



An Anthropological Study on Female Peddlers' Lingual and Paralingual Advertising in the Subway in Tehran

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ABSTRACT

The current research pursues an answer to the question of how female peddlers' verbal and nonverbal communication in the subway in Tehran attracts passengers, encouraging them to buy, and how they apply lingual and paralingual advertisements to sell their commodities. It attempts to analyse the female peddlers' actions that make the passengers shop in the subway. To realise the issue observation, deep interview, consistent presence, and frequent attendance in the designated location for the research (different routes of the subway trains in Tehran) was employed and after necessary investigations on the domain, deliberative results were discovered. For instance, female peddlers in different ages-young, middle aged or elderly-pay significant attention to the acquisition of lingual skills to advertise their commodities, since the peddlers are growing in number every day; some are genius in this regard and invent particular lexis and behaviours, and some others imitate lingual and paralingual skills and the body language from other peddlers to sell their commodities among the passengers. Due to the excessive number of rivals (female peddlers) with comparable products, they are distinguished through the method they use to advertise. Putting together the verbal and nonverbal advertising, the applied method makes each individual unique and different from the others, thus the peddlers attract the passengers' attention to sell their commodities.

Keywords: Female peddlers, lingual and paralingual skills, method of advertising, subway, Tehran

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INTRODUCTION AND THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

People in society must do economic activities for a living, and the activities are chiefly

based on a variety of factors such as the level of literacy, expertise, efficiency, etc. Among these, there are individuals working as peddlers for several reasons, including the lack of expertise, capital, a second job besides their main one, emigration from villages to cities, etc.

Peddling is a type of hidden employment; the person is occupied through buying some commodities and selling them with a special amount of interest, and does not have a certain location for business. Peddling is one of the menial, brittle, and irregular jobs which can be explicitly observed in big cities and is not merely men's job, but children and especially women have tread in the domain as well. The female peddlers in the subway are among the new ones who are increasing in number daily.

In his dictionary, Nezam-ol-Ateba, Dehkhoda defines peddling as, "A retailer and peddler who sells his commodity as much as the customer wishes, though a little" (Dehkhoda, 1957, p.707). Dehkhoda states, "one, who sells in the street and bazaar with a piece in hand, is a peddler" (Dehkhoda, 1957, p.707).

Now it has been a while since the wagons of the subway trains in the capital, especially women's, have turned to mobile stores. Men, children, and particularly women are growing in number every day, peddling in the subway stations and wagons. Once the number of peddlers increases, the competition also rises. They try to sell various goods according to the season, situation, and different occasions (Nowrooz, Mehr month, and the school opening,

Ramadan, and special dates like Mothers' Day, Fathers' Day, etc.) to be capable of absorbing more customers; therefore, lingual skills in advertising, including verbal and nonverbal skills and body language, are the first and key principles for female peddlers to attract customers, and they try in the subway to apply verbal and nonverbal skills while advertising for their commodities.

One of the skills the peddlers use in the subway is the selection of the commodity to sell. They select goods that are regularly used by the passengers. Decorations, cosmetics, stationery, socks, women's clothing, and edibles are the biggest part of commodities for the peddlers to sell. Of course, many goods the peddlers advertise in the subway are not included among the priorities and necessities of life, but they encourage many of the passengers to buy, through their lingual and paralingual advertising skills. Since these actions are repeated every day, a certain brand of behaviour forms. Compact commodities, cheap products, availability, combined with the female peddlers' verbal and nonverbal advertising, and has gifted the passengers' consumerism. The passengers are wooed by the peddlers' skilful advertising, mostly buying things unconsciously, presupposing that the goods are cheaper than the ones in the stores and might be necessary one day.

The expert peddlers know what lexis and how to use them, sometimes emphasising certain words and sometimes changing the tone. They diagnose each situation to find a way to convey the meanings through

nonverbal messages. "The indirect meaning needs inference and deduction of the relative utterance, because most of what is intended by the speaker is not expressed explicitly. So it can be said that the indirect verbal action is perceived through the common contexts and beliefs between the speaker and listener" (Nyota & Mutasa, 2008, p. 93).

While advertising the exceptional quality and the sale of the lowest price in the subway, the female peddlers are using a direct verbal action. When using statements in their advertising to inspire the passengers' interests and needs, knowing their principle interests, they are telling them indirectly that the merchandise, inspiring their interests and filling their needs, is available. In other words, they are applying indirect verbal action when attracting the passengers to something further from what they have in mind.

The excess population in the subway wagons has limited the space for peddlers' extensive advertising to some extent. When there is a large population, peddlers are not able to pass through the passengers easily, so they advertise loudly; which can be annoying for the passengers. Clever peddlers realise when verbal advertising is a priority over the theatrical one, and vice versa. "In order to convey the meaning, people do not only produce utterances including words and grammatical structures, but they also act along with the utterances. The actions done by the utterances are generally called verbal actions" (Yule, 1996, p.47).

