1) knew Greek at least as a second language (L2), but among them, a considerable number of people from Greek-speaking regions of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire did not understand Aramaic. This study consists of three sections. The first section reformulates macro-, meso- and micro-sociolin-

Historical Jesus: How to Study the Historical Jesus (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 361-404 (esp. 364-70); Allan Bell, 'The Early Greek-Language Tradition behind the Gospels', in John De Jong and Csilla Saysell (eds.), *Holding Forth the Word of Life: Essays in Honor of Tim Meadowcroft* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2020), pp. 229-42 (esp. 235-36).

6.   This study employs Porter's term 'prestige religious language' and defines it as a high and formal variety used in a restricted religious linguistic context (see Stanley E. Porter, 'The Functional Distribution of Koine Greek in First-Century Palestine', in Stanley E. Porter [ed.], *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics* [JSNTSup, 193; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000], pp. 53-78 [58]).

7.   Porter, 'Greek of the Jews and Early Christians', pp. 362-63.

8.   Porter's and Ong's studies evince that, although Greek was Jesus' L2, he often spoke Greek in conversations or sermons for non-Aramaic-speaking people. See Stanley E. Porter, *The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research: Previous Discussion and New Proposals* (JSNTSup, 191; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), pp. 141-64; Porter, 'Role of Greek Language Criteria', pp. 378-84; Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, pp. 282-98.

9.   For instance, see Porter, 'Greek of the Jews and Early Christians', p. 363; Bell, 'Early Greek-Language Tradition', pp. 239-40.

guistic approaches to the inquiry into Peter's code choices. The second section investigates the macro- and meso-contexts of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire. The third section then identifies Peter's code choice in the Pentecost sermon by investigating Peter's plurilingualism and the micro-contexts of his sermon in Acts 2.5-40.

Macro-, Meso- and Micro-Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguists have developed various types of approaches to examine the relationship between language and society with different kinds of emphases.[10] The various types of sociolinguistic approaches today fall under the broad umbrella of distinct sociolinguistic schools. The concept of macro-, meso- and micro-sociolinguistics is useful to understand the major foci of diverse sociolinguistic approaches for the investigation of first-century Christianity (see Table 1).[11]

10.   Traditional sociolinguistics began with three major areas: (1) the sociology of language (macro-sociolinguistics); (2) variationist sociolinguistics (meso-sociolinguistics); and (3) ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics (micro-sociolinguistics) (see Allan Bell, *The Guidebook to Sociolinguistics* [Malden, MA: Wiley, 2013], pp. 6-12).

11.   The concepts of macro-sociolinguistics and micro-sociolinguistics were introduced by Joshua A. Fishman, the founder of the sociology of language (*The Sociology of Language: An Interdisciplinary Social Science Approach to Language in Society* [Rowley: Newbury House, 1972], p. 29). These concepts were adapted by Richard A. Hudson and Florian Coulmas and were developed further by Ronald Wardhaugh and Bell (see Richard A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980], p. 5; Florian Coulmas, *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1998], p. 4; Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* [Oxford: Blackwell, 2015], pp. 15-17; Bell, *Guidebook to Sociolinguistics*, pp. 6-14). The concept of indexicality originates from the semiotic conception of index which was coined by Charles S. 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 extended by Michael Silverstein to address the relationship between language and its social meaning. According to Silverstein, indexicality is formed in dialectical processes between macro-contexts and micro-contexts (see Charles S. Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* [8 vols.; ed. Paul Weiss; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958], II, pp. 305-7; Michael Silverstein, 'Indexical Or-

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

Table 1. Macro-, Meso- and Micro-Sociolinguistics[12]

Contemporary scholars of macro- and meso-sociolinguistics take seriously the concept of linguistic ideology, namely, a set of beliefs about the general norms and rules for language usages in relation to its *indexical* value and meaning (e.g. good/bad; appropriate/inappropriate; preferred/not preferred; normal/deviant; superior/inferior; solidary/non-solidary, etc.).[13] Macro-sociolinguistics focuses on language policy and planning of the institutional communities that manage and control linguistic ideologies for standard language and vernacular languages. On the other hand, meso-sociolinguistics concentrates on linguistic ideologies of the non-institutional communities that regularly gather based on their members' social practices.

Meanwhile, micro-sociolinguistics is based on ethnographic-interactional approaches that focus on the study participants' everyday life through long-

der and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life', *Language & Communication* 23 [2003], pp. 193-229 [203]).

12. Park, *Prestige Language*, pp 65-67.

13. Silverstein defines linguistic ideologies as 'sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Michael Silverstein, 'Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology', in Paul R. Clyne *et al*. [eds.], *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels* [Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1979], pp. 193-247 [193]). For further information on sociolinguists' concepts of language ideology, see Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry', in Bambi B. Schieffelin *et al*. (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 3-50.

term experience and involvement in order to identify the way of life in rela-
tion to their language usages. On the basis of the research on the study par-
ticipants, micro-sociolinguists investigate communicative competence,
namely, an individuals' ability to use language properly according to the
macro-, meso- and micro-contexts of their communication.[14] In doing so,
contemporary scholars' micro-sociolinguistic theories aim at identifying
'why did this speaker say it [in] this way on this occasion?'[15]

   In light of the recent trend of contemporary sociolinguistics, this study
suggests a new proposal for a historical-sociolinguistic approach that ap-
plies the integrated contemporary sociolinguistic theories to the examination
of Peter's code choices in a multilingual environment. In this study, macro-
and meso-sociolinguistics will be used for the reconstruction of the socio-
linguistic environments of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire in
the first century CE, and micro-sociolinguistics will provide a theoretical
framework for identifying Peter's code choices in relation with the macro-,
meso- and micro-contexts of his Pentecost sermon.

Macro-Sociolinguistics

Macro-sociolinguistics aims at describing linguistic ideologies produced by
language policy and planning at institutional levels. This study employs
Bernard Spolsky's language policy model and reconstructs the linguistic
ideology within the macro-contexts of the residences of Peter's audience in
the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire.[16] A language policy consists

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   14. Nikolas Coupland, *Style: Language Variation and Identity* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 103-5.
   15. Bell, *Guidebook to Sociolinguistics*, p. 293.
   16. Spolsky's earlier language policy model is problematic because he em-
ploys speech community and social domain models that are not well suited for de-
termining small groups or communities. Furthermore, he overlooks the significance
of individuals' roles in language policy. In 2021, Spolsky accepted the criticism of
his model and attempted to update his approach by focusing on individual roles in
language policy. Nevertheless, Spolsky's model is not useful for identifying lin-
guistic ideologies in the meso-context since he still employs speech-community and
social-domain models. His model, however, provides a theoretical framework for
identifying social, cultural and political influences on linguistic ideologies at insti-
tutional levels. For more information on criticism of Spolsky's earlier model, see

of theories, laws, programs or measures to design, manage and control the usage of a particular language or set of languages.[17] Spolsky identifies language practice, linguistic ideology and language management as central components for a language policy at the institutional level.[18]

Acknowledging the significance of the individuals' potential effect on language management, in 2021, Spolsky revised his former proposal and suggested concentrating on people 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.[19] Management agencies refer to authoritative language managers who establish and conduct language policies in various speech communities or social domains.[20] Management advocates refer to language reformers who spread linguistic ideologies of their chosen languages to individuals, groups and communities, and who persuade authoritative language managers.[21] In his revised proposal, Spolsky attempts to articulate the specific roles of individuals in generating language policies in institutional communities.

