

'Smelling' diasporic: bargaining interactions and the problem of politeness

Citation for published version (APA):

Wagner, L. (2023). 'Smelling' diasporic: bargaining interactions and the problem of politeness. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 14(5), 1085-1107. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2020-0070>

Document status and date:

Published: 26/09/2023

DOI:

[10.1515/applirev-2020-0070](https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2020-0070)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Document license:

Taverne

Please check the document version of this publication:

- A submitted manuscript is the version of the article upon submission and before peer-review. There can be important differences between the submitted version and the official published version of record. People interested in the research are advised to contact the author for the final version of the publication, or visit the DOI to the publisher's website.
- The final author version and the galley proof are versions of the publication after peer review.
- The final published version features the final layout of the paper including the volume, issue and page numbers.

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal.

If the publication is distributed under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license above, please follow below link for the End User Agreement:

www.umlib.nl/taverne-license

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us at:

repository@maastrichtuniversity.nl

providing details and we will investigate your claim.

Lauren Wagner*

'Smelling' diasporic: bargaining interactions and the problem of politeness

<https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2020-0070>

Received July 8, 2020; accepted October 7, 2021; published online October 29, 2021

Abstract: While post-migrant generation Moroccans from Europe often are able to converse competently enough in Moroccan languages to bargain in shops during visits to Morocco, many report that they are not given the 'local', 'right' prices because they are 'smelled' as outsiders. During fieldwork following these diasporic visitors in Morocco, several participants strategically shopped for goods with a 'local' friend or family member who might negotiate on their behalf for the 'right' price. This strategy was seen as a way to circumvent or ameliorate the ways the diasporic client might be negatively categorized as an outsider, especially in terms of his or her language use. Yet, examining these events in recorded detail indicates that diasporic clients are often bargaining for themselves as competent speakers, but are sometimes not able to skillfully bargain politely. In these moments, proxy bargainers intervene when debate and tension increases during bargaining and diasporic visitors do not adequately perform politeness – specifically by deploying religious speech – to soften and minimize tension. Analysis of these interactions indicates how diasporic branching of linguistic practice contrasts communicative skills of mobile populations with subtle, place-based competences, and how the mismatch between these can negatively mark diasporic visitors.

Keywords: diasporic bilingualism; languageculture; mobility; politeness; talk-in-interaction

1 Introduction: shopping in Morocco and 'smelling' diasporic

During an afternoon shopping in Marrakech with Dutch-Moroccan Wafae, her husband and small child, I joined their walk around the souk in search of curtain

*Corresponding author: Lauren Wagner, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of Society Studies, Maastricht University, 6211SZ Maastricht, The Netherlands,
E-mail: l.wagner@maastrichtuniversity.nl. <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4778-7408>

tassels. After a bargaining interaction in which Wafae, the more confident speaker, engaged with the vendors in Darija (Moroccan Arabic) and occasionally with her husband and child in Dutch, they finally paid 110 dirhams (about 11 Euros) per item for four tassels, after starting from a price of 150 dirhams. Just after leaving the shop, Wafae commented, ‘it is a good price because, there was one in [her hometown], () we asked them and we were talking Dutch at the time, ... so he said 25 eu- euros’. ‘For each’ I clarified, to which Wafae confirmed, ‘for each yeah. () that was um ((lowered voice)) not nice’. Despite the fact that she had, moments earlier, spoken Dutch in the shop with her husband and occasionally to her child, yet still purchased at a ‘good price’, Wafae directly attributes the ‘not nice’ price previously offered to her use of Dutch. Later in that market stroll, Wafae explained that when she went shopping in her hometown, she would bring along her locally-resident niece who was fluent in multiple local languages, because ‘we always say that they **smell** that we are not from here... so the price always triples’. She, along with other participants, drew a causal link between being ‘smelled’ as non-local – especially through language use – and being charged more money.

Wafae’s perception of language use as consequential in a total, all-or-nothing framework is recognizable across many groups whose multifaceted linguistic practices may be disregarded or devalued for not perfectly fitting ‘native speaker’ framings (Liddicoat 2016). It is especially resonant with many other migrant and diasporic bi- and multi-linguals, who are characterized – and often characterize themselves – with a variety of negative views about their ancestral language practices (Deprez 1994; Koven 2004; Wei 1994). Although Wafae had demonstrated herself as a competent practitioner, she here seems to perceive herself as not ‘knowing the language’ in a way that is consequential for getting the ‘right’ price. The question remains to identify more narrowly in what way she doesn’t ‘know’ her ancestral language that has consequences for her in interaction, and – in a metaphorical sense – what characterizes this negative ‘smell’ of diasporic interlocutors.

The metaphor of ‘smell’, used by Wafae and other participants, points to how markers of ‘elsewhere’ are intrinsic to these interactions but difficult to isolate in how they are perceived – whether in language use or beyond. Vendors would no doubt be able to list the indicators that mark Wafae as ‘smelling’ of ‘elsewhere’ beyond linguistic competence, such as appearance, praxis, shopping companions, objects she purchases, and even the time period when she was present at the market – that is, during a holiday season. There may also be markers the vendors would not be able to enunciate, but which are crucial and instinctive in how embodied sociolinguistic interaction takes place (Bucholtz and Hall 2016). Such markers are especially relevant to marketplaces as multi-semiotic sites (Hua et al.

2017), where embodied and multisensory aspects are part of an assemblage in interaction. Yet the precise ways that vendors recognize embodied difference are not what is being analyzed here; rather what is under investigation is the strategy diasporic visitors (DVs) use to avoid that (unavoidable) recognition, even without knowing what precisely betrays them as ‘from elsewhere’. The guiding question of this paper is, given that it does not actually ‘mask’ their difference, why is it that enlisting a ‘local’ proxy bargainer actually works, interactionally, to satisfy DVs that they got a ‘right price’?

Many participants in this research reported using, and occasionally demonstrated during fieldwork, Wafae’s strategy of shopping with a local resident as a bargaining proxy presumed to both know the ‘correct’ price and know ‘the language’. Though a proxy cannot, of course, literally disguise a DV as being ‘local’ to experienced vendors, there seems to be something about their presence that works effectively to get the ‘right price’, in that this was a widely repeated strategy. Assuming that vendors do recognize the coupling of local proxy and non-local DV through many semiotic cues beyond recordable capture, the analysis here focuses on the linguistic work proxies do as communicators that is demonstrable through recorded data of their talk-in-interaction.

