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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN ANCIENT PALESTINE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF JESUS' LANGUAGE USE BASED ON FOUR "I HAVE COME" SAYINGS

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Abstract: This article relates to the criteria of language authenticity in historical Jesus research and inquires into the *lingua franca* of Jesus' social environment. It demonstrates via sociolinguistic principles that Palestine was a multilingual society, establishes that various social groups necessitate the use of language varieties, and addresses the issue of language choice—the occasions and reasons multilingual people use their native tongue over and against their second language. The objective is to show in four "I have come" sayings in the Synoptics that, with high probability, Jesus' internal language was Aramaic, and his public language was Greek. (Article)

Keywords: Historical Jesus, Greek language, sociolinguistics, Mark 2:17, Mark 10:45, Luke 12:49–51, Matt 5:17

Introduction

The historical Jesus remains one of the most often discussed topics in the study of the Synoptic Gospels. Numerous criteria for authenticating Jesus' sayings (and actions) have emerged during the latter two "Quests."[1] Neglected to a certain extent have been

1. Some scholars rightly argue that the label "quests" as marking some distinctive periods in the history of Jesus research is inaccurate, especially since there has been, in fact, a single ongoing study and writing of Jesus' life even long before Reimarus, who is generally recognized as the "father" of the historical Jesus quest. For an excellent discussion of this view and a suggestion as to how future research should go, see Porter, *Criteria*, 17–25, 28–123, 238–42, esp. 17, 21, 24–25, 32, 55–56. See also "Criteria," 697–99. Cf. Weaver,

the Aramaic and Greek language criteria, especially the unsettled debate as to whether Aramaic or Greek was the *lingua franca* of Jesus' social environment.[2] With the impasse in the debate, it is important to note that these two language criteria can be seen as those languages spoken by typical first-century Jews.[3] The choice of one language or the other, as well as the social forces and factors that influence that choice, can be studied through sociolinguistic theories.[4] Thus, my goal in this article is to

Historical Jesus, xi-xii; Allison, "Secularizing," 141–45; Holmén, "Disinterested Quest," 189. Using the labels "quests" for referential purposes, however, and with the aforementioned fact in mind, it is significant to note that the dawn of the New Quest (ca. 1953–1970s) has paved the way for the further development of some of the criteria, notably that of the criterion of Double Dissimliarity. During this period of the zenith of form criticism (and redaction criticism), although this criterion became the central point of reference for many studies, it also ultimately meant stripping away Jesus' historical relevance. To a great extent, according to Tobias Nicklas, the Third Quest (ca. 1980s–present) responded with the recognition that Jesus was a man of his own world and attempted to reconstruct this world. That Jesus should be *distinguished* from his own world in order to discern a minimal amount of "genuine" tradition, or that he should be *assimilated* into it, is the thing in common between these two later quests. See Nicklas, "Alternatives," 715–18; Telford, "Major Trends," 60–61, who might have rightly argued that the Third Quest is merely a revival of the New Quest.

2. See Porter, *Criteria*, 164–80; Porter, "Use of Greek," 71–87; Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach in Greek?" 199–235; Casey, "Aramaic Approach," 275–78; Casey, "In Which Language?" 326–28.

3. These language criteria can have direct significance on the criterion of difference or (double) dissimilarity, since if evidence shows that Jesus' sayings in the Gospels took place in both Greek and Aramaic, then this undermines the dissimilarity criterion. Further, this linguistic criterion poses a good alternative to tradition-critical analysis. Tom Holmén finds its methodology most hazardous, since not only does it work backwards from the texts to earlier "hypothetical" traditions, but also there are no "laws" to govern their developments. See Holmén, *Covenant Thinking*, 26. Cf. Nicklas, "Alternatives," 718.

4. Sociolinguistics is the study of the interplay between the way language is used in communication, the social factors in the environment of the communicative process, and the speaker's attitude toward this process. Ralph Fasold gives two facts about language that are often ignored in the field of linguistics: (1) because language varies, speakers have multiple ways of saying the same thing, and (2) language is used not only for transmitting information

demonstrate how sociolinguistic theories can provide a general picture of how these two languages were appropriated in various ways and situations in ancient Palestine. Specifically, I intend to show, based on a sociolinguistic analysis of four "I have come" sayings (Mark 2:17; 10:45; Luke 12:49–51; Matt 5:17), that whereas Jesus' "internal" language was most likely Aramaic, the language that he used in public would have most likely been Greek.

The discussions that follow first show that Palestine was a multilingual society and establishes that various social groups or units necessitate the use of language varieties.[5] The second section addresses the issue of language choice, that is, when and why people in multilingual societies would typically use their "mother tongue" and their "second language" on certain occasions. I present three models where language choice is studied from the fields of sociology, social psychology, and anthropology. In the last section, I analyze four "I have come" sayings of Jesus through these three lenses in order to determine the type of language Jesus would have used in these instances.

One caveat before I proceed is that some objections to the application of contemporary models to ancient sources and texts are valid and have not gone unacknowledged by experts in the

and thoughts from one person to another, but also for defining the social situation (*Sociolinguistics of Society*, ix–x). While I find the latter reason to be an accurate observation, the first reason is not necessarily true. For a good discussion of the purposes of linguistic analysis, see Thompson, *Functional Grammar*, 1–13. Dell Hymes's explanation of the subject of sociolinguistics makes clear this distinction between the linguist's and the sociolinguist's tasks: "What seem variation and deviation from the standpoint of a linguist's analysis may emerge as a structure and a pattern from the standpoint of the communicative economy of the group among whom the analyzed form of speech exists" (*Foundation*s, 4). Cf. Halliday, "Users and Uses," 75–110.

5. This study from a sociolinguistic perspective, to my knowledge, is a new and unique contribution to historical and cultural studies on the multilingualism of Palestine. For previous studies on the multilingual environment of Palestine, see Wise, "Languages," 434–44, esp. 437; Fitzmyer, "Languages," 501–31.

area of linguistics.[6] However, I think that the nature of how language functions remains relatively constant in contrast to other types of social analyses (e.g., the social and anthropological models used in social-scientific criticism), since society and culture certainly change through the course of time. A clear case in point is an example from my own personal experience.[7] The customs and traditions of my grandparents, parents, and my own generation have significantly changed, especially from a more patriarchal to an egalitarian setting within the family. While this has entailed variations and change in the tone, style, content, and even the choice of words and expressions in the actual use of language from generation to generation, the single thing in common continues to be the type of language that is used at home.[8] Of course, a relocation of residence, such as our migration to Canada, will completely disrupt this scenario by virtue of the new environment.

Palestine as a Multilingual Society

There are a number of reasons that suggest ancient Palestine was a multilingual environment. One is that a monolingual society

6. See Paulston and Tucker, *Early Days*; Paulston, *Linguistic Minorities*; also cited in Paulston, "Language Repertoire," 82.

