

Buddhist Ideologies from Dhamma¹ Aphorisms in Monasteries in Chiang Mai, Thailand²

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Abstract

Aphorism signs found in Thai monasteries are a means of communication used by monks to relay the Buddha's teaching (*dhamma*) to Thai Buddhists in general, and to share Buddhist ideologies. This study examines how Buddhist ideologies are constructed through these aphorisms. The analytical

¹ *Dhamma* (Pali; *dharma* in Sanskrit and English) literally means things, states or phenomena. Everything that exists in nature is considered *dhamma*. The Buddha was enlightened and discovered how things in nature are formed and related. He then taught his disciples (later forming a community called the *sangha*) and people in general about the truth of things in nature and the path of living that corresponds with nature. Closely related to the first sense, *dhamma* in another sense means the Buddha's teachings of what he discovered about nature, which includes both theory and practice (Phra Brahmagunabhorn 2012, 66, 684; 2016, 64, 98). The second meaning is more commonly understood by Buddhists and adopted in this research. Therefore, *dhamma* signs or aphorisms are the signs or aphorisms that deliver the content of the Buddha's teachings.

² This paper is part of the research entitled "Speaking trees: A study of speech acts and Buddhist ideologies from dhamma aphorisms in monasteries in Chiang Mai, Thailand."

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framework used is the discourse analysis approach of Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 2006) and David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012). The results reveal that the constructed ideologies are based on the Noble Truths, proclaimed by the Buddha. They underlie Buddhist views on the nature of suffering, the causes of suffering, the annihilation of suffering and the practical ways to annihilate suffering. These ideologies aim to make Buddhists better understand the truth of life, and develop themselves to reach the ultimate goal of true happiness. They are constructed through five linguistic strategies: lexicalization, transitivity, speech acts, presupposition and metaphors.

Keywords: discourse, ideology, Buddhism, aphorism, dhamma

1. Introduction

Monasteries have had an important role in Thai society for a long time as one of the main roles and responsibilities that monks in monasteries have retained is giving the knowledge of *dhamma* or the Buddha's teachings. A common way to pass the knowledge along is through sermons and printed media distributed to the general public. However, another type of *dhamma* media commonly found in monasteries nowadays is *dhamma* signs, which are usually attached to trees (or sometimes walls). These signs display sayings, aphorisms or even poems that give different aspects of the Buddha's teaching, as exemplified in (1).

- (1) **kaanrúucàk pləjwaan pen withiithaan saŋòpsùk**
 knowing relinquish be way happiness
 'Knowing to relinquish thoughts is a way to happiness.'

The dissemination of Buddha's teaching to the general public through *dhamma* aphorisms is considered discourse, which, according to Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1998, 193–194), refers to communicative events participated in by social actors (including speakers/ writers, listeners/ readers and sometimes other participants such as observers) in a specific spatial and temporal context. The speakers or writers of the aphorisms are the Buddha and his disciples. Many aphorisms are direct quotes from the Buddha while others

come from monks, philosophers and writers who relay what the Buddha has taught. The aphorisms are produced in written form on signs and displayed in the public areas of monasteries (which are separated from the restricted private quarter where monks live). Communication occurs when readers read the texts on signs. These readers are usually Thai Buddhists visiting the monasteries who are interested in studying *dhamma*, and have some background knowledge of Buddhism in order to understand the aphorisms on the signs. The purpose of this communication is to teach Buddhists how to live their lives based on the truths that enlightened the Buddha.

Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1998) stated that discourse is a source that produces ideologies, which are systems of thoughts and beliefs shared by the members of society. Ideologies underlie how social knowledge and beliefs in general are organized, and are the bases of social characteristics, such as identity, norms, values and actions. As *dhamma* aphorisms are the products of discourse intended to convey the Buddha's teaching, they are sources of Buddhist ideologies or the systems of beliefs which underlie Buddhist characteristics.

This study aims to examine Buddhist ideologies constructed in *dhamma* aphorisms to uncover the basis of Buddhist beliefs and values and to investigate the linguistic strategies used to construct these ideologies. To achieve this, the framework of ideology and discourse analysis developed by Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 2006) and David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012) is adopted. It is hoped that the

knowledge gained from this research will make readers more understand that language is a means to perform a social practice, in which certain social characteristics, such as identity and values, are implied and it will give them a fuller comprehension of the real essence of Buddhism.

2. Previous studies

It was found that there have been no studies investigating ideologies from *dhamma* aphorisms in Thai. The related previous literature includes a historical comparative study of Buddhist ideologies and studies of Buddhist ideologies in other types of media discourse. In the first work, Kobkan Phinyomak (Kobkan 2012) studied the change in the concept of nirvana, which has shaped Thai people's way of thinking from the Sukhothai period through the present day. It was found that Buddhist values during the Sukhothai period were much influenced by a Buddhist literary work called *Tebhūmikathā*, which provided the basis for the belief that life persisted in *saṃsāra*, the cycle of rebirth controlled by karma, and the belief that nirvana was the goal for complete extinction of suffering, which could be achieved by making merit with the right view. However, due to the Western scientific approaches that influenced Thai society in the early period of Rattanakosin, the belief of nirvana was changed. Nirvana was non-empirical and could not be achieved in one's current life; therefore, it was no longer

considered the ultimate goal. The goal of life was then altered to secular success. In the present era, globalization caused many rapid changes in Thai society including severe cultural and spiritual crises. This led to the movement of two great monks, Buddhadasa Bhikkhu and Phra Brahmagunabhorn, to rectify the essence of Buddhism. In this period, the wise all realized that social crises could be handled with the highest level of *dhamma*, with nirvana as the ultimate goal, and this could bring true peace to society.

In the second study, Prapaporn Rattano (Prapaporn 2009) investigated Buddhist ideologies in Thai daily newspapers and readers' attitudes towards the presentation of the ideologies. The results showed the presented ideologies concerning Buddhism were three types, including *dhamma*, integrated Buddhism and scientific Buddhism. The most frequently presented theme in the aspect of *dhamma* was the virtue ideology, in which people were taught to conduct wholesome deeds physically, verbally and mentally. Another commonly presented theme was karma, which stressed the belief that actions always yield results. In the aspect of integrated Buddhism, the most frequently found themes were supernatural power, fortune telling, and rituals, while the themes presented in the aspect of scientific Buddhism were causality and scientific processes. It was concluded that audiences thought that Thai newspapers mostly presented ideologies of the integrated Buddhism aspect and reflected only some facets of Buddhism in Thai society. However, they believed that newspapers played an important role in promoting and promulgating Buddhism.

The last study by Suntaree Chotidilok (Suntaree 2012) examined the relationship between language and ideology in the magazines *Yu Nai Bun*, which were published by Dhammakaya Foundation, Dhammakaya Temple. Based on Critical Discourse Analysis, the study uncovered the ideologies concerning happiness. It was revealed that happiness was constructed as the result of accumulating merit. The easiest and most effective way of making merit was to donate property to the temple; more donations brought more merit and more immediate results. These ideologies were produced via eight language strategies, namely lexical selection, modality, majority reference, causative structure, metaphors, presupposition, intertextuality and sentence structuring.