Isolating three examples where bargaining interactions unrolled when proxies were present, I show how the interventions proxies make use their local-to-Morocco knowledge of politeness – not of prices – to continue and conclude these interactions. The pricing tensions that emerge in these interactions do not seem to be attributable, as Wafae’s logic would indicate, to the use of a non-local language. All three cases demonstrate that the visitor-buyer – all young adults of Moroccan descent, visiting from Europe – was a generally competent speaker in Darija and was not markedly using a non-local language in bargaining. Rather, each instance shows how the DV participant fails to appropriately use a pattern of polite speech – employing paired religious oaths and blessings – at relevant points in their bargaining talk. The presence of proxies is crucial in revealing this problem, because their interventions conversationally indicate a ‘trouble’ in these sequences, thereby bringing into relief the elements of politeness that DVs are not performing.

This form of politeness is not unique to bargaining. It is common across a variety of contexts that DVs would be exposed to among friends and family, both in Morocco and in their diasporic places of residence. That a problem of managing politeness emerges in bargaining indicates the complexity of language-cultural (Cornips and de Rooij 2015) competences for speakers who learn practices across diasporically-located places. Inevitably, such competences

manifest unevenly across different sites and experiences of interaction. This suggests that the vague and negative ‘smell’ that DVs see as marking them in service encounters may not be as simple as being grossly labeled as ‘outsiders’ by others, but more concretely linked with their situational, interactional (in) competence in a specific skill for doing politeness. In other words, I argue that the general sense of being perceived (‘smelled’) as diasporically different, while certainly related to a set of complex and interwoven socio-cultural, economic, and embodied elements, can in some ways be traced to nuances of communicative competence on display in interaction.

To investigate how politeness is made relevant through proxy bargainers, the following sections first detail the context of diasporic visiting between Morocco and Europe, then expand on different factors and skills at play in the sociality and communicative practice of bargaining and specific related forms of politeness in Moroccan Arabic, finally showing through three examples how these skills become specifically relevant for DVs and their bargaining proxies in Morocco.

2 Diasporic Morocco

Moroccan Nationals Resident Abroad (Marocains Résidents à l’Etranger – MRE) annually account for nearly half of the recorded border crossings into Morocco (Ministère du Tourisme, du Transport Aérien, de l’Artisanat et de l’Economie Sociale 2019). This flow, reaching 5.48 million in 2017 (about 15% of the total Moroccan population of that year), includes migrants from Morocco visiting their families, as well as later generations past the original migrant(s) who retain citizenship through descent. The mass influx of Moroccan-origin Europeans, the majority of whom visit during the annual summer holidays labeled by the Moroccan government as ‘Opération Marhaba’ (Operation Welcome), brings a diasporic rainbow of Moroccans-by-descent into contact with resident Moroccans.

This flow of visitors is made up in large part by one of the many waves of Moroccan migration: ‘guestworkers’ and their descendants (Alaoui 2013). Between 1964 and 1973, primarily men from many rural and periurban communities in Morocco were recruited for labor in several European countries. When these countries ceased inviting them as temporary workers, many of them made their migration permanent and were joined by their families (Chattou 1998). With the growth of settled Moroccan-origin communities across Europe came both the minoritization and stigmatization that often accompanies labor migration (Bistolfi and Zabbal 1995;

Ouali 2004). Meanwhile, these communities developed an annual practice of traveling to Morocco during the summer.

For many European-born and/or -raised descendants, the summer holidays are simultaneously a time to visit with extended family in Morocco, to hang out with friends from Europe making the same journey, and to exercise their Moroccan communicative repertoires in public among the strangers they encounter beyond their own families and friends (Wagner 2017). They can feel a sense of belonging in Morocco in contrast to Europe, but their presence and role in Morocco is complicated in ways that parallel many other countries which experienced waves of economic emigration. Their role as remitters and developers has been economically transformative to families and to the country as a whole (Sefrioui 2005), yet their inclusion in the 'nation' is contested. While, officially, the state encourages them to 'come home' through granting them increasing political rights (Gouirir 2018) and promoting initiatives like 'Opération Marhaba,' their face-to-face interactions with family and with strangers can be marked by tensions of differentiation and exclusion (Barthou 2013; Hammouche 2003; Marlière 2006), especially related to how their language skills are differently contoured as diasporic speakers in contrast to residents (Melliani 2000). In particular, participants in my research described the attitude of 'arrogance' they see applied to themselves by the general public (Wagner 2017). Though these negative attitudes are widely reported – sometimes by residents themselves, but often by diasporic actors who perceive themselves as negatively viewed by residents – the specific practices that might instigate such negative evaluations are often difficult to tease out.

Shopping in markets is one of the unique moments where DVs have an opportunity to put their capacities for ancestral language interaction with strangers (i.e. vendors) into practice beyond their family and friends. Even though this may be a site where diasporic visitors feel they should be ratified as 'belonging' as descendants of Morocco, practitioners of a 'local' language and regular visitors to Moroccan marketplaces, it is also a site where they simply may not have had opportunities to learn and embody the multifaceted resources necessary to seamlessly blend (Wagner 2015b). As in the way Wafae characterized speaking Dutch as a causal element that changed the price, each interaction has an underlying potential for their normal talk, across a range of competences in multiple languages, to become palpably and negatively consequential in interaction (Piller 2002).

Participants in this research used different strategies to mask the 'smell' of non-localness, like wearing different clothes or persistently trying to use the 'local' language (Wagner 2015a, 2017). Inevitably, this 'smell' is an intersectional

sensation: it involves perceptions about physical presentation and sociolinguistic capabilities as well as social factors like differentiation in economic power and international mobility that have been the focus of other analyses in this research (cf. Wagner 2017). The examples analyzed here illustrate how one specific languagecultural competence – the place-sensitive ability to recognize and use a specific form of politeness in bargaining – became part of this multifaceted ‘smell’.

3 Bargaining in Morocco

Diverse sociolinguistic research shows that bargaining in markets is not just about prices. The communicative practices and strategies used for bargaining form rule-based and socially-ordered understandings of how different parties participate in these interactions (Bauman 2001; French 2001; Orr 2007). Some scholars have identified a formal ‘etiquette’ of bargaining (Khuri 1968), and others note that different forms of pleasantry, joking and respectful familiarity play an important part in creating the attractive social space of marketplaces (Alo and Soneye 2014; Lindenfeld 1990; Watson 2009). Overall, bargaining incorporates a delicate balance of the performance of friendly familiarity with appropriate respect, such that bargaining transactions are concerned both with determining a price for the exchange of goods and, within that, the creation and maintenance of mutually beneficial relationships between vendor and client.

Undoubtedly, as these cited examples come from different corners of the world, nuanced place-local understandings of this balance are likewise integral to successful, skillful bargaining. This place-based specificity becomes more evident in sites where a diversity of codes are possible in marketplace interaction, along with a diversity of users – both ‘local’ and ‘global’. For example, Gardner-Chloros (1985) evaluates the politics and consequences of switching codes in border city shopping in Strasbourg, while Van den Berg (1986) investigated how ‘official’ and vernacular codes can be used in different market circumstances in the context of political transition in Taiwan. These approaches highlight how bargaining is not only for ‘locals’: given that marketplaces are often an attraction for visitors of all kinds, they can operate through rules of what practices are expected of locals and by locals with others, like tourists. Though it has not been widely addressed sociolinguistically, touristic others who participate in marketplace service encounters contribute

significantly to contouring rules and etiquettes that might be relevant for vendors and the variety of bargainers they interact with (Purnomo 2012).