When the wagons are busy, peddlers can both attract the passengers and advertise

their goods very skilfully. Watching the peddlers' theatrical actions, the passengers are entertained and might never complain about the annoyance of advertising in such a populated place. Hence the peddlers publicise the commodities in the form of a show by indirect verbal actions.

Thus, the questions intended to be answered are:

- How does peddlers' verbal advertising in the subway persuade the passengers to buy?
- What lingual methods do the peddlers apply to win the customers' best trust?
- To what extent has the peddlers' lexis for advertising been efficacious in increasing sales?

Research purposes

The purpose of this study is to investigate the methods of lingual and paralingual advertising of women peddlers in the subway in Tehran, how these influence the behaviour of passengers, and what peddlers do to attract the passengers' attention.

Lingual and paralingual skills of women peddlers in the subway has maximised their sale; therefore, finding the tricks and techniques that these women use to improve their skills is another purpose of the study.

Among such techniques is creating new terms with various implications and functionality in order to increase their sale. These terms are, sometimes, describing the commodity and, sometimes, methods of accosting the passengers. As a result, comprehending the impact of peddlers'

terminology in the subway on the passengers is another purpose of this study.

METHODS

In the field of anthropology, there are various tools used to study cultural situations which are rarely technical. Among the most significant tools is the researcher himself. The researcher must perceive the cultural situation of the study case in different dimensions and attend persistently in the designated research location.

The perception of a cultural phenomenon must be formed in its own cultural background. The researcher is not the controller of the affairs, but he receives the findings from the real world and analyses them. "To perceive the subsistent experience, the qualitative work has to be continued to the point that the researcher reaches a theoretical saturation; i.e., the researcher feels that the new interviews do not raise any new dimensions of the study and the answer is almost repeated" (Northcutt & McCoy, 2004, p. 87).

The anthropologist completely drowns himself in the lives of the people under research. In the current research, the researcher has tried to attend directly the location of the study during successive years and observe acutely. During 2010 to 2018, the researcher in this study observed the customers' behaviour as consumers and that of the peddlers in the subway in the capital. He spent prolonged periods of time in the subway trains as a passenger, from the first station to the last, and observed the peddlers' and passengers' actions and

reactions deeply. The time process is very important in anthropological studies. The researcher discovers the cultural phenomena through time and will never collect data using questionnaires because the method of the questionnaire, in short term, might not provide the access to a cultural affair.

Observing women's peddling, their social interactions, the peddlers' treatment with each other and with the passengers, the method of verbal and nonverbal publicising of the commodities by the peddlers are the subject of the research at this level of study, which have been recorded, completely registered, and used as the analytical document to register the results. In fact, the study of the peddlers' wording, the lingual ways of advertising, and body language to attract the passengers' attention in the subway is impossible through quantitative methods, because the current research needs consistent presence of the researcher in the designated location of the study to have impartial findings by applying qualitative methods. Therefore, deep observation of and interviews with informants are the main axis of this research. Interviews are recorded in the research location and, immediately after, the main points were written, revised, and collected. Regarding the selection of the atmosphere for the interviews, it should be noted that the interviews with the peddlers were accomplished in the research circumference, such as on waiting platforms and within wagons in each station.

The process of interviews is conducted with the absolute consent of informants and they have been completely informed about

their voice being taped. Of importance is the point that throughout the interviews and despite their complete knowledge of the study, the names of informants have been kept confident and the present article does not include their names.

Nowadays, the subway has turned to a mobile market. Female peddlers work as salespersons and all the passengers are customers. The large population and the security of the train have provided an appropriate place for peddlers' salesmanship. Selling goods, the consumers' behaviour, and the peddlers' lingual and non-lingual advertising to sell goods, are all part of the process in the subway every day; studying such actions are possible through anthropological methods.

"Anthropology and specially its ethnographic methods are turning to popular cumulative resources by which some tools are applied to research upon marketing and consumer behaviour in the 20th century" (Olsen, 1995). The approach of market research emphasises the relationship between studying the consumer's behaviour and the investigation of the action of marketing (Finch, 1997).

Research society

In this research, the society is the subway in Tehran, the undergrounds where the subway trains travel in specific routes. The subway undergrounds, train wagons, and all the lines and routes the subway in the capital passes through form the scope and location of the research.

The significance of the research subject

Peddling is considered a menial and brittle job in society; the income loss or profit do not influence the increase or decrease in national revenue, and it is propounded as a social problem. The significance of the subject deserves deliberation and research as the number of female peddlers in the subway is growing everyday regardless of the obstacles and legal restrictions against the job; the peddlers' solution to their rivals is to use a variety of words to publicise their goods. The peddlers' lingual methods of advertising are mostly respectful, and one can rarely see or hear begging or pleading in their publicising and statements. Sometimes they also convey a satirical and joking manner.

The subway is not merely a means of transportation anymore; instead, it has become a mobile bazaar. On the way towards their destination, the passengers can watch a different variety of commodities and buy, if necessary. Of course, occasionally the variety of commodities, the way of advertising, and the certain lexis about the high quality of the goods make the passengers shop unnecessarily, resulting in the formation of fanciful shopping.