Bingjun Yang and Rui Wang, *Language Policy: A Systemic Functional Linguistic Approach* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 31-32.

17.   Both Haugen and Cooper have made significant contributions to the formulation of the fundamental tenets of the language policy model; they suggested the procedure of language policy by which the government designed, managed and controlled the language status of a targeted language. See Einar Haugen, 'The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice', in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives* (New York: Mouton, 1983), pp. 269-89 (esp. 275); Robert L. Cooper, *Language Planning and Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 29-45. In addition, Juan Cobarrubias applied the concept of linguistic ideology to the government's status planning for both major and minor languages (see 'Ethical Issues in Status Planning', in Fishman, *Progress in Language Planning*, pp. 41-86 [esp. 63-66]).

18.   Bernard Spolsky, *Language Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 5-7.

19.   For the role of management agencies and advocates in language policy, see Bernard Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), pp. 127-49.

20.   Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy*, pp. 127-28.

21.   Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy*, pp. 127-28.

In light of the language policy model, this study identifies the linguistic ideologies produced by the language policy at the institutional level of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire. Since no historical documents or sources directly attest to the language policies of these empires in the first century CE, this study instead focuses on analyzing the historical data concerning the authorities that functioned as management agencies and advocates of language policies, alongside their official documents and inscriptions.

Meso-Sociolinguistics

Meso-Sociolinguistics concerns linguistic ideologies of various noninstitutional communities which follow or resist language policies of institutional communities. Penelope Eckert proposes the indexical field model to identify linguistic ideologies of a meso-context where potential meanings are created by a particular language form (e.g. code, pronunciation, accent, intonation or grammar) in relation to particular group identities.[22] Eckert relates linguistic ideologies to her concept of the 'community of practice', where individuals have solidarity based on the strong density of social networks because linguistic ideologies vary depending on the sociolinguistic environment of the community.[23] Eckert's ethnographical study of two teenage groups, so-called 'Jocks' and 'Burnouts', evinces that social networks where individuals engage in the same social practice in reality are a critical factor of a community of practice, which produces linguistic ideologies. Based on her research findings from Jocks and Burnouts, Eckert suggests that the linguistic ideologies of a community should be identified, not

22.   Regarding Eckert's indexical field model, see Penelope Eckert, 'Variation and the Indexical Field', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12 (2008), pp. 453-76 (esp. 465-71).

23.   As for the concept of the community of practice, see Penelope Eckert, 'Communities of Practice: Where Language, Gender, and Power All Live', in K. Hall *et al*. (eds.), *Locating Power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference—April 4 and 5, 1992* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Women and Language Conference, 1992), pp. 89-99 (esp. 95-98); Eckert, *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High* (Language in Society; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 171-212. Regarding the relationship between the indexical-field model and the concept of the community of practice, see Eckert, 'Variation', p. 460.

through abstract concepts such as social status, region, gender or ethnicity, but rather through the social networks in which people gather for specific social practices.

Lesley Milroy confirms that a community of practice could have its own linguistic ideology when its social network is dense.[24] Depending on the density of the social network, the members of a community of practice may have an independent linguistic ideology for using its own vernacular language (language maintenance) or a conformative linguistic ideology for accepting the use of the standard language in the surrounding society (language shift or language death). When a community of practice has strong ties with a social network supporting a minority language, it may resist institutional pressures to engage in a language shift and keep using its vernacular language. On the other hand, if its network density is not strong enough, a language shift or language death is highly likely to take place because it barely has a chance to use its vernacular language.

Micro-Sociolinguistics

One of the earliest sociolinguistic approaches to examine code-switching in a multilingual environment was suggested by Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz in 1968. The term 'code' refers to a set of language forms that can be identified based on specific patterns. In other words, a code encompasses any pronunciation, intonation, accent, grammar, vocabulary, speech pattern, linguistic style, dialect or language.[25] Therefore, code-switching refers to the pattern by which speakers shift their language during a conversation when they perceive a change in their interlocutor, topic or setting. On the basis of their research findings of code-switching in a Norwegian community, Blom and Gumperz proposed the 'style-shifting' model with two different dimensions of code-switching from the general level to the personal level.[26] In 2013, Bell suggested updating the sociolinguistic framework for code-switching with the 'style' model. Bell insists that Blom and

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24. See Lesley Milroy and Matthew J. Gordon, *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 126.

25. Holmes, *Introduction*, pp. 6, 504.

26. Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz, 'Social Meaning in Linguistic Structure: Code-Switching in Norway', in John J. Gumperz and Dell H. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* (New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1972), pp. 407-34 (esp. 424-26).

Gumperz's fundamental concept of style-shifting is the same as the concept of other sociolinguists' style models although their emphases and technical terms are different.[27]

Coupland proposes a style model that explains identity contextualization processes, whereby speakers draw on sociolinguistic resources as 'acts of identity'.[28] As illustrated in Figure 1 (see next page), the input data for identity contextualization consists of linguistic ideology—that is, the general norms and rules for the use of language as an act of identity within macro- and meso-contexts. Linguistic competence involves identity contextualization processes in micro-contexts which use sociolinguistic resources (input data) for projecting a particular identity (output data).[29] Coupland demonstrates five processes of identity contextualization: (1) targeting; (2) framing; (3) voicing; (4) keying; and (5) loading.[30]

27.   See Allan Bell, 'Back in Style: Reworking Audience Design', in Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (eds.), *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 139-69 (144).

28.   The term 'acts of identity' refers to the way in which individuals' language choices function as a social practice that indexes their social identities to intended audiences, in light of the macro-, meso- and micro-contexts of their conversation (see Coupland, *Style*, pp. 111-15).

29.   Irene Theodoropoulou, *Sociolinguistics of Style and Social Class in Contemporary Athens* (DAPSAC, 57; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2014), pp. 8-14.
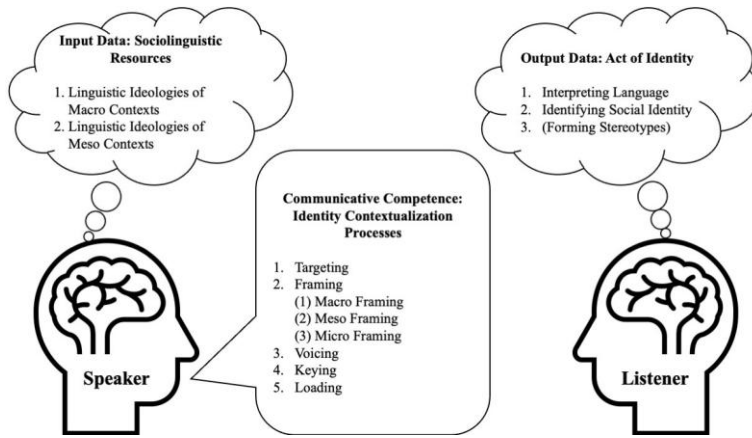
30.   Coupland, *Style*, pp. 112-14.

