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Citation for published version (APA):

Wagner, L. (2015). 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. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1919>

Document status and date:

Published: 01/10/2015

DOI:

[10.1002/psp.1919](https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1919)

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Document license:

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Shopping for Diasporic Belonging: Being 'Local' or Being 'Mobile' as a VFR Visitor in the Ancestral Homeland

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ABSTRACT

Visits to friends and relatives are often part of circulatory migration mobilities between resident and ancestral homelands. These journeys are characteristic of the diasporic lives of post-migrant generations of Moroccans from Europe, where close proximity and relatively unimpeded mobility between homelands have enabled a tradition of vacationing at 'home'. For many such individuals, this vacation visit involves repeatedly negotiating a sense of belonging in that homeland, as individuals who maintain relatively strong connections to that place but seem to continuously struggle as an 'othered' group. This article explores how their activities as visitors – 'what they do' while in Morocco – shape a sense of 'who they are' as partially belonging in this homeland space. Activities they do outside their familial homes are often in parallel to practices of tourists – like shopping. Using microanalysis of bargaining – which is one of the most frequently repeated interactions these visitors have with resident Moroccans outside their own families – I demonstrate how they are categorically positioned as 'non-local' or 'mobile' versions of 'being-Moroccan'. Specifically, in this case study example from a larger corpus of similar examples, the diasporic participant practices 'being-Moroccan' in a way that is distinctly mobile, and – despite her efforts to the contrary – unmistakably categorically marked as coming 'from elsewhere'. This analysis is an effort to explore how 'othering' between residents and diasporic VFR is subtly enmeshed in the

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Accepted 16 June 2014

Keywords: diasporic tourism; categorisation; Morocco; bargaining; post-migrant generation; transnational; ethnomethodology

INTRODUCTION

Rabia is a woman in her mid-twenties, born in France from Moroccan parents, who visits Morocco every year or two over her summer holidays. She and hundreds of thousands of men and women of similar background – born and/or raised in Europe after their fathers migrated as a guestworkers between 1963 and 1974 – follow a similar travel pattern, visiting their ancestral homeland relatively frequently. As Moroccans from Europe temporarily 'returning' for summer vacation, they accompany their ageing parents, see friends, visit family members, and vacation in their ancestral homeland (Wagner, 2011; Bidet & Wagner, 2012).

This cohort of visitors reflects a specific stream of 'visiting friends and relatives' (VFR) mobilities (Larsen *et al.*, 2007) created by the previous generation's choice to migrate: the social networks of family and friends in the 'homeland' are diasporically maintained through various transnational forms of contact, including visiting (Stephenson, 2002; Reynolds, 2008). In this context of diasporic attachment crossed with VFR mobility, a framing of Rabia – as a representative of the 85 European–Moroccans who participated in my ethnographic and linguistic investigation of their practices while visiting Morocco – might come from two distinct trajectories.

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First, she might be contextualised as a 'transnational', '(counter-)diasporic', or possibly 'pre-return' visitor (Levitt, 2002; Conway *et al.*, 2009; King & Christou, 2009), bringing attention to multiply configured positions within a community of fellow visitors and a broader community of ethno-national members of the 'homeland'. As others have noted (Levitt, 2002; Reynolds, 2008), this post-migration context often instigates a complexly textured attachment to an ancestral homeland among generations born and raised abroad.

Part of the texture of these visits is one central motivating factor: perceived ancestral, ethno-national connection to people and places, in contrast to the place where the visitor normally lives. Unlike more generationally distanced examples of 'roots tourists' (Basu, 2004), they themselves have their own histories and memories of repeat visits to family, friends, and sites which influence their continued practice of visiting. This history may create a sense of personal embedding in this place – a 'diasporic' sense of distanced attachment and obligation (Wagner, 2012; Wise & Velayutham, 2008) to an ancestral homeland. Yet, such visitors frequently describe being 'othered' as 'from somewhere else' when actually there (Levitt, 2002; Stephenson, 2002; Koven, 2004).