It can be seen that all three works above studied Buddhist ideologies. The first was a socio-historical study while the second and third looked into ideologies in the media. However, the ideologies unveiled in the first two studies were based on content analysis and no language strategies were analyzed. Only Suntaree's study that focused on discourse analysis, in which language strategies that construct ideologies were analyzed. The researcher's study is similar to Suntaree's in that language strategies are investigated, but it is different as a different type of media and the overall aspects of Buddhist ideologies, rather than only happiness, are examined

According to the review of these studies, there still have been no works investigating ideologies in *dhamma* aphorisms. The previous works either did not analyze language strategies or just focused on a specific theme of Buddhist ideology. The current study is therefore aimed at filling these gaps

in order to make the research areas of discourse analysis and Buddhist ideologies more complete.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Basic concept of ideology

Ideology is regarded as an important topic in discourse analysis because discourse both produces and is produced by ideology. Jan Blommaert (Blommaert 2005, 158–159) differentiates two main types of ideology: specific ideology and general ideology. The former refers to a symbolic representation of a group of people with a specific purpose, usually some kind of -ism, such as socialism, liberalism, etc. This kind of ideology is set for practice and followed by people who support it. The latter type of ideology has a wider meaning: it is a belief that reflects social structure and designates the perception, thoughts and behavior considered normal by people in society. A particular belief often develops into an ideology when it is selected and propagated by powerful institutions such as education, religion and media.

The study of ideology in this research is based on the second type of ideology. Its definition, given by Blommaert, corresponds with what Van Dijk (Van Dijk 2006, 115) explains. According to Van Dijk, ideology means a system of beliefs or thoughts shared by social members, which is the basis for the

identities, norms, values and behavior of people in society. Ideology is more fundamental than mere cultural knowledge or social attitudes because it is a cognitive base that controls and manages all social beliefs.

Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 2006) proposes an approach to ideology that consists of three interrelated components: cognition, society and discourse. Ideology is related to cognition since it is an outcome of a thinking process, which is then expressed and shared by social members, eventually becoming part of society and culture. This product of thoughts underlies how people understand and explain things in the world. It is also the basis for them to systematize beliefs, which affects how they accept and evaluate something in society as good or bad, right or wrong, etc. Ideology is also concerned with society because it is constructed by social groups and institutions to serve their needs, for example to enact power, to challenge injustice and to manifest social problems or conflicts.

With its cognitive and social nature, ideology is regarded as a basis for organizing social cognition, which is “the system of mental representations and processes of group members (Van Dijk 1995a, 18).” This system includes the sociocultural knowledge and evaluative beliefs shared by the members of social groups. Therefore, ideologies are shared abstract mental systems that control how people in society think, so they underlie the social characteristics, such as identity, goals, norms, and values, of these people. For example, the ideology of feminism makes feminists believe such values as independence and equality are important while racists have the ideology

that supports their superior identity to non-white groups (Van Dijk 1995a, 18–19).

Ideology is also related to discourse as it is produced and communicated through discourse, which Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1998, 193–194) defines in two levels. With a broader meaning, discourse is a communicative event that is involved with social actors including speakers/writers, listeners/readers and other participants with different roles such as observers. It happens in a specific context of time and place by means of speaking or writing. Discourse with a narrower meaning, however, is the product of the communicative event, which is in the form of texts. Therefore, discourse can be simply understood as texts that represent the overall communicative event. Discourse is an important tool which social groups or institutions use for producing and reproducing ideologies, so that they can maintain their benefits.

In summary, ideologies, regarded as being intertwined with cognition, society and discourse, are belief systems shared by people in social groups, which have both cognitive and social functions. They organize the way people think and evaluate things in the world, and underlie how social characteristics are constructed and how people perform social practices to retain their group interests through discourse.

3.2 Discursive structures constructing ideologies

The analysis leading to ideology interpretation can be conducted through discourse or text analysis. Based on the framework of discourse analysis developed by Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 2006) and David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012), five linguistic strategies were focused on in exploring Buddhist ideologies produced in *dhamma* aphorisms: lexicalization, transitivity, speech acts, presupposition and metaphors.

3.2.1 Lexicalization

Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1998) states lexical analysis is one of the most essential and widely used methods in unveiling ideologies in discourse since text producers' selection of lexical items or lexicalization can suggest their contextual factors, such as age, gender, race, position, power relation, etc., and convey ideological meanings. For instance, *terrorists* may be chosen by one speaker and *freedom fighters* by another to refer to the same group of people. The choice depends on the speakers' evaluations based on the contexts they are in. The use of *terrorists* may highlight the negative image of speakers' out-group while *freedom fighters* emphasizes the positive characteristic of speakers' in-group (Van Dijk 1995b, 259).

In a lexical analysis, according to David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012, 30–32), we investigate how particular words are selected instead of others and how certain kinds of meanings are emphasized or

deemphasized. Based on the assumption that text authors have motivated reasons for choosing words, the analysis of lexical selection can reveal implicit meanings related to their underlying beliefs. One way of analyzing lexical selections is to examine how different words may have different associations or connotations. For example, the words *family* and *homes* used in *youths attack local family homes* give a sense of safety and stability, which is not conveyed in the word *buildings* in *youths attack local buildings*.

Oftentimes it is found that authors overtly or implicitly create structural oppositions between two opposite groups of ideas or people and this can reflect the ideology concerning them. Structural oppositions are created by selective use of words with opposing concepts, e.g. young vs old, good vs bad, etc. When a word is used to describe the quality of something, it can imply the lack of the opposing quality even though it is not stated. For instance, when people are referred to as *militants*, it is believed that they act in the opposite way from citizens, though the word *citizens* is not mentioned in the text. In the news headline *our boys blitz Taliban bash*, where *our boys* refers to British soldiers, the use of the possessive determiner *our* and the verb *blitz* suggests the British soldiers are portrayed as the heroes on the same side as the author and the audience. In contrast, the Taliban are constructed as evil terrorists on the opposite side (Machin and Mayr 2012, 39–41).

3.2.2 Transitivity

A syntactic analysis of text can reveal ideology as various types of sentence structures contribute to different meanings. In this study, the selected syntactic strategy is transitivity, which refers to the way events are perceived, i.e. how participants in an event are represented as acting or being affected. This is linguistically realized in the different syntactic forms of active and passive sentences (Machin and Mayr 2012, 104–105).

According to Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1998) and David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012), the selection of active and passive structures can suggest ideological meanings about responsible agency. That is to say, these sentence patterns can be used to emphasize or deemphasize the actors and their responsibility for the actions. In English active sentences, for example, the subject in the initial position is the agent of the action; this agent is responsible for the action. Therefore, active sentences may be used to emphasize the responsibility of specific groups of people for different types of actions, such as one group doing positive actions and another group doing negative actions. This creates different portrayals of the two groups. For example, *the army attacked the village* is an active sentence that implies the responsibility of the army for attacking the village.

Responsible agency can be deemphasized with the use of passive sentences. In this type of sentence, the patient is in the initial subject position, meaning that it is more important than the agent. In *the civilians were killed during a bombing raid*, it is the civilians that are given a focus. However, the agents who killed the civilians are omitted, so their

responsibility for the action is completely left out. This strategy can imply the author does not want to portray the agent in a negative way (Machin and Mayr 2012, 106).

3.3.3 Speech acts

A speech act refers to a communicative event in which a speaker says an utterance to a hearer in a particular time and place. In doing such an act, the speaker has an intention to achieve a specific purpose, e.g. to promise, request, advice, etc. (Austin 1962; Searle 1969). It can be noted that the intention is very important since it determines the action done by the speaker. According to Grice (Grice 1957; 1968; 1969 cited in Allan 2015), the speaker intends to make the hearer recognize what is intended in the communication and to cause a certain effect on the hearer. A speech act is successful when the hearer can interpret the speaker's meaning or intention.

