

THE INDEXICAL FIELDS OF THE GALILEAN DIALECT OF ARAMAIC IN PETER’S DENIALS OF JESUS IN MATT 26:73

Sung Min Park

McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON, Canada

Since ancient times, it has been believed that the word *λαλιά* in Matt 26:73 refers to Peter’s Galilean gutturals in Aramaic. On the basis of the Talmud (e.g., *b. Ber.* 32a; *b. Meg.* 24b; *b. Erub.* 53a–b), Jerome, Martin Dibelius, Géza Vermes, and Bernard Spolsky insist that Galileans had difficulty distinguishing between several guttural sounds.¹ However, this traditional view has been criticized because these pieces of evidence from the Talmud were written not in the first century but around the third century CE.² Notably, Matthew Mitchell is skeptical of the existence of distinctive Galilean gutturals in Aramaic.³ Mitchell claims that the Galilean dialect of Aramaic was not the primary factor that allowed bystanders to recognize Peter as a follower of Jesus and that other factors may have included “restlessness of attempted indifference,” “the manner of his dress,” or “the over-the-top way of talking and uttering oaths.”⁴ On the basis of a lexical study of Hellenistic Greek, Mitchell insists that the Greek word *λαλιά* cannot be translated as “dialect,” since the Greek words *διάλεκτος*, *φωνή*, and *γλώσσα* are used to convey that meaning.⁵

Historical records attest to the existence of a Galilean dialect of Aramaic beginning in the third century CE, though its origins possibly predate this

1. See Jerome, *Commentary*, 308; Dibelius, *Jesus*, 40; Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 52–53; Spolsky, “Diglossia in Hebrew,” 90.
2. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, 80–81; Kutscher, *Studies*, 84.
3. Mitchell, “Matthew 26:73,” 115–18.
4. Mitchell, “Matthew 26:73,” 124. See also Edersheim, *Life and Times*, 2:552; Nolland, *Luke*, 1096.
5. Mitchell, “Matthew 26:73,” 118–24.

period.⁶ Due to the limited data available, however, it is still challenging to determine how and when this dialect emerged.⁷ There is no conclusive evidence to support or reject the existence of a Galilean dialect in the first century CE. According to sociolinguists who study historical languages, historical records do not fully capture or account for all languages that actually existed.⁸ In many cases, non-prestige languages and dialects lacked even proper names and were instead referred to through descriptive expressions such as sound, speech, speech pattern, manner of speaking, or other terms.⁹ In sociolinguistics, languages and dialects described by such vague or indeterminate terms are defined as “invisible languages.”¹⁰ From this perspective, Mitchell’s claim that *λαλιά* cannot denote the Galilean dialect, relying mainly on its dictionary-based meaning, overlooks the broader sociolinguistic phenomena in historical contexts.¹¹ The multilingual environment of Galilee is not a simple issue that can be understood or reconstructed through the lexical study of a single word found in the Gospel of Matthew.¹² Al-

6. Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 9, 44–45.

7. Regarding the issue of the lack of data in the study of ancient language, see Bell, “Early Greek-Language Tradition,” 233; Spolsky, *Languages of the Jews*, 17–18; Paulston, “Language Repertoire,” 80.

8. Langer and Havinga, “Invisible Languages,” 1–11.

9. Langer and Havinga, “Invisible Languages,” 4–5.

10. Langer and Havinga, “Invisible Languages,” 6–11.

11. See Langer and Havinga, “Invisible Languages,” 11–19. Modern linguistics insist that a lexicon carries diverse potential meanings, as people do not always use language in the standardized way as defined in dictionaries. From this perspective, on the basis of the analysis of the commonly attested usages of *λαλιά* in ancient literature, denying that the writer of the Gospel of Matthew employed the term to mean “dialect” is methodologically problematic. Lexical items, depending on their users, may carry a range of potential meanings beyond their lexicographical definitions. For the concept of potential meanings, see Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 17.

12. Spolsky (*Language Policy*, 222–23) explains that the relationship between standard languages and dialects in reality is often more complex than what can be understood through sociological theories and models, noting that case studies reveal numerous failures in standardizing dialects, even with a systematic language policy. In order to address this complexity, Spolsky reworked his previous language policy model by employing ethnographic approaches. See Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy*.

though understanding such linguistic phenomena requires extensive statistical data from informants, there are no informants and insufficient data for this inquiry.¹³ Therefore, alternative approaches are inevitably required.

A more compelling approach to the question of the Galilean dialect is suggested by Jonathan Watt. Drawing on sociolinguistic theories, Watt suggests three linguistic features of the Galilean dialect that could be referred to with the word *λαλιά* in the case of Peter's speech: phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical differences from Judean Aramaic.¹⁴ Watt demonstrates that the geographical closeness between Galileans and the Greek-speaking populations of the Decapolis resulted in these distinctive linguistic changes in Aramaic specific to the Galilee area. Watt's sociolinguistic approach presents a breakthrough in sociolinguistic approaches to the inquiry into the multilingual environment that shaped the Galilean dialect of Aramaic. However, he does not thoroughly investigate the sociolinguistic environment of Galilee and focuses primarily on the possible language contact between Galileans and Greek speakers of the Decapolis.

Dialectology is one of the subfields in variationist sociolinguistics.¹⁵ Especially, Penelope Eckert's "Indexical Field" model has made significant improvements in understanding the social factors that shape various dialects.¹⁶ By employing Eckert's variationist sociolinguistic model, this study will explore the social factors that shaped different linguistic features of Judean and Galilean Aramaic in the first century CE and investigate how Peter's Galilean dialect functioned as a clue for the Judeans to identify him as a follower of Jesus in Caiaphas's courtyard, where Peter denied Jesus three times. With this in mind, this study will present a methodological framework for applying Eckert's Indexical Field model to the inquiry of Galilean dialect in the first century CE, explore the multilingual environ-

13. Bakhtin ("Discourse," 262–63, 270–75, 291) explains diverse potential meanings of language with the concept of "heteroglossia." Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia has been adopted by sociolinguists and forms the foundation for the study of linguistic variety, namely contemporary linguistic approaches to dialects. See Bell, *Guidebook*, 3.

14. Watt, "Of Gutturals and Galileans," 117–18.

15. Bell, *Guidebook*, 6–13, 163–90.

16. Regarding Eckert's Indexical Field Model, see Eckert, "Variation," 465–71.

ment of Galilee, and analyze the social meaning of Peter's Aramaic dialect in the context of Matt 26:73.

The Indexical Field Model

The term "dialect" implies an inferior linguistic form in comparison with a standard language. This concept focuses on geographical significance through the political comparison between a standard language used in a dominant or central region and dialects used in less important or peripheral regions.¹⁷ Sociolinguists, therefore, prefer the term "variety," as it is more useful for investigating a language from an objective and neutral perspective. The term "variety" refers to any linguistic form—including pronunciation, intonation, accent, grammar, vocabulary, speech patterns, and linguistic styles—that can be differentiated on the basis of social class, age, gender, ethnicity, education level, occupation, or geographic region.¹⁸ On the basis of this definition, the focus of this study is on the social factors that produced linguistic varieties between Galilean Jews and Judean Jews.