Figure 1. Linguistic Competence for
Utilizing Sociolinguistic Resources as Acts of Identity

First, targeting involves directing speech toward a specific individual or group, for whom speakers stylize their language in order to accommodate.[31] The speakers generally choose their code in light of their relationship with the person (or people) they engage with. A third party could be targeted—that is, overhearers, eavesdroppers or even someone who is not in the conversation.[32]

Second, framing refers to a process of determining the relevant language for 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. In framing, there are three types: (1) Macro-framing concerns linguistic ideologies in macro-contexts. Speakers may choose their codes according to the sociopolitical contexts of institutionalized communities that index codes as a specific sociopolitical value; (2) meso-framing involves the contextual type, genre or topic of a given conversation in meso-contexts. Regarding certain topics, code choice that aligns with sociocultural norms and expectations may be required; (3) micro-framing concerns the relationship between a speaker and a listener in

31. Coupland, *Style*, p. 112.
32. Coupland employs Bell's notion of style as an audience design (*Style*, p. 112). See also Allan Bell, 'Language Style as Audience Design', *Language in Society* 13 (1984), pp. 145-204 (159).

a micro-context. A particular code could be employed for expressing their power in the relationship between the participants or for displaying their relationship as being an intimate one.[33]

Third, voicing is a process of representing or implying a speaker's ownership of an utterance or a way of speaking. According to the style model, people do not always speak in and through their own voices; they may imitate or parody as an act of identity. Namely, people could employ a specific code in order to call up their associations with a particular social identity.[34]

Fourth, keying refers to the tone, manner or spirit of the act.[35] Keying is related to the speaker's communicative motivation such as irony, mocking, joking, awe, serious and so on. People may intentionally use a particular code either in a normative style or in an antinormative style in order to realize their communicative motivations.

Fifth, loading is the process of determining the appropriate use of framing, voicing and keying in the appropriate context.[36] As individuals gain 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. Speakers and participants seek to determine whether they share the same understanding of the indexical meanings conveyed through framing, voicing or keying during their conversation. When they realize they have misunderstood each other, they attempt to reorient targeting, framing, voicing or keying.[37]

Coupland's style model is useful for examining the processes by which historical figures chose their code for the macro-, meso- and micro-contexts of their conversation. By investigating Peter's targeting, framing, voicing, keying and loading in Acts 2.5-40, this study will identify Peter's code choice in the Pentecost sermon.

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33.   Coupland, *Style*, pp. 112-14.
34.   Coupland, *Style*, p. 114.
35.   Coupland, *Style*, p. 114.
36.   Coupland defines the notion of loading as an extension of keying. But Bell uses this notion for voicing. See Coupland, *Style*, p. 114; Allan Bell, 'Styling the Other to Define the Self: A Study in New Zealand Identity Making', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3 (1999), pp. 523-41 (525).
37.   Coupland, *Style*, pp. 114-15.

Multilingual Environments of the Residences of Peter's Audience

The primary audience of Peter's Pentecost sermon is the diaspora Jews and proselytes who came from various regions of the Roman Empire and of the Parthian Empire (Acts 2.9-11).[38] Since they lived in different multilingual environments for a while, probably, all these diaspora Jews and proselytes spoke different languages as their L1s and learned other languages as L2s. In view of this, the research question should focus on Peter's view regarding which language should be used for communicating with his diverse audience in the Pentecost sermon. In order to determine the macro- and meso-contexts of Peter's audience, this section investigates the macro- and meso-contexts of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire.

Macro-Contexts of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire
Since the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek had served as the lingua franca in the territories from which Peter's audience came. The language policy of Alexander and the Diadochi successfully established Greek as the prestige language, making it the language of politics and commerce throughout the territories.[39] These territories of the Diadochi were conquered and, in the first century CE, ruled by the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire.

The Roman Empire had a flexible language policy in its eastern provinces.[40] Although Latin served as the administrative language for the official and social practices in the central government, Greek, too, was permitted in official and social practices in the eastern provinces and sometimes in the central government.

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38.   Due to the lack of information, it is challenging to determine whether these diaspora Jews and proselytes were pilgrims or had recently settled in Judea. Regardless of the case, however, it is apparent that they lived in the diaspora regions for a long time and in Judea for a short time (Acts 2.8-11).

39.   Francisco Rodríguez Adrados, *A History of the Greek Language: From its Origins to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 175-79; Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2014), pp. 79-80, 88-89.

40.   Sung Min Park, 'Rethinking Language Policy of the Roman Empire', in Samantha M. Litty and Nils Langer (eds.), *Language Ideology, Policy, and Practice: Focus on Minoritized Languages Past and Present* (Historical Sociolinguistics, 6; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2025), pp. 119-40 (135-36).

Historical records show that Roman emperors or elites did not implement a strict language policy prohibiting the use of Greek or other vernacular languages in the political settings of the eastern provinces. To be sure, Tiberius and Claudius were advocates of pro-Latin linguistic ideology.[41] Tiberius avoided using Greek in the Senate and did not allow people to reply in Greek when they were asked to give testimonies (Suetonius, *Tib*. 71). Claudius struck one from the list of jurors and deprived him of citizenship because he did not know Latin, regardless of him being a man of distinguished birth and a leading citizen (Suetonius, *Claud*. 16.2; Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom*. 60.17.4). However, Tiberius and Claudius executed an inconsistent policy about the use of Greek; they employed Greek for official and social practices because not many inhabitants in the eastern provinces knew Latin. Cassius Dio points out Tiberius's inconsistent attitude towards using Greek by saying that, while Tiberius had rejected a centurion's Greek-language advice in the Senate, he examined many witnesses there himself in Greek (Cassius Dio, *Hist. rom*. 57.15.3-4). Claudius mostly employed Greek for communication with Greek ambassadors in the Senate (Suetonius, *Claud*. 42). Moreover, Claudius considered both Latin and Greek to be the languages of the Roman state: *utroque sermone nostro* ('in both of our languages') (Suetonius, *Claud*. 42).

Official documents confirm the flexible language policy of the eastern provinces, which permitted the use of either Latin or Greek as the language of official documents. The bureaucracy of the eastern provinces needed to uphold bilingualism because most inhabitants did not know Latin. Especially, imperial constitutions had to be translated into Greek so that those who did not know Latin could understand their obligations.[42] A large number of Greek official documents and some bilingual documents in Latin and Greek have been found in the eastern provinces.[43] Some original bilingual docu-

41.   Park, 'Rethinking Language Policy', pp 130-32.

42.   James Clackson and Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p. 87. See also Park, 'Rethinking Language Policy', pp. 131-32.