7. I wish to thank Cynthia Long Westfall for encouraging me to use pertinent personal examples from my own experience as a multilingual in this discussion of language use and choice. I was born and raised in the Philippines, a linguistically diverse country (with six major regional languages), which is like many other countries, such as Nigeria, Tanzania, India, and Indonesia. See Fasold, *Sociolinguistics of Society*, 1. As a child, I spoke a particular Chinese dialect with my parents, Filipino (the national language) and Bicol (a major dialect) with friends, and English in the classroom (English is the official medium of instruction in most private schools).

8. My observation is consistent with the two most basic sociolinguistic principles that (1) all languages and all speech communities change through time due to the "functional allocations of the varieties of language used in them," and (2) all language users evaluate the forms of language(s) they use, such that some forms are regarded as either appropriate or inappropriate in different social settings (see Ferguson, *Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 277).

rarely exists.[9] The mere presence of Jewish and Greek communities and their Roman rulers clearly indicates a complex linguistic society.[10] As I show below, the native languages of each of these communities, which were Aramaic/Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, functioned in different sociolinguistic settings.[11] Porter argues that Jesus, as a multilingual who lived in this first-century context, must have been productively fluent in Aramaic (his native tongue) and Greek (his second acquired language), and that Jesus may have known a few common Latin words based on the multilingual environment of Palestine.[12] This is possible, since Latin must have been confined to conversations between Romans and the elites.[13] In any case, John 19:20 reads: "Many of the Jews read [ἀνέγνωσαν (read aloud)][14] this sign, for the place where Jesus was crucified was near the city and it was written in Aramaic, Latin, and Greek" (CEB). Since Hebrew was

9. Canada has numerous languages, including those of its native peoples and immigrants, in addition to English and French—Canada's official languages. Even the United States, which is often thought of as a monolingual society, has three major Spanish dialects from earlier Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Chicano immigrants, along with European and Asian languages from recent immigrants (see Fasold, *Sociolinguistics of Society*, 1–2).

10. This is only a general categorization of the communities of ancient Palestine. Various smaller groups, parties, and sects, as well as the two-thirds or three-fourths Jews living in the Diaspora, contribute all the more to this linguistic diversity. For a brief survey of the historical background of ancient Palestine, see Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, esp. 427–30; Jeffers, *Greco-Roman World*, 14–18, 211–19.

11. Fitzmyer provides a historical background with literary and inscriptional evidence of the four languages used in Palestine about the time Christianity emerged (Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Aramaic). See Fitzmyer, "Languages," 501–31.

12. Porter, *Criteria*, 134.

13. On the use of Latin, see Fitzmyer, "Languages," 504–507.

14. The verb ἀναγινώσκω most likely means "to read something written, normally done aloud and thus involving verbalization" (Louw and Nida, *Lexicon*, 1: 396).

mostly confined within liturgical contexts, Jesus may only have been a passive speaker of Hebrew.[15]

Another reason involves the role that language plays in the concept of nationalism and nationism (both are points at the ends of a continuum, see Appendix A).[16] Because first-century Jews tended to think that they were a multinational state (see Appendix B), that is, that they were a nationality that happened to be under a ruling nation, nationism could have been a huge problem for the Roman government. There are generally two areas in which language becomes a problem for nationism: government administration and education. Because both governing and educating requires a language for communication, not only within the government institution but also between the government and the people, the language that does the best job is the best choice.[17] On the other hand, the role of language in nationalism is linked with culture, religion, and history. It serves as a symbol of tradition and authenticity.[18] According to Fishman, "the mother tongue is an aspect of the soul."[19] Whereas a nation's appeal to language has a pragmatic goal, it is symbolic on the part of a nationality. Therefore, even though multilingualism works against nationalism, pragmatically, problems in communication can act as a serious impediment to trade and industry and can be

15. For studies on the use of Hebrew in first-century Palestine, see Segal, "Mishnaic Hebrew," 670–700; Kutscher, *History*, 15–20.

16. This concept of nationalism-nationism is derived from Joshua Fishman (see "Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism," 39–52; Fishman, *Language and Nationalism*, esp. 3–5, 44–55).

17. Fishman, "Sociolinguistics," 7, 9.

18. The Austrians and the Swiss, for instance, were threatened by their northern neighbor, Germany, and fought for their national integrity linguistically, especially after the Second World War. Both turned to the extensive use of their non-standard dialects to react against the language-nation-ideology, which had a long tradition in the German-speaking area. As a result, the use of German was limited to formal situations and to writing. Hence, Ulrich Ammon points out that linguistic purism is rather a common phenomenon of linguistic national defense or emancipation (see "National-Variety Purism," 161–78, esp. 168–70).

19. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism*, 46.

socially disruptive.[20] Hence, it is typical and natural for the ruling nation to impose its own national language, regardless of the resistance it may face from various local groups.[21]

While one may argue that the concept of nationalism-nationism is a modern phenomenon that has its origin in the ultra-nationalist party during the French Revolution,[22] this is not necessarily the case, since nationalism is a universal and perennial phenomenon. Being "nationalistic" is a natural human tendency, even though not all people are nationalistic. Therefore, nationalism as a cultural phenomenon had been there even before this political ideology developed in the seventeenth century. Moreover, J. Hellerman's study "Purity and Nationalism in Second Temple Literature" has shown that this innate human tendency to defend one's own national identity was already present from the Maccabean period (ca. 167 BCE) to the first century CE. Based on evidence from 1–2 Maccabees and *Jubilees*, he shows that whereas earlier Jews during the time of Menelaus were willing to compromise or give up their socio-religious identity and ethnic solidarity by openly accommodating Greek mores, later first-century Jews exemplified opposite attitudes. First and Second Maccabees and *Jubilees* reflect Jewish preoccupation with the following symbols of socio-political identity: circumcision and the distinction between sacred and profane places, times, foods, and people (Palestinian Jews and Gentile oppressors).[23] The two major Jewish revolts of ca. 66–74 CE and ca.

20. Fasold, *Sociolinguistics of Society*, 3.

21. The Philippines gained its independence in 1947. The government then declared Pilipino (Filipino now), which is basically the old Tagalog, as the national language. Although there was some resistance from the other large regions to use it as the *lingua franca*, Filipino remains the national and formal language (together with English) of the country to this day. Cf. Holmes, *Introduction*, 101.

22. E.g., see Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism.* His discussion of the five paradigms of primordialism, perennialism, ethno-symbolism, modernism, and postmodernism, which are various strands of historical concepts that affect their explanation of the trend of nationalism, is insightful.

23. See Hellerman, "Purity and Nationalism," 401–21.

132–135 CE, and Paul's injunctions in Romans 13 and Tit 3:1 (cf. 1 Tim 2:2) further support this point.