John Searle (Searle 1979) classifies speech acts into five basic categories: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. Assertives are acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the proposition. Directives are acts in which a speaker attempts to get a hearer to do something. Commissives are produced to commit a speaker to some future action. Expressives express the psychological state of a speaker or hearer in a situation described in the propositional content. Declarations bring about a correspondence between the propositional content and reality. A speaker and a hearer of declarations must have a specific status in extra-linguistic

institutions (e.g. Church) in order for the speech acts to be successfully performed, causing the status or condition of someone or something to change.

A speech act is performed in a communicative event and considered a kind of social practice which involves the beliefs, desires, intentions and goals of participants in that event as well as other relevant contextual conditions. Therefore, a speech act can reflect certain social implications. For example, a command implies that the speaker has power to get the hearer to do something and a threat also suggests the speaker's power will result in a bad consequence if the hearer does not do what the speaker wants (Van Dijk 1998, 208–209).

Speech acts are often used to reflect social relations, which are ideologically controlled and where we can see dominance and inequality. For instance, speakers who have sexist or racist attitudes are ideologically driven to perform speech acts such as commands or threats, in which the speakers exercise power and dominance and the female or minority participants are rendered inferior (Van Dijk 1995a, 30). It can be concluded that ideologies, which are the basis for the attitudes of and the relations between participants, can determine how speech acts are performed.

3.3.4 Presupposition

A presupposition of an utterance means the information that is accepted as true but not directly asserted by the speaker in making the utterance. To explain the concept in formal terms, we can say that *p* presupposes *q* when

both p and non-p imply q (Van Dijk 1995b, 273). For example, *the man stopped smoking* and its negation, *the man did not stop smoking*, presuppose that the man has smoked before the time of the utterance.

Presuppositions are unstated information which can give ideological meanings. They can be signalled by different linguistic structures. In many sentences, certain lexical items can presuppose some ideas. For example, the word *new* in *militants launched a new wave of attacks today* presupposes there was an old wave of attacks different from the present one. Presenting their attacks as new can also imply they are more dangerous than the old version. In *the real issue here is parental responsibility*, the word *real* presupposes that there are other issues, but they are not as important as the one being stated (Machin and Mayr 2012, 157).

Apart from word meaning, some syntactic structures can signal presuppositions. The construction of a factive verb (e.g. *understand*) followed by a complement clause presupposes the truth stated by the clause. For example, the construction of a verb like *stop* followed by a nominal construction, such as a noun phrase or a gerund phrase, also presupposes that the activity expressed in the construction after the verb is ongoing before the time of speaking. Therefore, the phrases *stop this witch hunt* and *stop snickering about the politics of all this* suggest the witch hunt and snickering have been happening (Van Dijk 1995b, 274).

3.3.5 Metaphors

Metaphors analyzed in this research are conceptual metaphors based on the approach of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). They refer to the cognitive processes in which we understand one conceptual domain by means of another. In these processes, there is a mapping between two conceptual domains: source domain and target domain. The source domain includes concepts about concrete things of which we have better understanding and which are used as the basis for understanding more abstract concepts. The target domain includes abstract concepts unfamiliar to our comprehension that need to be understood in comparison to more concrete concepts in the source domain. For example, a relationship can be understood as a journey through the metaphor A RELATIONSHIP IS A JOURNEY, in which the target domain 'relationship' is mapped to the source domain 'journey.' This conceptual mapping underlines how language is used to describe relationships such as in *they are just at the start of their journey together* and *look how far we have come*. Here, the structure of a relationship is compared to that of a journey: there is a start in a relationship just like in a journey and the period of having a relationship is like the distance of a journey (Cameron 2007 cited in Machin and Mayr 2012, 166).

Metaphors can be used to imply ideological meanings in a discourse. Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1998) points out they may be used to highlight a negative characteristic of a specific social group, so humiliating metaphors are often exploited by sexists and racists to belittle women and

minorities. In Nazi propaganda, Jews and other ethnic minorities were dehumanized through the use of metaphors that compared them to dirty animals, such as rats and cockroaches (Ehlich 1989 cited in Van Dijk 1995a, 29). Another example is that the media often portrays refugee immigration through ‘flow’ metaphors, so words such as *stream, flood, tide, deluge*, etc., are used to create an image that the immigration is catastrophic and out of control (Van Dijk 1995a, 30). For instance, the phrase *a nightly tidal wave of asylum seekers* shows that immigrants are compared to disasters and consequently viewed as causing trouble and becoming unwanted (Charteris-Black 2006 cited in Machin and Mayr 2012, 169).

4. Data

The data used in the analysis includes 1,480 examples of Thai aphorisms on *dhamma* signs in 50 *Theravāda* monasteries of both *Maha Nikāya* and *Dhammayuttika Nikāya* fraternities in seven districts (Mueang Chiang Mai, Mae Rim, San Sai, Doi Saket, San Kampaeng, Hang Dong and Saraphi) in Chiang Mai, Thailand. All the aphorisms collected are in prose (not verse) and in Standard Thai (not Pali, Sanskrit, English or Northern Thai dialect). In collecting the data, the digital pictures of *dhamma* signs – only the ones with a sound condition and clear to read – were taken from the original sites. After that, the utterances in the pictures were typed and arranged in

alphabetical order. The data was then analyzed using the framework of Teun Van Dijk (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 2006) and David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012) (see Section 3). In the analysis, linguistic strategies including lexicalization, transitivity, speech acts, presupposition and metaphors were scrutinized to reveal how ideological meanings were constructed.

5. Research findings

The analysis shows that the ideologies constructed through the *dhamma* aphorisms are based on *ariyasacca* (the Noble Truths), the truths of life that the Buddha discovered in his enlightenment and proclaimed afterwards. They consist of four key components: *dukkha* (suffering), *samudaya* (the cause of suffering), *nirodha* (the state free from suffering) and *magga* (the path to the state free from suffering). These truths have been conveyed through discourse for over 2,500 years: the Buddha taught the truths to his disciples after his enlightenment and since then the *sangha* have relayed what he taught to laypeople through different media. The produced and reproduced discourse of the Noble Truths, therefore, constitute an important foundation for constructing Buddhist ideologies, i.e. they influence the formation of beliefs and thoughts shared by Buddhists, which in turn affects how they evaluate what is right or wrong in the society

and how they behave according to the set norms and values. These ideologies are produced and maintained to achieve the Buddhist goal, i.e. the annihilation of suffering and the attainment of true bliss. The ideological findings of this study can be divided according to the Noble Truths into four main topics, as shown in the following sections.

5.1 Dukkha

According to Phra Brahmagunabhorn (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 62–64), all things in nature have three common characteristics called *tilakkhaṇa*, which include *aniccatā* (impermanence), *dukkhatā* (conflict) and *anattatā* (non-self). To illustrate, everything is impermanent: it cannot always persist in the same state and it changes due to determinant factors. This leads to a state of conflict to maintain its original condition. That nothing can avoid change shows that things have no possession or control of their existence, i.e. they have no selves.

Dukkha in *tilakkhaṇa* is one of the common characteristics describing natural states of things in general. However, *dukkha* in the Noble Truths, though based on *tilakkhaṇa*, focuses on human lives. When there is a change, humans fall under perpetual pressure of alteration and have no real control of it. Such inability to be sustained in the original state leads to suffering. *Dukkha* in the Noble Truths is more concerned with human suffering resulting from the unawareness or mismanagement of change. Examples of human *dukkha* include birth, aging, death, physical pain, grief,

distress, disappointment, etc. (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 74–85).