43.   Bruno Rochette, 'Greek and Latin Bilingualism', in Egbert J. Bakker (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World; Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), pp. 281-94.

ments were composed in Latin by Roman officials and translated into Greek by them or by legal scholars for the inhabitants in the eastern provinces.[44]

Official Roman statements to the public in the eastern provinces were written either only in Greek or in both Latin and Greek, and they were posted in the most conspicuous places. Around 51–50 BCE, the governor in Asia Minor produced official documents in Greek and made an order to distribute copies of them to Ephesus, Tralles, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis and Adramyttium.[45] In 9 BCE, Paullus Fabius Maximus, a Roman senator, implemented the decree of the *koinon* for the province of Asia Minor with his own edict in both Greek and Latin.[46] In 4 BCE, Augustus wrote an official document in Greek in order to distribute it to residents in the eastern provinces.[47] The inscription pertaining to Augustus's restoration of the temples of Artemis and Augustus at Ephesus is written in Latin and Greek (*CIL* 3.6070). The Gospel of John also shows that the inscription of Jesus' title 'the King of the Jews' was written in Aramaic, Latin and Greek (Jn 19.19-20). In addition, *CIL* 3.14147 is an inscription that shows the dedication of Cornelius Gallus in three languages: Egyptian hieroglyphs, Latin and Greek—this trilingual inscription was intended for different audiences: (1) its Egyptian hieroglyphs incorporated Egyptian religious symbolism presenting Octavian's and Gallus's authority within a traditional Egyptian framework; (2) the Latin version highlighted Octavian's conquest and Gallus's military achievements, serving as an official Roman record; and (3) the Greek focused on Gallus's administrative roles and his appointment by Octavian, emphasizing the governance of the province.

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44. According to Huttner's study, most of Rome's official documents are Latin translations as they include technical terms that preserve traces of the original Latin. However, some documents were originally written in Greek (see Ulrich Huttner, 'Latin Law in Greek Cities: Knowledge of Law and Latin in Imperial Asia Minor', in Kimberley Czajkowski and Benedikt Eckhardt [eds.], *Law in the Roman Provinces* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020], pp. 137-56 [139-44]).

45. Regarding Greek documents, see Robert K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), pp. 272-76; Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p. 83.

46. Huttner, 'Latin Law in Greek Cities', p. 145.

47. Sherk, *Roman Documents*, pp. 174-82; Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, p. 84.

After the Seleucid Empire's decline, meanwhile, the Parthian Empire took over its territories in the middle of the first century BCE. Technically, Mede, Elam and Mesopotamia had been occupied by the Seleucid Empire since the third century BCE. Along with the Hellenistic program of the Seleucid Empire, Greeks and Macedonians built *poleis* in these regions for two centuries.[48] Since this Hellenistic program included a language policy for Greek, the language shift from Aramaic to Greek already took place in these territories under the reign of the Seleucid Empire.[49]

However, the Parthian Empire did not have a particular language policy for standardizing the Parthian language in the first century CE.[50] Although the government of the Parthian Empire employed the Parthian language for political purposes, it did not implement any policy that obliterated other vernacular languages.[51] Rather, the Parthian Empire preferred a program of Hellenistic Middle East, namely an amalgamation of Persian and Greek elements in a Parthian socioeconomic environment.[52] In fact, the Parthian Empire was already influenced by Hellenistic culture by the end of the second century BCE.[53] As Parthians granted greater local representation and autonomy to communities, local elite groups had heightened regional autonomy and power.[54] According to Tacitus (*Ann*. 6.42), Artabanus II, the Parthian king, supported the Greek communities' Greek-style lives during his reign (10/11–38 CE). As a result, many *poleis* survived with a Greek socioeconomic system, and the inhabitants of those *poleis* were still able to speak Greek.[55]

48.   Josef Wiesehöfer, 'Greek Poleis in the Near East and their Parthian Overlords', in Adam M. Kemezis (ed.), *Urban Dreams and Realities in Antiquity: Remains and Representations of the Ancient City* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 328-46 (331).

49.   Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 262-65.

50.   Wiesehöfer, 'Greek Poleis', pp. 332-33.

51.   Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 265-67.

52.   For a discussion of the fusion of Persian and Greek culture, see Nikolaus Leo Overtoom, *Reign of Arrows: The Rise of the Parthian Empire in the Hellenistic Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 30-31.

53.   Wiesehöfer, 'Greek Poleis', p. 333.

54.   Overtoom, *Reign of Arrows*, p. 33.

55.   Wiesehöfer, 'Greek Poleis', p. 337.

Meso-Contexts of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire
For an inquiry into the influence of the linguistic ideology of meso-contexts, it is necessary to identify the social networks in which people gathered for socioeconomic practices in their daily lives. Ancient people had to devote most of their time to workplace activities to sustain their livelihoods. Socioeconomic interactions were among the primary forces that solidified social networks of coworkers and business partners, which led to frequent language contact and the formation of specific linguistic ideologies associated with business and trade languages.

The emergence of internationalism played a key role in linking various socioeconomic networks across cities, towns and villages. In antiquity, international trade provided certain products at an affordable price that could not be found readily in one's city.[56] Along with the development of technology in shipbuilding and sailing skills, Mediterranean port cities became the centers of international social networks in the eastern provinces, where multiethnic populations worked together. In addition, the Roman road system and public security expanded international networks to inland cities, towns and villages by connecting both short- and long-distance cities, where the local people spoke different vernacular languages. Linguistic ideologies regarding the lingua franca of each community were built based on international socioeconomic networks.

The intersection of environmental and archaeological data offers insight into the dynamics of ancient economies. The fact that the high point of shipwrecks between the first century BCE and the first century CE coincides with the peak of atmospheric pollution caused by lead during the ancient Roman era serves as compelling evidence for the dramatic increase in trade activity and the underlying economic and industrial changes of the time.[57] Taco T. Terpstra's statistical study of Mediterranean shipwrecks shows that the number of shipwrecks drastically increased from the first century BCE to the

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56. Alain Bresson, *The Making of the Ancient Greek Economy: Institutions, Markets, and Growth in the City-States* (trans. Steven Rendall; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. 350.

57. 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 Taco T. Terpstra, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean: Private Order and Public Institutions* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019], pp. 6-7).

first century CE.[58] According to François de Callataÿ's analysis of lead and copper in the Greenland Ice Sheet, coin production drastically increased from the first century BCE to the first century CE in that lead and copper were major sources used for minting coins.[59] The high point of this period is noteworthy because it coincided with the time when the Roman state developed its own shipbuilding industry and established control over trade networks throughout the Mediterranean.

Terpstra points out that data on the circulation of money of the Roman state shows its active economy based on international trade networks after the first century BCE.[60] According to Terpstra, the hegemony of the Roman state over the trade networks of the Mediterranean Sea increased Italy's monetization level from 39 to 68 percent between 150 and 50 BCE, and monetization levels in other regions also rose.[61] The mass production and extensive circulation of the coins evince an economic boom in the first century CE when international trade in the Mediterranean Sea was in its heyday.[62]

The density of international social networks in the Mediterranean port cities was strong enough to establish a powerful linguistic ideology governing the code choices in the official settings of the commercial communities. As the commercial communities consisted of multiethnic merchants connected through international social networks, Greek served as the lingua franca in the public and official settings of the commercial communities. Therefore, people preferred a Greek document or translation that officially guaranteed their treaty.[63] In addition, Greek became the international trade language

58.   Terpstra, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean*, pp. 3-4.

59.   François de Callataÿ, 'The Graeco-Roman Economy in the Super Long-Run: Lead, Copper, and Shipwrecks', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18 (2005), pp. 361-72 (369-72).