A third reason for seeing Palestine as a multilingual society is that societies with the few rich on top and the populous poor at the bottom of its economic scale tend to be multilingual. In short, monolingual societies are typically economically better off than multilingual communities. Jonathan Pool attempted to conduct a study in 1962 using gross domestic product (GDP) per capita to measure the economy of 133 countries. He arrived at this conclusion: "a country that is linguistically highly heterogeneous is always underdeveloped or semideveloped, and a country that is highly developed always has considerable language uniformity."[24] The veracity of Pool's finding can be tested against the macro-economic picture of the first-century Roman Empire and a quick snapshot of Paul's Roman congregation (see Appendix C). The data in Appendix C shows that 90 percent of the Roman cities with at least ten thousand inhabitants lived at or below the poverty line. It is not surprising that multilingualism can create poverty, although many other factors, such as detachment from the traditional socio-economic way of life, urbanization, migration, policies on resource allocation, political and ethnic conflicts, and information and contact barriers can all contribute to the level of the economic condition of a society.[25] That not all languages are given equal status and privileges implies that speakers of minority languages are socio-economically disadvantaged; those who are able to speak the prestige language are the ones who have the most access to jobs and education and who are able to equally participate and position themselves in societal functions.[26]

The fourth and final reason for such multilingualism in Palestine is that multilingualism is a solution to nationist-nationalist conflicts in the event of migration, imperialism, federation, or

24. See Pool, "National Development," 213–30, esp. 222.

25. For a good discussion of these various factors, see Batibo, "Poverty," 23–36.

26. Harbert et al., "Poverty," 1–2; Batibo, "Poverty," 28–29.

border territory interaction. Large-scale migration occurs when a larger group expands its territory by moving into adjoining territories and simultaneously controlling smaller socio-cultural groups. Small-scale migration happens when a smaller ethnic group moves into a larger territory controlled by another nationality and will often speak their own native language upon arrival.[27] In imperialism, of which colonialism, annexation, and economic imperialism are subsets, the imperialist introduces its language into the colonized or annexed territories. Further, the imperialist's language is likely to be used in government and education and for international commerce and diplomacy (in the case of economic imperialism).[28] Federation is the process of uniting various nationalities or ethnic groups under the political control of a nation.[29] People who lived in "border territories" may be citizens of one country, but at the same time, members of a socio-cultural group in the other.[30] These historical patterns, however, are not clear-cut categories, since they often overlap each other. Figure 1 gives a general picture of the historical pattern of language shifts in Judea and its societal relationship with

27. After American independence, the migration of the descendants of the British colonists to the United States can be seen as a large-scale migration, whereas nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European and Chinese immigration, and more recently the Indo-Chinese countries such as Korea, Cuba, and Haiti, can be seen as a small-scale migration (see Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 9–10).

28. A modern example of annexation can be seen in the absorption of the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Soviet Union after the Second World War. See Lewis, "Migration," 310–41; Lewis, *Multilingualism*. Thailand was never colonized by an English-speaking country, but the attempt to use English as the medium of instruction by a large segment of the society for economic advantages is an example of economic imperialism. See Aksornkool, "EFL Planning in Thailand."

29. After its independence in 1830, Belgium experienced great civil unrest because of the increasing nationalism of one group of its native speakers, the Northern Flemish, and was forced to undergo federations with the French-speaking Southern Waloons. See Lorwin, "Linguistic Pluralism," 386–412.

30. E.g., the French-speaking communities in the northeastern United States, while residents of that country are ethnically closer to Canadians living in Quebec.

the Roman Empire in the first century BCE based on Judea's subsequent annexations by three different superpowers (see Appendix D).[31] By the seventh century CE, Arabic had displaced Aramaic in the Near East. The long history of the Aramaic language, which traces its roots to Aram (Syria now) in ca. 1000 BCE, suffered a major blow from the Arabic Islamic conquest. Today the language has almost vanished.[32]

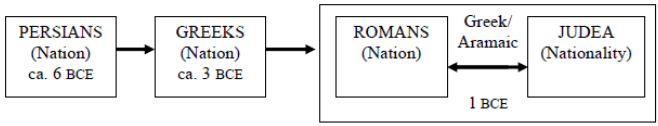

Figure 1: Language Shifts in Judea and its Societal Relation with the Roman Empire: From the Persians to the Romans

Our discussion so far has allowed us to verify from a sociolinguistic perspective that Palestine was a multilingual society. Therefore, individuals who lived in such a society needed to know the variety of languages used in the various geographical areas of Palestine. But the bigger question is the implications of this phenomenon for an individual who lived in such a society. Fasold notes that "multilingualism serves as an interactional resource for the multilingual speaker."[33] This suggests that one particular language might normally be used at home or with close friends, whereas another would be used for commerce and trade, and even a third one for dealing with government agencies.[34] In the Philippines, a typical third-generation Filipino-Chinese who lived in a major city would normally speak Chinese with one's parents, the regional dialect with friends and on the

31. Language shifts certainly did not happen overnight. The transition is a gradual process from the top socio-economic level to the low and more remote socio-economic and ethnic groups. On the movement of Hellenism in the east, see Kuhrt and Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East*.

32. See Sabar, "Aramaic, Once an International Language," 222–34.

33. Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 8.

34. Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 8.

street in shops and malls (if living outside the country's capital of Metro Manila), Filipino (the national language) with government officials and institutions, and English at school (with the teacher), at a law court, or at a formal business meeting or seminar.[35] Moreover, church services, wedding ceremonies, funeral services, and other socio-civic activities are usually conducted in English, although this varies according to the degree of formality and the type(s) and number of ethnic groups participating in a particular occasion. These kinds of linguistic variations and patterns are studied by sociolinguists, social psychologists, and anthropologists to determine what makes people in a society choose one language rather than another in a given instance. I now turn to this subject.

Language Choice

It is a common mistake to think of language choice as only available to a multilingual.[36] There are normally three types of choices that are available to a language user: (1) code-switching, which involves switching between two or more languages, (2) code-mixing (borrowing), in which words, phrases, or larger units of one language are used while speaking in another language, and (3) variation within the same language, in which a monolingual speaker must select which set of variants to use in a given situation. Since these three types of choices operate on a

35. The Fil-Chi community constitutes perhaps the largest ethnic group in the Philippines. Although a similar situation can be observed with second generation *mestizos* and *mestizas* (or Filipino-Spanish), third generation Filipino-Spanish speakers would normally speak the regional dialect (or Filipino) at home and with friends. This may indicate that Filipino-Chinese tend to preserve their tradition and authenticity more than Filipino-Spanish. In the case of people who live in the rural areas, most of them would rarely even know how to speak Filipino properly and fluently. So the scenario here is altogether different from that in the more urbanized areas and major cities. In cases where the witness does not know how to speak English, a translator, normally one's legal aid, would be present.

36. We often hear people say "As your boss…but as a friend…" This is an example of language choice for a monolingual.

continuum, code-mixing is very difficult to differentiate from the other categories.[37] This set of choices from a sociolinguistic perspective can be analyzed through the lenses of sociology, social psychology, and anthropology.

Domain Analysis (A Sociological Model)

One way of examining language choice is through what Joshua Fishman calls domains—certain institutional contexts comprised of a myriad of factors, such as location, topic, and participants.[38] Domain analysis, according to Charles Ferguson, is related to diglossia "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play."[39] In 1967, Fishman further referred to diglossia as any degree of linguistic variation from within a single language to the use of two distinct languages.[40] From these definitions there are two fairly distinct functions of language, one of which is called the *High language/dialect* (H) and the other the *Low language/dialect* (L). *Function* is the most important criterion for diglossia.[41] Functional distribution means that there are certain situations in which only H is appropriate, and there are others in which only L is applicable, with some degrees of overlap. Using examples from four speech communities—Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole—Ferguson gives a list of typical situations in which the two functions are distinguished (see Figure 2). The concept of diglossia is important, since the

37. See Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 181.

38. See Fishman, "Language Maintenance," 32–70; Fishman, "Who Speaks," 67–88.

39. Diglossia appears to be a term first used by Charles Ferguson in 1959. He distinguished diglossia from the alternate use of a standard language and a regional dialect, as well as between two distinct languages. See Ferguson, "Diglossia," 232–51.