In the first years of studying the peddling process in the subway, female peddlers used to work only inside the wagons, but through time and an increase in the number of peddlers, the wagons became extremely populated. To solve the problem, some peddlers sit in the subway platforms and begin to advertise their commodities and attract the passengers when they detrain.

In fact, the peddlers evoke thrilling emotions within the passengers through advertising, and the passengers start to buy goods which might not be efficient, so they gradually turn to consumerists. Therefore this paper intends to study the significance of the peddlers' lingual and paralingual skills and body language to persuade the passengers to buy.

Theoretical Framework

In *The Language of Advertising* (1998), Goddard assumes that advertisement is so axiomatic to the modern audience that any question of "what advertisement is?" appears as nonsense. He believes that in the discussion of advertisement, text should be understood in its broadest sense, suggesting that text, in this sense, is in the meantime, a visual and verbal medium. He reminds of the attraction methods in advertising as inclusive of shocking pictures, font of typing, and the direction of writing.

In Goddard's opinion, advertisements are present everywhere, which is exactly why nobody thinks about their nature and concept as a lingual discourse. He considers discourse as largely limited to its direct circumference. Actually, a large part of the meaning intended by the speaker is conveyed through the physical appearance of the conversation, such as gesture, body condition, and eye contact. Goddard calls the marginal aspects in conversation, paralingual factors, including cadence, pitch, and loudness of voice. These meaningful factors are all performed on purpose in daily speech.

In advertising, the mere expression of the sentences in written or speech form, to be heard or read by the audience, is not enough. Uttering the sentences, the pitch of the voice, prolonged pronunciation of certain sounds, knowing the situation, are all important, including which gesture and body movement can be more effective for creating the feeling of shopping in the customer. Some female peddlers in the subway advertise the goods deliberately, and due to this intelligence, they are successful in sale. They are good at recognising the situation considering the time and place. In the morning, they advertise and call the names of the goods loudly and with prolonged sounds, because everyone is happy to go work, university, etc.; in the evening, the population increases relative to that in the morning, and the majority are exhausted and going back home. Therefore, the skilled peddlers advertise the commodities in a low voice, and even are occasionally silent and only show the goods to the passengers to avoid complaints from an annoying voice.

In *The discourse of Advertising*, Cook (1992) mentions three components of advertising as material, text, and people, and explains that popular behaviours against any discourse arises from individuals' ideological, social, and personal positions. However, in his belief, there is a series of discourses that highly manipulate sensitivities. He continues stating that in a time that people confront a flood of social and natural problems, advertising could prompt them to consume more, create dissatisfaction toward the existing

commodities in the market, and increase anxieties and concerns that lead to the demand for better commodities.

Regarding the advertisement in the subway, Cook also explains that while people are inside the trains or waiting in the stations, they not only see the advertising in the trains and platforms but sometimes they study them carefully. Cook divides the advertisements into two categories of hard and soft. He includes the advertising with joke and satirical roots in the soft category, and the advertisements directly inviting people to buy through presenting the attributes, not logically, of the goods as the hard one. He also mentions the tools applied to convey meaning and messages, referring to speech, writing, and gestures as the basics for communication. Selecting the appropriate materials to present an advertisement is one of the most important parts of advertising, which depends largely on the advertiser's intelligence and innovation (Cook, 1992). Some female peddlers in the subway are very talented in their approach to advertise the commodities. In peddling, the more innovative the advertisements are, the more commodities are sold, and vice versa. So evidently, if female peddlers are in the subway wagons, and mention only the name and price of the goods, they are directly inviting the passengers to buy. Such advertising can only be efficient if the merchandise itself is attractive, appropriate in material, colour, variety, and indicated as essential merchandise. However, when the commodity is a decoration or not necessary to have, in addition to lingual skills, peddlers

also need paralingual skills to advertise. Sometimes, female peddlers advertise using satirical and joking statements. They directly make the passengers laugh and indirectly advertise their goods.

"The appearance of an advertisement along with its internal meaning is a type of discourse" (Cook, 1992, p. 4). Believing that advertising includes three parts of materials, context, and people, Cook initially states that people's behaviour towards any kind of discourse implies their ideological, social, and personal status. He thinks there is a type of discourse that stimulates emotions. As he says, in a period when people are involved in the invasion of social and local problems, advertising can affect people's persuasion to consume more, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the inferior quality of the existing commodities, intensify the feeling of avidity, anxiety, and a sort of motivation to wish for better goods (Cook, 1992).

"After defining the advertisement as a type of discourse, Cook considers several factors as influential in advertising, and the information about their relation and interaction with each other can lead to a convincing and influential advertisement. Among these factors are: society, image, material, discourse, role, other advertisements, partners, music, situation, language and para language" (Cook, 1992, p. 3).