In this sense, bargaining is very much a ‘languagecultural’ activity (Cornips and de Rooij 2015). While bargaining is recognizable cross-culturally and transglobally as an interactional economic encounter that follows some basic patterns (Felix-Brasdefer 2015), doing it successfully requires managing the “insolvable knot of linguistic forms, social praxis, and ideologies” that is specific to languaging in place (Thissen 2015: 195). In other words, bargaining skillfully requires cultural learning about *how* to do it appropriately for a given context and set of interlocutors, alongside linguistic competences in specific codes. Approaching bargaining as languagecultural acknowledges how it is both universally recognizable but profoundly place-embedded rather than merely language-specific. While different ‘languages’ may be in use as (translinguistic) codes (Pennycook 2018), how they and their speakers are integrated into interactions is intensively tied with practices that emerge as appropriate in and to that place (Thissen 2015).

Morocco is one example of a place where bargaining is a common languagecultural practice, though it is not practiced for all marketplace goods, nor for all markets. Still, practices related to bargaining underpin an understanding of value created through exchange beyond the goods to which bargaining is specifically applied. Following Geertz’s ethnographic work in a marketplace in central Morocco (1979), value includes attributes like quality, availability, and ongoing relationships of vendors and clients who see each other regularly and may interact through networked connections beyond the marketplace that assure their future involvement with each other. In a context like Morocco where face-to-face interaction is a central part of everyday exchange, the price of an object becomes inclusive of many attributes beyond its cost – it becomes *this* object, purchased from *this* person at *this* place and time (Herrmann 2004; Shepherd 2009). Even for food items whose prices are roughly fixed by economic characteristics like supply and demand, a discount can acknowledge the specificity of a given transaction between vendor and client – especially for vendors and clients who have ongoing and repeat business relationships. As such, even when not explicitly bargained, prices can be flexible to account for many factors that emerge in interaction.

Very limited literature documents that skilled bargaining speech in Morocco is crucial in fostering vendor-client relationships. Further to Geertz’s recognition of the importance of networks (cited above), Deborah Kapchan’s (1996) ethnographic engagement with the emerging role of women as mainstream vendors in the central city of Beni-Mellal demonstrated how one vendor continually referred to a shared identity of ‘Muslim’ with her client to balance and ameliorate her

bargaining position. Abdenmour Kharraki (2001) builds on Kapchan's note of the importance of cleverness as a skill necessary in bargaining by investigating, in a linguistic ethnographic study, gender differences in use of strategies like expressions of solidarity and politeness; moderated insistence on a lower price; and playful or clever language to dispute quality. While these few investigations are by no means comprehensive, they do give a sense of the subtle languagecultural skills that come to bear in a marketplace interaction in Morocco to generate agreement between parties.

In sum, a skilled bargainer is drawing on social and linguistic resources to mobilize a) appropriate languagecultural competences for bargaining, along with b) knowledge about price and value specific to buying *that* thing in *that* place from *that* vendor, which together (ideally) c) maintains and perpetuates a positive vendor-client relationship. Recognizing that the vendor-client relationship, couched within the languagecultural 'doing' of sociability in-place, is as central to bargaining as getting the 'right price' highlights how politeness becomes a site for trouble for DV interlocutors in marketplace interactions.

3.1 Strategies for bargaining politely in Morocco

Politeness requires skill. Taking polite speech and concomitantly face work as relational, interactional achievements (Arundale 2006) brings attention to the fact that, like bargaining, politeness demonstrates subtle understandings and skillful, strategic moves of interlocutors sequentially positioning relative to one another. Conversely, it also recognizes that speakers who may be considered otherwise communicatively competent can stumble, misfire, or fail altogether in the conversational maintenance of face (Bailey 1997). As the focus of this paper is on moments where polite face work is ineptly done and requires repair by a conversational ally, this section reviews recognized strategies for politeness related to bargaining practice in Morocco, in order to demonstrate how these strategies are troubled and absent among diasporic practitioners in the examples below.

Key components in politeness skills that need to be unpacked for this analysis include 1) forms of politeness in Darija that use religious references, 2) how such forms may be part of brief service encounters which normally include bargaining, and 3) the languagecultural dimensions of how politeness reflects not only code, but also place-based communicative practices for a mobile population. To demonstrate how all three of these issues are interwoven, I start with a story told by participant Malika (recorded in fieldnotes and summarized below), which was an

example she offered of ‘good’ bargaining that she herself was not certain how to perform:

Malika’s sister needed a new kaftan – an ensemble of a long dress and matching belt – to go to a wedding. Not having the three to six weeks necessary to order one from a tailor, she went with some family members (including Malika and their uncle) to Tangier to find a shop with ready-made models. After having chosen one of the right size and a good color, the vendor offered her a belt that did not match at all. He kept insisting it was the right one for the kaftan, but his lies were evident to Malika and her sister. Her sister insisted he was wrong and asked for a better option. The vendor became angrier and more resistant to her request.

Finally, their uncle intervened: he called the vendor a pious man, who could not do badly under the eyes of God, and who ran his business honestly and truthfully. In telling this story, Malika recalled that her uncle’s negotiation strategy, using persuasiveness logic that she would have not used herself, had totally changed the attitude of the vendor.

Malika’s story illustrates, in alignment with Kapchan’s (1996) analysis of a female vendor negotiating with a male client, how religious values can be explicitly integrated into bargaining as aligning parties and potentially saving face. She and her sister were confronting the vendor with, in her characterization, his ‘lies’; her uncle, instead, morally implicated the vendor, via shared religious beliefs, as honest. Both strategies effectively seek the same result – an ‘honest’ offer of a different belt – but the uncle’s strategy involves significant face work in interaction with the vendor, creating a moral world where the vendor is a good person as a motivation to change his position, rather than confronting him with accusations that directly challenge his position and diminish his face. In remembering and recounting this event as an example of bargaining, Malika signaled how her uncle performed a rhetoric that she herself was not sure how to execute, highlighting the distinction between her sister’s bargaining strategy and her uncle’s place-local sensitivity to techniques for face-saving politeness.