Alternately, the texture of Rabia's visit could be approached in terms of her activities as a VFR tourist, and the possible benefits they might create for tourism-related economic development in that homeland (Morrison & O'Leary, 1995; Feng & Page, 2000; Asiedu, 2005). This perspective puts more attention on what VFR tourists actually do while on their visits, as opposed to considering how these visits are meaningful to their sense of connection to their families at 'home', and furthermore considers how their activities create economic impacts for the 'homeland'.

This paper addresses aspects of both of these perspectives. Keeping in mind that these visits are often discursively conceived as reaching towards 'home' to connect with one's place of origin, the data I analyse here indicates how that connection is complicated by VFR-type activities – specifically shopping – which are common ways that Rabia and her cohort spend their time as VFR in Morocco. Using methods of membership categorisation analysis (MCA), I analyse how, in their negotiations over price, we can observe emergent references to ideal-type categories like 'local-Moroccan', 'tourist', or 'mobile-Moroccan'

between post-migrant generation Moroccan diasporic visitors (DVs) and market vendors in Morocco. The purpose here is not to define Rabia into a category of 'diasporic visitors', but to explore how she becomes categorically defined in this situation in relation to her main interlocutor, the vendor, in ways that she may later interpret as 'othering'. Yet, this example also demonstrates how that 'othering' is not only from local residents onto DVs; Rabia herself 'others' the vendor with whom she is bargaining, so that while she is in some ways attempting to 'become-local', she also distances herself by 'becoming-mobile'.

SHOPPING AS 'DOING BEING A DIASPORIC VISITOR' IN MOROCCO

Framed as part of an ethno-national sense of belonging, buying objects to bring back to Europe from Morocco reflects the importance of transnational commodities in migrant communities (Crang *et al.*, 2003). Rabia's decision to shop for Moroccan home decor while visiting her family in Morocco adheres to ways that material culture from a distant home affects atmospheres and environments of habitual homes. Her specific choice of objects – namely, Moroccan salon furniture, including seating and tables – further fits within styles that have been recognised as symbolically important in Moroccan homes in Europe (Dibbits, 2009). While engaged in the activity of shopping, bargaining, and possibly eventually buying something to take home, Rabia is connecting herself to many layers and places of belonging as a Moroccan from Europe.

Yet, her more immediate activity – not the symbolic and performative effects of the purchase, but the act of shopping itself – links closely with practices of tourism. Commodification of spaces, places, and cultures are integral to definitions of tourism, whether in terms of tourists' desires to consume authenticity (Cohen, 1988) or of the ways distant 'cultures' might be commodified and packaged for tourists (Craik, 1997). Shopping is a behaviour so characteristically associated with 'doing being a tourist' (Lawson & Jaworski, 2007) that it should be considered here, in the terminology of membership categorisation (Sacks, 1989; Hester & Eglin, 1997), as one of the many activities that can be interactionally bound to membership in that category.

Its importance to 'doing being a tourist' is also reflected in research seeking to understand the economic impacts of VFR visitors as 'tourists'. Shopping is one of the measured indicators in identifying VFR, by quantifying how much they spend on purchases in comparison with their hosts (Backer, 2007), whether they engage in this activity alongside other types of traveler (Yuan *et al.*, 1995), and that the amount spent on retail exceeds what VFR spend in other sectors (King & Gamage, 1994). While these studies reinforce the theory that shopping is one of the activities of 'doing being a tourist' – even a VFR tourist – they focus primarily on its financial ramifications and ignore its social functions. Shopping happens in certain spaces and times, with certain companions, and, depending on the buyer, might be interpreted as consumption of 'authentic' commodities (by a tourist) or of transnational material culture (by a diaspora member).

In that sense, the dynamics of membership categorisation connecting 'tourist' to the activity of shopping are multilayered, and sometimes internally contradictory. Shopping in particular market spaces and times, for particular objects, and especially in a particular price range (Desforges, 2001) all become identifiable as aspects to this activity linking it to 'doing being a tourist'. They attach a price to cultural commodities that might otherwise be priceless (Shepherd, 2002), with the buyer's intention to take those commodities to a distant place, while symbolically referencing the place where they came from.

Whether 'tourist' or 'diasporic VFR', however, the activity of shopping is largely the same. From a vendor's perspective, different individuals who might be classified as ethno-nationally 'same' or 'other' might act as a single type of client 'from elsewhere'; appearing for one transaction, never to return. Their practices of 'shopping' define them as socio-economically mobile, no matter what their origins.