It is worth noting the relevance of sociolinguistic theories and models for investigating the emergence and decline of linguistic varieties in multilingual environments, as first-century Galilee was a multilingual society in which Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin were employed.¹⁹ In a multilingual environment, language contact between different languages is one of the major factors that leads to the emergence of new linguistic varieties.²⁰ As linguistic prestige shifts from one language to another, transitional linguistic varieties frequently emerge prior to the complete extinction of the vernacular language.²¹ Numerous case studies have reported that the death of a particular language that loses its prestige status in society, takes place within three generations even when the population of the language users is sizable and the institutional community supports the language maintenance

17. Holmes and Wilson, *Introduction*, 6; Bell, *Guidebook*, 103–4, 229–30.

18. Holmes and Wilson, *Introduction*, 523.

19. See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 131–89.

20. Regarding dialect birth, see Bell, *Guidebook*, 240–46.

21. For dialect death, Bell, *Guidebook*, 49–50, 246.

for the given language.²² Especially, this phenomenon of the language shift is drastically strengthened by imperialism (colonization) and internationalism (globalization).²³ This highlights the importance of investigating language contact that resulted in the formation of linguistic varieties within the context of the Roman Empire's imperialism and internationalism.

Sociolinguists have developed a robust methodological framework that identifies various social factors that influence linguistic varieties. This framework has been developed by variationist sociolinguistics, replacing traditional dialectology.²⁴ Allan Bell points out that traditional dialectology had four methodological weaknesses:

- (1) The amount of data usually outstripped its collectors' ability to handle it. Surveys always sagged under the weight of their own data, and by the mid twentieth century the field had ground to a halt.
- (2) Isoglosses on a map implied clear-cut boundaries between different forms and therefore distinct dialects, but in reality they were often transition zones with a mixture of forms being used.
- (3) Dialectologists looked for people they regarded as the most authentic speakers of traditional dialects, since dubbed the "NORMs": Non-mobile Older Rural Males. This kind of sampling did not represent the range of variation across a community.
- (4) There was wide scope for variation and inaccuracy between field-workers, who had to make on-the-spot phonetic transcriptions of pronunciations.²⁵

The early works on dialectology within the field of variationist sociolinguistics were pioneered by J. K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill.²⁶ Variation-

22. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift*, 1; Newman, "Endangered Languages Issue," 1–2; Veltman, *Language Shift*, 385–93; Hanson, "How the Perceived Language Status of Brunca Affects Resource Allocation in Costa Rica," 1–15.

23. Bell, *Guidebook*, 175. Regarding the linguistic repercussions of imperialism, see Ostler, *Empires of the Word*. In terms of internationalism, see Coupland, "Introduction," 7–8; de Swaan, "Language Systems," 56–72; Mufwene, "Globalization."

24. Variationist sociolinguistics is one of four major sociolinguistic schools. Regarding information of the major sociolinguistic schools, see Bell, *Guidebook*, 6–15.

25. Bell, *Guidebook*, 233.

26. Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*.

ist sociolinguistics argues that all language forms, such as code, pronunciation, accent, intonation, and grammar, have social meanings in relation to language users' social backgrounds (e.g., social status, gender, age, ethnicity, and region).²⁷ This approach focuses on the single dimension with which individual speech variation is directly associated within a specific social group. Drawing on William Labov's variationist framework, Chambers and Trudgill determined varieties based not just on geography but also on social constructs.²⁸ Their study contributes to articulating a linguistic ecology with more sophisticated isoglosses.²⁹

Contemporary sociolinguists point out the limitations of variationist approaches, which arise from the fact that they generalize and simplify the linguistic properties of individual speakers into clusters based on social-group categorizations.³⁰ Variationist sociolinguistics employs a methodology that analyzes large datasets by grouping data with significant commonalities and linking them to the concept of "Speech Community," which is based on social constructs. In sociolinguistics, the speech community is defined as a group of people who share the same social norms and rules for language use.³¹ By utilizing this concept, sociolinguists have determined particular features of a linguistic variety within a speech community, grounded in social constructs. However, this approach is limited in that it often fails to account for smaller data points with fewer commonalities in relation to these social constructs. A more serious limitation is that the variationist approaches rely on social constructs that are overly abstract and therefore difficult to define objectively.

27. Labov, "Some Principles."

28. Regarding their theoretical framework that applies variationist sociolinguistics to dialectology, see Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 57–85. Also see, Labov, "Some Principles," 112.

29. See Chambers and Trudgill, *Dialectology*, 89–93.

30. Regarding criticism of variationist sociolinguistics, see Coupland, *Style*, 32–53.

31. Regarding the concept of the Speech Community, see Bloomfield, *Language*, 29–42; Fishman, *Sociolinguistics*, 28–35; Hymes, "Models," 47; Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, 120–21. Recently, Bell (*Guidebook*, 107–8) points out that although the Speech Community model has been widely applied to sociolinguistic approaches, it has barely developed since it was introduced in the 1970s.

In order to address these weaknesses, Eckert proposes the “Indexical Field” model.³² Indexical Field refers to a field of potential meanings associated with a linguistic variety in relation to a constellation of ideological meanings within a particular community.³³ Eckert’s model contributes to offering objective criteria for understanding the formation of a linguistic variety by grounding the analysis not in the abstract concept of Speech Community, which is difficult to define, but in the concept of “Community of Practice,” which can be objectively identified through individuals’ activities and social networks. Community of Practice refers to social networks in which individuals engage in shared social practices, thereby not only connecting people to one another but also shaping a shared social identity in practice.³⁴ According to Eckert’s case study of two teenage groups, the so-called Jocks and Burnouts, a linguistic variety is created, shaped, and developed on the basis of social networks formed around specific social practices.³⁵ Given this concept, a linguistic variety should be identified by individuals’ social networks, where they gather for a particular social practice, rather than by other abstract concepts.

Eckert’s case study reveals that the density of the social networks influences individuals’ use of a linguistic variety.³⁶ Teenagers who have strong social networks within the Jocks and Burnouts groups frequently employ the respective linguistic varieties associated with their groups.³⁷ On the other hand, individuals with weak ties to these groups are less likely to use their groups’ linguistic varieties.³⁸ This linguistic phenomenon is confirmed by Lesley Milroy.³⁹ Depending on the density of social networks, members of a community of practice may either maintain their vernacular lan-

32. See Eckert, “Variation,” 465–71. Regarding the application of the Indexical Field model to biblical texts, see Park, “Sacred Language Ideology.”

33. Eckert, “Variation,” 464.

34. Regarding the concept of the Community of Practice, see Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, “Communities of Practice,” 95–98; Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 171–212. Regarding the relationship between Indexical Field Model and the concept of the Community of Practice, see Eckert, “Variation,” 460.

35. Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 227–28.

36. Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 211–12.

37. Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 171–204.

38. Eckert, *Linguistic Variation*, 205–10.

39. See Milroy and Gordon, *Sociolinguistics*, 126.

guage (language maintenance) or adopt the standard language of the surrounding society (language shift or language death). When the community of practice has strong ties with a social network supporting a minority language, it resists institutional pressures to engage in a language shift and keeps using its vernacular language. On the other hand, if its network density is not high enough, a language shift or language death is highly likely to take place because they barely have a chance to use their vernacular language.

In light of the concept of Community of Practice, moreover, Eckert explains the ideological formation of the indexical fields. To be clear, it is useful to introduce Michael Silverstein's semiotic concept of "Indexicality."⁴⁰ Silverstein defines Indexicality as the semiotic phenomenon in which language indexes its social meanings in relation to particular social factors (e.g., social class, age, gender, and ethnicity). According to Silverstein, Indexicality is formed through dialectical processes between macro contexts and micro contexts.⁴¹ The macro context involves "Linguistic Ideology," namely, a set of beliefs regarding the general norms and rules for language use in relation to its indexical value (e.g., good/bad; preferred/not preferred; normal/deviant; superior/inferior; solidary/non-solidary).⁴² Micro contexts refer to specific discourse contexts in which individuals make actual language choices. For Silverstein, indexical meaning exists as a set of potential meanings in macro contexts and becomes actualized only within specific micro contexts.⁴³ In other words, individuals select one of the potential meanings available in macro contexts and realize it as a specific indexical

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

41. Silverstein, "Indexical Order," 203.

42. Regarding the concept of macro contexts, see Silverstein, "Indexical Order," 202–4. Silverstein ("Language Structure," 193) defines linguistic ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use."

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

token serving “Metapragmatic Function” in micro contexts. According to Silverstein, there are two types of Metapragmatic Function:

- (1) Indexical Presupposition: The indexical “appropriateness-to-context” that speakers consider when making linguistic choices, based on autonomously known or socially constituted meanings associated with a linguistic form.
- (2) Indexical Entailment: The indexical “effectiveness-in-context” use of the indexical token, namely, the indexical meaning produced through the indexical cause-and-effect relations among linguistic forms within a given context of the discourse.⁴⁴

In addition, Silverstein suggests the concept of “Indexical Order,” namely, the sequences by which individuals choose one of the various indexical meanings for either the indexical appropriateness-to-context or indexical effectiveness-in-context.⁴⁵ According to Silverstein, the indexical meaning should be identified by an inquiry into the process by which “semiotic agents access plane macro-sociological categories and concepts as values in the indexable realm of the micro contextual.”⁴⁶ In view of this, Silverstein suggests tracing the Nth-order indexical tokens (e.g., first-order, second-order, third-order, and Nth-order) that represents the sequence of the potential meanings that are indexed in the micro contexts of the ongoing conversation.⁴⁷ Indexical Order describes how indexical meanings are sequentially accessed and reinterpreted in interaction, rather than being fixed as a single meaning by a dominant linguistic ideology. Therefore, indexical meaning is established through the interactional process in which speakers orient to and negotiate shared understandings in conversation.

According to the concept of indexical order, language users navigate among the multiple potential meanings embedded in a linguistic variety and select the meaning that is most appropriate in a given context. In other words, before interlocutors engaged in linguistic exchange arrive at a shared understanding of indexical meaning, a linguistic variety carries multiple potential meanings rather than a single fixed one. These multiple potential meanings can be understood through the concept of Indexical Field. Indexi-

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

45. Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 211–16, 222–27.

46. Silverstein, “Indexical Order,” 193.

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

cal Field refers to a situation in which people determine a linguistic variety as a sign that indexes various meanings associated with a particular social identity within a community of practice where such a linguistic variety is commonly employed. Eckert presents a case study of the indexical field of “t” release. According to Eckert, “t” release indexes eighteen potential meanings in relation to three dimensions of speakers’ social identity: (1) social type: school teacher, British speaker, nerd girl, and gay diva; (2) personality: elegant, educated, articulate, and prissy; and (3) stances: formal, clear, emphatic, annoyed, angry, polite, careful, exasperated, and effortful.⁴⁸

Since linguistic varieties can convey potential meanings indexing various social identities, interlocutors actively interpret the indexical meanings of such varieties throughout a conversation in order to infer a speaker’s social identity. At the beginning of a conversation, listeners interpret the indexical meaning of the speaker’s language in relation to their social identities on the basis of the indexical field of the macro context (the first-order indexical token). With limited information, they may consider a broad spectrum of potential social identities. As the conversation continues, listeners reassess their initial interpretation of the indexical meaning in light of the micro contexts (the second-order indexical token). As the conversation progresses (the Nth-order indexical token) and more data becomes available, this range of possibilities gradually narrows. The listeners repeatedly reinterpret and reconfirm the indexical meaning of the speaker’s language in order to determine the most probable indexical meaning in the micro contexts of the ongoing conversation. With this in mind, Eckert points out that the potential meaning of language can be identified through the inquiry into the sequence of the indexical orders within the micro context, since individuals choose one of the potential meanings that is appropriate to or effective in such a context.⁴⁹

In light of the Indexical Field model, the conversation between Peter and the people presented in Matt 26:69–74 encompasses three indexical orders related to Peter’s social identity: (1) the first-order indexical token (vv. 69–70); (2) the second-order indexical token (vv. 71–72); and (3) the third-order indexical token (vv. 73–74). This conversation involves the macro con-

48. Eckert, “Variation,” 469.

49. Eckert, “Variation,” 465–71.

text of the use of Galilean dialect of Aramaic and the micro context of the trial of Jesus in the courtyard of Caiaphas.

This study will involve two inquiries to determine these indexical orders within the macro and micro contexts. The first inquiry concerns the macro context of Judea and Galilee in order to identify whether or not the Galilean dialect of Aramaic existed in first-century Galilee. This inquiry will investigate the density of the social networks between the Judeans and Galileans in order to identify their linguistic ideologies regarding language maintenance of Aramaic in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine. According to the concept of the Community of Practice, it is impossible for two distinct communities that have had no contact over an extended period to use the same dialect of a minority language, because weak social networks between communities result in divergent linguistic ideologies regarding language maintenance. It is therefore evident that Judeans and Galileans used different varieties if they did not maintain strong social networks constantly. Provided Judeans and Galileans shared the same linguistic variety, this would require evidence of a very strong social network between the two communities.

The second inquiry will focus on the micro context of Peter's conversation in Caiaphas's courtyard in order to identify the potential indexical meanings of Peter's Galilean dialect. First, this inquiry will investigate the macro context of the linguistic ideology regarding the indexical field of the Galilean dialect in Caiaphas's courtyard because people interpret the indexical meanings in light of the macro context at the level of the first-order indexical token. In addition, this inquiry will identify the indexical orders of Peter's conversation and examine the processes by which people continually reinterpreted and reconfirmed the indexical meaning of Peter's Galilean dialect in relation to his social identity within the micro contexts of the ongoing conversation.