Such explicit invocations of morality are not the only forms of politeness evident in bargaining in Morocco. Kharraki (2001) makes a distinction between ‘straightforward’ and ‘insisting’ strategies more frequently used by women in his sample, against a strategy of ‘quality depreciation of the commodity’ more frequent among men (though not demonstrably statistically significant). Some differences in uses of polite speech that he notes include the presence and extent of greetings, use of endearments (e.g. ‘my brother/sister’) or respectful terms of address (e.g. ‘sir’, ‘hajj/hajja), and other face-saving strategies like indirect speech, blaming third parties when insisting on the poor quality of goods, or diminishing oneself as ‘needy’ in order to justify a lower price. Though Kharraki investigates these bargaining strategies as gendered distinctions, his sample includes other

unanalyzed factors that may play as much of a role as gender, such as familiarity between interlocutors (in one example, they are identified as neighbors), or the presumption that all participants are equally skilled as local, ‘native’ speakers in the place where the interactions were recorded. In this sense, setting the claims of gender-based frequency differences aside, his study shows that clients in Morocco can draw on a range of strategies to bargain which can be successful (or not successful) in getting their desired price.

What Kharraki’s excerpts also show, beyond how he analyzed them, is that almost every turn in bargaining employs some kind of politeness strategy. Rejections and refusals use respectful terms of address (‘mother’, ‘hajja’), or, as evident in example 10, a religious oath Kharraki describes as “usually said to get rid of a beggar” (2001: 628) as softeners. Furthermore, in his examples 8 (2001: 625) and 9 (2001: 627), acceptance of a low offer is made using religious oaths which act to save face for the vendor. These politeness strategies demonstrate a more fine-grained version of Malika’s story, in that they maintain a moral and respectful relationship between parties while actively contradicting each other.

Malika’s position in her story evokes how executing this skill of moral positioning in bargaining can still be mysterious for an otherwise communicatively competent DV. Most competent Darija speakers would be able to use religious phrases that are widely integrated into common slots for politeness, including greetings (Bouchara 2015), offerings, thankings, leave-takings, and softening possibly transgressive behavior. Labben’s (2018) detailed discussion of face in Tunisian Arabic demonstrates that religious expressions are essential as indirect speech for executing politeness in invitation refusals. They are frequently paired expressions, in which the use of one is responded to with a range of possible pair parts, sometimes inverting the initial oath. However, as much as these forms are widely used in polite speech, using them strategically in bargaining in Morocco adds another layer of complexity that may be challenging for DVs.

As diasporically mobile individuals, the nuances of politeness they learn in Darija at home in Europe, with familiar speakers among friends, family, and communities, may have marked differences to forms they would need for interaction in Morocco. Moreover, politeness is malleable along with languagecultural positioning: as Tetrault (2015) demonstrates among similarly positioned Algerian-descendant youth in France, politeness forms rooted in Arabic learned from older generations can transculturally morph into *impolite* forms, situated within place-based linguistic practice. In short, while the DVs who participated in this research characterize not getting the ‘right’ prices as an impugment of

their being generally positioned (or ‘smelled’) as outsiders, I contend this positioning may relate more to their *lack* of strategic ‘local’ skills in politeness – specifically in the form of using religious oaths in the correct slots for polite bargaining. These missing skills become noticeable precisely because the locally-resident bargaining proxy nominated to help them get the ‘right’ price fills these slots with those oaths that effectively save face among the parties involved.

4 ‘Smelling’ impolite

In the context of this project, which included approximately 80 h of recorded marketplace interactions, several examples of proxy bargaining of different varieties were recorded in various markets. Sometimes proxies went along simply as a friend or family member enjoying a market trip (as in two of the cases below); other times as a purposefully recruited bargainer, tasked and instructed to help make a purchase (as in one case). In all cases recorded, there were no instances of the ‘local’ person doing the complete bargaining interaction on behalf of a DV. That is, even when a proxy was asked to initiate bargaining as their specific task, no complete bargaining sequence was carried out without DVs interjecting, and usually participating actively as a bargainer themselves. All three examples below show a moment of tension, in which price offers and counteroffers are not yet resolved; they also all demonstrate the relevant moment when the proxy bargainer – whether explicitly invited as such or not – intervenes on behalf of a DV buyer to save face at a crucial moment.

While many of the interactions I analyzed in the scope of this project included dispute moments, many did not, and sometimes disputes were assuaged with other forms of face-saving recognition. Closer examination of dispute moments which include the presence of a proxy bargainer – who is only actively bargaining in one of the three cases – indicates how the perceived effectiveness of local proxies is less about knowing prices, and more about knowing how to interact politely using a particular form. All three interactions have been analyzed to different purposes elsewhere (Wagner 2008, 2015a, 2017), so are here serving to highlight the moments when proxies interject with religious speech, both as initiators and in response to indirect accusations or oaths made by the vendors.

The first example features DV Mustafa bargaining for a clothing set with the active intervention of resident friend Simo. It illustrates the frequency of use of oaths by Simo and the vendor (and not by Mustafa), as well as some ways these may be used in the flow of talk as face work. The second and third examples, in

contrast, show how the local relative – a younger cousin and an older uncle – intervene at turn-relevant moments to interject an oath which the active DV bargainers – Karima and Rabia, respectively – have not produced. In both of these cases, the local proxy seems to be doing face work towards the vendor by mitigating claims the vendor makes towards unfairness or insult produced by excessively low price offers. All of these extracts come after a longer stretch of bargaining talk, which is not reproduced here in order to compare only the moments when face is made relevant as consequential for the interaction. Within the extracts, transcribed using Jeffersonian notation and transliterated following ISO 233 characters, uses of ordinary oaths are highlighted in blue and claims to unfairness are highlighted in pink.

4.1 Extract 1: Mustafa & Simo

This transcript begins at the first turn where Simo enters the bargaining talk (line 13) asking for a ‘good price’ by using an oath (‘God protect you’) and aligning himself with the vendor (‘my friend’). Prior to this, Mustafa had been looking at the decorated Moroccan-style ensembles and bargaining solo for one he tried on while his four other DV friends, Simo and I hung around inside and outside the shop in the center of Marrakech. Just before the beginning of this segment, Mustafa had strongly rejected a price quote from the vendor as too high, and the vendor proposed he would deal with him ‘like any son of the country’ (Wagner 2017: 139).

This example demonstrates many of the verbal skills of ‘doing salesman’ on the part of the vendor, who uses his relatively long turns to defend his first offer (line 14), swear his offer was ‘good’ (line 18), justify his offer (line 21), counteroffer Simo’s counteroffer (line 23), argue that the difference between prices is insignificant (line 25), and suggest a solution to the flaw Mustafa identifies in the product (line 29) before finally agreeing to 120, the price suggested by Simo (line 31). In all of these, except the sequence from line 25 to 29, the vendor uses some kind of oath; interestingly, he is interrupted by Mustafa in line 25 (demonstrated by the repair and repetitions in lines 26 to 28), and then replies directly to Mustafa in line 29. The rest of his turns, addressing Simo or both Simo and Mustafa, are peppered with ordinary religiously-oriented expressions, sometimes twice in a single turn (initial and ending, lines 14, 21 and 31).