Those mobile clients – VFR or otherwise – are often primarily concerned with the symbolic significance of their transactions. The global notion of a 'tourist price' is characteristic of this fear, symbolising how socio-economically mobile clients might be marked as inauthentic or 'outsider' consumers by being 'ripped off' (Desforges, 2001). In combination, these are profoundly contradictory purposes to the same activity: shopping in these spaces and times, and for these objects, is a categorical practice of 'doing being a

tourist', yet the actors that do it are often seeking, in this very activity, to 'lose their outsider status by entering into the economic exchange process' (Shields, 1992: 110).

At this paradox is where DVs sit: between transnational community and tourism, with access to categorical membership of 'doing being an outsider consumer' and 'doing being an insider consumer'. Though Rabia may be shopping in a way that she is 'doing being a tourist' as a VFR visitor, she is also likely invested in her own sense of ethno-national belonging in this homeland, which is part of her motivation to continue visiting Morocco year after year. Effectively, she may be acting like a tourist while feeling like a local, and seeking, each time she attempts to bargain, that her feeling of 'localness' be ratified as part of the interaction with a verifiable 'local' – the vendor. The workings of this complex negotiation of categorical membership emerge through close attention to how Rabia, and others like her, react to prices quoted to them in Moroccan markets.

PRICE BARGAINING AS NEGOTIATING CATEGORIAL MEMBERSHIP

The contradiction between acting like a tourist and feeling like a local manifests in the way participants in this research demonstrated a visceral response to being quoted what they considered to be a 'tourist price'. One of their predominant discourses was that a 'real' price is routinely denied to them, as a systematic indication that they are treated as 'tourists' (Wagner, 2011). Yet that 'real' price does not, effectively, exist: every agreed price depends on a myriad of factors, with 'tourist' as one complex category of client among many, all of whom – tourist, VFR, or even migrant – seek a 'local' or 'real' (read: lowest) price that might be strategically accessed through bargaining. While bargaining is, in economic terms, a means of agreeing, or failing to reach agreement, on price between vendor and client, interactionally it is also a complex linguistic activity, by which vendor and client negotiate a delicate socio-economic relationship. This section details how categorical memberships become part of the strategic processes of bargaining for diasporic visitors in Morocco.

In practical terms, bargaining has only two possible outcomes – sale or no sale. Achievement of one of these outcomes is emergent: it depends

on moment-to-moment negotiation of multilayered social and economic status of each party, as well as the classic economic limitations of supply, demand, and quality. Bargaining as a goal-oriented activity, then, involves following established codes for how these different social, economic, and material factors enter into the relationship between buyer and seller (Beckert & Aspers, 2011). Conversationally and strategically, bargaining involves making choices about how to build a relationship with the other party that might result in a successful sale. That interactional goal is beyond the object itself: it incorporates each party's estimation of *price* for the object – where price is an estimate of costs of materials, labor and production, along with concomitant perceived value of exchanging social or economic capital between buyer and seller (Bourdieu, 1984; French, 2001).

Geertz's ethnographic research in the souq in the Moroccan city of Sefrou elaborates how social and economic capital, beyond the object itself, becomes part of its price. He lists 'type and quantity of good, depth of clientalization, frequency of repetitive exchange, degree of information asymmetry, the shadow price of time, and the relative economic strength of the principals' (1979: 222) as key factors in bargaining for any one transaction. Only the first of these has to do with the object. The rest are all factors related to the relationship between vendor and client: first, to the degree of 'clientalization', or how the vendor and client have created a repetitive, loyal relationship that includes awareness of their relative economic positions; and second, to 'information asymmetry', in which parties have differential access to information about supply and demand, time limitations, quality of goods in relation to competitors, or even one party's awareness of the other party's ignorance (Geertz, 1979).