In the *dukkha* category of the Noble Truths, ideologies based on *tilakkhaṇa* are constructed. The first ideology is the concept of *tilakkhaṇa* itself: **everything is impermanent, undergoes conflict and has no self**. The main linguistic strategy used to construct this ideology is lexicalization. Words denoting commonness, such as *thúk* ‘every’ in (2), are used to emphasize that impermanence, conflict and non-self are common characteristics of everything. Another language strategy that constructs the ideology is assertive speech acts, which are used to deliver the truth of propositional content. Utterance (2) is a declarative sentence that asserts the truth of nature and reinforces that the concept of *tilakkhaṇa* is true.

- (2) *thúk jàaṇ mii kaanplianpleeṇ talòt weelaa*
 every thing have change all time
 ‘Everything changes all the time.’

Moreover, presuppositions and metaphors are used to produce this ideology. In (3), it is presupposed that the failure to observe the principle of impermanence leads to sadness. This shows that everything is impermanent and one cannot force things to become everlasting. If people cannot accept this as true, they will definitely suffer when they want something, such as happiness, to last. In (4), a metaphor is used to compare the beauty of our body to the dew on a grass blade. This is to emphasize the impermanent

nature of our beauty. To illustrate, dew on the grass may look beautiful; however, the beauty vanishes once it evaporates. The dew lasts for only a short time and so does its beauty. This metaphor makes us see a more vivid picture of our body whose beauty is not long-lasting.

- (3) **thâa mâj jàak sòoksâw hâj mɔɔŋ lôok pen**
 ʔanítcaŋ
 if not want sad let view world be
 impermanent
 ‘If you do not want to be sad, view the world as impermanent.’

- (4) **khwaamŋaam bon rianrâaŋ khii jàatnáamkháaŋ bon**
 baj jâa
 beauty on body be dew on
 leaf grass
 ‘The beauty of our body is the dew on a grass blade.’

The concept of *tilakkhaṇa* describes the truth of everything in nature, including human life. It is accepted as true that **death is inevitable**. This ideology is produced in utterances like (5) through lexicalization and metaphors. In this sentence, the word *tɔŋ* ‘have to’ makes us understand that death is obligatory. A metaphor is used to compare human life to a bridge. Birth is compared to the starting point of the bridge while death to the other end. Living life is then understood as crossing the bridge. When

we travel on a bridge, we eventually reach the ending point. This is like living life, in which we eventually die.

- (5) lóok kô mǎan saphaan raw khêe dæen phaan
 kô tŏŋ càak paj
 world then like bridge we only walk pass
 then have to leave go
 ‘The world is like a bridge. We only walk over and leave.’

Utterances such as (6–7) contain the ideology that **death is not to be feared but to be aware of**. It can be constructed through directive speech acts with an illocutionary force of advice, as in (6). An imperative sentence is used to directly advise us to be conscious of our death. The language strategy used in (7) is presupposition. From the utterance, we can interpret that tomorrow we may still be alive or we may die and enter our next lives. It is presupposed that there is reincarnation in Buddhism and this implies death. As well, the sentence presupposes that life is full of uncertainty, suggesting death can occur at any time. Thus, these presuppositions can make us become vigilant about death.

- (6) con khít thŋ khwaantaaj khaw wáj bâŋ
 have to think about death enter save sometimes
 ‘Think about death sometimes.’

- 7) rawàaŋ phrûŋnîi kàp châat nâa mâj
 rûu ʔaraj càʔ maa kòon
 between tomorrow and life next not know what
 will come before

‘Between tomorrow and the next life, we do not know which will come first.’

5.2 Samudaya

Samudaya refers to the cause of suffering. The occurrence of suffering is simply explained by a cycle (*vaṭṭa*) consisting of three components: *kilesa*, *kamma* and *vipāka*. *Kilesa* (defilement) includes ignorance, craving and clinging. It is considered the determinant causing one to have specific thoughts and actions, called *kamma*, which then induces *vipāka*, a life condition with a particular perception and feeling resulting from the manipulation of *kamma*. *Vipāka* can in turn enable *kilesa* to develop in a new cycle (P. A. 1994, 36–37; Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 176–177). According to the cycle, *kilesa* and *kamma* are important factors in understanding the causes of suffering. In the next sections, the Buddhist ideologies concerning these two topics are discussed.

5.2.1 *Kilesa*

Kilesa means a state that defiles the mind. As the root of suffering, it is based on ignorance or lack of true wisdom in the comprehension of the truth, leading to delusions. A negative mental activity is then formed out of the misconception. *Kilesa* is also derived from cravings, which can become stronger and cause one to hold tightly to the desire and become reliant on it (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 176–184). Forms of *kilesa* can vary based on different situations. There are many ways to classify *kilesa*, one of which is to divide it into ten types: 1) greed, 2) hatred, 3) delusions, 4) conceit, 5) wrong views, 6) doubts, 7) sloth, 8) restlessness, 9) shamelessness and 10) lack of moral dread (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2016, 233).

The ideology that emphasizes the concept of *kilesa* is **defilement causes trouble in life**, which is constructed through lexicalization, transitivity and metaphors. To being with, words that denote problems or negative consequences are used to suggest that defilement causes trouble or is bad for life. For example, in (8), *khwaamphinâat* ‘devastation’ is used to describe the negative result caused by anger, which is a form of defilement. In the same sentence, it can be seen an active sentence is used to emphasize responsible agency: anger is the agent responsible for causing devastation. In (9), a metaphor is used to conceptualize anxiety as a disease in order to make readers more vividly understand that defilement causes trouble in life.

- (8) *khwaamkròot* *kòo* *khwaamphínâat*

anger cause devastation

‘Anger causes devastation.’

- (9) *khwaamkañwoncaj* *pen* *ròok* *ráj* *khǒŋ* *chiiwít*

anxiety be disease bad of life

‘Anxiety is a serious disease of life.’

As defilement is depicted as problems in life, so **it needs to be discarded**. This ideology is constructed by lexicalization, directive speech acts and metaphors. In lexical selection, words that denote elimination are used with words expressing defilement. Moreover, many utterances with this ideology are produced through directive speech acts with the illocutionary force of advice. In (10), for example, *tàt* ‘get rid of’ is used with *khwaamkròot* ‘anger’ and the sentence is imperative with a directive speech act giving direct advice. Utterance (11) makes use of a war metaphor through the word *chaná?* ‘defeat,’ which shows defilement is conceptualized as our enemy that needs to be defeated.

- (10) *phij* *tàt* *khwaamkròot* *dûaj* *panjaa*

should get rid of anger with wisdom

‘You should get rid of anger with wisdom.’

- (11) phûu chaná? kilèet dâaj khîi phûu chaná?
 thîi théecîj
 person defeat defilement can be person defeat
 that true
 ‘People who can defeat defilement are true winners.’