Though these oaths are taken up by neither Simo nor Mustafa as paired expressions (i.e. they never reply with an inverted oath), they do act, alongside other rhetorical strategies of the vendor, to align all parties in this negotiation. While the vendor’s rhetoric could be analyzed in more detail, in basic terms he consistently uses polite forms like indirect speech and relational address (‘my brother’) to

diminish the difference between his offer and the counteroffer and dismiss cost Mustafa should feel in this transaction. His oaths and blessings act as indirect ways to excuse his requesting the higher price. For example, in turn 21 he inserts ‘bless your parents’ as he proceeds to argue that the 10 dirham he could negotiate is insignificant. In line 23 he counteroffers Simo’s price by 10 dirham, completing the turn with another blessing. In his final concession, when Simo requests that he ‘leaves us this 10 dirham’ (line 30) he acquiesces with ‘God help you’, completing the sale by not making it hard (i.e. not negotiating too strongly), as ‘God brings ease’ (line 31).

This example of Simo acting as bargainer – and, notably, getting the price that he initially offered, though he said afterwards it was still quite expensive – serves as the most distinct example in my recorded corpus of how oaths weave into bargaining politely. Admittedly, this is not an example in which the proxy bargainer performed oaths with equal frequency as the vendor, but it may be important that Simo’s initial plea to lower the price (line 13) is framed with an oath. In the full corpus, DVs’ price requests are most often a simple form of ‘how much?’ and are only occasionally framed as an indirect act on the part of the vendor (e.g. ‘for how much can you leave this to me?’), in contrast to Simo’s request to lower the price using ‘*allah yḥafdək*’ – which works here as a religious expression for ‘please’. Furthermore, Simo’s continued counterings to the vendor are never accusatory: ‘it’s really hard’ not ‘you are hard’ (line 15); inviting him to ‘put it in a bag’, or complete the sale, ‘without repeating words’, an expression meaning to make the process quick and quiet (line 22); and a plea to ‘leave us’ the 10 dirham (line 30) rather than a direct demand to lower the price. So, even though his usage of oaths was limited, Simo’s bargaining rhetoric as a ‘local’ demonstrates how a buyer may keep face for all by aligning with the vendor’s persistent claims to morality through non-confrontational, indirect politeness that implicates both buyer and vendor in moral behavior.

4.2 Extract 2: Karima and her cousin

The next extract illustrates how oaths and indirect politeness become necessary to calm a dispute. This interaction took place at a weekly market in a small town in central Morocco, with DV Karima, her younger sister Btisam, and their younger, female, locally-resident cousin shopping for clothes and household goods. At this stall, they were buying pajamas with two vendors attending them (VN and V2 in the transcript), but having some difficulty agreeing on a price. The extract sequence here enters in the middle of the interaction again, as V2 makes an accusation of unwillingness to Karima (line 64) and VN intervenes to complete the sale.

Interaction Extract 1: Karima, Btisam and Cousin

	(1.5)	
64 V2	<mabgitiš teqde 'andna w Safi>	you don't want to shop with us and that's all
65 KR	bəll:ati bəllati arah tTeb rasna be::(1.5) ššəms	slow:ly slowly our heads will cook with::(1.5) the sun
66 BT	<šnu bğiti tani>	<what else do you want>
67 VN	ara	give ((m))
68 BT	təltmya	three hundred
69 CS	šof gulli təltmya	look tell me three hundred
70 VN	ari lflus ari() ara lmika ara nSber m'aha ana () ari flus	give ((f)) the money give ((f))() give ((m)) the plastic bag give ((m)) I will negotiate with her myself () give ((f)) money
71 KR	ara bse-e-	give ((m)) with-h-h-
72 BT	<u>i: [dit lui le pri[x que t'as dit</u>	<u>uh: [tell him the price that you said</u>
73 KR	[eh,	[uh
74 V2	[nšdu g'a lbaruk mn'anduk	[we will never get blessings from you
75 BT	<u>dis le prix, donne le prix [que t'as dit, il a dit</u>	<u>tell him the price, give the price [that you said, he sai[d</u>
76 V2	[<ara li (xxx)>	[<give (m) me (xx)>
77 BT	[bšHal?	[for how much?
78 CS	gal lik ġir təltmya	he told you only three hundred
79 VN	ari had təltmya () zidiha səttin ryal. ari [(xxx)	give ((f)) me that three hundred () add to her sixty ryal. give ((f)) [(xxx)
80 CS	[la gal liha təltmya	[no he told her three hundred
81 VN	yellah ari lflus. ari ləHna	come on give ((f)) the money. give ((f)) it to us
82 KR	šHal?	how much?
83 VN	ari lli bğiti axwayti	give ((f)) me whatever you want my sisters
84 KR	((laugh)) <u>ouais ouais</u>	((laugh)) <u>yeah yeah</u>
85 BT	((laugh))	((laugh))
86 VN	<dirhum hna bHal?>	<do them here like?>
87 KR	(very soft) məzyan	good

88	VN	g'a lbaruk wəlakin kullši 'andna filqa'ida () šof šof ta	never blessings but everything we have is at the foundation () look look
89	KR	uh:. diru bxəmsmya u ərba'en	uh:. (l)et's do with five hundred and forty
90	VN	xəmsmya u ərba'en? ari ərbe'en	five hundred and forty? give forty
91	KR	bəllati	slowly
		(.)	
92	VN	zidi ši Haja axra	add something else
		(4.0)	
93	KR	makaynəš () nəddiha bxəmsmya ila bğiti	there's nothing () we'll take with five hundred if you want
94	BT	attends attends -?() eh bah oui, kayna	Wait wait -? () uh well yes, there is
95	KR	makaynaš (xxx)	there's nothing (xxx)
		(5.6)	
96	VN	<zidiha zidiha>	<add her add her>
97	KR	səttmy:a, aləf ryal,	six hundre:d, thousand ryal,
		(3.6)	
98	KR+VN	eh.	yes
		(1.1)	
99	KR	[[šo:kran	[[thanks
100	VN	[[hna mxəllsin m'ak, xəmsə- ərb'in ryal ula səttin ryal lor	[[we were paid with you, fift- forty ryal or sixty ryal behind
101	KR	eh?	yeah?
102	VN	hna xəllina ši ərbe'en ryal ula xəmsin ryal	here you left us only forty ryal or fifty ryal
103	KR	((laugh))	((laugh))
104	V2	hna (xxx) lbaruk mən 'andək	here (xxx) the blessings from you
105	KR	ewe: l[::	well: th[::
106	CS	[əddəniya hanya	[life is peaceful
107	V2	raha ərditlek/ marHəbabik	may it be offered to you/ welcome to you
108	KR	<allah ytəkum::- >	<may god give you::- >
109	VN	(xxx)	(xxx)
110	KR	bərəkallahu fik	thanks (blessings of god on you)