The Galilean Dialect of Aramaic in First-Century Palestine

The linguistic ideologies of Judea and Galilee regarding language maintenance of Aramaic should be investigated in light of the rise of *Koinḗ* Greek, because the prestige status of Aramaic waned after Greek began to serve as

the lingua franca of Palestine.⁵⁰ Stanley Porter argues that the Hellenization program of Alexander the Great and his successors changed the lingua franca of first-century Palestine from Aramaic to Greek.⁵¹ Attic-Ionic Greek, also called Κοινή Greek, served not only as the common language (a spoken language) but also as the administrative language (a written language) in the multilingual environment of first-century Palestine; although people's first languages (L1) were different, they had to learn Κοινή Greek as a second language (L2) for sociopolitical and socioeconomic activities in the Greco-Roman world.⁵² Since the Roman Empire also kept using Greek as the lingua franca for the political social practices of its eastern provinces, Aramaic gradually lost its prestige status in Palestine.⁵³ As a result, Aramaic was barely used for official social practices but was still used for private social practices, such as those conducted among family and friends.

By employing Eckert's concept of the Community of Practice, this section will aim at identifying the social networks that existed between the Judeans and Galileans within the multilingual environment in which Aramaic still survived as Palestinian Jews' L1, despite the rise of Greek as the lingua franca. Due to the immense influence of Hellenism, Judeans and Jewish Galileans had strong social networks with Greek-speaking gentiles in their own ways. As noted above, it will be apparent that Judeans and Galileans spoke different dialects, provided they did not maintain consistently strong social networks with one another.

The Linguistic Ecology of Judea

Judea was mainly composed of what would become a Jewish population after 539 BCE, when tens of thousands or even hundreds of thousands of Israelites returned to Judea.⁵⁴ According to Hughson Ong's study, the population of first-century Judea might have reached around two to three hundred thousand.⁵⁵ Although it is impossible to estimate the exact size of the

50. Deissmann, "Hellenistic Greek," 48–58; Moulton, "Characteristics."

51. Porter, "Greek Language," 101–2; "Use of Greek," 209.

52. Park, *Prestige Language*, 163–86.

53. Park, "Rethinking Language Policy."

54. Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 163–64.

55. Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 164–65.

Jewish population, it is true that the dominant population of first-century Judea consisted of Jews whose L1 was Aramaic.⁵⁶

However, the majority of Judeans had at least an L2 proficiency in Greek because of their frequent socioeconomic interactions with Greek-speaking people. Jerusalem served as the center of local and international trade, hosting various socioeconomic activities such as bartering, small-scale trading by shopkeepers and hawkers, wholesaling by merchants, and various forms of international trade, including both official and private business.⁵⁷ Historical records indicate sustained social activities related to international trade between Jerusalem and other regions.⁵⁸ According to Joachim Jeremias, “the extraordinarily powerful influence of Greece, and of Hellenistic culture in general, on Palestinian trade is shown by the very large number of loanwords in all sections of everyday life, and especially of trade, which we find already in the Mishnah.”⁵⁹

Greek was used as an international language in aristocratic and military circles within Judaism between 260 and 250 BCE. It became widespread in Judean society through Greek education in gymnasia around 175 BCE.⁶⁰ As Martin Hengel notes, a range of archaeological evidence evinces Jews’ knowledge of Greek: Palestinian Greek inscriptions and graffiti, the letters of Tobias, the record of the well-educated translators of the Greek Old Testament discussed in the Letter of Aristeas, Greek loanwords in the Old Testament, the gymnasium system and the *ephebate* in Jerusalem, and the increase in Greek names among Judeans.⁶¹

In light of this linguistic ecology of Judea, Greek served as the lingua franca across all classes of first-century Judean society. According to the

56. Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 166.

57. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 35.

58. The following records demonstrate international trade from other nations: the Golden Crown of Athens as a sign of gratitude to Hyrcanus II (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.153), a large number of the importation of timbers from Lebanon (Josephus, *War* 5.36), the importation of glass from Sidon (*b. Shab.* 14b), Corinthian bronze (*b. Yoma* 38a; Josephus, *War* 5.201), and Babylonian materials used for the curtain in front of the holy place (Josephus, *War* 5.212).

59. Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 35.

60. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 103–4.

61. See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 58–106; Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 49–126.

studies of Saul Lieberman, Morton Smith, and Pieter Willem van der Horst, Greek must not have been a language used only by elite circles in both rural and urban regions of Palestine, because the Hellenistic culture of ancient Palestine implied knowledge of Greek in all circles of Jewish society.⁶² In addition, Jan Sevenster and Catherine Hezser contend that Greek was the language of communication between the Romans and the Jews not only in the diaspora but also in Palestine.⁶³

Taking all this information into consideration, the majority of Judeans were at least bilingual speakers whose L1 was Aramaic and who spoke Greek as an L2. Although Judeans often had to use Greek in conversations with Greek-speaking people, most of them still spoke Aramaic in private social interactions in their daily lives, given the large population of Aramaic speakers.⁶⁴ Consequently, Judean Aramaic would have been maintained in this Jewish-majority society.

The Linguistic Ecology of the Galilee

The ethnic demography of first-century Galilee has traditionally been regarded as having a gentile-dominated population, as Matt 4:15 refers to “Galilee of the Gentiles.” However, Mark Chancey and Bradley Root propose an alternative hypothesis that the dominant population of Galilee consisted of Aramaic-speaking Jews who had relocated from Judea.⁶⁵ Chancey and Root argue that the archaeological evidence—including *miqva’ot* (Jewish ritual baths), a lack of pork in bone profiles, and burial practices—indicates that the dominant population in Galilee consisted of Judean settlers. They maintain that Jewish Galileans who spoke Aramaic lived separately from Greek-speaking gentiles, and that the Jewish Galilean population was large enough to sustain itself within the multiethnic society of the region.⁶⁶

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

62. Lieberman, *Greek*, 39; Smith, *Palestinian Parties*, 67; van der Horst, *Hellenism, Judaism, Christianity*, 130.

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

64. Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 166.