5.2.2 *Kamma*

Kamma is defined generally in *dhamma* contexts as an action based on intention (*cētanā*). Intention is important force that governs how the mind reacts to stimuli, so it consequently directs a particular kind of action. Thus, *kamma* is a factor that conditions the quality of the mind as either virtuous, evil or neutral. This then affects thinking and external actions (P. A. 1993, 6–9; Phra Brahmaganabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 240). In terms of the quality of intention, *kamma* can be classified into two types: *kusala* and *akusala*. *Kusala* is a wholesome mental state with strength, purity, wisdom and joy, so *kusala kamma* is an action based on a virtuous state in which the mind is healthy, pure, wise and blissful. *Akusala* is a mental state that is unhealthy, tainted and ignorant, leading to suffering. Therefore, *akusala kamma* refers to an action based on a weak, unclean, deluded and suffering mental state (Phra Brahmaganabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 246–249). According to the cycle of suffering, *kamma* is part of the cause of suffering because it is derived from defilement. A defiled mind causes one to do evil actions or *akusala kamma*, which can in turn lead to negative results to oneself or to other people in society. It is this type of *kamma* that causes

suffering. Therefore, to understand the cause of suffering, one need to understand the concept of *kamma*.

The first ideological concept of *kamma* is **one gains the result of what one does: a good deed yields a good result while a bad deed yields a bad result**. A linguistic strategy that helps construct this ideology is transitivity. Active sentences are used to show the responsibility of the agent that causes a result. In (12–13), a specific cause is the agent responsible for a specific effect: a good cause brings a good result and a bad cause brings a bad result. Lexicalization is another strategy producing this ideology. To express cause-effect relationships, verbs such as *nam* ‘bring’ in (12) and *hâj* ‘give’ in (13) are used. Moreover, the way lexical items are used reflects the consistency of causes and results. Good causes and results are expressed with positive words, such as *dii* ‘good’ in (12), while bad causes and results are expressed with negative words, such as *khwaamchûa* ‘evil’ and *khwaamkhùncaj* ‘discontentment’ in (13).

- (12) *sâaŋ* *hèet* *dii* *jôm* *nam* *phôn* *dii* *maa* *hâj*
 make cause good usually bring result good come give
 ‘Making a good cause usually brings a good result.’

- (13) *khwaamchûa* *hâj* *khwaamkhùncaj* *naj* *bâaŋlăŋ* *hâj*
 khwaamphîtwaŋ *naj* *bâaŋnâa*
 evil give discontentment in past give
 disappointment in future

‘Evil leaves one with discontentment and will bring disappointment in the future.’

Presupposition and metaphors also play a role in constructing the ideology. To say (14), for example, is to presuppose that the law of *kamma* exists, i.e. people reap the results of their actions. In (15), a metaphor is used to compare the cause of *kamma* to seeding. A specific type of seed always yields the same type of plant, not others. This means that an action of one kind always gives a corresponding result. The metaphor reinforces the concept that people gets an effect from what they do.

(14) sàt lôok jôm pen paj taam kam
 animal world usually be go follow karma
 ‘Living things in the world usually follow the path of their karma.’

(15) wàan phîit chênraj dâaj phôn chên nán
 seed plant how get result like that
 ‘Seeding a type of plant yields that type of plant.’

Based on the above ideology, if a good deed gives a good result while a bad deed gives a bad result, a bad action then causes suffering. Thus, **one should do virtuous actions and abstain from evil ones** to avoid unfavorable results. This ideology is reinforced by the use of words suggesting that good actions are advisable and favorable. For instance,

mongkhon ‘auspicious’ is used in (16) to describe good speech and actions. In addition, directive speech acts giving advice are used to produce the ideology. In (17), an imperative sentence gives straightforward advice about doing virtuous deeds and abstaining from evil ones.

- (16) *phûut dii tham dii pen mongkhon jàaṅsũṅsùt*
 speak well do well be auspicious highest
 ‘Speaking well and doing well are most auspicious.’

- (17) *coṅ tham dii wáj samǎṅ jàa phlǎṅ*
tham chûa
 have to do good save always do not reckless
 do evil
 ‘Always do good deeds; do not be reckless by doing evil deeds.’

Since an action always yields a result according to the law of *kamma*, Buddhism focuses on making the best causes so that the best results will happen. Hence, two more ideologies are constructed: **it is necessary to take action to achieve something** and **one should not waste time or wait for a specific time to do something**. These ideologies can be supported by different linguistic strategies. In (18), the word *logmīitham* ‘take action’, which denotes the start of an action, is used with the positive word *dii* ‘good’ to suggest that action is preferable to inaction or mere talk. Utterance (19) has a directive speech act giving direct advice on taking

action. In (20), the use of words indicating the passage of time is shown: *kaanweelaa* ‘time’ is used with *mâjkhəj kɔɔj* ‘never wait.’ In this utterance, the assertive speech act in the first sentence reinforces the truth that time passes, but the second sentence has a directive speech act advising us to keep up with time. This suggests that action needs to be taken in time.

- (18) *lonmiitham cin sàk thii cà? dâaj dii najmâjcháa*
 take action real some time will get good soon
 ‘If you really take action, you will get a good result soon.’

- (19) *phûut jàaŋraj coŋ tham jàaŋ nán*
 speak how have to do like that
 ‘You have to do what you state.’

- (20) *khaanweelaa mâjkhəj kɔɔj khraj coŋ kâaw paj*
hâj than weelaa
 time never wait who have to move go
 to keep up with time
 ‘Time never waits for anyone. You have to keep up with time.’

5.3 Nirodha

The Buddha's teaching not only demonstrates the cause of suffering, but also illustrates that if humans solve their problems correctly, they can reach the state of "no suffering," which is the third component of *ariyasacca* called *nirodha*. This part explains that suffering is extinguished merely by destroying its cycle. When people are able to destroy this vicious cycle, they can be free from all suffering and reach the state of true happiness consisting of wisdom, deliverance, purity and peace. (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 332). The ultimate goal in Buddhism is to reach the highest state of virtue free from all defilement, desire and suffering, which is called *nibbāna* (nirvana). This state requires the elimination of ignorance, leading to enlightenment about the truth and preventing defilement and evil actions. The result is a state of no suffering and the greatest happiness.

In the ultimate level of *nirodha*, *nibbāna* should be achieved, but in the basic everyday life levels, happiness is more emphasized. To be free from suffering, one needs to comprehend what true and false happiness is. The right view about happiness will then be the basis for *nibbāna*. From the data, the aphorisms concerning *nirodha* mostly focus on the topic of happiness; the constructed ideologies about this concept include **true happiness is peace and independence** and **false happiness is sensual pleasure that causes dependence and suffering**. They are supported by lexicalization, assertive speech acts and metaphors, as shown in (21–24). In (21), the word *khwaamsùk* 'happiness' is used with *kaanmâjjittit* 'not

attaching’ and *plòjwaan* ‘relinquish,’ which suggests happiness is viewed as independence because it occurs when one lets go of things. However, in (22) *tanhãa* ‘craving’ and *khwaamthúk* ‘suffering’ are used together to show that happiness from craving sensual pleasure can lead to suffering. Both (21) and (22) are declarative sentences with the speech acts that assert the characteristics of true and false happiness. In (23–24), metaphors are used to make us understand both types of happiness more vividly. Having true happiness is compared to riding a horse we can control; this metaphor helps construct the concept that true happiness is self-governed. Nonetheless, happiness from sensual pleasure is compared to a reflection in the mirror, as they are both intangible. As we cannot capture ourselves in the reflection, this type of happiness is understood as something unreal.

- (21) *khwaamsùk khǒŋ chiíwít khii kaanmâjjittìt lé?*
plòjwaan
 happiness of life be not attaching and
 relinquish
 ‘The happiness of life is the detachment and relinquishment of
 things.’