40. See Fishman, "Societal Bilingualism," 92.

41. Ferguson explains diglossia under nine rubrics: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology (see Ferguson, "Diglossia," 232–51). For the purposes of this article, I can only include "function"—the most important criterion.

term is differentiated from bilingualism. The former means a control of both H and L, whereas the latter refers to the function of H and L.[42]

The most common domain that emerges in any domain analysis is the family domain—a speaker talking to another member of the family about a mundane topic at home. It is shown in sociological studies that the family domain is the *only* domain where the native language (L) of the speaker dominates. This domain is closely followed by domains that are considered to be "intimate domains," such as conversation with friends, acquaintances, neighbors, etc. I cite some of these studies from different types of sociological experimental studies in Appendix E because of the limited space.

Situation	*H*	*L*
Sermon in church or mosque	x	
Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks		x
Personal letter	x	
Speech in parliament, political speech	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with family, friends, colleagues		x
New broadcasts	x	
Radio 'soap opera'		x
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	x	
Caption on political cartoon		x
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

Figure 2: Typical Situations and Choices of H or L in Diglossia[43]

Another example is a study conducted by Luis Laosa. Laosa investigates how elementary school children from three Spanish-speaking communities in various cities in the United States (Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans) select their type of language within the family, in the classroom, and in recreational activities at school. His findings are that the use of Spanish was most often

42. Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 40.
43. Ferguson, "Diglossia," 236.

in the family context, less often in the recreational context, and least often in the classroom.[44]

"Overlapping Psychological Situations" (A Social Psychology Model)

Simon Herman investigates the individual speaker's problem of language selection as he or she is confronted with at least three simultaneously overlapping psychological situations in an actual linguistic situation. The three are: (1) personal needs, (2) background situation, and (3) immediate situation.[45] The last two are related to social groupings. The immediate group involves the people who are actually there at that time. The "hidden committees,"[46] or background group, refers to those who are in the wider social milieu that may influence the behavior of the speaker or affect the situation, but are not directly involved in the immediate situation. Based on this theory, Herman considers the circumstances that cause one particular situation to gain salience at the expense of the other two. This salient situation is the most prominent at that particular instance and is the one that the speaker will respond to or address. On the basis of extensive empirical data on language choice in Israel, Herman suggests that certain circumstances will increase the salience of one situation over the other two. These circumstances are listed in Figure 3. For instance, if two friends who have well established relationships always use a particular language between themselves, then that language will be the default language whenever they talk to each other; therefore, the immediate situation takes precedence over personal and background considerations.

44. See Laosa, "Bilingualism," 617–27.
45. See Herman, "Explorations," 492–511.
46. Herman, "Explorations," 494–95.

Situation	*Circumstances*
Personal needs	(1) Setting is private rather than public
	(2) The situation provokes insecurity, high tension, or frustration
	(3) The situation touches the central rather than the peripheral layers of personality
Background situation	(1) The activity takes place in public rather than a private setting
	(2) The behavior in the situation may be interpreted as providing cues to group identifications
	(3) The person involved in the activity wishes to identify with a particular group or be dissociated from it.
Immediate situation	(1) The person is not concerned about group identifications.
	(2) The behavior is task oriented.
	(3) Well-established patterns of behavior characterize a relationship.

Figure 3: Circumstances causing an increase in salience for one of three psychological situations[47]

Susan Gal's Anthropological Model[48]

Anthropologists differ from sociologists and social psychologists in terms of the object and goal of their analyses and the method they employ in such analyses. Whereas sociologists deal purely with theoretical social constructs, and social psychologists attempt to explain the individual's relationship to these theoretical social constructs, anthropologists are interested in studying the values of socio-cultural groups and the cultural rules of behavior that reflect those values. Similarly, whereas the former two rely on statistical surveys under controlled experiments, the priority of anthropologists is on uncontrolled behavior that leads them to apply a research methodology called "participant observation."[49]

For example, Susan Gal spent a year living with a local family in Oberwart, Eastern Austria to study the shift in language choices of the people between Hungarian (L) and German

47. Herman, "Explorations," 495–96.
48. Gal, "Variation and Change," 227–38.
49. See Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 192.

(H).[50] She developed an "implicational-scale" table with speakers represented by rows and interlocutors by columns (see Figure 4), which tabulates orderly patterns of the language choice of women (the scale for men is almost identical). Whereas the use of German with any particular interlocutor implies (or predicts) that German will be used with all interlocutors to the right, Hungarian is used with all interlocutors to the left of the scale. The use of both languages to the same interlocutor appears between the use of only Hungarian and the use of only German. From this figure, there are several observations that can be made, but I will mention only some of them here. First, older people are likely to be addressed in Hungarian, while the younger are likely to speak in German. Second, "black market clients" is the only category (within the "non-intimate" categories) where Hungarian is usually spoken, since this is an attempt of the people to maintain their tradition of market transactions in the face of the strict labor licensing in Austrian regulations. Incidentally, "black market clients" is part of a smaller community group in contrast to the government officials who belong to the larger social establishment with prestigious positions, and, therefore, are likely to be addressed in German. Finally, conversations with God and one's parents are almost exclusively in Hungarian, while conversations with one's siblings, neighbors, and friends vary between German and Hungarian depending on the age group.[51]

50. See Gal, *Language Shift*, esp. 120–66. Blom and Gumperz and Gillian Sankoff spent similar long periods of residence in the communities they were studying, and Dorian spent over a decade working on language change in East Sutherland, Scotland. See Blom and Gumperz, "Social Meaning," 111–36; Sankoff, "Language Use," 29–46; Dorian, "Language Shift," 85–94. For a good synthesis of Susan Gal's work, see Fasold, *Sociolinguistics*, 192–200.

51. The reason for this variation might be found in Gal's study of the increase in fluency of speaking German by the people from the late nineteenth century to the twentieth century. In the former period, peasants in Oberwart only spoke German in order to transact business in the markets. But in the 1970s, the goal of the people was to pass from their monolingual stage to a stage where they could speak German fluently and free from a Hungarian accent. See Gal, *Language Shift*, 107, 155.