Johnson states that the influence of advertisements on daily life has made advertising carry not only a meaningful and cultural load but become a part of the cultural texture in society nowadays,

while used to impose itself on people to be able to influence the culture (Johnson, 2007, p. 1). Johnson names seven specific elements of discourse which are noticed in making and codifying advertisements. The seven elements are: ellipsis, connotation, paralanguage, tropes, point of view, person, and narrative. This paper mostly applies paralanguage, person, and narrative. "Paralanguage includes several factors such as stress, tune, volume, audio features and body language. Paralanguage in writing is specified as the size, type, and font, and the imposition of the text. The factor of person has an important grammatical effect on the discourse of advertising. The advertiser must determine the addressee's position relative to the advertisement and whether to address him 'he', 'you', or somebody else. Narrative also makes the style of discourse more influential. Television advertisements usually use a narrator to tell the story of the commodity. Likewise, in written advertisements, a narrator might be used to show the distinct phases of the advertisement" (Johnson, 2007, pp. 9-12).

Being repeated frequently, a behaviour is finally institutionalised. Sometimes, such a behaviour might be normal or even considered irregular. Although it is an irregular behaviour and many actions have been taken to prevent it, peddlers' advertising in the subway is increasing and relatively institutionalised. Entering the subway trains, it is impossible not to see the peddlers' advertising. It might be said that the peddlers' presence in the subway

and advertising have turned into a part of the cultural texture in the subway in Tehran.

Barthes is among the thinkers who have studied advertising with semiotics approach. In the "Rhetoric of the Image", he ponders on the internal relationships between image and message in advertising to conclude that there are three types of messages encrypted in advertisement: lingual, message encoded in images, and messages apparently given through images (cited in Tanaka, 1994, p. 1). He points to two levels of interpreting lingual messages, namely, implied and apparent messages. Putting lingual message aside, we are faced with "specific advertising" that is divisible into two levels: implied and apparent images as the pictorial versions of implied and apparent messages. Implied image is itself divided into encoded, symbolic, and cultural messages. Barthes' distinction is not clear-cut about image because cognitive information is not separate from cultural knowledge (Tanaka, 1994).

RESEARCH FINDINGS

To distinguish the skilled and amateur peddlers based on the method of advertising

The way female peddlers advertise in the subway reveals whether they are skilled or amateur. The manner some of them sell or even walk in the wagons attests to their inexperience, and do not actually have the necessary skills for peddling. Worry, anxiety, and embarrassment is evident on their faces.

Additionally, their quiet, trembling, and muttering voice while advertising displays their inexperience.

The way inexperienced women peddle is that they do not start to advertise the commodities upon their arrival, but after a short pause and hiding among the other passengers, they start to advertise with a quiet, trembling, and not strong voice; they role play as a passenger at one moment and as a peddler at the other.

At first the inexperienced female peddlers are embarrassed to advertise in the wagons. Not only do they merely name the goods quietly, but they pass through the population quickly and do not pause. They travel around the train wagons nonstop from the beginning to the end in a brief time. It is difficult to stand among the population because they are not adjusted to the peddling conditions yet, so they do not stand and are therefore seen less. After a while, they get used to the conditions and find that short pauses and standing among the population when advertising is efficacious for higher sales, because a short pause indirectly helps the passengers watch the goods carefully and stare at the colours and designs and might be persuaded to buy.

As mentioned, the amateur peddlers only name the commodities and do not use inspiring lexis and exciting words regarding the quality, price, and the certain features of the goods, whereas the skilled peddlers have already discovered the influence of verbal and nonverbal communication, and they use them to advertise their goods skilfully. They publicise the material,

quality, incomparable prices on sale, use eye contact, a special and strong voice, agreeable manners, and monotonous tune; in nice and proper appearance, they pass through the population quickly and continue to advertise the goods along the train wagons.

“I have toothbrush, ladies I have toothbrush” (an amateur female peddler).

“I have shawl, colourful shawls, I have shawl” (an amateur female peddler).

“I have rainbow shawls, I have worn a model myself, rainbow shawls only for four dollars, it is a sale, ladies” (a skilled female peddler).

“I have slimming belts, they are herbal, fat burning, six dollars on satellite, four dollars in stores, but I sell them only for two dollars, ladies who go to the gym and do not lose weight, ladies who go on diets and are annoyed, you'll lose weight and be in a good shape using these belts, nice bodies, everyone was pleased with them” (a skilled female peddler).

The skilled peddlers start to advertise once they enter the train wagons. Of course, the time of advertising also depends on the number of the passengers. In the first stations where there are fewer passengers, the peddlers do not begin advertising but they sit on the chairs like the passengers; they start to peddle when the wagon is populated enough.

Occasionally, the amateur female peddlers get intimate with the skilled ones and ask for help to sell their commodities. They give some of their own goods to their friends and ask for help. The amateur peddlers' help request from the skilled ones

reveals the impact of verbal skills, certain lexis, and tone on the scale of customer attraction.