60.   Terpstra, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean*, pp. 3-13.

61.   Terpstra, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean*, p. 5.

62.   The studies of pollen and settlement patterns also show that the amount of land cultivation increased and that the population grew significantly higher during the first centuries CE than in earlier periods (see Charles Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome: Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014], pp. 522-23).

63.   James Clackson, *Language and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 55-56.

used in the public settings of the port cities.[64] Although individuals could speak any vernacular language in personal settings when necessary, speech and announcements in the public settings of port cities had to be made in Greek so that the multiethnic public could understand them. Even Roman sailors, traders, merchants, artisans and soldiers employed Greek as the international trade language.[65] As Charles Freeman states, 'By this period anyone with an ambition to succeed had to be able to speak and write Greek.'[66]

The internationalism of the Mediterranean port cities significantly influenced the linguistic ideologies of local communities in surrounding cities, towns and villages. Their socioeconomic networks with the cities, towns, and villages were significantly influenced by internationalism because the international economy of the port cities triggered a chain reaction in the local economy of the inland settlements based on their strong trade networks with the cities.[67] In view of this, it is worth noting two lines of inquiry into changes in the local economy.

First, international trade resulted in the rise of the division of labor that increasingly relied on trade from other settlements. Alain Bresson insists that the ideology of international trade was promoted not just by importing to meet deficiencies and exporting surpluses but also by means of the division of labor.[68] As Bresson notes, an international division of labor became 'a function of the presence of resources that existed only in certain regions, or of natural potentialities that made a particular kind of production advantageous.'[69] The more specifically jobs were divided and specialized, the stronger the trade networks among local communities had to be maintained,

64.   Clackson, *Language and Society,* p. 55.

65.   Clackson, *Language and Society*, pp. 89-90, 92.

66.   Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, p. 543.

67.   Joseph Gilbert Manning analyzes the social networks of the rural settlements that relied on international trade (see *The Open Sea: The Economic Life of the Ancient Mediterranean World from the Iron Age to the Rise of Rome* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018], pp. 41-43).

68.   See Bresson, *Making of the Ancient Greek Economy*, pp. 374-80.

69.   Bresson, *Making of the Ancient Greek Economy*, p. 340. Freeman also explains a global division of labor based on overseas trade (see *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, pp. 528-31).

because each community, engaged in a different social practice, had to trade its product with others.[70]

Type	Job	Work / Product
Primary Product Industry	Farmer	crop, orchard, vineyard, poultry, livestock, etc.
	Woodcutter	lumber
	Hunter	wild animals and birds, leather, ivory, etc.
	Fisher	fish, seafood, etc.
	Miner	gold, silver, copper, bronze, gemstones, ore, stone, etc.
Processing Industry	Craftsman	textile, cloth, pottery, metalwork, oil, perfume, artwork, wooden craft, tools, weapons, jewelry, spices, salt, meat, processed food, condiments, glass, brick, cement, etc.
Construction Industry	Craftsman	building construction (residential and non-residential buildings), infrastructure (large public works, bridges, roads, water systems, etc.), shipbuilding (fishing boats, trading ships and battleships), industrial construction (ports, mining, quarrying, refineries, etc.)
Commerce	Merchant	local and international trade
Government	Tax Collector	collecting taxes

Table 2. Social Practices Supporting the Local Economy[71]

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 2 shows major jobs, products and works that were subsumed under the five types of social practices. Due to the 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 both the processing industries and the construction industries, and they purchased raw materials from other primary product industries, processed goods and, at times, constructed necessary infrastructure or buildings. The processing industry provided tools and materials for workplaces but relied on raw materials, other processed commodities, infrastructure and buildings in order to

70. Bresson, *Making of the Ancient Greek Economy*, pp. 187-88.
71. Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 177-78.

produce its goods. People in the construction industry also had to acquire raw materials and processed goods for their work. Each socioeconomic community inevitably had a strong density of trade networks, as one business had to rely on another.

Second, the inland settlements had strong social networks with the port cities because their economy relied on the import and export activities of the international trade conducted through the port cities.[72] The local inhabitants in different regions focused on different major industries because of their geographical and cultural differences. Due to the geographical difference, every region had a different environment that provided natural resources for their primary products industry. In addition, particular ethnic traditions produced unique cultural products. Since the inhabitants of each region had different needs for resources and products, they had to purchase scarce resources and sell surplus resources to other local communities.

72. Freeman demonstrates four inquiries concerning the influence of international social networks on the local socioeconomic environment: (1) evidence of agricultural products traded in local markets suggests that these markets inevitably depended on international trade, as the local agricultural yield was unpredictable each year for various reasons; (2) the widespread distribution of coins, along with evidence of commercial loans and risk-sharing investments, implies that coins were commonly used in small-scale trade within local communities; (3) fine pottery, glass and tile houses—which could not have been produced without the materials or skills provided by international trade—came to be possessed not only by local elites but also by humble families; (4) new techniques (e.g. glass-blowing tubes and water-lifting devices) spread widely and rapidly throughout the Roman state via international social networks (see *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, pp. 531-32). For information on the harbor of the eastern Mediterranean Sea, see Benjamin Isaac, 'Roads and Harbors', in Ted Kaizer (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic and Roman Near East* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2021), pp. 350-64 (359-61).
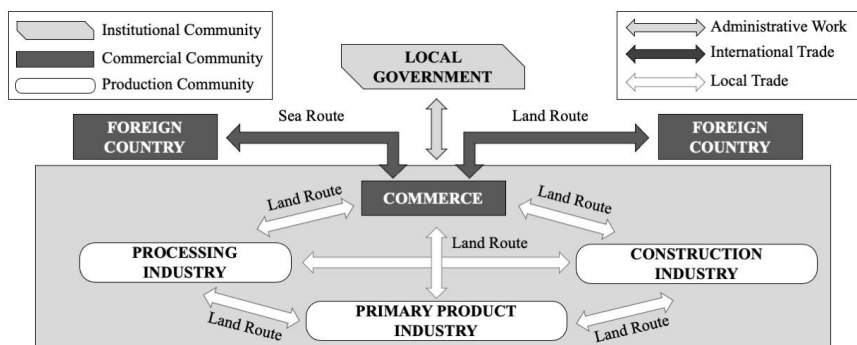
Figure 2. Trade Networks in the Economy of the Eastern Provinces[73]

The road system served as a bridge for connecting trade networks in cities and towns.[74] Figure 2 shows these trade networks in the economy of the eastern provinces. The density of trade networks expanded to other cities and towns after the construction of the Roman road system.[75] Since the Roman roads made it convenient for each local community to connect with one another, local trade between cities and towns became more active than before.[76] Especially, Romans restored previous highways and established additional international highways that connected long-distance territories.[77] Moreover, the Roman road system connected the social networks of the inland cities and towns with the port cities. Along with the road networks, the local communities of the inland cities and towns were able to participate in international trade.

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73.   Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 178-82.

74.   For further information on the road system of the Roman Empire, see Don Nardo, *Roman Roads and Aqueducts* (San Diego: ReferencePoint, 2015), pp. 13-39; Isaac, 'Roads and Harbors', pp. 351-56.