As the main bargainer, Karima clearly recognizes Vendor 2's negative stance and uses an expression (being cooked by the sun) to indirectly invite him to calm down. Shortly thereafter, the other vendor joins in, asking Karima for the money and asking his partner vendor for the bag to complete the sale. As Karima, Btisam, their cousin and the vendor (VN) are sorting out what the last quoted price was, V2 interjects that 'we will never get blessings from you' (line 74). 'Blessings' or '*baraka*' (plural: *baruk*) here can be understood as profit or payment for one's labor, beyond what one has invested in material resources. V2 has taken a position that selling to this group will gain no profit; the other vendor, nevertheless, continues to negotiate the sale. As he ups the price by very small increments (using the currency label *ryal*, where 20 *ryal* equals 1 dirham; 500 *ryal* equals 25 dirham, or 2.50 euro), he excuses their lack of 'blessings' in line 88 by calling to a deeper moral 'foundation' beyond money. Karima continues to count out money while the vendor encourages her to continue adding (line 89 through 98) until she concludes the transaction with a 'thanks' (line 99).

At the moment when the transaction has effectively concluded – where normally a response would complete the pair of Karima's thanks – VN instead states the problem more explicitly: their profit here is only 40 or 60 *ryal* (the equivalent of 20–30 Euro cents). After a repair, VN reiterates his statement (40–50 *ryal*), Karima laughs (line 103), and V2 repeats the confrontation he made previously about the minimal '*baraka*' received (line 104). As Karima's initiated response trails off without a clear statement (line 105), her locally-resident cousin interjects 'life is peaceful' (line 106). This phrase is the first part of a three-part expression,¹ also used in the previous extract, which absolves all parties of fault or offense. It refers to life on Earth, in contrast to (or in preparation for) the afterlife. Here, it might be interpreted to both excuse Karima's denial of profit from these vendors – effectively disregarding their need for a livelihood by insisting on a price that is too low – as well as excuse the vendors' desire for material wealth through profit. 'Dinya hanya' – no harm, no foul (on the earthly plane).

The quick and aligning well-wishing blessing of V2 ('may it be offered to you', line 107) indicates that the cousin has produced the culpability he sought within the dispute. Karima's subsequent incomplete expression – 'may God give you' (line 108) – may be an attempt at matching V2's well wishes, or it may be following her cousin's example. In either case, she does not seem to know what her blessing should offer: 'may God give you' can be completed with many possible values, but she hesitates without being interrupted and does not return to complete the turn.

1 The expression is: '*dinya hanya, sam'ia safia, wa rebbi kibbir*'; life is peaceful, heaven is gentle, the lord is great.

Instead, in response to something inaudible from the vendor, she concludes the interaction with a more elaborated thanks (line 110).

This conflict between V2 and Karima is de-escalated by two ‘local’ actors: VN and her cousin. In a microanalytical reading of the transcript, it is not clear that Karima recognizes or understands the fault she has committed by denying the ‘*baraka*’ of the vendors. While she tries to calm the first direct accusation of her lack of cooperation as a bargainer (line 64–65), she effectively ignores later accusations (lines 74 and 88) and then does not respond directly or respectfully to the vendors’ concerns about the small amount of money she has allowed as profit. Her laughing response in line 103 is particularly ambiguous and seems affectively mismatched to the vendors’ complaints (possibly nervous, but possibly taking his statement as a pleasantry), as she continues to not produce an adequate apology or excuse in her two following turns. Though her cousin only interjects briefly at the end of this exchange, it seems to be the necessary invocation to assuage the loss of face. It remains unclear that Karima, or her younger DV sister Btisam, are aware of their lack of politeness in executing this transaction.

4.3 Extract 3: Rabia and uncle

The final extract supports the previous one, by demonstrating a parallel situation when the local proxy interjects only at the last moment in an escalating dispute. It also demonstrates, in relation to the first extract, the strategic difference between local bargaining practices and how many DVs executed bargaining. Because this full interaction has been analyzed in further depth elsewhere (Wagner 2015a), only a very short section showing the proxy intervention is quoted below. In it, DV Rabia had asked her aunt and uncle to accompany her to an artisanal household goods market in Rabat, as she was looking for Moroccan furniture for her new apartment in France.

In this case, she had explicitly asked her uncle to be her bargaining proxy, in practice by prompting him to ask for a price at several shops. The interaction below had also begun with that prompt, but Rabia herself quickly became a bargaining participant. After discussing several items as well as the work that went into making them (Wagner 2015a), Rabia focused on a smaller handmade decorative table, for which the vendor’s price offer was 170 euro (34,000 *ryal*; the cheapest quote yet). The extract begins as Rabia reiterates her counteroffer of 80 euro (16,000 *ryal*).

Interaction Extract 2: Rabia and Uncle

74 RB	la la səttaš laləf ryal Safi/ baraka a'likum/ ilhamdu illəh ((laugh))	no no sixteen thousand ryal that's enough/ blessings on you/ thanks to God ((laugh))
75 VN	makaynš b hadək ši wa:lu (xx) had šši rah ba'in! ah:!	there's no:thing in that stuff (xx) this stuff would se:ll! ah:!
76 RB	non mais bien sūr [ana la ma- la may'ajbəniš, mayənšriš*. la may'ajbəniš ga' mana'Te fik** səttaš laləf ryal bəzza:f	no but surely [me if I no didn- did not like it, it wouldn't be bought*. if I didn't like it I wouldn't give you in it** sixteen thousand ryal is a lot
77 VN	[(xxx) mənTab'et lHal mənTab'et lHal allah yrHəm walədik wullah	[(xxx) it's normal it's normal God protect your parents I swear
78 RB	la hadu səttaš laləf ryal u [Safi ilhamdu	no these sixteen thousand ryal and [that's enough thank
79 VN	[ttemen dyelu- axer temen dyelu tləta u tlətin aləf ryal ari	[the price for them- last price for them thirty three thousand ryal give
80 RB	non non səttaš	no no sixteen
81 VN	'ajbək təbarak allah m'ajbəkš axti allah yjiblik	you like it blessings on you you don't like it my sister may God bring it to you
82 UN	allah ybarak fik axoya	blessings on you my brother
83 RB	la səttaš bəzzaf a:min ((laugh))	no sixteen is a lot a:men ((laugh))
84 VN	(xxx)	(xxx)
(5.5)		
* Problem: passive voice		
** Problem: preposition does not match verb		

In this case, even though Rabia uses some oaths (turns 74 and partially in turn 78), they are not employed towards softening the price she has offered nor as morally implicating the vendor. Rather, in turn 74, her turn-completing oaths, following 'Safi' meaning 'that's enough', serve to dismiss any further discussion – the equivalent of saying 'thanks, I'm done'. The vendor's louder, energetic and indirectly negative response (line 75) rejects even the premise of her offer. Here, like Karima, she does not seem to recognize the implications of the indirect impugment: in her next turn, she justifies and repeats her offer, rather than softening or

acknowledging the emerging face threat on the part of the vendor. He positions himself morally again by using an oath to swear that the prices are normal (line 77), but she reprises the structure of her earlier conclusive offer (line 78). The vendor counteroffers with 1,000 ryal (5 euro) reduced from his price (79), to which she again repeats her price 'sixteen' (line 80).