Given that clientalisation and informational asymmetry are necessary aspects to the interactional activity of bargaining, price then *should not* be the same for all: it depends on given contexts, circumstances and actors in each instance. The frequent assumption that price should reflect some (imaginary) objective calculation of the seller's costs – that there is a 'real' price – does not hold (Alexander, 1992). Furthermore, in calculating the position of a buyer with minimal access to information and a fleeting relationship to the seller – describing both VFR and ordinary 'tourists' from a vendor's perspective – the

'tourist price' becomes, in fact, the 'right' price for a socio-economically and physically mobile buyer. That buyer can be assumed to be able to afford to pay more money, has little access to information, and is unlikely to return as a steady client. Ethno-national categorial membership, by itself, has no value in these terms. It only becomes valuable if it is combined with clientalisation or informational asymmetry; if it signals potential for the client to return or an increased access to information.

In practice, the ways that DVs are connected to Morocco does sometimes have value in these forms. In many examples from this research, DVs used their networks and their long experience of visiting Morocco to gather information about what the 'local' price might be for an object, or would use the promise of repeat visits (even if they are stretched over years) and client referrals to create the added value of recurring exchange for a vendor (Wagner, 2008, 2011). Even Rabia, in the example below, includes her aunt and uncle in her activity of bargaining as a means to gather 'local knowledge' about pricing.

Yet Rabia also typifies the unsuccessful strategy that was repeated in the majority of observations from the approximately 37.5 h of bargaining activity recorded and analysed for this research: she focused her communicative resources on trying to appear 'local', while simultaneously demonstrating, through her linguistic capacities and sequential actions, that her categorial membership involved extra-local access to social, economic, and physical mobility beyond Morocco. That is, she bargains like a mobile VFR consumer.

ANALYSING MEMBERSHIP CATEGORISATION

To demonstrate how Rabia makes these claims to 'be local' while acting in ways that other interlocutors conversationally categorise as socio-economically and physically 'mobile', I draw on techniques of MCA to show how these emergent categories become relevant in the course of conversation. These are generally not through explicit statements; they happen in the ways that interlocutors use their conversational turns and respond to each other, sequentially creating an interactional context where these distinctions are practiced rather than discursive – where individuals are, in response to each other in this

specific place and time, 'doing being' something (Hansen, 2005).

To perform an analysis of how membership categories become relevant to the interlocutors in this conversation, I draw on established modes of how interlocutors can do categorical work through identifiable sequences and functions of talk (Sacks, 1989; Hester & Eglin, 1997). These include 'repair sequences' (Hayashi *et al.*, 2013), in which one party signals conversational trouble (i.e. not finding a word for a thought, or not understanding a previous utterance) which another party acts to 'repair' (i.e. suggesting a word, or repeating or modifying previous utterance), as well as 'paired sequences', in which one party opens with an utterance that normally has a 'pair' (i.e. 'hello/hello', 'can I help you?/I'm looking for...'), which another party is expected to complete with the 'correct' second pair part. Such an analysis is necessarily extremely detailed, because each time step of a 'turn' at talk is microanalytically parsed. The objective of this level of detail is to examine how each interlocutor orients and re-oriens to others over a sequence of turns, interactively creating an emergent relationship.

Building on these basic rules of conversation, as established in the field of conversation analysis and membership categorisation (Schegloff, 2007), I add rules of bargaining as a linguistic activity (Lindenfeld, 1990; French, 2001), with reference to Morocco (Geertz, 1979; Kapchan, 1996). These bargaining-specific practices frame which specific paired sequences should be expected in bargaining talk. For example, a price request by a buyer might be responded to with its pair, a price offer; the sequence could then turn to a negotiation on that price, to a price request on different merchandise, or to a completion or closing sequence as a rejection of that price.

Discussions on bargaining as a linguistic activity demonstrate how different elements of politeness are embedded in these sequences, as strategies to build relationships and achieve a sale (Lindenfeld, 1990; French, 2001). In Morocco, this politeness includes a command of religious oaths that serve to verify the truth of an utterance, by vendor or client (Kapchan, 1996, ch. 2), which are also paired sequences. That is, if one party swears an oath, another party should respond to it with an appropriate pair, whether or not he or she agrees with the sworn stance.