75.   Léopold Migeotte, *The Economy of the Greek Cities: From the Archaic Period to the Early Roman Empire* (trans. Janet Lloyd; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 118-19; Anna Collar, *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire: The Spread of New Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 42.

76.   For information on local trade, see Migeotte, *Economy of the Greek Cities*, pp. 128-31.

77.   See Isaac, 'Roads and Harbors', pp. 356-58.

Although the speed varied depending on socioeconomic conditions, it is apparent that the linguistic ideology of using Greek as the lingua franca gradually spread throughout the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. For around three hundred years—from Alexander's conquest to the first century CE—Greek served not only as the administrative language of the eastern provinces but also as the trade and business language, based on the strong density of social networks that tied together multiethnic peoples in the eastern provinces. Three hundred years was enough time for the strong density of political and economic social networks in each settlement to shift the prestige language from the previous vernacular languages to Greek.

The linguistic ideologies of the meso-contexts of the Parthian Empire were significantly influenced by the internationalism of the Roman Empire. Therefore, many Greeks, Macedonians and Hellenized inhabitants still used Greek as the trade and business language for international trade with the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. After Parthians drew up a peace treaty with Augustus, the second Roman Emperor, the international trade networks were strengthened based on the 'Royal Road', namely the ancient highway from Sardis in the western Anatolia region through the regions of Mede and Mesopotamia to Susa in the middle of Elam.[78] In fact, the government of the Parthian Empire did not have a systematic policy for collecting taxes on international trade. Even during the war between the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire (second to third centuries CE), international trade between the two empires remained active because the government of the Partain Empire did not control the commercial networks of merchants trading with the Roman Empire.[79]

It is worth noting the linguistic ideologies of Jewish communities. After the return from the Babylonian captivity, some Jews returned to Judea, but others remained in diaspora communities. Our question concerns which language they spoke as L1. According to sociolinguistic case studies of multilingual families, immigrants whose parents shifted from being monolingual in a minority language to bilingual in the minority and dominant language

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78. 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 Francis Joannès, *The Age of Empires: Mesopotamia in the First Millennum BC* [trans. Antonia Nevill; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004], p. 237).

79. Uwe Ellerbrock, *The Parthians: The Forgotten Empire* (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 158-60.

often become monolingual in the dominant language within two or three generations.[80] When immigrant parents have a strong language policy for the maintenance of a minority language, it is possible for the subsequent generations to learn the minority language as the family language, thereby contributing to its continued use.[81] Additionally, prior to adolescence, minority language education in schools and religious communities could support and enhance language maintenance among minority families.[82] However, language shift frequently occurs when families or ethnic groups do not have a strong and systematic language policy for the maintenance of their vernacular languages.

On the one hand, language shift from vernacular languages to Greek occurred rapidly in diaspora Jewish families before the first century CE, because their social networks with Greek-speaking people were stronger than their networks with other Jews.[83] It was not until the First Jewish–Roman War, when Judean Jews were expelled from Judea to the diaspora, that diaspora Jews implemented a systematic language policy for Hebrew education.[84] Anna Collar states diaspora Jews' social networks before the First Jewish–Roman War: 'Jews at this stage were comfortable with their integration with the societies they lived in—they did not need to separate themselves explicitly.'[85] Since diaspora Jews were a minority in their residential regions, their social networks with other Jews mainly centered on religious social practices in the synagogue of their regions. Diaspora Jews had a stronger density of social networks with gentiles, as they spent the majority of their time with gentiles due to their socioeconomic activities in a Jewish minority society. It is evident that their social networks in the synagogue were not sufficient to establish a strong linguistic ideology for the maintenance of Hebrew or Aramaic.

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80. Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, p. 249.
81. Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy*, pp. 20-22.
82. Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy*, pp. 28-30.
83. Ana Collar, 'Re-Thinking Jewish Ethnicity through Social Network Analysis', in Carl Knappett (ed.), *Network Analysis in Archaeology: New Approaches to Regional Interaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 223-45 (228-29).
84. Anna Collar, 'Networks and Ethnogenesis', in Jeremy McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), pp. 97-111 (107); Collar, 'Re-Thinking Jewish Ethnicity', pp. 229-30.
85. Collar, 'Networks and Ethnogenesis', p. 106.

In light of the Hellenistic program of Alexander and the Diadochi, a language shift from vernacular languages to Greek took place rapidly in diaspora Jews' families during the reign of the Diadochi.[86] After the conquest of Alexander the Great, the majority of diaspora Jews lost their knowledge of Aramaic within three generations as Aramaic lost its prestige as the lingua franca in political, social and economic spheres. It is highly probable that, in the first century CE, diaspora Jews who lived in the *poleis* of the Parthian Empire spoke Greek for their socioeconomic activities because the Parthian government did not implement a systematic language policy and the economies of their cities heavily relied on international trade with the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

On the other hand, a considerable number of Judean Jews still spoke Aramaic as L1 in the first century CE because they were the ethnic majority among the Judean population. That is to say, Judean Jews had strong social networks not only for religious social practices but also for various economic social practices. On the basis of the strong social networks among Jews, Judean Jews were able to keep a strong linguistic ideology for maintaining Aramaic. Although Hebrew was the ethnic language of the Jews, apart from a small number of Jewish scholars, the majority of ordinary Jews lost proficiency in Hebrew and continued to speak Aramaic as their L1 even after the return from the Babylonian captivity.

As Greek served as the lingua franca for internationalism after Alexander's conquest, to be sure, Judean Jews had to learn Greek, resulting in a multilingual environment of Aramaic and Greek. Due to their larger population and stronger social networks, the language shift from Aramaic to Greek occurred more gradually among Judean families compared to Jews in the diaspora. Thanks to the rise of Greek education in Jerusalem around the first century BCE, the majority of Judean elites and scholars were fluent in Greek.[87] Ordinary Jews also had to learn Greek for socioeconomic activities as Judea became a multilingual society, with the result that the majority of them still spoke Aramaic as their L1 and Greek as their L2 in the first

86. See Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 187-95.

87. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), pp. 58-106; Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM, 2014), pp. 49-126.

century CE.[88] Nevertheless, there were some Hellenistic Jews who spoke Greek as their L1 but did not know Aramaic. Since Greek became the lingua franca for socioeconomic activities in Judea, Hellenistic Jews did not need to learn Aramaic. Aramaic served as Aramaic-speaking Jews' family- and friendship-language in private settings but not as the language for business or trade in public settings because the economy of Jerusalem and other cities and towns heavily depended on international trade with other ethnic groups and diaspora Jews.

Consequently, in the first century CE, the eastern provinces were governed by the Hellenistic program of Greece, the Diadochi and the Roman state for around three hundred years. Three hundred years were enough time to bring about the language shift from Aramaic to Greek in Jewish communities. There was a difference in the time it took for the language shift to occur in each Jewish community, depending on the density of its social network. The weaker the social networks a Jewish community had, the faster it shifted its L1 from other vernacular languages to Greek. Nevertheless, even Jewish communities with strong solidarity had to learn Greek as a second language, because they had to maintain strong connections with various international and/or other ethnic communities for their daily work in a multilingual society.