65. Chancey, *Myth*, 168; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 112–13.

66. Chancey, *Myth*, 80, 82, 85–86, 88; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 101–4, 128–29.

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 were taken for the distribution of new technologies such as glass-blowing tubes and water-lifting devices throughout the Roman state, without requiring foreign craftsmen to settle in new locations; instead, these technologies spread through international networks.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, Milton Moreland insists that the dominant population of Galilee was diaspora Jews who came from Syro-Phoenician coastal cities, such as Dor, Ptolemais, and Tyre in the first century CE.⁶⁹ Galilee had been depopulated and left with small gentile towns and villages in the late eighth century BCE when the Assyrians carried away most of the Israelites. The resettlement of the Galilean region started with the reestablishment of Syro-Phoenician coastal cities prior to the Persian period.⁷⁰ According to Moreland, it was not until the first Hasmonean king of Judaea, Aristobulus I, conquered and annexed Galilee (104–103 BCE) that diaspora Jews returned to that land, at which point Jews became the predominant population in Galilee. Moreland notes that dozens of new settlements and outposts in Galilee, established under the new Hasmonean administration, probably provided a safe environment for Jewish settlers.⁷¹

Moreland's study provides useful information for reconstructing the sociolinguistic ecology of the Jewish resettlement in Galilee from the Syro-Phoenician coastal cities. Jewish Galileans easily maintained strong socioeconomic networks with their coastal neighbors because they moved from Syro-Phoenician coastal cities.⁷² After the reestablishment of Ptolemais

67. See Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, 531–32.

68. 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.

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

70. Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 142.

71. Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 142, 151.

72. Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 146.

(Tel Acco) as a port city, along with a road system providing access to Lower Galilee, the city of Ptolemais served as the major port of Galilee, linking commercial and trade networks between Lower Galilee and international regions during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.⁷³ Upper Galilee consisted of small towns and villages based on agricultural social networks primarily connected to the coastal region and Phoenicia.⁷⁴ Tyrian coins, found at almost all the excavated sites of Galilee, imply the strong social networks that existed for socioeconomic activities between Galilee and Syro-Phoenician coastal cities.⁷⁵

However, Moreland's argument that a dominant Jewish population emerged in Galilee after the Hasmonean conquest remains highly unconvincing.⁷⁶ The Hasmonean administration aimed not at the termination or deportation of gentiles but at the expansion of Judaism.⁷⁷ Even after the conquest of Galilee, the Hasmonean administration paid little attention to Galilee because it focused on the southern and eastern borders of Judea and Samaria.⁷⁸ Arguably, there is no evidence that the Hasmoneans restricted gentile migration from the Syro-Phoenician coastal cities to Galilee. If many Jews moved from Syro-Phoenician coastal cities to Galilee due to socioeconomic advantages, many gentiles must have moved to Galilee as well.

This linguistic ecology of Syro-Phoenician coastal cities suggests that Jewish Galileans were already fluent speakers of Greek because they had lived for several generations in settings where Greek was the L1 of the ma-

73. Freyne (*Galilee*, 105) states, "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."

74. Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 146.

75. Moreland is skeptical in any major pattern of Tyrian influence that can be revealed in the numismatic evidence from Tyre. See Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 148, 156.

76. Park, *Prestige Language*, 217–29.

77. For instance, the Maccabeans did not slaughter Idumeans but forced them to convert to Judaism after the conquest of Idumea (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257–258; *War* 1.63).

78. Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 142, 151.

jority of the inhabitants.⁷⁹ The diaspora Jews who lived in Syro-Phoenician coastal cities were not people of the Northern Kingdom of Israel who intermarried with gentiles, but people of the kingdom of Judah who separated from other Judeans and became diaspora Jews during the Babylonian exile (ca. 597–538 BCE).⁸⁰ Due to the lack of data, it is difficult to ascertain when they moved to the Syro-Phoenician coastal cities. However, the high probability that most Jewish Galileans originated from the Syro-Phoenician coastal cities strongly supports the conclusion that, by the first century CE, Greek was a necessary working language for the majority of Jewish Galileans.

The primary reason that most diaspora Jews did not return to the land of Judea but remained in their respective regions was that they occupied important social positions there. In order to succeed in regions where Greek functioned as a prestige language following the process of Hellenization initiated by Alexander the Great in the fourth century BCE, they had to become highly proficient in Greek. Under such conditions, it is plausible that some families who remained in these regions over multiple generations gradually shifted toward the exclusive use of Greek, a development that accords with sociolinguistic research indicating that sustained dominance of a prestige language in imperial contexts often results in language death within as few as three generations.⁸¹ In view of this fact, some Jewish Galileans were bilingual in Aramaic and Greek, while others were monolingual Greek speakers.

Even after settling in Galilee, Jewish Galileans still had strong social networks with gentiles in their multiethnic environment.⁸² Some Jewish

79. Regarding the linguistic ecology of Syro-Phoenician coastal cities, see Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 188–89.

80. Archaeological and literary evidence supports the idea that Jewish Galileans and Samaritans had different ethnic identities. First, there is no archaeological evidence of *miqva'ot*, one of the Jewish ethnic makers, in Samaritan regions. Second, Josephus describes distinct Jewish Galilean and Samaritan ethnicities in his writings. For more information on the ethnicity of Jewish Galileans, see Cromhout, “Were the Galileans Religious Jews or Ethnic Judeans?”

81. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift*, 1; Newman, “Endangered Languages Issue,” 1–2; Veltman, *Language Shift*, 385–93; Hanson, “How the Perceived Language Status of Brunca Affects Resource Allocation in Costa Rica,” 1–15.

82. Park, *Prestige Language*, 217–29.

Galileans who lived in multiethnic towns frequently had to intermingle with gentiles for their day-to-day work. Because of the socioeconomic context, even the Jewish Galileans who lived in the Jewish-majority towns must have interacted frequently with gentiles for their local business and trade.⁸³ Since these interactions with gentiles arose from the routines of daily life, the resulting social networks were dense and enduring. In view of this, it is evident that Jewish Galileans still had to speak Greek frequently in their inevitable interactions with gentiles.

Meanwhile, Jewish Galileans had weak social networks with Judeans. The social practices in which Judeans and Jewish Galileans gathered together were Jewish ceremonies in the Jerusalem temple on major holidays (e.g., Pesach, Sukkot, and Hanukkah). Since many Jewish Galileans stayed in the Jerusalem temple for only a few days, there was not enough time for them to develop a shared linguistic ideology regarding the maintenance of Aramaic.⁸⁴ Therefore, the social networks between Judeans and Galileans were not sufficiently dense for them to share the same linguistic ideology concerning Aramaic language maintenance.

Consequently, the linguistic ecologies of Judea and Galilee indicate that it was impossible for Judeans and Jewish Galileans to have shared the same linguistic varieties, since each was influenced by Hellenism within fundamentally different linguistic environments. The weak social networks between Judeans and Galileans strongly suggest the existence of distinctive features of the Galilean dialect of Aramaic before the first century CE. Due to the lack of data, it is difficult to identify with certainty the specific linguistic features that distinguish Judean and Galilean Aramaic. As Watt

83. 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 Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?" 211.