	Interlocutor											
Speaker's Age	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*
14	H	GH		G	G	G	G			G		G
15	H	GH		G	G	G	G			G		G
25	H	GH	GH	GH	G	G	G	G	G	G		G
27	H	H		GH	G	G	G			G		G
17	H	H		H	GH	G	G			G		G
13	H	H		GH	GH	GH	GH			G		G
43	H	H		GH	GH		G*	GH	GH	G		G
39	H	H		H	GH	GH	G	G	G	G		G
23	H	H		H	GH	H*	G		GH*	G		G
40	H	H		H	GH		GH	G	G	G		G
50	H	H		H	H	GH	GH	GH	G	G	G	G
52	H	H	H	GH	H		H	GH	G	G	G	G
60	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	GH	G	G	H*
40	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	GH	GH		G
35	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	GH	H*		G
61	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	GH	H		G
50	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		G
66	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	G
60	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	G
53	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	G
71	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	GH*	H	GH	G
54	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H		G
69	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	G
63	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	GH	H*
59	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		H
60	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H		H
64	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
71	H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

Figure 4: Implicational Scale for Language Choice by Women Speakers in Oberwart[52]

Summary of the Theories

We may now summarize the data from the above discussion and use them to analyze our four "I have come" sayings of Jesus, in order to determine the type of language Jesus would have used in those instances. First, from the concept of nationism-nationalism,

52. Gal, *Language Shift*, 121. Interlocutors: 1 (God); 2 (Grandparents and their generation); 3 (Black market clients); 4 (Parents and their generation); 5 (Age-mate pals, neighbors); 6 (siblings); 7 (salespeople); 8 (spouse); 9 (children and that generation); 10 (government). Languages: G = German; H = Hungarian.

the Roman rulers in ancient Palestine would seem to have used Greek in governing, even though there might have been a strong tendency on the part of Jews to use their native Aramaic language to preserve their religion, culture, and history.[53] Second, not only do the economic indices reveal a multilingual environment, but also the subsequent annexations of Palestine by the Persians, Greeks, and the Romans would have allowed for multilingualism as a solution to nationist-nationalist conflicts. Therefore, with reference to an individual living in this social environment, multilingualism would have served as an interactional resource to draw upon in various linguistic situations. Third, from the perspective of sociology, the native tongue is typically used in L domains (i.e., with families, friends, neighbors, or where intimacy is salient). Otherwise, the H language would be the "de-fault language" one would use in other domains. Fourth, from the perspective of social psychology, the choice of L language over H language depends on the salience of one of the three overlapping psychological situations (personal needs, background situation, and immediate situation) at the expense of the other two. Lastly, from the perspective of anthropology, not only would L language be used in situations where intimacy is salient (esp. with God) and where there is an attempt to protect tradition, there is also a tendency for older people to use L language more than younger generations. This might suggest an increasing language shift from Aramaic to Greek, such that at the turn of the first century CE, there were already more Greek speakers than Aramaic speakers (see Figure 1 above; cf. Mark 9:36–37//Luke 9:47–8//Matt 18:3–5 where Jesus called a little child to him and taught his disciples about greatness in the kingdom of heaven). With these things in mind, let us now analyze the four "I have come" sayings.

53. There is even a possibility that Hebrew was still preserved in some circles for religious and liturgical purposes. See Porter, *Criteria*, 136–37.

Analysis of Mark 2:17; 10:45; Luke 12:49–51; Matt 5:17

Mark 2:17. "*It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners*."

The sociolinguistic evidence all points to the use of the H language (Greek) in this particular saying. Given the fact that Jesus came out of his house, or the house where he had healed the paralytic (vv. 1–12), the indication that he was beside the lake (v. 13), and the presence of τελώνιον (tax table; v. 14), the setting of this episode was most likely in Capernaum. Capernaum was the border city between the tetrarchies of Antipas and Philip.[54] Although the CEB suggests that Jesus was in the house of Λευί (Μαθθαῖος in Matt 9:9), it is rather unclear from the Greek text (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ) whether Jesus invited Levi to his own house or he was indeed at Levi's house. In any event, the important fact is that Jesus was in a house with a large crowd behind him (v. 13) composed of his disciples, many tax collectors and sinners (v. 15), and the Pharisees (v. 16). Unlike the major cities of Sepphoris, Tiberias, and the Decapolis, Capernaum was considered a small town with private houses that had one or two stories. Houses of these types have small rooms that most likely could only accommodate a small group of people.[55] Hence, the paralytic had to enter through the roof (v. 4).

The conversation appears to have taken place in a family context with the mention of Levi's house, but since there was a mixed group of people around (vv. 15–16), and since a small private house could not accommodate such a large crowd, we should expect that this was a public setting, although we are certain that Jesus was inside a house "reclining" (συνανέκειντο) with the tax collectors and his disciples.[56] This depiction of the social setting should indicate the salience of the background situation of the episode (i.e., a public setting). Eating with tax

54. France, *Mark*, 131.

55. For a brief description of the villages, towns, and houses in Palestine, see Jeffers, *Greco-Roman World*, 66-69.

56. "Jews sat a table for ordinary meals but reclined on couches or carpets for formal meals" (Brooks, *Mark*, 62).

collectors and sinners may also suggest that Jesus wanted to associate himself with them, while, at the same time, to dissociate himself from the antagonizing Pharisees (v. 16). Further, there is no indication here that Jesus' conversation with the Pharisees was an intimate one, although his table fellowship with the sinners and tax collectors should be seen as one of the foremost expressions of intimacy in Jewish culture. His response to the Pharisees was casual and to the point because they were not his "friends." Because Jesus was teaching the large crowd in this episode and because there was a mixed group of people present in this social setting, it is unlikely that Jesus would have used his native tongue in this saying to the Pharisees. This saying consists of a "proverb" in the third person and a mission statement in the first person ("I have come"), which probably was intended as a rejoinder not only to the Pharisees but also to everyone who was present. However, this linguistic situation radically differs from Mark 10:45.

Mark 10:45: "For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." This text is a well-known passage supporting the substitutionary concept of atonement.[57] Although the source of this saying (incl. v. 39) has been questioned, its historicity is beyond doubt,[58] since the author would not have mentioned such a discrediting story that involves two of Jesus' closest disciples and is in the presence of the other ten disciples. This episode demonstrates again the dullness on the part of the disciples immediately after a passion prediction (vv. 32–34). Surprisingly, James and John's audacious request of sitting at the right and left hand of Jesus in his kingdom did not receive a reprimand from their master, but rather an indirect but profound teaching that the way to glory in the kingdom entails service, sacrifice, and suffering. Exaltation

57. For a good discussion of some of the issues, see Taylor, *St. Mark*, 445-46.

58. The authenticity of this saying is strongly defended in Jeremias, "παῖς θεοῦ," *TDNT* 5: 706.

means lowliness (vv. 43–44). The imageries of drinking the cup, baptism, servant-greatness, and giving life as a ransom for all point to what true discipleship means. It is interesting to note that even if the two disciples lack understanding, they were certainly loyal and courageous (v. 39).[59] In fact, Jesus had to tell them plainly that their request still could not be granted despite their courage and willingness. And the ultimate answer to their request (v. 37) is clinched by the saying καὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν (v. 45).[60]

It is possible that this episode serves both to remove the disciples' dullness (the reaction of the other ten disciples is no more commendable than the ambitiousness of the two, v. 41) and to explain further the meaning of the preceding passion prediction. It is not until v. 46, when they enter Jericho, that the exchange takes place between only Jesus and the Twelve (vv. 32–45). Here, the immediate situation, specifically Jesus' familiar relationship with his disciples, is the most salient sociolinguistic feature of the episode. Jesus was clearly not concerned about group identifications in this episode, since he was having a private in-group conversation with intimate friends. As such, this account and the saying in v. 45 likely transpired in Aramaic.