Micro-Contexts of Peter's Pentecost Sermon

Micro-sociolinguistics focuses on the ethnographic-interactional analysis of individuals' communicative competence. This section discusses two inquiries about Peter's communicative competence. The first inquiry explores Peter's multilingual proficiency in Aramaic and Greek. In light of

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88.   The following records demonstrate international trade with other nations: the Golden Crown of Athens as a sign of gratitude to Hyrcanus II, a bronze statue of him in Athens (Josephus, *Ant*. 14.153); a large number of imported timbers from Lebanon (Josephus, *War* 5.36); glass imported from Sidon (*Shab*. 14b); Corinthian bronze (*Yoma* 38a; Josephus, *War* 5.201); Babylonian materials used for the curtain in front of the holy place (Josephus, *War* 5.212). For more information on this, see Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), p. 35.

Coupland's style model, the second inquiry identifies Peter's code choices in his Pentecost sermon.

Peter's Plurilingualism
The books of the New Testament mention Peter's use of Aramaic but not of other languages such as Greek, Latin or Hebrew (Mt. 26.73). Given this, it is apparent that Peter spoke Aramaic as his L1 and did not know Hebrew or Latin, because very few Jewish elites learned Hebrew and Latin. Arguably, there is therefore no evidence that Peter used Hebrew or Latin. Compared with Peter's language proficiency in these languages, it is not easy to determine his knowledge of Greek. This section will explore various factors that show Peter's knowledge of Greek.

The multilingual environment of Galilee provides important information about Peter's plurilingualism because he was a Galilean Jew. Galilee had been depopulated and left with small gentile towns and villages in the late eighth century BCE when the Assyrians had carried away most of the Israelites. The resettlement of the Galilean regions started with the reestablishment of Syro-Phoenician coastal cities prior to the Persian period.[89] After the reestablishment of Ptolemais (Tel Acco) as the port city, along with a road system to access lower Galilee, the city of Ptolemais served as the major port of Galilee that tied the social networks of businesses and trades between lower Galilee and international regions during the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods.[90] Upper Galilee consisted of small towns and villages based on social networks of agriculture primarily connected to the coastal region and Phoenicia.[91] Due to the socioeconomic advantages

89.   Milton Moreland, 'The Inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods: Probes into the Archaeological and Literary Evidence', in Jürgen Zangenberg *et al.* (eds.), *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition* (WUNT, 210; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), pp. 133-59 (142).

90.   Seán Freyne writes, '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' (*Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980], p. 105).

91.   Moreland, 'Inhabitants of Galilee', p. 146.

gained through social networks with Greek port cities, a large population of the Syro-Phoenician coastal cities migrated to Galilee.[92]

The sociopolitical and socioeconomic environments of Galilee during the Hasmonean dynasty suggest that Jews were not a dominant group in Galilee.[93] The majority of Galilean Jews had settled in Galilee after the Hasmonean conquest of Galilee (104–103 BCE).[94] Even after the conquest of Galilee, the Hasmoneans paid little attention to the regions of Galilee because they rather focused on the southern and eastern borders of Judea and Samaria.[95] There is no evidence that the Hasmoneans politically kept forbidding the gentile migration from Syro-Phoenician coastal cities to Galilee. Moreover, if many Jews moved to the Galilee region due to socioeconomical advantages, it is evident that many gentiles must have moved to Galilee as well. In a multilingual environment, Galilean Jews must have interacted frequently with gentiles for their local business and trade.[96] Since these interactions with the gentiles occurred based on the activities of their daily

92.   Moreland, 'Inhabitants of Galilee', p. 146.

93.   Mark Chancey and Bradley W. Root, the leading scholars behind this hypothesis, consider archeological evidence such as *miqva'ot*, lack of pork in bone profiles or a trace of secondary burial practices to be Jewish ethnic markers; they insist that Jewish Galileans who spoke Aramaic lived separate from Greek-speaking gentiles since the population of Jewish Galileans was high enough to be self-sufficient in a multiethnic society of Galilee (see Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee* [SNTSMS, 118; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], p. 168; Bradley W. Root, *First Century Galilee: A Fresh Examination of the Sources* [WUNT, 2/378; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014], pp. 112-13). However, Moreland rightly points out that *miqva'ot*, lack of pork in bone profiles and traces of secondary burial practice do not evince the movement of a large population from Judea to Galilee ('Inhabitants of Galilee', pp. 133-34).

94.   Moreland, 'Inhabitants of Galilee', pp. 142, 151.

95.   Moreland, 'Inhabitants of Galilee', pp. 142, 151.

96.   For instance, Nazareth, Jesus' hometown, was a small village of only two-thousand people, where the inhabitants relied upon agriculture for their economic base. Since Nazareth was not an isolated place but close to one of the busiest trade routes in ancient Palestine, the inhabitants of Nazareth were able to trade their agricultural products with the gentiles (see Stanley E. Porter, 'Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?', *TynBul* 44 [1993], pp. 199-235 (211); see also Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 217-30).

lives, the density of the social networks was strong, resulting in a drastic language shift in Jewish minority towns and villages.

Peter was born in Bethsaida (Jn 1.44; 12.21) and moved to Capernaum (Mt. 8.5, 14; Mk 1.21, 29-31). Bethsaida, meaning 'house of fish', was a fishing town. There have been scholarly debates on the original location of Bethsaida.[97] Regardless of its location, however, it is apparent that the majority of the local inhabitants of Bethsaida were fishermen and that they spoke Greek for trade with other neighboring gentiles.[98]

The Gospel of John records that some Greeks had a conversation with Philip, and then Philip and Andrew brought them to Jesus (12.20-22). The fact that information on Philip's hometown Bethsaida is recorded after the record of his talk with the Greeks (12.21) seems to imply that he was raised in the Greek-speaking environment of Bethsaida. Philip probably took the Greeks to Andrew, who was also from Bethsaida, because he was a fluent Greek speaker as well (1.44).[99] Given this, it is apparent that Bethsaida was well known as the region with a large population of Greek-speaking Jews.

Capernaum was also established as a fishing town, situated on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. It is highly probable that a substantial number of Galilean Jews lived in Capernaum because Jesus' ministry in Galilee centered around Capernaum (Mt. 4.13; 8.5-17; 9.1-8, 18-26; 17.24-27; Mk 1.21-38; 2.1-12; 5.21-43; 9.33-37; Lk. 4.31-41; 5.17-26; 7.1-10; 8.40-56; Jn 2.12; 6.17, 22-71). Due to the lack of information, it is difficult to determine the size of the population of Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking Jews in Capernaum. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that, in ancient times, local fishermen were required to communicate in Greek with neighboring gentiles in order to sell their fish before they went rotten.

In addition, the New Testament shows Peter's ministries in the following four regions after Jesus' death: (1) Jerusalem (Acts 1.12–5.42); (2) Joppa (Acts 9.36-43; 10.6, 23); (3) Caesarea (Acts 10.48); and (4) Antioch (Gal. 2.11-12). The largest segment of Jerusalem's population consisted of multilingual Jews who spoke Aramaic as their L1 and Greek as their L2. As the economy of Jerusalem heavily relied on international business and trade,

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97. For a discussion on the location of Bethsaida, see R. Steven Notley, 'Et-Tell Is Not Bethsaida', *ASOR* 70 (2007), pp. 220-30 (223-24).