Such oaths are quite common in everyday conversation in Morocco, and might be recognisable in the paired sequence found in many languages of blessing and thanking that follows a sneeze. In this context, these linguistic elements of bargaining relate to the problems of clientalisation and informational asymmetry. Fluency in politeness is necessary to maintain a vendor-client relationship, and swearing oaths about the truth of one's statements (i.e. the vendor swearing the 'correct' price of an object, or the client swearing his or her inability to pay more than a certain limit) contributes to how each party manages informational asymmetry in negotiation.

In the four highlighted segments out of the 30 min that Rabia, her aunt and uncle, and I spent with the vendor in this particular shop, I use these microanalytical methods to analyse how conversational repair and lack of local bargaining skills create moments when inference-rich categorisations happens between the interlocutors (Stokoe, 2012). These were recorded in my presence and transcribed by me, then the transcriptions and translations were refined with the help of two native speakers and one expert in North African linguistics. In giving the unfolding of this conversation microanalytical attention, my task is to 'demonstrate rather than postulate the reflexivity of action and category, proximal and distal context, in the specific details of the talk itself' (Kasper, 2009: 12). That is, I cannot assume a priori that this vendor recognised Rabia as a diasporic visitor in the ways that I have categorised her from the outset of this article. Rather, I attempt to demonstrate how both Rabia and the vendor's interactional turns take 'inference-rich' positions, which define a categorial systemics that is relevant to this conversation.

In this case, these categorial systemics invoke combinations of idealised categories like 'tourist' in opposition to 'local', 'elite' in opposition to 'ordinary', or 'Moroccan' in opposition to 'foreign' – not because these categories are always named, but because each interlocutor makes reference to *practices* that characterise combinations of these. For example, paying with a credit card in Morocco is something that an 'elite Moroccan' or a 'foreign tourist' does; it is not something that an 'ordinary Moroccan' would normally be able to do. It might, however, be something that Rabia, as a 'Moroccan tourist', can do, and would contribute to establishing that position in this

categorial systemics, and her membership in that group. Other factors, like gender, age, or even my presence in this interaction, are not taken as relevant to these systemics because they are not *made* relevant by individuals in the recording of this conversation (Schegloff, 2007). They may have been factors that were part of different individuals' internal interpretations of this event, but they did not become part of its sequential unfolding – while other factors, like 'locality' and 'mobility' did.

In sum, I will dissect how Rabia, while using conversational bargaining strategies to attempt to 'be local', is, in practice, achieving the opposite. That is, by closely reading the turn by turn activity of this conversation, I will show how the vendor interactionally acknowledges both her ethno-national 'Moroccanness' and her VFR mobility in the ways he linguistically responds to her and conversationally presents her with information. I will then show how her diasporically framed ('Moroccan tourist') access to information creates further distance between her and the vendor, to the extent that this bargaining relationship ends as a failure, without a sale.

Her categorial practices, in this respect, in fact begin before this interaction. Rabia has asked her locally resident aunt and uncle to accompany her, and to occasionally act as proxy-bargainers or advisors on price during this shopping trip. As 'locals', they were assumed to know what is the 'right' price. Yet the place she has chosen to shop – a fixed price, artisanal market – is a context that has a primarily 'tourist' clientele. So, even before we reached this vendor, Rabia's access to tourist-like socioeconomic and physical mobilities, which also characterise diasporic VFR visitors, had made this location a logical place for her to shop. By the end of the interaction, this choice becomes relevant to her failure to achieve her desired price.

Segment 1: Translating the Price as 'Local' or as 'Mobile'

In the first turns of this sequence, Rabia instructs her uncle to ask for a price (line 1 below), then he asks the vendor for a price (line 2), and she enters the negotiation herself (line 4). This sequential pattern was not unusual during the day I spent with them, indicating how Rabia drew upon her uncle's presence as a 'local' proxy, who could

get 'local' price information. The immediately following talk, however, is significant for demonstrating how Rabia was positioned in contrast to her 'local' aunt and uncle. Structurally, she asks for a price in a way that demands her interlocutors to translate it. The forms of translations offered indicate how dimensions of 'mobileness' and 'localness' immediately become relevant in how Rabia is positioned as a client (Table 1).