84. Horsley (*Archaeology*, 33) demonstrates that "studies of pilgrimage to festivals in the Temple such as Passover have grossly overestimated the number of pilgrims in general and the number from Galilee in particular. There is literary evidence for some pilgrims from Galilee, but the numbers were likely small." In addition, the Gospel of John shows that even Jesus sometimes did not participate in the Passover feasts in Jerusalem (John 6:4).

notes, however, the distinctive features of the Galilean dialect may have consisted of phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical differences from Judean Aramaic, with phonology being the most probable distinctive feature.⁸⁵

The Indexical Meaning of Peter's Galilean Dialect in Caiaphas's Courtyard

The existence of regional linguistic varieties not only makes it possible to identify the geographical origins of language users with relative ease but also functions to index particular social identities associated with those regions. Given this, Judean Aramaic and Galilean Aramaic served not only to classify speakers as Galileans or Judeans, but also to index specific social identities associated with Galileans and Judeans respectively. In light of Jerusalem's status as the political, religious, and administrative center of the time, Galilean Aramaic can be understood as an Invisible Language, whereas Judean Aramaic was regarded as the standard variety. Therefore, Judean-Aramaic speakers were perceived as possessing political, scholarly, and religious prestige. This raises an important question: what kind of social identity did Galilean Aramaic index for Jewish Galileans? In order to address this question, the following section examines the indexical fields of Galilean Aramaic.

For the Jews, the most significant social factor in identifying social identities was the way in which Jewish law was observed. Before investigating the indexical meaning of the Galilean dialect, it is worthwhile to discuss the ideology regarding the Galilean ritual practices in the macro context of first-century Palestine because Galileans had their own ritual customs that differed from those of the Judeans.⁸⁶

In the available data, to be sure, no ancient writing articulates ideology regarding first-century Jewish Galileans.⁸⁷ However, it is apparent that

85. Watt, "Of Gutturals and Galileans," 117–18.

86. Horsley, *Archaeology*, 152–55; Meyers and Strange, *Archaeology*, 37–38, 45.

87. Freyne and Vermes assume Judeans were antagonistic to Galileans' ignorance of the Torah in the time of Jesus in light of the records in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Ber.* 32a; *b. Meg.* 24b; *b. Eruv.* 53b; *y. Shab.* 15d; *b. Peshach.* 112b).

there were various perspectives regarding the Jewish law in Judaism before 70 CE because there was not yet a definite concept of orthodox Judaism.⁸⁸ As Charlesworth states, “There was not one ruling, all-powerful group in Early Judaism; many groups claimed to possess the normative interpretation of the Torah . . . We should not think in terms of a monolithic first-century Palestinian Judaism.”⁸⁹ According to the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Rosh Hash. 4.6*), Simeon ben Gamaliel, a Judean rabbi who served as *nasi* of the Great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem (52–70 CE), did not make Galilean ritual custom a serious problem.

Since there was not yet a set of established regulations for ritual practices in the macro context, Galilean ritual customs could have been interpreted either as loyalty or as disloyalty to the Torah, depending on individuals’ perspectives in micro contexts. Individual Judeans probably had their own thoughts and beliefs regarding the Galileans’ social identities based on their experiences with them. In view of this, Judeans’ perspectives on Galileans should be identified through an inquiry into their direct and indirect experiences with Galileans in micro contexts.

This section aims to investigate the indexical meanings of Peter’s Galilean dialect of Aramaic in Caiaphas’s courtyard, where people recognized Peter’s social identity as a follower of Jesus. The preliminary inquiry should address the ideology regarding Jesus’ social identity as a Galilean, because Peter’s Galilean speech was interpreted within an existing ideological framework that associated Galilean identity with Jesus, thereby enabling observers to infer Peter’s social identity as a follower of Jesus in the macro context of this setting. In view of this, this section will proceed with an inquiry into the indexical fields of Jesus’ social identity presented in the Gospels and will finish with an inquiry into the indexical orders by which Peter’s Galilean dialect indexed his social identity as a follower of Jesus in the micro context of Matt 26:69–74.

However, their arguments are highly dubious because these records were written at least after the third century CE. See Freyne, *Galilee*, 53–56.

88. Regarding the diversity in Judaism, see Neusner, *Judaism*, 8, 22; Porton, “Diversity.”

89. Charlesworth, “Exploring Opportunities,” 37.

The Indexical Field of Jesus' Galilean Dialect

Jesus was a multilingual speaker who was fluent in Aramaic and Greek.⁹⁰ However, there is no clear evidence regarding Jesus' knowledge of Hebrew and Latin. Jesus must have spoken the Galilean dialect of Aramaic, because he had lived in Galilee for the majority of his life. His speech would therefore have functioned as an immediate index of Galilean identity, enabling his contemporaries to recognize him as a Galilean with little difficulty.

The Gospels contain three titles of Jesus that present him as a Galilean: (1) Jesus of Nazareth (Matt 2:23; 26:71; Mark 1:24; 10:47; 14:67; 16:6; Luke 4:34; 18:37; John 1:45; 18:7); (2) Jesus the Galilean (Matt 26:69; cf. Luke 23:6; John 7:41); and (3) the prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee (Matt 21:11). Meanwhile, Jesus' identity as a Galilean could have been interpreted either as positive identities (e.g., a great teacher, a great prophet, and the Messiah) or as negative identities (e.g., a false teacher, a false prophet, a false Messiah), depending on individuals' personal experiences with Jesus in micro contexts. These divergent interpretations of Jesus' identity as a Galilean demonstrate that no consensus existed regarding the linguistic ideology associated with his social identities.

Not only Judeans but also some Galileans interpreted Jesus' social identity either as the Messiah or as a false Messiah on the basis of prevailing stereotypes of Galileans. Some Judeans in Jerusalem believed that "surely the Messiah does not come from Galilee" (John 7:41 NRSV). The chief priests and Pharisees in Jerusalem argued that "no prophet is to arise from Galilee" (7:52). However, such perspectives on Jesus' social identity could be reshaped through direct or indirect experiences with him. For instance, Nathanael, a Jewish Galilean, rejected Philip's testimony regarding Jesus of Nazareth being the Messiah: "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" (John 1:46)—thereby reflecting internalized stereotypes of Galilee (the first-order indexical token). Yet, after meeting Jesus for the first time, Nathanael confessed him as the Messiah (the second-order indexical token): "Rabbi, you are the Son of God! You are the King of Israel" (1:49). These passages show the linguistic ecology that Galilean Aramaic was highly likely to have functioned as an invisible language; it was stigmatized as a non-standard va-

90. See Ong, *Multilingual Jesus*, 257–324.

riety of Aramaic and, as a result, was excluded from domains of religious prestige and formal recognition.⁹¹

The Gospels show that the authenticity of Jesus' alleged identity as the Messiah was assessed based on two types of social practices: (1) his miracles, and (2) his teachings.⁹² First, Jesus' miracles were considered to be signs of God's work. Since the majority of prophets in the history of Israel performed miracles, those who saw Jesus' miracles and heard rumors regarding them believed that Jesus was a great prophet. Second, not only Judeans but also Galileans sought to determine whether or not Jesus' teachings were the word of God. For them, Jewish law constituted the fundamental framework of rabbinic knowledge. Therefore, Judeans and Galileans evaluated Jesus' teachings in light of Jewish law.