Verbal advertisements

Advertising peddlers' commodities by the passengers

Once a subway passenger buys merchandise from a peddler, there usually appears two states: the hesitant passengers ask the buyer about the quality, or the peddler asks the passenger who had already bought something to talk about the quality and the appropriate price. Hence, if the buyer compliments the price and quality of the merchandise, it will be an approval for the passengers. The same process is true about edibles. The peddler says: "I have Razavi doughnuts, made today, really fresh, I have Razavi doughnuts my lady, anybody wants?" One of the passengers buys some and eats, then the other passengers ask her about the taste and freshness. If the buyer approves them, many other passengers will start to buy. In other words, when a passenger buys a commodity from a peddler, others will be encouraged to buy as well. One passenger's shopping means an approval of the material and quality of the merchandise.

Even if the passenger is silent and does not express a word on the quality, the very action of buying is an advertisement to sell the peddlers' goods. It is frequently observed that the passengers do not purchase anything from the peddlers for a long time in a day, but in stations where the passengers change lines, most transfer occur, and

new passengers enter the wagon. Female peddlers start to advertise again, and if a passenger buys something, many others will also start to buy. Therefore, it can be said that peddlers' wording and lingual and paralingual advertisements are not always effective for them, but the passengers' behaviour, their shopping or avoiding, are efficacious in selling or failing to sell the commodities.

Thus, the female passengers who choose the peddlers' goods are meticulous, and hesitate to buy; the passengers nearby help her choose and comment on the better colour and quality; in such conditions, deciding becomes easier for the buyer. In fact, the passengers begin to advertise the peddlers' goods or express that they have already bought that merchandise and are pleased with the quality. Such statements and approvals by the passengers will gift the peddlers more sales. It can be stated that the skilled peddlers have been able to attract the passengers' attention to their commodities through lingual and paralingual methods, and sometimes the passengers speak as the peddlers and advertise their goods strongly. It is frequently observed that a passenger has bought some cosmetics from the subway peddlers and addresses the peddler and the passengers: "I am your permanent customer and I always buy cosmetics from you which is both well-qualified and relatively cheaper than those in the stores."

As mentioned above, such verbal advertisements from the passengers' part is an approval for the quality of the peddlers' goods that leads to selling more.

Presenting advertising card by the peddlers

While advertising their commodities in the subway wagons, the peddlers also offer the passengers some cards including a phone number and tell them: "we give our phone number therewith the merchandise, to ensure you of the quality and you will certainly call and ask for it again."

By giving cards to advertise their commodities, the peddlers become distinct from the other peddlers working in other locations, such as conjunctions, streets, or elsewhere. In this way, they ensure the customers that the peddlers are available upon request.

Such an action directly wins the passengers' trust and confidence and indirectly advertises the goods.

Another female peddler says: "Any time and any moment you needed my goods, just call on my cell phone, I'll reach you in any line and any wagon. If you wish, you can give me your address anywhere and I'll come, and you don't need to disturb."

Such verbal advertisings are expressive of conveying other meanings to the passengers. Availability, high quality commodity, and the buyer's calmness are some implicit meanings of such verbal advertisements. Finally, the most key factor that is essential in purchasing commodities is security. Therefore, female peddlers indirectly guarantee their goods when they present the card including their phone number. Lack of a fixed location to sell and frequent transferring is a feature of peddling,

so if the customer is not satisfied with the commodity, although inaccessibility of the peddler is completely natural, it leads to the buyer's distrust. The peddler giving her phone card is a significant step in winning the passengers' trust. When advertising in the subway for selling commodities, female peddlers say loudly: "Buy the goods, it is impossible you don't call and ask for it again, many people have my phone number and are permanent customers." Offering phone cards is an action resulting in a win-win situation. By giving their phone numbers to the passengers, the peddlers are both extending the advertising scope further out of the subway and developing their advertisement (when out of the subway, the passengers can still buy the necessary commodities through the phone number), and the passengers are encouraged to buy and no longer worried or anxious about the low quality of the goods, because if they are not pleased with the products, they can complain to the peddlers. Giving the phone number improves the peddlers' accessibility.

Satire, joking, and offering

Provoking emotions and creating excitement for the audience is an influential way in advertising for sale. Sometimes it is not necessary to logically approve the quality. Occasionally they must invent a novel approach to advertise, like using satire and joking while advertising.

The young female peddler with jugglery tools says, "Those who like riddles, I have riddles for them, a physic riddle; if you solve

it, you'll win a prize; if you wish to buy it, I'll tell you the trick secretly and only for two dollars."

Another female peddler says, "Ladies, buy a shawl for your sister-in-law, buy socks for your mother-in-law, and buy anything for your in-laws from me."

Another female peddler says, "I make fruit-rolls at home and sell in the subway. I cut some into pieces and publicise with joking and offer the ladies telling them 'apparently you like sour, come on and eat, my dear, and buy if you like'."

In the evening, when many passengers are on the way home and spent a day working, applying satire and joking when selling commodities seems an effective method, because customers can both enjoy watching such scenes and will be willing to buy.

Another peddler advertising cosmetics humorously says, "Ladies, I have mascara, if you buy the mascara and use it, your eyelashes will be like Serendipity¹'s; ladies, is there anyone who likes to have eyes as Serendipity's?"