98. Park, *Prestige Language*, pp. 229-30.

99. See Porter, 'Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?', pp. 227-28.

many local inhabitants of Jerusalem had to learn Greek.[100] Meanwhile, a huge number of Greek-speaking Jews and gentiles visited frequently, and some settled in Jerusalem.

However, the multilingual environment of Joppa, Caesarea and Antioch was different from that of Jerusalem. Joppa, Caesarea and Antioch were the *poleis* where the population of Greek-speaking people was dominant.[101] Along with a strong Hellenistic program, a language shift from Aramaic to Greek predominantly occurred among local inhabitants of these regions. Since Jews were a minority ethnic group in Antioch, it is likely that many of them lost their proficiency in Aramaic in the first century CE. In view of this, Peter's ministry in these regions implies that he was able to speak Greek fluently.

Taking all these into consideration, it is evident that Peter was a fluent Greek speaker. Peter was raised in the multilingual environments of Bethsaida and Capernaum, where Jews frequently had to speak Greek. Moreover, Peter's ministries in Joppa, Caesarea and Antioch show that he was able to speak Greek with fluency to communicate with the local inhabitants of Greek-speaking regions.

Micro-Contexts of Peter's Pentecost Sermon (Acts 2.5-40)

Peter's Pentecost sermon (Acts 2.14-36) laid the foundation of the growth of the Jerusalem church because three thousand diaspora Jews and proselytes became Christians.[102] The inquiry about Peter's code choice for his Pentecost sermon shows the linguistic ideology for a prestige religious language in the earliest stage of the Jerusalem church. This is because the large influx of new believers through the audience of Peter's sermon drastically

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100. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, p. 35.

101. Shimon Applebaum, 'The Status of Jaffa in the First Century of the Current Era', *Scripta Classica Israelica* 8/9 (1988), pp. 138-44 (139-40); Arnold Hugh Marti Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 273-75; Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), p. 13; Isabella Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 35.

102. Because the huge influx 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 Pentecost sermon.

altered the linguistic demography of the Jerusalem church, forming a linguistic ideology surrounding a prestige religious language. By employing Coupland's style model, I have identified the speakers' code choices in Acts 2.5-40 (see Table 3).

Acts	Speaker	Targeting	Framing-A	Framing-B	Framing-C	Voicing	Keying	Loading	Code
2.5-6	One-hundred-twenty Christians	?	Street in Jerusalem	?	?	?	?		Various Vernacular Languages
2.7-11	Diaspora Jews and proselytes	Jerusalem People	Street in Jerusalem	Statement	H–L Intimacy H–L Status	Diaspora Jew	Public, surprised	To 2.12 and 2.13	Greek or Various Vernacular Languages
2.12	Diaspora Jews and proselytes	One another	Street in Jerusalem	Chatting	H–L Intimacy H–L Status	Diaspora Jew	Private, surprised	From 2.7-11 To 2.37	Various Vernacular Languages
2.13	Diaspora Jews and proselytes	One another	Street in Jerusalem	Chatting	H–L Intimacy H–L Status	Diaspora Jew	Private, mocking	From 2.7-11 To 2.37	Various Vernacular Languages
2.14-36	Peter	Diaspora Jews	Street in Jerusalem	Sermon	L Intimacy H Status	Leader	Public	To 2.38-40	Greek
2.37	Diaspora Jews and proselytes	Peter and other apostles	Street in Jerusalem	Teaching	L Intimacy L Status	Brother	Public, repenting	From 2.12-13	Greek
2.38-40	Peter	Diaspora Jews	Street in Jerusalem	Sermon	L Intimacy H Status	Leader	Public	2.14-36	Greek

Table 3. Historical Figures' Code Choices in Acts 2.5-40[103]

In this passage, there are three types of speakers: (1) one-hundred-and-twenty Christians; (2) diaspora Jews and proselytes; and (3) Peter. Due to the lack of data, to be sure, it is not clear what the one-hundred-and-twenty Christians said when they were speaking in tongues (2.6). According to what diaspora Jews and proselytes said in the following section, however, it is clear that the one-hundred-and-twenty Christians spoke in various vernacular languages. The diaspora Jews and proselytes from different regions either expressed awe or mocked the Christians' speaking in tongues. When the diaspora Jews and proselytes made a statement in a public setting, it is highly possible that they did so in Greek in order that other Jerusalem inhabitants could understand (2.7-11). On the other hand, the majority of diaspora Jews and proselytes probably spoke their vernacular languages for chatting in private settings (2.12-13).

For preaching to the diaspora Jews and proselytes, Peter had to choose the most appropriate code so that they could understand. Peter was a multi-

103. Framing-A = Macro-Framing; Framing-B = Meso-Framing; Framing-C = Micro-Framing; H = High; L = Low.

lingual speaker who was able to employ either Aramaic or Greek in his ser-
mon. Since Peter already saw Jesus' code choices of Aramaic and Greek in
his sermons, it is evident that he acknowledged the significance of using the
most appropriate code in public settings. In light of the macro- and meso-
contexts of the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire, the most appropri-
ate language for Peter's audience was not Aramaic but Greek. As explored
above, language shift from Aramaic and other vernacular languages to
Greek took place in Jewish minority regions of the eastern provinces of the
Roman Empire. Given this, diaspora Jewish families lost their knowledge of
Aramaic within three generations, as Aramaic lost its prestige role in politi-
cal, social and economic areas. Meanwhile, diaspora Jews who lived in the
poleis of the Parthian Empire still spoke Greek because the economy of
their cities heavily depended upon international trade with the eastern
provinces of the Roman Empire. This sociolinguistic environment—which
was characterized by the language shift from Aramaic to Greek within
diaspora Jewish families—necessitated that Peter employ Greek for his ser-
mon to the diaspora Jews and proselytes (2.14-36, 38-40). In addition, the
diaspora Jews and proselytes had to speak Greek in order to address Peter,
given the fact that the exchange took place in a public setting (2.37).

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated the macro-, meso- and micro-contexts of
Peter's Pentecost sermon. Peter's use of Greek in his Pentecost sermon indi-
cates that the Jerusalem church started as a group capable of understanding
a lengthy sermon in Greek. After Peter's Pentecost sermon, therefore, Greek
served as a prestige religious language in the earliest stage of the Jerusalem
church. That is to say, the apostles had to employ Greek in their subsequent
sermons and teachings in the official settings of the Jerusalem church be-
cause it became a multilingual religious community that spoke different ver-
nacular languages as the church members' L1s. Although Aramaic was still
used in private settings, arguably, it became the general norm and rule to
use Greek for all official social practices of the Jerusalem church. There-
fore, there is no room to assume that the Jesus tradition was transmitted in
Aramaic. In light of the role of Greek as a prestige religious language in the
Jerusalem church, it is most probable that the Jesus tradition was circulated
in Greek in the earliest stage of Christianity.