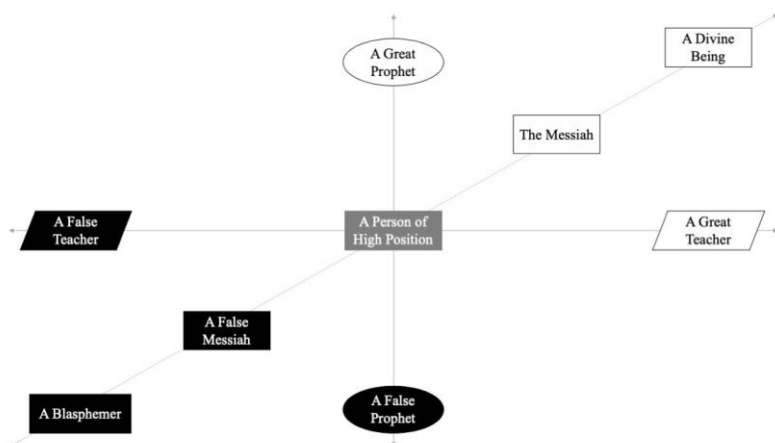


Figure 1. The Indexical Fields of Jesus' Galilean Dialect⁹³

91. Langer and Havinga ("Invisible Languages," 13–23) explain that Invisible Languages in history emerge from situations in which certain languages are marginalized in political, social, and cultural contexts, resulting in their complete absence from historical texts.

92. Jesus' titles and keywords can be categorized into two social activities: (1) Jesus' miracles, which pertain to whether Jesus is a great or a false prophet; and (2) Jesus' teaching, which pertains to whether Jesus is a great or a false teacher.

93. This figure is based on my analysis of the indexical orders of Jesus' identity in relation to his titles and keywords presented in the Gospels.

Figure 1 maps out the indexical fields of Jesus' Galilean dialect in relation to his miracles and teachings presented in the Gospels. The black shapes represent negative perspectives on Jesus' social identities, and the white shapes are positive perspectives. The gray shape indicates a neutral perspective. The ovals are social identities based on Jesus' miracles, and the rectangles are social identities based on his teachings.

Indexicality	Title	The Gospel of Matthew
The divine being	My son, the beloved	17:5
Messiah	Son of God	8:29; 14:33
	Son of David	9:27; 12:23
	Christ	16:16
	Son of the living God	16:16
The great prophet	John the Baptist	14:2; 16:14
	Son of David	15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9, 15
	Jeremiah	16:14
	One of the prophets	16:14
	The one whom the winds and the sea obey	8:27
	The one who has authority	9:8
	The one who comes in the name of the Lord	21:9
	The prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee	21:11
The great teacher	Teacher	8:19
	One who has authority	7:29
A person of high position	Lord	8:2, 6, 8, 25; 9:28; 14:28, 30; 15:22, 25, 27; 16:22; 17:4; 18:21; 20:30
	Teacher	12:38; 17:25; 19:16; 22:16, 24
	Rabbi	26:49
An ordinary person	The carpenter's son	13:55
The false teacher	A teacher who eats with sinners	9:11
	A teacher who does not teach fasting	9:14
	The one who does not	12:2

Indexicality	Title	The Gospel of Matthew
	teach the Sabbath	
	The one who does not keep the Sabbath	12:10
	The one who does not teach the Tradition of the Elders	15:2
A blasphemer	The one who blasphemes	9:3; 26:65
The false prophet	Prophet	26:68
	The one who belongs to the demon	9:34
	The one who belongs to Beelzebul	12:24
The false Messiah	Christ	26:68
	The one who destroys the temple of God	26:61
Jesus's hometown	Jesus the Galilean	26:69
	Jesus of Nazareth	26:71

Table 1. Indexicality of Jesus' Titles⁹⁴

The Gospels record individuals' statements regarding what people called Jesus. These statements reflect not only their personal beliefs, thoughts, and knowledge but also ideologies regarding Jesus' social identities. According to the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus' social identity either as the Messiah or as a false Messiah was determined on the basis of people's interpretations of his miracles and teachings (see Table 1). Jesus' miracles implied that he was the Messiah and, to some people, that he was a divine being. Those who believed Jesus was a great teacher and a great prophet also confessed him as the Messiah. However, both Galilean and Judean Pharisees considered Jesus' miracles on the Sabbath as revealing his ignorance of the Torah. Although they had differing perspectives on Jewish law, the majority of the Jewish leaders, including Sadducees, scribes, and Galilean and Judean Pharisees, considered Jesus to be a false teacher who undermined the foundation of Jewish law. The Jewish leaders therefore insisted that Jesus was also a false prophet who did not do the works of God but rather did the works of Beelzebul. As this ideology of Jesus as a false teacher and a false

94. This table is made by my analysis of the Gospel of Matthew.

prophet became stronger, people identified him as a false Messiah and, moreover, a blasphemer.

The Gospels portray the Jewish leaders as the management agencies and management advocates who created, managed, promoted, and controlled competing linguistic ideologies surrounding Jesus' social identities.⁹⁵ The Pharisees consulted and conspired in order to accuse Jesus; these acts of planning and implementation can be interpreted as part of a language policy (Matt 22:15–40; Mark 12:13–34; Luke 20:20–40). However, their conspiracy proved unsuccessful, and the linguistic ideology that construed Jesus as the Messiah intensified, reaching its culmination when he entered Jerusalem in the third year of his public ministry. The people's cries of "hosanna," recorded in all four Gospels (Matt 21:8–11; Mark 11:8–10; Luke 19:36–40; John 12:12–19), show that the ideology of Jesus as the Messiah was extremely strong. In order to challenge this linguistic ideology, the Jewish leaders arranged meetings in which they plotted to kill Jesus (Matt 26:1–5; Mark 14:1–2; Luke 22:1–2; cf. John 11:47–53). Their language policy aimed to promote a linguistic ideology that sought to change Jesus' social identity from the Messiah to a false Messiah. The Gospels do not demonstrate a specific implementation of this language policy. However, the records of people calling for Jesus' crucifixion at the instigation of the chief priests and elders (Matt 27:20; Mark 15:11; John 19:6) suggest that their language policy successfully reshaped the linguistic ideology surrounding Jesus from the Messiah to a false Messiah by the end of the Passover week (Matt 27:15–26; Mark 15:6–15; Luke 23:13–25; John 18:39–19:16).

Consequently, the Gospels illustrate that during Jesus' final visit to Jerusalem for the Passover, the linguistic ideology surrounding his social identity underwent a rapid shift from the Messiah to a false Messiah. In particular, Matt 26:3 shows that the ideology of Jesus as a false Messiah and as a blasphemer was actively promoted and reinforced in Caiaphas's courtyard, where Peter betrayed Jesus three times. In view of this, the people who pointed out Peter as a follower of Jesus there were likely strong advocates of the Jewish leaders' ideology that identified Jesus as a false Messiah.