- (22) *khwaamsùk thii dâaj câak tanhãa mii khâa*
thâwkàp khwaamthúk
 happiness that get from craving have value
 equal suffering
 ‘Happiness derived from craving leads to suffering.’

- (23) khwaamsùk jàaṅsũuṅ mǎan raw khii máa sǎamâat
 baṅkháp dâaj
 happiness high like we ride horse can
 control can

‘The high level of happiness is like when we ride a horse and can control it.’

- (24) thâa hǎa khwaamsùk càak khwaammuamaw thâwkàp càp
 ṇaw naj kracòk
 if find happiness from delusion equal catch
 reflection in mirror

‘Finding happiness from delusions is like catching your reflection in the mirror.’

5.4 Magga

Nirodha in *ariyasacca* describes concepts about the process of extinguishing suffering, resulting in true happiness. However, to achieve this, human beings need specific ways to practice *nirodha* that can be applied in everyday life. This part is called *magga* – also known as *majjhimāpathipadā* (the Middle Path) – which refers to a moderate way of life corresponding to the laws of nature, which promotes good results in the natural process of extinguishing suffering (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 514).

Magga consists of eight components constituting the right way to annihilate suffering. These include: right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. These components can be classified into three levels of development: *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*. *Sīla* is the training which aims to develop people's moral behavior to promote a peaceful society. This level includes the development of right speech, action and livelihood. *Samādhi* is the training of people's mind for purity and strength, which is the basis for wisdom development. This level includes having the right effort, mindfulness and concentration. In the level of *paññā*, people's intellect is trained so that they will have insight into the truth of life. This level includes having the right view and thought (P. A. 1992, 19–23; Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 544–546). The following sections discuss the ideologies that reflect the eight components in the three levels of training.

5.4.1 *Sīla: Behavioral level*

In the behavioral level of training, the ideologies about right speech, action and livelihood are constructed through lexicalization and directive speech acts. To have right speech, **one should abstain from speaking destructively and deceitfully and one should speak kindly and truthfully**. It can be seen that words with positive meanings, such as *prajòot* 'benefit' in (25), are used to describe the effects of good and truthful speech, while words with negative meanings, such as *dīatrón* 'be in trouble' in (26), are used to describe the effects of destructive and deceitful

speech. This suggests kind and truthful speech is advisable, but destructive and deceitful speech is not. Sentences like (27) and (28) are imperative sentences with directive speech acts advising readers to speak kindly and truthfully, and not to speak destructively or deceitfully.

- (25) plèn waacaa ɲaam jaŋ prajòot hâj sǎmrèt
utter speech good sustain benefit make succeed
‘Uttering good speech is beneficial to success.’

- (26) khon plèn waacaa chûa jôm diatrón
person utter speech bad usually be in trouble
‘People who utter bad speech will usually be in trouble.’

- (27) coŋ phûut khwaamciŋ léʔ coŋ laʔaaj tòo
khwaamchûa
have to speak truth and have to ashamed of
evil
‘Speak the truth and be ashamed of evil.’

- (28) mâj khuan plèn waacaa chûa læj
not should utter speech bad at all
‘You should not utter bad speech at all.’

In terms of right actions, **one should abstain from actions that impose on oneself and others; one should conduct actions that help others.** This ideology is constructed by the selection of words denoting actions of imposition and words describing negative characteristics or effects, such as in (29), and words denoting assistive actions or abstention from interference with words denoting positive characteristics or effects, as in (30). Utterances (31–32) have the directive speech acts that advise readers not to encroach on but help other people.

- (29) **thâa mûasǔm ʔabaajjamúk càʔ phóp khwaamthúk**
bîaŋplaaj
 if obsessed vice will face suffering
 later
 ‘If you are obsessed with vice, you will face suffering later.’

- (30) **phûu hâj jôm pen thîi rák**
 person give usually be that love
 ‘People who give are usually loved.’

- (31) **rák tua jàa biatbian phûu ʔin**
 love self do not encroach person other
 ‘If you love yourself, do not encroach on other people.’

- (32) kəət pen khon khuan hājthaan cà? nój cà?
mâak kôtaam
born be human should give will little will
much though
‘Born a human, you should give no matter how much or how little.’

To promote right livelihood, **one should work morally and diligently to achieve goals**. To construct this ideology, words expressing morality and diligence are used in positive contexts. In (33–34), *sùtcarìt* ‘upright’ is associated with *kiat* ‘honor’ and *khajǎn* ‘diligent’ with *sáp* ‘asset’, suggesting morality and diligence are favorable characteristics in working. Utterances (35–36) are examples of directive speech acts that advise readers to work morally and diligently.

- (33) ɲaan sùtcarìt thûk jàaɲ pen ɲaan thîi mii kiat
work upright every kind be work that have honor
‘Every kind of upright work is honorable.’

- (34) khon khajǎn jôm hǎa sáp dâaj
person diligent usually find asset can
‘Diligent people can usually obtain assets.’

- (35) phin hǎalíañchîip dooj chôopham
should earn a living by right
‘You should earn your living in the right way.’

- (36) jàa nɔɔn naan càʔ dâaj ɲaan nɔɔj
do not sleep long will get work little
‘Do not sleep for long; you will get little work done.’

Proper management of the money earned from working is another important aspect in right livelihood, so the ideology that **one should spend money in moderation** is constructed. It is supported by the use of words showing moderation with positive words and words showing extremeness with negative words, such as in (37). This is to suggest that spending money moderately leads to good results, but being extravagant leads to bad results. Besides, utterances like (38) have a directive speech act that warns readers against the negative effects if they do not spend money moderately.

- (37) mâɲmii phrɔʔ prajàt ʔàttakhát phrɔʔ fûmfiaj
wealthy because frugal destitute because extravagant
‘You will become wealthy because you are frugal.
You will become destitute because you are extravagant.’

- (38) thâa khàat khwaamphɔɔdii càʔ pen nîi talòotkaan
if lack moderation will be debt forever
‘If you do not spend moderately, you will be in debt forever.’

5.4.2 *Samādhī*: Mental level

This level of training focuses on the development of the mind for right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. The ideology concerning right effort is that **one should persevere in doing everything and should not be lazy**. This is believed to be a factor contributing to success. Perseverance is considered a favorable characteristic while laziness an unfavorable one. This is portrayed through lexicalization, in which words denoting perseverance occur with positive words, but words denoting laziness are used with negative words, as in (39–40). Besides, this ideology is supported by directive speech acts giving advice, such as in (41). In (42), a metaphor is used to compare humans to birds. Early birds are not lazy, so they can catch worms earlier than others. Likewise, people who are not lazy can accomplish their work.

- (39) b̀̀kkhon th̃i mii khwaamphian j̀m s̃mr̀t
 person that have perseverance usually succeed
 ‘People who persevere usually succeed.’

- (40) khon th̃i p̀twanprakanphr̀n̄ mii t̀e khwaans̃am
 person that procrastinate have only downfall
 ‘People who procrastinate will face only downfall.’

- (41) khuan r̃ip tham khwaamphian naj wanñi
 should hurry do perseverance in today
 ‘You should persevere today.’

- (42) nók thîi tîn cháaw jôm càp nǎon kòon
 bird that wake up early usually catch worm before
 ‘Birds that wake up early usually catch worms first.’