The "I have come" sayings of Jesus can indicate strongly that Jesus was self-conscious that he was the Messiah.[61] His response to the Pharisees in Mark 2:17 (see above) implies that he came to heal sinners; here he explicitly states that he came to serve and save people. But this explicit statement took place when he was with his disciples. Might this passage shed some light on

59. Cf. France, *Mark*, 417.

60. The combination of the conjunctions καὶ γὰρ underlines the primary reason why ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου came, whereas the anarthrous infinitives διακονῆσαι and δοῦναι indicate its purpose. Cf. Porter, *Idioms*, 231.

61. Although the quest for the aims and intentions of Jesus had long been dismissed by Schweitzer and Cadbury in the earlier quests for the historical Jesus, many scholars within the Third Quest (perhaps with Wright at the frontline) have sought to revive this theory of Jesus' messianic self-awareness. See Beilby and Eddy, "Introduction," 51–52.

understanding the "messianic secret"[62] in Mark (e.g., 1:44; 4:11; 8:29–30; 9:9)?

Luke 12:49–51: "I have come to bring fire on the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled! But I have a baptism to undergo, and what constraint I am under until it is completed! Do you think I came to bring peace on earth? No, I tell you, but division."

The rationale behind this saying of Jesus can be traced as far back to 11:37–52 in the "woe catalogue" against the Pharisees. While the indignant Pharisees wait for an opportune time to trap him in something he might say (11:53–54), Jesus begins to teach the large crowd that immediately followed him, starting with his own disciples (12:1). This episode with his disciples seems to have been interrupted by someone in the crowd (12:13), where Jesus responds by telling the parable of the rich fool. However, 12:22 clearly indicates that Jesus resumes his conversation with his disciples. Nevertheless, at 12:41, Peter's question as to whether Jesus was telling his disciples or everyone, and Jesus' interrogative reply τίς ἄρα ἐστιν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος ὁ φρόνιμος, point to the fact that in 12:1–59 Jesus seems to be addressing (either directly or indirectly) everyone who was present (cf. v. 54). As such, this saying was most likely in Greek. The mere fact that this happened in a public setting should indicate the prominence of the background situation of this episode. Specifically, the prominent sociolinguistic feature in this episode is Jesus providing cues about his coming at the *parousia* to the crowd, especially in light of the fact that this saying is juxtaposed with the parables about his second coming and the fulfillment of certain events (vv. 35-48). But this particular

62. The "messianic secret" is a motif primarily in Mark that points to the instances where Jesus commands his disciples not to tell anyone that he is the Messiah. This theory was first proposed by William Wrede in 1901, who argued that this "secrecy" was for the purpose of easing the tension between the early Christians' belief in Jesus' messiahship and the apparent non-messianic nature of his ministry. See Wrede, *Messianic Secret*; see also Kingsbury, *Christology*, 2–11; Hooker, *St. Mark*, 66–69.

saying seems to talk about Jesus' earthly mission; hence, it is unclear why Luke inserted this material here.[63]

This saying, however, may have overtones of sedition or division on the part of Jesus.[64] While it is true that the context would suggest that Jesus might have been talking about the ultimate cost of discipleship (vv. 52–53),[65] it is important to ask how Jesus sees his relationship with the Roman Empire as a Jewish national, for if Jesus' spirit of nationalism was like those who revolted against the empire in 66 CE and 132 CE, there is the possibility that he would have attempted to preserve the Aramaic language as his medium of communication on all occasions. However, there is no indication that Jesus had such an attitude or intention (cf. Mark 14:48–49; 15:4; Matt 27:19, 23–24; Luke 23:14, 22).

63. Cf. Stein, *Luke*, 364. John Nolland argues that the coming fire refers to Jesus' eschatological purgation associated with his coming judgment: "The time for the execution of that commission is not yet, but its purging flames are already anticipated in the baptism that is to be Jesus' own fate and in the heart-break and challenge of the strife that, with the coming of Jesus, breaks apart the closest of human ties." However, I. H. Marshall is probably more precise in arguing that "fire" could be referring to the Holy Spirit in connection to Jesus' baptism, such that Jesus himself partakes in the coming eschatological judgment, although it is clear in the saying that Jesus' baptism is a pre-condition for what is to follow. Hence, Jesus longs for the fulfillment of his baptism. Marshall's view provides a closer link for the two-part sayings in vv. 49–51. Cf. Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 707; Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 546–47.

64. Richard Blight has compiled a list of the various identifications of the topic in 12:49–53: "The topic is fire on the earth [TNTC], Jesus, the great divider [NAC], Jesus as the cause of division [BECNT; NCV, NRSV, TEV], Jesus will cause conflict [GW], not peace, but trouble [CEV], not peace, but division [HCSB, NET, NIV], the prospect of fire, baptism, and division [WBC], the enigma of Jesus' mission [AB]." See Blight, *Exegetical Summary*, 62.

65. There are at least two ways to view this saying as a matter of Jesus' highlighting the cost of discipleship: (1) Jesus' offer of peace causes people either to reject or accept it (Bock, *Luke*; Bratcher, *Gospel of Luke*) both of which may entail suffering; and (2) persecution will come to those who accept Jesus from those who oppose him (Geldenhuys, *Gospel of Luke*). See Blight, *Exegetical Summary*, 65–66.

Matt 5:17: "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them."

This saying appears in the middle of Jesus' first discourse in Matthew, the Sermon on the Mount (5:1—7:29). The conversation partners of Jesus here are indicated at 5:1 and 7:28. However, it seems unclear from these two verses whether Jesus was teaching his disciples only or if he included the crowd as well.[66] Perhaps Jesus' primary audience was his disciples, and the crowd was his secondary audience.[67] We could speculate that Jesus' disciples either arrived first on the scene or were with him on the way to the mountainside, and that he began to teach them first (5:1–2). Because the crowds from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea, and the region across the Jordan were so large, their arrivals on the scene would have been in groups at intermittent times. In this case, it is possible that Jesus was speaking in Aramaic first with his disciples when he taught them the Beatitudes (5:3–12) and when he gave the command to be the salt and light of the earth (5:13–16). The topics about suffering and persecution and the charge to the disciples to glorify their Father in heaven through their good deeds seem to support this scenario. Notice the abrupt change in topic from an intimate conversational topic to matters about the Law and the Prophets (5:17–8). Two factors may affect this abrupt change. First, the subsequent arrivals of various groups of people may have necessitated a situational code-switching on the part of Jesus in order for him to accommodate the people. Or, second, Jesus' shift of topic may suggest a metaphorical code-switching. This is likely to happen if the motivation for the code-switch was the topic of the conversation, rather than the arrival of the

66. Some (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*) suggest that Jesus, after his intensive healing ministry throughout Galilee (4:23–25), wanted to get away from the crowd and so went up to the mountainside as signaled by the participle ἰδών (seeing). See Tehan and Abernathy, *Sermon on the Mount*, 11–12.