Satirical verbal speech and joking along with offering is an innovation from peddlers and delivers the message, "You can test the stuff without paying and if you are interested you can buy." This method is, on one side, entertaining and interesting for the passengers, and on the other, leaves them almost a *fait accompli*, so they are encouraged to buy.

¹A pink dragon in a cartoon called "the unknown island", with big blue eyes and very long eyelashes.

Inventing certain lexis

As previously stated, the wording and advertising of commodities are extremely efficacious in the scale of the sale, so most female peddlers use words like, "my flower", "my lady", "my dear", "dear ladies", "my loves", and "my pretty ones" to attract the female passengers' attention. They also use the word "only" to mention the low price, like, "Only for two dollars."

"My flowers, I have Maryami shawls, only for one dollar, I have worn a model, Maryami shawls only for one dollar" (a female peddler).

"The cloth of my shawls will never run, it won't be napped, I sell each only for ten two dollars, they sell four dollars in stores" (a female peddler).

Female peddlers also use exaggerated lexis to be more influential; "miracle" is an exaggerated word and widely used by peddlers. They say, "Buy, take home, test and you'll see it is a miracle."

They also use the word "magic" like "magic needles, magic tissues", which means the peddler's commodities hold unique features.

"Iron" is another attribute used in their advertising, to express that their goods "last long". "Ladies, buy socks, my socks are made of iron and last for life."

Female peddlers, as already mentioned, use exaggerated lexis and statements. Both the peddlers and passengers know about the exaggeration, but such lexis largely influences the sales.

"I have eyeliners ladies, the line remains as if you got a tattoo, I have fortifying

Collyrium for your eyelashes. My ladies, you sleep at night and wake up in the morning, you'll see your eyelashes has grown 5 times longer" (a female peddler).

"My colleagues are selling the same product twice as much as this price, it's on sale ladies" (a female peddler).

Another commonly used word among women is "free size". When the female peddler has clothing as commodity, she uses "free size" to infuse the audience that regardless of their weight and size, the clothing items would fit their body with no problems.

"Local", "home-made", and "self-produced" are among the words encouraging the passengers and often influencing them to buy.

As repeatedly stated, peddlers use certain lexis and attributes to describe their commodities to attract more customers. The more provoking the attributes are to the audience, the more influential the advertisements; therefore, the peddlers who are talented in inventing certain lexis will earn more profit. For instance, many commodities hold "magic" as an attribute or they are introduced as cheaper than the commodities advertised on the satellite. Upon hearing such lexis, the passengers are encouraged to buy the products, so the tone and word rhythm used sequentially will lead to the attraction of more of an audience.

Imploration and beggary

Few among the peddlers attempt imploring and begging language and tone. They desperately ask the passengers to purchase

from them and sometimes succeed as some passengers dare to buy not out of real need, but sympathy.

Peddling by imploring is done in two methods. Sometimes, the peddlers are well dressed and sell socks by stating that:

"For God's sake, buy from me, buy my socks, I have an ill family member [in need of drug and care]."

"For God's sake, buy, may God give you what you wish, I'll pray for you, buy from me, I'd not sold anything today."

"Ladies, may God give you what you want, God bless you, buy from me."

Sometimes, they wear torn cloths and sell cheap items like band stripes, chewing gum, etc., for triple the actual price. Since they do not carry noticeable goods, they do not promote, and beg instead for the passengers to pay two or three times for a wretched item.

It should be noted that this is within the minority among peddlers and the majority are skilful in promotion methods, selling items by pointing to the high quality and low price and enticing the most indifferent to buy.

Nonverbal advertising

Peddlers' trust in buyers

The peddlers intermittently give their commodities to the passengers for them to view and choose as they wish; at such moments, the peddlers do not stand by the passengers, but rather go on with their advertisement in a nearby spot in the wagon. The passengers may claim they have chosen

from among the baggage and pay for it; the peddler, then, takes the money and calculates without focusing on the condition of the remaining goods. This daily cycle of

trust in the clients continues as the peddler moves across spots and sells and advertises in the train.



Figure 1. Proposed framework of factors influencing international students' satisfaction

The trust the peddlers vest in passengers makes potential clients of them. The passengers feel good about this trustfulness and try to return it by being responsible towards the salesperson and her sale. The nonverbal method of customer appreciation indirectly pushes passengers to become volunteer agents for maintaining the peddler's baggage, so that the process of promotion and sale throughout the wagon becomes easier for the peddler. Moreover, a quasi-friendship results from such give

and takes between the peddler and the passenger-customers that facilitates the sale.

When the baggage is overloaded, the peddler divides it into small packages and thrusts each to groups of passengers so that the process of viewing and choosing becomes optimal for the passengers. The peddler then uses a strategic promoting method by pointing to the passenger who holds one of such packages; this encourages the assistant passenger to enjoy viewing and, perhaps, choose from the available colours

and options at hand; the same occurs with the passengers who are normally watching the process.