Right mindfulness refers to the awareness of what one is doing or what is happening. Mindfulness is very important as it will not lead us to evil states of mind but promote better quality of mind, i.e. the mind will be purified, happy and ready for use. Therefore, **one should be mindful of everything and should not be careless**. This ideology is supported by lexicalization: words denoting mindfulness are used with positive words while words denoting carelessness are used with negative words, as in (43–44). These word selections therefore suggest that mindfulness is an advisable characteristic whereas carelessness is not. Furthermore, speech acts with the illocutionary force of advice are used to produce the ideology, such as in (45), which explicitly advise readers not to be careless.

- (43) khon thîi mii sati? jôm ráp khwaamsùk
 person that have mindfulness usually receive happiness
 ‘Mindful people usually have happiness.’

- (44) khwaampromàat pen thaan hèn khwaamtaaj
 carelessness be way of death
 ‘Carelessness is the way to death.’

(45) jàa jùu dūaj khwaampremaat

do not live with carelessness

‘Do not live carelessly.’

Right concentration refers to the state in which the mind focuses on one point and is not distracted by other thoughts. When the mind has concentration, it is full of energy and can observe things more clearly, essential for developing wisdom. Besides, when the mind is calm and not disturbed, it is a happy mind (Phra Brahmaganabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 1996, 3–4). Thus, **one should train the mind to have concentration**. This ideology is supported by lexicalization, in which words showing the positive results of concentration, such as *khwaamsùk* ‘happiness’ in (46), are used. Besides, directive speech acts, such as in (47), are used to advise readers to have concentration.

(46) thāa tham caj hāj saŋòp cà? phóp kàp

khwaamsùk jîakjen

if do mind make calm will find with

happiness tranquil

‘If your mind is calm, you will find tranquil happiness.’

(47) khít cà? phák khít thǎj samaathí?

think will rest think about meditation

‘If you want to rest, consider meditation.’

5.4.3 *Paññā*: Intellectual level

This level concerns the training of wisdom, which is characterized by the knowledge of the truth of nature – that all things have causes and effects, one causing another. Hence, one who has this knowledge should have a way of living that corresponds with this truth and should be aware of all happenings without being attached to them (Pra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 687).

In the intellectual level of training, the ideologies concerning right views and right thoughts are constructed. The right view refers to having insight into the truth of nature and a way of living that corresponds with that truth. This can be derived from both external and internal factors. The external factors include hearing or learning from others. This means one can get the right view from being taught by another person or through information presented in the media. To ensure a right view, the person who gives information must be virtuous and the information must be beneficial (Pra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 563).

Learning *dhamma* is one of the external factors that help one to have a right view. The first ideology concerning *dhamma* is that ***dhamma* is essential for life**. To construct it, words denoting *dhamma* are used with words showing necessity. For example, the word *phīy* ‘depend on’ in (48) is used to suggest that *dhamma* is necessary for life. In (49), a metaphor is used to compare *dhamma* to light in the dark. As light is needed when it is dark, *dhamma* is conceptualized as essential to eliminating ignorance. Another ideology is that ***dhamma* brings happiness and lack of it brings**

suffering. The language strategy used is lexicalization. In (50–51), words denoting *dhamma* are used with words expressing happiness while words denoting lack of *dhamma* are used with words expressing suffering.

- (48) jôṭ jaa caj thîi thêe tōṅ phîṅ
 tham
 great medicine mind that real have to depend on
 dhamma

‘*Dhamma* is really great medicine for the mind to depend on.’

- (49) tham pen takiaṅ sòṅ lôok
 dhamma be lantern light world

‘*Dhamma* is the lantern that lights the world.’

- (50) thâa hēnkèe tham sùk lâṭlám talòṭkaan
 if consider *dhamma* happy extreme forever

‘If you consider *dhamma*, you will be extremely happy forever.’

- (51) thâa láʔthín tham mòt kôṭ mǎn khon
 taabòṭ nēṅṇoon
 if abandon *dhamma* all then like person
 blind certain

‘If you abandon all *dhamma*, you will be certainly like a blind person.’

Another source of external factors that enable one to have a right view is learning from virtuous and reliable people. Therefore, **one should associate with virtuous people, not evil ones**. This ideology is constructed by the selection of words showing negative effects, such as *thúk* ‘suffering’ in (52), with words indicating the association with evil people, suggesting that having evil friends is unfavorable. In (53), a directive speech act is used to advise readers not to associate with wicked people, implying it is more desirable to have virtuous friends.

- (52) *khóp kàp khon phaen nam thúk maa hāj*
 associate with person wicked bring suffering come give
 ‘Associating with wicked people brings suffering.’

- (53) *māj khuan khóp mīt chūa*
 not should associate friend wicked
 ‘You should not associate with wicked friends.’

Apart from external factors, one’s analytical thinking is an internal factor essential to developing a right view. This means thinking in a systematic, logical and beneficial way as well as thinking in a way that corresponds with the truth (Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 621–622). An ideology that reflect reasoned thinking is that **one should investigate and rely on oneself**. The first linguistic strategy that constructs this ideology is lexicalization. In (54), the word *tonʔeen* ‘self’ is used with the verbs

phitcaranaa ‘examine’ to suggest that it is important to be introspective and develop oneself. In (55), the word *phîŋ* ‘depend on’ used with *ton* ‘self’ shows that self-reliance is important. This ideology is also reinforced with the use of directive speech acts that give direct advice in the form of imperatives, such as in (54).

- (54) *coŋ* *pítcaaranaa* *tonʔeeŋ* *kòon* *paj* *tàtsîn* *khon*
 ʔîin
 have to examine self before go judge person
 other
 ‘Examine yourself before judging other people.’

- (55) *ton* *pen* *thîi* *phîŋ* *khǒŋ* *ton*
 self be that depend on of self
 ‘One should depend on oneself.’

Since analytical thinking emphasizes self-reflection, **one should think carefully before conducting an action**. This ideology can be constructed by the use of verbs denoting thinking with positive words, as in (56), and the use of verbs denoting lack of thinking with negative words, as in (57). This shows that thinking or planning has beneficial results, and thus is what one should do. Moreover, speech acts giving advice, such as in (58), are used to encourage one to think before doing something.

- (56) **kaanwaanphěen wáj lûaṇṇâa cà? nammaasîṇ khwaamsămrèt**
 planning save in advance will bring success
 ‘Planning in advance will bring success.’
- (57) **phaj thîi nâaklua khii kaankratham thîi mâj**
rúucàk khít
 danger that frightening be deed that not
 know think
 ‘Thoughtless deeds are frightening and dangerous.’
- (58) **coṇ khít kòon tham tèe jàa tham**
thúkjàaṇ thîi khít
 have to think before do but do not do
 everything that think
 ‘Think before taking action, but do not act on all thoughts.’

Another aspect of a right view is thinking in a way that corresponds with the truth, which includes the truth about time. Since the past has already gone while the future has not arrived yet, thinking about them does not correspond with the present moment. Hence, **one should live with the present and do the best in the present**. This ideology is supported by directive speech acts giving advice. Utterances (59–60) are imperative sentences that directly advise us to concentrate on living in the present – not the past or future – and doing our best so that we will get positive

results in the future. When lexicalization is considered, it can be seen that the verb *sàjcaj* ‘pay attention’ in (60), for example, is used to suggest that the present time is more significant than the past and worth thinking about.

- (59) *tham wanníi hâj dii phâa wanphrûnníi*
do today make good for tomorrow
‘Do well today for tomorrow.’

- (60) *jùt khít thǎj ʔadiit thîi phlâat paj léəw*
sàjcaj kàp wanníi
stop think about past that fail go then
pay attention with today
‘Stop thinking about failures in your past and pay attention to the present.’