67. This view is supported in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, and R. T. France, *Matthew*. See Tehan and Abernathy, *Sermon on the Mount*, 193.

crowds.[68] In any case, Jesus would have used Greek in this saying because the setting was in a public place; there is no indication of any "intimate" conversation with people who are close to him, and his conversation partners were a mixed crowd, which would surely include all sorts of people both young and old.

Conclusion

I have shown in this article that language choice in a particular linguistic situation can be analyzed through the use of sociolinguistic theories. This particular methodology is distinct and independent from historical approaches, and, therefore, should be given careful consideration. Because Palestine was a multilingual society, any first-century individual, like Jesus, would have used a native language for "internal" domains and a contact language for "public" domains. This claim is gleaned from the three sociolinguistic models I have presented in this article. In light of this assertion, it is clear that Jesus used both Aramaic and Greek in the four "I have come" sayings. While limited space has prevented an examination of other passages, such a methodology is useful for further development, research, and application.

68. Situational code-switching occurs when there is an abrupt change in the social situation, such as, say, the sudden arrival of a new person in the social scene. In other words, in these instances the topic of discussion does not really matter in a code-switch. But when a code-switch is required because of a change in the topic of discussion, this is called metaphorical code-switching. It is interesting to note that "some topics may be discussed in either code, but the choice of code adds a distinct flavor to what is said about the topic." See Wardhaugh, *Introduction*, 104, 108; cf. Holmes, *Introduction*, 35.

Appendix A: The Concepts of Nationalism and Nationism

A nationality is a particular group of people who think of themselves as a social unit distinct from other units, although not necessarily confined to a single locality. It should be distinguished from an ethnic group, which is just like a nationality except that it is "simpler, smaller, more particularistic, more localistic."[69] A nationality under normal conditions does not have geographical autonomy. A nation, on the other hand, while being different from a state, polity, or country (which can be controlled by more than one nationality), is "any political-territorial unit which is largely or increasingly under the control of a particular nationality," and is independent of external control.[70] All of these distinctions are points on a continuum rather than discrete distinctions. Combining both these distinctions between "nationality and ethnic group" and between "nation and state," we get a new continuum with multinational states on one end, and multiethnic nations on the other end. If a socio-cultural group claims that they are an independent nationality, which happens to be under someone's government, that socio-cultural group is possibly a multinational state. Alternatively, if a socio-cultural group thinks that they are concurrent members of the governing nation they reside in, and, at the same time, also members of their particular socio-cultural group, it is probably a multiethnic nation. This nationality-nation concept is important, since, where language is concerned, the requirements of nationalism and nationism can be in tension with each other.[71]

69. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism*, 3.
70. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism*, 5.
71. Fasold, *Sociolinguistics of Society*, 3.

Appendix B: Herod the Great to Pontius Pilate (37 BCE–36 CE)

A historical account from the time of Herod the Great to the time of Pontius Pilate and Jesus, a span of seventy-five years, can be reconstructed in order to glean a general background of the social, cultural, and political setting of ancient Palestine.

Herod the Great was king over all Judea and other Greek cities along the Mediterranean and on both sides of the Jordan in 37–34 BCE, which makes his kingdom approximately the size of the ancient kingdom of Israel.[72] Apart from his massive rebuilding project of the Jerusalem temple, which was completed ca. 63 CE long after his death, Herod proved both an able and ruthless ruler, and Josephus described him as having an "irreligious spirit" (*Ant*. 17:191). His identification with Greco-Roman civilization can be seen in his building of a Greek theater and hippodrome, and especially in making Greek, instead of Aramaic, the official language of government. Consequently, many Jews saw him as an enemy who treated them contemptuously. However, upon his death, Palestine was divided among three of his sons, Antipas, Philip, and Archelaus. Whereas Philip ruled the areas east of Galilee, north of Decapolis, and south of Abilene in relative tranquility, because he did not have to be concerned about Jewish religious sensibilities (most of his subjects were non-Jews), his brothers Antipas and Archelaus were not able to follow his peaceful government. As tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (see for example, Mark 6:14, 22, 25–27) from 4 BCE–37 CE, Antipas served Roman interests well. Archelaus's rule was very brutal. As a result, Caesar Augustus removed him as tetrarch of Judea and Samaria in 6 CE. From this time on, Judea became a Roman imperial province under the governorship of a prefect of equestrian rank. Under this Roman rule, military troops were stationed in Jerusalem's fortress of Antonia next to the temple, and Romans probably also occupied the palace of Herod in the upper city. Fergus Millar points out that the temple as a meeting place for

72. For a thorough study of Herod's lineage, see Richardson, *Herod*.

national sentiments highlights Jerusalem as a prominent place then.[73] The high priest, who was the presiding officer of the Jewish Sanhedrin, which functioned as a kind of senate of the province, was the most political person in Judea after the governor (Matt 26:3; Luke 3:2; John 18:24; Acts 4:5–6). As such, he was under the appointment of the governor, Pontius Pilate being one of them (26–36 CE).[74]

From this brief historical account, we can make a few important observations. First, it is quite clear that Jerusalem, during the time of Jesus, was a melting pot of all sorts of people, because of the significance of the temple and the high concentration of non-Jews in the areas under Philip's rule.[75] Second, the official language of government was most likely Greek since the time of Herod the Great, as it is unlikely that his sons would revert to Aramaic, especially in the case of Judea and Samaria under Roman rule from 6 BCE on.[76] Finally, the apparent antagonism between many Jews and Herod or the Roman governor suggests that the former tended to think that they were a multinational state.[77]

73. Millar, *Roman Near East*, 45.

74. See Jeffers, *Greco-Roman World*, 110–41, esp. 122–32; Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 40–45.

75. Porter has shown that there was a widespread use of Greek in Lower Galilee and Palestine, since these areas were a trade route among travelers in the Mediterranean, Sea of Galilee, and the Decapolis. Moreover, there is epigraphic and literary evidence, which includes coins, papyri and literary texts, and funeral inscriptions that support this claim. See Porter, *Studies*, 148–60. This should not come as a surprise, since these two areas are adjacent to Philip's territory.

76. Greek was the *lingua franca* of Samaria since the third century BCE, mostly for economic and administrative purposes (see Hengel and Markschies, *"Hellenization" of Judaea*, 8; Millar, *Roman Near East*, 341). In Jerusalem, it is estimated that between 10 to 15 percent of the Jews there spoke Greek as their first language (see Hengel and Deines, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 55).

77. Josephus gives two accounts that show Pilate's hostile relationship with the Jews. The first one involves the military's medallion that bore the busts of the emperor, which was highly offensive to many Jews (*War* 2:169–74; *Ant*. 18:55–59). The second one is when Pilate took money from the temple

Appendix C: A Macro-Economic Picture of Ancient Rome and Paul's Congregation

Figure 5 below is a picture of the social classes in the Roman Empire. This figure indicates that only a few well-to-do people lived in the empire. It also more or less corresponds with the statistical finding of Steven Friesen as shown in Figure 5.[78] Based on this table, Friesen was able to arrive at the economic profile of Paul's congregation from the account in Acts. Figure 6 shows the generated data. We can speculate from this data that some of Paul's congregations were comprised of people who lived near the poverty line (with Paul himself at the bottom border!).