In summary, the strategy to deposit the goods in the hands of random passengers burgeons trust in passengers and tempts the trustee passenger to consider the items in her hand and perhaps dare to purchase, without having been a serious customer in the first place.

Peddlers as models

A major feature about metro peddlers is their clothing style. The more fashionable they are, the more inclined the passengers are to purchase. Most subway peddlers have noticed the rule and count on it for promoting their sales. They try to be communicative and compassionate to others and they always smile. This is part of the reason why passengers become clients of metro goods despite their low quality and cheap price.

Dependent of what they sell, the peddlers use various techniques of selling. For example, if she sells odds and ends, she hangs the items on her body both as a method for advertising and carrying the goods. A handful of pins, head flowers,

bracelets, bangles, and rings are attached to her cloths and, as she urges the passengers to buy, the items glitter on her cloths.

“Dear ladies, I have pencil lipsticks, a sample is applied on my own lips, it has hues, and various hues are applied on my hand” (the peddler).

“Dear madams, all sorts of shawl and headscarf only two dollars, a sample is worn on my head” (the peddler).

The peddlers who sell cosmetics tell the passengers that they themselves apply the items they sell and invite to look at her worn makeup. This way, they simultaneously show the appearance of the items they sell and ensure the health of them.

“Ladies who are used to go to the pool, those who want their makeup to last long hours, purchase my mascara, water proof, look at my eyelashes, I apply this mascara” (the peddler).

Sometimes, when peddlers find passengers wary, they invent methods to call for their attention. For example, they might begin to apply makeup and ask the passengers to carefully consider the quality of products. Another might teach in front of all passengers how to fasten a head flower again and again, to plead them to purchase.

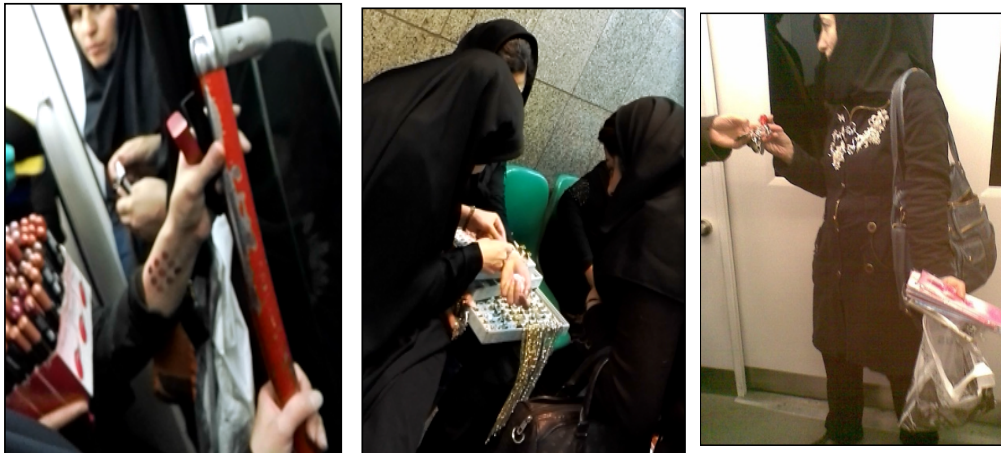


Figure 2. Using one's own body for advertising: lipstick hues on hands and ends and means hanging on cloths

Peddlers, especially women peddlers, have explored that body language is more forceful than verbal. Consequently, they play a modelling role and use their body parts to advertise.

Passengers as models

When a higher number of peddlers are rivalling to sell their goods, diverse sale strategies are a must. This is enforced by the need for diversity because of the general urges in the advertisement industry. The peddlers have truly noticed that body language is a successful promotion method and apply it with all their potency.

Those who sell cosmetics insist on convincing passengers that their own makeup is the same they promote. They ask passengers who among them might wish to test the products. They use verbal ploys and eye contact to gain the consent of a passenger to volunteer for testing, and present an entertaining theatrics performance

in front of the eyes of passengers. If anyone volunteers, the peddler applies her test makeup to adorn her in a performative style. The rest of passengers are entertained by the performance and induced to purchase an item.

“I have face hair remover scissors, ladies, easy to use and no need to go to salon, remove your own face and hands hair, anyone whose hands or face is un-tweezed volunteer to test?” (the peddler).

“I have eyebrow mascara, if you buy it you won't need brow pencil or tattoos, in various colours, it has tester too ladies, anyone wants me to pencil her brows?” (the peddler).

These types of promotions are very amusing for customers and highly relied upon by subway peddlers. It has been frequently observed that a passenger lady in other wagons will move herself, when she notices these performances, so that she can watch and, in most cases, make a purchase.

CONCLUSION

Tehran, as the largest and most populated city of Iran, is not exempt from the rule. The inauguration of the subway system was devised for facilitating transportation in Tehran. The metro has found another function other than transportation, becoming a site for enterprise and a mobile market for peddlers.