Related to the above ideology, clinging to thoughts about events or actions in the past or the future does not correspond with the truth about the passage of time; thus, **one should relinquish one’s thoughts**. First of all, lexicalization is used to produce the ideology: words denoting relinquishment of thoughts are used with positive words while words denoting retention of thoughts are connected with negative words, as in (61). The strategy used in (62) is a directive speech act which advises readers to relinquish things. The concept of letting go is also construed through a metaphor: the use of words denoting the manipulation of objects, such as

bèek ‘carry’ in (63), makes us understand our thoughts as objects. Clinging to thoughts is compared to carrying heavy objects, suggesting that relinquishing thoughts, like releasing objects, makes one become more relaxed and happier.

- (61) *kaanjít man pen thúk kaanplòjwaan pen sùk*
 clinging it be suffering relinquish be happiness
 ‘Clinging leads to suffering. Relinquishing leads to happiness.’

- (62) *hàt plòjwaan sǎabāan*
 learn relinquish sometimes
 ‘Learn to relinquish things sometimes.’

- (63) *kaanbèek thîi nàk thîisùt khii kaanbèek cìt thîi*
māj rúucàk plòjwaan
 carrying that heavy most be carrying mind that
 not know release
 ‘The heaviest burden is carried in the mind that does not know how to release.’

The second part in the intellectual level of training is right thoughts, which refer to thoughts free from bias and attachment to hatred, anger or desire for sensual pleasure, causing one to think pessimistically and intend to harm other people. Right thoughts then should be ones of sacrificing,

wishing for other people's happiness and helping others to become free from suffering (Phra Brahmaganabhorn (P. A. Payutto) 2012, 702–704). Good wishes for other people's happiness are called *mettā* (simply translated as 'kindness'). The ideology concerning right thoughts is that **one should wish other people to have happiness**. This is supported by lexical selection of the word *mêettaa* 'kindness' with positive words, such as *sùk* 'happy' in (64) and *yâatmít* 'friends' in (65), to suggest that this characteristic gives good results and is thus advisable. Besides, directive speech acts giving advice are used to reinforce this ideology. In (66), the imperative sentence advises readers to have kindness or wish others happiness to prevent hatred and grudges.

- (64) phûu carəən mêttaa dii léəw jôm làp
 lé? tìn pen sùk
 person develop kindness good already usually sleep
 and wake be happy
 'People who are kind usually sleep and wake up happily.'

- (65) thâa mii mêttaa cìt cà? mii jâatmít thûa
 bâan
 if have kind mind will have friends all around
 home
 'If you are kind, you will have friends all around.'

- (66) *phĩj* *carəən* *mêettaa* *phĩa* *lá?* *khwaamphajaabàat*
 should develop kindness for release grudge
 ‘You should have kindness in order to release a grudge.’

6. Conclusion

Communication through aphorisms on *dhamma* signs in Thai monasteries is a form of discourse in which Buddhist ideologies are produced. Language use in aphorisms can reflect the bases of Buddhists’ beliefs and values. This study, therefore, aims to reveal Buddhist ideologies reflected by the aphorisms and to investigate the linguistic strategies used to construct them. To achieve these objectives, the framework of ideology and discourse analysis developed by Teun Van Dijk’s (Van Dijk 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 2006) and David Machin and Andrea Mayr (Machin and Mayr 2012) was used.

The analysis reveals that the constructed ideologies are based on the Four Noble Truths: *dukkha* (suffering), *samudaya* (the cause of suffering), *nirodha* (the state free from suffering) and *maggā* (the path to the state free from suffering). Table 1 summarizes the ideologies categorized according to the components of the Noble Truths.

The ideologies concerning *dukkha* are constructed to make people realize the concept of *tilakkhaṇa*, which explains common characteristics of all things: impermanence, conflict and no self. Becoming unaware of this truth can result in suffering. The ideologies in the *samudaya* component are produced to make people understand that suffering results from *kilesa* (defilement) and bad *kamma* (action). Therefore, both need to be eliminated to ensure positive results and prevent suffering. The ideologies in the *Nirodha* component differentiate between true and false happiness. Only true happiness is considered the state free from suffering while false happiness still leads to suffering. In the last component of the Noble Truths, *magga*, the ideologies concerning the practical way to attain true happiness are constructed. Three levels of training are needed: *sīla* (behavioral), *samādhi* (mental) and *paññā* (intellectual). The ideologies in the behavioral level emphasize verbal, physical and occupational non-encroachment on oneself and others. In the mental level, the ideologies concerning a high-quality mind are constructed. Perseverance, mindfulness and concentration are important mental characteristics that help promote virtuous behavior and wisdom. In the intellectual level, the ideologies that ensure true wisdom are produced. True wisdom can be obtained from external factors, including learning *dhamma* and associating with virtuous people, as well as internal factors, including introspection based on the truth and the development of altruistic thoughts.

The ideologies revealed from the data are constructed through five linguistic strategies: lexicalization, transitivity, speech acts, presupposition

and metaphors. In terms of lexicalization, positive and negative words are used with specific aspects of *dhamma* to portray whether these aspects are viewed as advisable or inadvisable. An analysis of transitivity shows active structures are used to emphasize responsible agency, which reinforces the concept of causality in *dhamma*. Different types of speech acts can affect how ideologies are constructed. To illustrate, assertives reinforce teachings of the Noble Truths while directives give ideological advice based on these truths. Moreover, presupposition is used to construct ideologies. Certain words and structures presuppose basic concepts in *dhamma*, such as *tilakkhaṇa* and *kamma*, and can reveal the ideologies derived from them. The last linguistic strategy that helps construct ideologies is metaphors. They compare *dhamma* concepts to things readers are more familiar with. This enables the readers to better comprehend the concepts and their underlying ideological messages.

Table 1: *Buddhist ideologies based on the Noble Truths and constructed through aphorisms*

Components of the Noble Truths	Constructed ideologies
<i>Dukkha</i>	● Everything is impermanent, undergoes conflict and has no self. ● Death is inevitable. ● Death is not to be feared, but to be aware of.

Components of the Noble Truths	Constructed ideologies
<i>Samudaya</i>	● Defilement causes trouble in life. ● Defilement needs to be discarded. ● One gains the result of what one does: a good deed yields a good result while a bad deed yields a bad result. ● One should do virtuous deeds consistently and refrain from evil deeds. ● It is necessary to take action to achieve something. ● One should not waste time or wait for a specific time to do something.
<i>Nirodha</i>	● True happiness is peace and independence. ● False happiness is sensual pleasure that causes dependence and suffering.

Components of the Noble Truths	Constructed ideologies
<i>Magga</i> • <i>Sīla</i> • <i>Samādhi</i> • <i>Paññā</i>	● Abstain from speaking destructively and deceitfully; speak kindly and truthfully. ● Abstain from actions that impose on oneself and others; conduct actions that help others. ● Work morally and diligently to achieve goals. ● Spend money in moderation. ● Persevere in doing everything and do not be lazy. ● Be mindful of everything and do not be careless. ● Train the mind to have concentration. ● <i>Dhamma</i> is essential for life. ● <i>Dhamma</i> brings happiness; lack of <i>dhamma</i> brings suffering. ● Associate with virtuous people, not evil ones. ● Investigate and rely on oneself. ● Think carefully before conducting an action. ● Live with the present and do the best in the present. ● Relinquish one's thoughts. ● Wish other people to have happiness.

Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the financial grant provided by the Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University, Thailand.

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