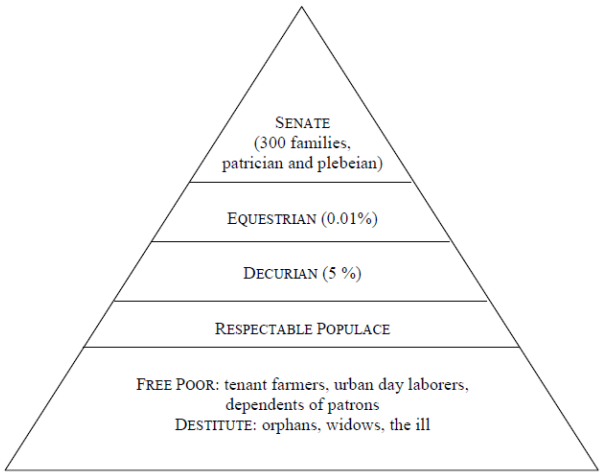

Figure 5: Social Class in the Roman Empire[79]

treasury to pay for his aqueduct project to bring water to Jerusalem from the southern hills (*War* 2:175–77; *Ant*. 18:62).

78. The results indicated in this figure according to Friesen are based on "excruciating calculations" of the large cities of the eastern Roman Empire during the early imperial period. See Friesen, "Poverty," 340–43. Here, I am only using the results of Friesen's study as one means of depicting the economic condition of ancient Palestine. For further details, see Friesen, "Paul and Economics," 25–54.

79. Jeffers, *Greco-Roman World*, 181.

Population	Poverty Scale Category
0.04%	PS1: Imperial elites
1%	PS2: Regional elites
1.76%	PS3: Municipal elites
7%	PS4: Moderate surplus
22%	PS5: Stable near subsistence
40%	PS 6: At subsistence
28%	PS 7: Below subsistence

Figure 6: Percentage of population in categories: Roman cities with population over 10,000[80]

PS	Name	Reference	Location
1	[Proconsul Sergio Paulus?]	13:6–12	Paphos, Cyprus
2–3	Dionysios the Areopagite	17:34	Athens
2–3	Not a few of the Greek men of high standing	17:12	Beroea
2–3	Not a few of the Greek women of high standing	17:12	Beroea
2–3	Women of high standing (in the city)	17:4	Thessalonica
4	Crispus	18:8	Corinth
4?	Unnamed jailer	18:22–36	Philippi
4?	Lydia	16:13–15	Philippi
4	Titius Justus	18:7	Corinth
4–5	Jason	17:5–9	Thessalonica
5–6	Paul	18:3–8; 20:34	Corinth; Ephesus

Figure 7: Economic profile of Paul's assemblies based on Acts of the Apostles[81]

80. Friesen, "Paul and Economics," 37.
81. Friesen, "Paul and Economics," 43.

Appendix D: Judea—The Persians to the Romans

In the biblical world, Judea became a client kingdom of the Persians as a result of the latter's annexation after defeating the Babylonians. The large-scale migration when the exile returned to Jerusalem in ca. 536 BCE brought with it the Babylonian-inherited Aramaic language. As a result, Aramaic (or Hebrew) became not only the language of religion but also of administration.[82] When Alexander and the Greeks arrived, conquering every city or territory in Palestine, Hellenistic cities were built, such as the Decapolis, Galilee, etc. James Jeffers points out that everyone had to learn the Greek language to do business in the cities, "and could not help but be influenced by their culture."[83] Rome, the superpower in the entire Mediterranean by 146 BCE, came on the scene shortly before the New Testament era. Because they were too strong to resist, Judea voluntarily yielded itself to be annexed and became a semi-independent client state in 143 BCE. Because the Romans were heavily influenced by the Greek culture in the Italian peninsula, it was not difficult for them to adapt to Greek culture and language upon arrival, since they were as much Greek as they were Romans.[84] Hence, the official language of government during Herod the Great's time was Greek.

82. The notion that Aramaic was brought to Judea by the returning exiles, however, may not be an accurate assessment of the scenario. Frank Polak points out that the extent to which Aramaic was used during the time of Ezra-Nehemiah suggests that the language "was conditioned by its sociopolitical functions as the imperial language in western Asia, hence, the language of the administration in the subjugated provinces, such as Yehud." See Polak, "Judean Speech Community in the Achaemenid Empire," 589–628 (591–92).

83. Jeffers, *Greco-Roman World*, 15.

84. For a summary of Greco-Roman history, see Jeffers, *Greco-Roman World*, 293–320; Ferguson, *Backgrounds*, 5–39.

Appendix E: Domain Analysis Studies by S.N. Parasher and Lawrence Greenfield

In a study conducted among 350 educated people in India, S.N. Parasher arrived at a similar finding as Greenfield (see below). Using seven domains, Parasher's respondents were asked to state which of five language types (English, mother tongue or first language, regional language, Hindi, or other language) they would use in each situation.[85] The results are shown in Figure 7 and point to the fact that native or first languages are most expectedly used in low domains (i.e., family, neighborhood, friend) and least in the high domains (government, employment, and education), with the transaction domain falling in the middle.

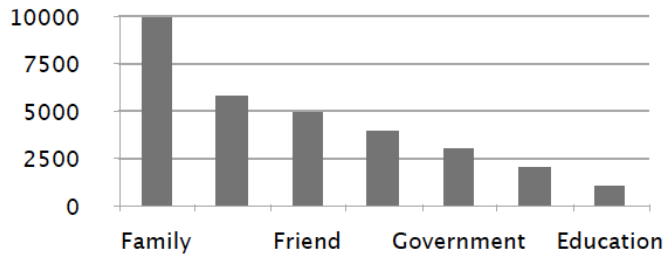

Figure 7: Use ratings for mother tongues in seven domains by educated Indians

Lawrence Greenfield conducted a study through a questionnaire on the choice of Spanish in a linguistic situation by Puerto Ricans in New York City. Given two congruent components, say, person and place, respondents were asked to choose the third component indicating the language that they would use in that combination of circumstances. For example, respondents were told to think of a conversation with a parent on a family matter and asked to select the place from among home, beach, church, school, and work-place, and the language that they would use.[86]

85. See Parasher, "Mother-Tongue-English Diglossia," 151–68.

86. See Greenfield, "Situational," 17–35; also in Greenfield, "Normative Language Views," 602–18.

Using a five-point scale (with 1 indicating an all-Spanish and 5 indicating an all-English usage), the result is tabulated in Figure 8. His findings show that Spanish is most likely chosen when intimacy is salient and English where a status difference is involved.

Components given	*Intimate (family and friendship)*	*Status (religion, education, and employment)*
Place, topic	3.27	4.81
Person, topic	2.6	4.27
Place, person	2.64	4.38

Figure 8: Language selection scale averages in two domain categories by New York City Puerto Rican subjects[87]

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87. Greenfield, "Situational Measures," 25.

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