In some sense, Rabia is effecting the same strategy as Simo by sticking with her counteroffer price. Yet, she starts from a counteroffer that is too low, and fails to acknowledge the expressed indignation and new offer made by the vendor. While Simo maintains his price throughout, he also aligns himself with the vendor using indirect and non-confrontational politeness strategies which demonstrate his acknowledgement of the vendor's position. Rabia here, as one characteristic but not universal example of DV bargaining, focuses on her price and her price alone – without using the politeness skills, as seen in Simo's bargaining, of oaths, alignment, or even respectful address to soften disagreement.

The vendor's line 81 effectively concludes the bargaining with a complex indirect statement that, politely, dismisses Rabia and her too-low price by using two oaths: 'blessings on you' to show his potential gratefulness if she were to take his price; if not, wishing her to find what she wants elsewhere – 'may God bring it to you' – which effectively asks them to leave. Here, Rabia's local uncle performs politeness: he pairs the vendor's blessing with a standard oath-based 'thank you' and the aligning 'my brother' (line 83), while Rabia's next turn (line 84), again repeating her offer structure, shows that she has not taken up the negative implication of the vendor's indirect speech. The uncle's interjection seems interactionally important, given that he had ceased to be actively bargaining for many turns prior to this one. Though there is no response by the vendor – the group left the shop almost immediately thereafter – that turn acknowledges the vendor's affect and makes an effort to conclude politely on behalf of the whole group.

5 Conclusions: 'Smelling' impolite

These examples each indicate different aspects of how bargaining can work or fail for DVs in conjunction with situated, languagecultural politeness. In each case, there is some disagreement or tension that is (somewhat) resolved, but the person who resolves it is the locally-resident proxy of a diasporic shopper. Only Simo's intervention in the first example approaches an active 'proxy bargainer', as envisioned by Wafae's description in the introduction. Even then, he only intervenes midway through the process, and not so much to repair it but to execute the face-

saving indirect requests and non-religious alignments that smooth the way to agreeing on a price. With Karima and Rabia, there was a clear and single-turn interjection by the proxy family member as bargaining had effectively concluded, which seemed prompted by vendors' implicit accusations or confrontation of the DV for insisting on prices that were insultingly too low. In both of these cases, the DV shopper did not demonstrate awareness, in the end, of their lack of politeness by apologizing or excusing themselves. The interjections of their proxies act to excuse on their behalf. Even when, as in Karima's case, the DV recognized that she may need to insert an oath, she was unable to complete her initiated offering. Proxies in these cases, rather than knowing the 'right' price, seem to know the polite way to ask.

These few examples seem to indicate a gap in languagecultural competence on the part of DVs, in knowing when and how to strategically employ politeness like religious oaths in bargaining. Even though the oaths used here would be familiar to them – they are not only part of bargaining, but common in other contexts – I have not yet found examples in my corpus where DVs employ strategies for softening requests or indirect politeness as part of their bargaining strategy. That said, each DV participant here had other bargaining interactions without tension, or others where tensions were assuaged without the intervention of a proxy. Yet the proxies here do clearly play a role in repairing impoliteness in interaction.

One basic theory about why DVs in these bargaining examples seem to lack skills in politeness traces back to when and how DVs would be able to practice them. In a practical sense, service encounters are some of the few moments when they interact with unfamiliar interlocutors in Morocco. Though these examples show that DVs are broadly competent speakers, even with unfamiliar interlocutors, they also show that the subtleties of bargaining politely require learning more complex skills that they may have difficulty to access. Only Malika shared a specific experience that exposed her to what other strategies could be possible. It may be too simplistic to theorize, but in a translinguistic sense of speaker mobility and adaptability, DVs may be combining languagecultural ideas of what bargaining is from outside Morocco with languagecultural practices of doing bargaining inside Morocco, thus arriving at interactions that are communicatively competent but situationally incompetent. While in some encounters DVs actively learned new Darija vocabulary from locally resident interlocutors, including other moments during the recordings with Karima and with Rabia, the more subtle languagecultural skills like indirect speech or polite use of oaths were not explicitly taught, nor explicitly questioned, in my corpus. Without sufficient opportunity to learn, it is not surprising that this languagecultural competence would be lacking.

This problem of opportunities to learn to bargain politely in Morocco returns to the diasporic paradox of ‘knowing the language’ but being ‘smelled’ as different. That ‘smell’ is, undoubtedly, an impression that incorporates many embodied cues that mark interlocutors beyond spoken communication. Yet analyzing only this layer of the interaction shows that the ‘smell’ is locatable in some instances of talk, especially where forms of politeness, like indirect softening and using respectful address in making service encounter requests, are markedly absent on the part of the diasporic participant. Inasmuch as these misfires are subtle and complex, they are likely difficult for interlocutors themselves to identify as what went wrong in an interaction. In other words, while DVs may perceive conflicts like those analyzed here as being ‘ripped off’ by vendors because of their outsider status, their local interlocutors (both vendors and proxies) may be equally justified in perceiving DVs as ‘smelling’ negatively through their interactional lack of politeness skills. Furthermore, neither party may be able to pinpoint exactly what ‘smells’ in these interactions, as the trouble often lies in nuances of usage that might be difficult to identify without a transcript. As evidenced by negative accounts about the ‘smell’ of diasporic visitors, differences in practices of face, arrogance, respect and politeness in these everyday encounters become extremely consequential as they compound and reinforce the attitudes and ideologies of difference between homeland and diaspora.

References

- Alaoui, Rachid. 2013. Peut-on parler de diaspora marocaine? *Hommes & migrations* (1303). 7–15. <https://doi.org/10.4000/hommesmigrations.2543>.
- Alo, Moses A. & Taiwo O. Soneye. 2014. Hagglng as a socio-pragmatic strategy in selected urban markets: An amalgam of English and Nigerian languages. *Marang: Journal of Language and Literature* 24. 43–62.
- Arundale, Robert B. 2006. Face as relational and interactional: A communication framework for research on face, facework, and politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 2(2). 193–216.
- Bailey, Benjamin. 1997. Communication of respect in interethnic service encounters. *Language in Society* 26(03). 327–356.
- Barthou, Evelyne. 2013. Les jeunes d’origine marocaine. Une nouvelle génération qui a « les pieds trempés dans l’ancienne » (Sayad, 1991). *Hommes & Migrations* (1303). 37–45. <https://doi.org/10.4000/hommesmigrations.2548>.
- Bauman, Richard. 2001. The ethnography of genre in a Mexican market: Form, function, variation. In Penelope Eckert & John R. Rickford (eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation*, 57–77. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bistolfi, Robert & François Zabbal (eds.). 1995. *Islams d’Europe: Intégration ou insertion communautaire?* La Tour d’Aigues: Editions de l’Aube.