Metro wagons provide a safe haven for peddlers since they are so crowded, and this crowd is the best potential customer. Peddlers usually choose spots that are more commuted, as the denser the crowd, the higher the sales will be. Therefore, the metro is nowadays a place normally frequented by peddlers. They do not pay taxes, do not pay for rent, and earn well. Despite all efforts by metro personnel to eradicate peddlers' disturbances, peddlers are only alarmed enough to be more watchful; they have thrived in number against all odds.

Peddlers are comprised of various social and age groups: women, men, children, youth, and even the elderly are earning a life in the subway, but women and girls are a solid majority among them. Being educated or studying at university, backed by expert job experiences, or family negation do not prevent them from peddling in the subway, even though it is a job perceived to be low in prestige.

Peddlers' sale strategies are immensely diverse. They mix verbal and nonverbal communication methods to optimise their sales, although it could not be exactly said which method is most usually employed by them. They know when to increase their tone

at the right time for all to hear and when to pitch lower, as when passengers are few and wary. It seems that they are conscious of the marginal, but vital, aspects of discursive, linguistic, and paralinguistic dimensions of communication.

With the passage of time, the number of women peddlers in the subway in Tehran increases. The increase, on one hand, and the sale of various commodities, on the other, has promoted rivalry among the peddlers. Here, peddlers seek ways to optimise sale and attract the passengers' attention among the load of goods and the increasing number of peddlers. The best methods in this relation are observed in their advertising. They attempt to promote their goods by upgrading their peddling skills. They are knowledgeable that they could not rely simply on lingual instruments to achieve the purpose and, therefore, adopt body language techniques in their advertisements. Whenever they solely rely on lingual advertisement, they coin lexis that are generally innovative and viable.

Some peddlers dare to coin terms for describing their goods. These terms are more suggestive of the unrivalled attributes of their products. They use adjectives like "magic", "iron", "domestic product", "immortal", "cheaper than everywhere", etc.

Women peddlers amazingly rely on the physical manifestations of their body and language for promotion; they use eye contact and postures and appear as models to attract passenger-customers. They also use soft advertisement methods containing humorous content to flatter passengers.

Based on what they sell, the working time, density of passengers, and calendar occasions, they use lingual and metalingual strategies for promotion variations.

Therefore, when women peddlers present a short performance in a wagon, they present their real intention of selling the product. Since verbal methods are common, indirect methods better entertain and absorb, enticing customers to unconsciously purchase items that they very probably are not in need of, but which are so artistically presented that they have no power to refrain. Peddlers artfully transform passengers into customers and turn them to unconscious consumerists. Passengers passively observe all types of advertisement on their way to their destination, sometimes entertained and sometimes bored; nonetheless,

they are drowned in all-encompassing advertisements and purchase unconsciously. Sometimes, they do not need what they buy, but do it out of entertainment, fun, or the impulse of consumerism.

Leaving goods among the passengers is peddlers' best method in motivating them to purchase. The peddlers, in this way, achieve the highest result. Firstly, they prove to the passengers that they are trustworthy and there is no need to monitor them during their choice and sale, while they indirectly count on passengers for monitoring each other. Secondly, they provide for the passengers to freely search between the items and thus become tempted to buy. Lastly, passengers are given the opportunity to consult with each other on the purchase, and thus, become potential advertisers themselves.

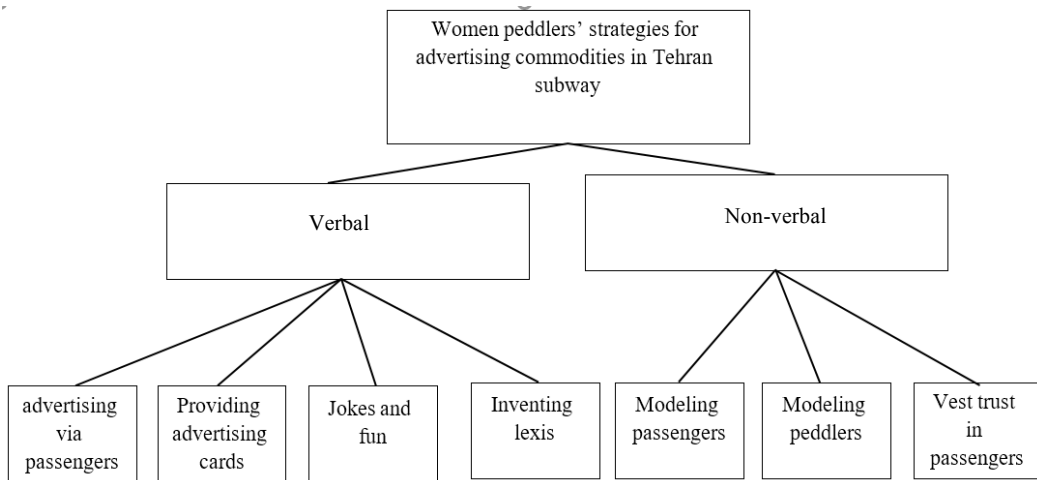


Figure 3. Strategies for women peddlers' advertising commodities in Tehran subway

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