95. The management agencies are the authoritative language managers who establish and conduct language policy. The management advocates are the language reformers who spread language ideology regarding their chosen languages to individuals, groups, and communities and persuade the authoritative language managers. See Spolsky, *Rethinking Language Policy*, 127–28.

The Indexical Meaning of Peter's Galilean Dialect

Matthew 26:69–74 presents the following indexical order in the process by which the servant girls and bystanders identified Peter as a follower of Jesus through his Galilean dialect:

- (1) The first-order indexical token:
A servant-girl: σὺ ἦσθα μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Γαλιλαίου (v. 69).
Peter: οὐκ οἶδα τί λέγεις (v. 70).
- (2) The second-order indexical token:
Another servant girl: οὗτος ἦν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου (v. 71).
Peter: οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον (with an oath) (v. 72).
- (3) The third-order indexical token:
The bystanders: ἀληθῶς καὶ σὺ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ, καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου
δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ (v. 73).
Peter: οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον (with a curse and an oath) (v. 74).

The first-order indexical token involves people's initial perception of Peter's Galilean dialect, which was influenced by their stereotypes of Galileans in the macro context of Caiaphas's courtyard. As noted above, those gathered in Caiaphas's courtyard late at night were Judeans who supported the Judean leaders' ideology concerning Jesus. These included false witnesses who testified against Jesus (Matt 26:59; Mark 14:56), people who mocked and struck Jesus (Matt 26:67–68; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:63–65), and the servants of the priests (Matt 26:69, 71; Mark 14:66, 69; Luke 22:56). The majority of those who had been part of the crowds that captured Jesus were probably still present in Caiaphas's courtyard as well (Matt 26:47, 51; Mark 14:43, 47; Luke 22:47, 50, 52).

In the first-order and second-order indexical tokens, the servant girls' use of Jesus' titles reveals the indexical meaning of Peter's Galilean dialect in relation to Jesus' social identities: (1) the first-order indexical token: Jesus the Galilean (Matt 26:69); and (2) the second-order indexical token: Jesus of Nazareth (v. 71).⁹⁶ These indexical orders present the strong ties between Jesus' social identities as a Galilean and as a false Messiah in light of the macro context of Caiaphas's courtyard. Although the servant girls simply said that Peter was with Jesus, the titles "Galilean" and "of Nazareth" imply

96. In Mark 14:67, the servant girl calls Jesus the man from Galilee.

that they suspected Peter to be a follower of Jesus since Galilee was the center of Jesus' ministry.⁹⁷

In the third-order indexical token, the bystanders articulated that Peter's Galilean dialect indexed his social identity as a follower of Jesus (v. 73). If this conversation had happened in a general macro context, Peter's Galilean dialect might have indexed his social identity as an ordinary Galilean visitor to Caiaphas's courtyard. However, the micro context of Caiaphas's courtyard was marked by the fact that it took place at night and constituted a nocturnal, purpose-driven gathering of those seeking to eliminate Jesus, which made it highly implausible that a Galilean would have been present merely as a casual or coincidental visitor at that hour. Because of the micro context and the circumstances in which the servant girls testified that Peter was with Jesus, Peter's Galilean dialect of Aramaic functioned as one of the clues in people's identification of him as a follower of Jesus. Nevertheless, Peter's Galilean dialect was not decisive evidence for identifying him as a follower of Jesus, considering the fact that the servant girls' statements show that they were not sure but merely assumed that Peter was with Jesus.

In light of the micro context of Peter's conversation, his three denials of Jesus can be understood as an attempt to reject the indexical meaning of his Galilean dialect, which associated him with the social identity of a follower of Jesus. Peter cursed and swore an oath, saying, "I do not know the man" (v. 74). Given the absence of an explicit object, it is difficult to determine whether Peter was cursing himself, others, or Jesus in this verse.

There are two possible indexical meanings of Peter's curse and oath. The first possible indexical meaning is that Peter was cursing himself or others. In this case, the focus of Peter's curse would have been to highlight that he was offering his own life as a guarantee of the truth of his statement, "I do not know Jesus." However, this interpretation is less persuasive in terms of interactional effectiveness, because it reduces Peter's denial to a claim of accidental presence, which would have been unlikely to convince those present in the nocturnal and highly purpose-driven setting of Caiaphas's courtyard.

A more plausible indexical meaning is that Peter cursed Jesus. In this case, Peter's curse would have served not merely as an intensifier of denial but as a socially recognizable act of ideological alignment, aligning him

97. See other Gospels, e.g., Mark 14:67; Luke 22:56.

with the social identity of those who supported the Judean leaders' ideology that Jesus was a false Messiah (26:65–68). Although Peter's Galilean dialect still indexed his social identity as a Galilean, his curse would have functioned to re-index him as a Galilean who strongly endorsed the Judean leaders' ideology that portrayed Jesus as a false Messiah.

In sum, the situation surrounding Peter's denial demonstrates that, in Caiaphas's courtyard, there were strong connections between the ideology regarding Jesus being a Galilean and that regarding Jesus being a false Messiah. Since the bystanders assumed that Peter was a follower of Jesus due to his Galilean dialect, Peter hid his true identity as a disciple of Jesus by speaking with a curse and an oath. Given that the situation unfolded at night—when the presence of a casual visitor would have been virtually impossible—cursing himself or others would have carried little persuasive force for those present, whereas cursing Jesus would have been far more interactionally convincing and thus would have facilitated Peter's successful withdrawal from the scene.

Conclusion

This study has examined how Peter's Galilean Aramaic functions indexically in Matt 26:69–74, especially in relation to *λαλιά* in 26:73. In the macro context, the differing sociolinguistic environments of Judea and Galilee suggest that Galilean Aramaic operated as an Invisible Language—marginalized in relation to Jerusalem-centered religious and institutional prestige. In this configuration, speaking a Galilean Aramaic variety indexed not only regional origin but also a socially positioned identity shaped by stigma, particularly within the domain of Judaism. The Gospels simultaneously portray Jesus' ministry as a period in which such ideological evaluations of Galilean identity could be contested and even reversed, reaching a peak when messianic interpretations intensified at his final entry into Jerusalem. Yet the events surrounding Jesus' arrest and trial also depict a rapid ideological shift toward construing Jesus as a false Messiah, and within this heightened micro context, Peter's Galilean speech became a salient clue through which bystanders inferred his association with Jesus.

Methodologically, this study proposes a way to investigate Invisible Languages that cannot be fully captured through text analysis alone. Rather than limiting the discussion to lexical semantics or source-critical reconstruction,

it has employed sociolinguistic theories and models to foreground the linguistic ecology in which indexical meanings become interactionally consequential. By reconstructing linguistic ecology and tracing indexical meanings across macro and micro contexts, it shows how historical texts can still provide insight into linguistic ideologies—stigmatization, standardization, exclusion, and inclusion—embedded in textual interaction, even when direct linguistic data are limited.

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