- Bouchara, Abdelaziz. 2015. The role of religion in shaping politeness in Moroccan Arabic: The case of the speech act of greeting and its place in intercultural understanding and misunderstanding. *Journal of Politeness Research* 11(1). 71–98.
- Bucholtz, Mary & Kira Hall. 2016. Embodied sociolinguistics. In Nikolas Coupland (ed.), *Sociolinguistics: Theoretical debates*, 173–197. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chattou, Zoubir. 1998. *Migrations marocaines en Europe: Le paradoxe des itinéraires*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Cornips, Leonie & Vincent de Rooij. 2015. Belonging through languagecultural practices in the periphery: The politics of carnival in the Dutch province of limburg. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 24(1). 83–101.
- Deprez, Christine. 1994. *Les enfants bilingues: Langues et familles*. Paris: Didier.
- Felix-Brasdefer, J. Cesar. 2015. *The language of service encounters: A pragmatic-discursive approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- French, Briggittine M. 2001. The symbolic capital of social identities: The genre of bargaining in an urban Guatemalan market. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10(2). 155–189.
- Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. 1985. Language selection and switching among Strasbourg shoppers. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 54. 117–136.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1979. Suq: The bazaar economy in Sefrou. In Clifford Geertz, Hildred Geertz & Lawrence Rosen (eds.), *Meaning and order in Moroccan society: Three essays in cultural analysis*, 123–313. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gouirir, Malika. 2018. État, Politique et absence: le « statut » des Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger (MRE). *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 144. 81–98.
- Hammouche, Abdelhafid. 2003. Du “bled” au camping, mémoires de vacances. *Hommes et Migrations* 1243. 18–25.
- Herrmann, Gretchen M. 2004. Haggling spoken here: Gender, class, and style in US garage sale bargaining. *Journal of Popular Culture* 38(1). 55–81.
- Hua, Zhu, Emi Otsuji & Alastair Pennycook. 2017. Multilingual, multisensory and multimodal repertoires in corner shops, streets and markets: Introduction. *Social Semiotics* 27(4). 383–393.
- Kapchan, Deborah. 1996. *Gender on the market: Moroccan women and the revoicing of tradition*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Kharraki, Abdenmour. 2001. Moroccan sex-based linguistic difference in bargaining. *Discourse & Society* 12(5). 615–632.
- Khuri, Fuad I. 1968. The etiquette of bargaining in the Middle East. *American Anthropologist* 70(4). 698–706.
- Koven, Michèle. 2004. Transnational perspectives on sociolinguistic capital among Luso-Descendants in France and Portugal. *American Ethnologist* 31(2). 270–290.
- Labben, Afef. 2018. Face and identity in interaction: A focus on Tunisian Arabic. *Journal of Pragmatics* 128. 67–81.
- Liddicoat, Anthony J. 2016. Native and non-native speaker identities in interaction: Trajectories of power. *Applied Linguistics Review* 7(4). 409–429.
- Lindenfeld, Jacqueline. 1990. *Speech and sociability at French urban marketplaces*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Marlière, Eric. 2006. Les jeunes des cités en visite au “bled” “Ennemis de l'intérieur” en France et “touristes étrangers” au Maghreb. *Hommes et Migrations* 1262. 99–113.

- Melliani, Fabienne. 2000. *La langue du quartier: Appropriation de l'espace et identités urbaines chez des jeunes issus de l'immigration maghrébine en banlieue rouennaise*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Ministère du Tourisme, du Transport Aérien, de l'Artisanat et de l'Economie Sociale. 2019. Arrivées des touristes. *Département du Tourisme*. <https://www.tourisme.gov.ma/fr/tourisme-en-chiffres/arrivees-des-touristes> (accessed 26 February 2019).
- Orr, Winnie W. F. 2007. The bargaining genre: A study of retail encounters in traditional Chinese local markets. *Language in Society* 36(01). 73–103.
- Ouali, Nouria (ed.). 2004. *Trajectoires et dynamiques migratoires des Marocains de Belgique*. Louvain-La Neuve, BE: Bruylant-Academia.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2018. Repertoires, registers, and linguistic diversity. In Angela Creese & Adrian Blackledge (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language and superdiversity*, 3–15. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Piller, Ingrid. 2002. Passing for a native speaker: Identity and success in second language learning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6(2). 179–208.
- Purnomo, Budi. 2012. Tourism-service language: A cross-cultural perspective on politeness. *Humaniora* 23(2). 185–198.
- Sefrioui, Fouad. 2005. *Marocains de l'extérieur et développement. Pour une nouvelle dynamique de l'investissement*. Rabat: Fondation Hassan II Pour les Marocains Résidents à l'Etranger.
- Shepherd, Robert J. 2009. "I bought this at eastern market": Vending, value, and social relations in an urban street market. *Research in Economic Anthropology* 29. 381–406.
- Tetreault, Chantal. 2015. "What do you think about having beauty marks on your—Hashek!": Innovative and impolite uses of an Arabic politeness formula among French teenagers. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 25(3). 285–302.
- Thissen, Lotte. 2015. "Because here we live in the Netherlands": Languagecultural politics of belonging in a supermarket. *Applied Linguistics Review* 6(2). 195–216.
- Van den Berg, M. E. 1986. Language planning and language use in Taiwan: Social identity, language accommodation and language choice behavior. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1986(59). 97–115.
- Wagner, Lauren B. 2008. Pratiquer la langue pendant les vacances: Les compétences communicatives et la catégorisation de Françaises d'origine parentale marocaine. *Cahier de l'Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques (Migrations et plurilinguisme en France)* 2. 80–86.
- Wagner, Lauren B. 2015a. Shopping for diasporic belonging: Being 'local' or being 'mobile' as a VFR visitor in the ancestral homeland. *Population, Space and Place* 21(7). 654–668.
- Wagner, Lauren B. 2015b. Using silence to 'pass': Embodiment and interactional categorization in a diasporic context. *Multilingua – Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 34(5). 659–686.
- Wagner, Lauren B. 2017. *Becoming diasporically Moroccan: Linguistic and embodied practices for negotiating belonging*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Watson, Sophie. 2009. The magic of the marketplace: Sociality in a neglected public space. *Urban Studies* 46(8). 1577–1591.
- Wei, Li. 1994. *Three generations, two languages, one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.