Once the vendor states a price (line 5), Rabia's uncle seeks confirmation that the price is for that table alone (line 6; possibly indicating that it is a very high price), while Rabia starts a long trouble sequence about identifying the price. She repeats the same or similarly formulated question – 'How much is two thousand (four hundred)?' – several times (lines 7, 10 and 18, and possibly also 13 and 15), as her uncle and the vendor continue discussing the price and which objects it includes (lines 8–9, 11–12, 14, 16–17). Logically, her question identifies a need for repair from another interlocutor, to restate 'two thousand four hundred' so that she can understand it. Her uncle finally begins to answer her, with an opening hesitation (line 19), when the vendor interjects a translation of the price in French in line 20. Nearly simultaneously with Rabia's response to the vendor (line 21), her uncle completes his translation of the price as 48,000 *ryal* (line 22), a spoken currency.¹

Rabia's question is thus sequentially, almost simultaneously, categorically relevant in two divergent ways: the vendor translates his repair by using the 'French code', and her uncle repairs the non-understood 'two thousand four hundred' (dirham, the official currency of Morocco) by translating it into the equivalent amount in a 'currency code'. The vendor's use of a different code indicates a categorisation of Rabia as 'French-speaker' – which, in Morocco, might index her physical mobility as someone 'from outside Morocco', or her socio-economic mobility, as Moroccan elite for whom French can be the dominant language (Bentahila, 1983; Ziamari, 2008). Her locally resident uncle's translation to one of several regional spoken currencies indexes a 'local' status, in contrast to a 'mobile' or 'tourist' visitor who would not be expected to understand *ryal*.

Rabia's sequential reaction, then, reinforces only one of these categories-made-relevant: she takes up the French translation in her immediate exclamation in line 21. This effectively confirms

Table 1. Segment 1

Min: 30:28

1 RB	šuf šuf smaε- a:ji: su'əl hadi šHal	look look listen- come ask how much for this one
2 UN	nsuwwəl/ () šHal hadi əšrif	I'm asking/ () how much is this one sir
3 VE	<hadək hiya>	<that one she>
4 RB	(*hhh) eh:. eh boHadha (xxx)	((inbreath)) yeah:. yeah alone (xxx)
5 VE	haduk tədiru alfeyn u erbamya dərham	those are two thousand four hundred dirham
6 UN	boHadha,	alone,
7 RB	šHal alfey[n?	how much is two thousa[nd
8 UN	[alfeyn u erbamya dərham?	[two thousand four hundred?
9 VE	nεam	yes ((formal))
10 RB	šHal alfeyn u εarbamya	how much is two thousand four hundred
11 UN	[eeeeena	[heeeeeyyy
12 VE	[(xxx) fhəmtini	[(xxx) you get me
13 RB	eh?	eh?
14 VE	kidayru huma tməniya w TTabla dyelhum u hada	together those are eight with their table and that
15 RB	šHal?	how much?
16 UN	daba hadi boHadha alfeyn u εrbamya dərham	now that one alone is two thousand four hundred durham
17 VE	(xxx)	(xxx)
18 RB	šHal alfeyn u εarbamya?	how much is two thousand four hundred
19 UN	hadi ši:: ()	it's about:: ()
20 VE	<i>deux mille quatre cents</i>	<i>two thousand four hundred</i>
21 RB	waaaw!	wow!
22 UN	tmənmia u rabεeyn aləf ryal	eight hundred forty thousand ryal
23 RB	<i>oui oui c'est cher (1.5) deux mille quatre cents dərham? mmm</i>	<i>yes yes it's expensive (1.5) two thousand four hundred dirham? mmm</i>

the vendor's marking her as someone preferring French. She then repeats the price, in dirham, and assesses it, in French, as 'expensive' (line 23). This assessment of perceived value will become relevant in the next sequence, as the vendor imparts information to Rabia to justify the price he has quoted. The fact that Rabia did *not* take up the *ryal* price translation will also return in segment 3, as she attempts to use that currency to bargain.

Segment 2: Informational Asymmetry

After initial requests for prices on specific objects (over approximately 2 min, concerning five different table sets), there was 6.5 min interval in which no price bargaining took place. The five interlocutors – Rabia, her aunt, her uncle, the vendor, and myself – walked around the shop looking at different models. Rabia, her uncle, and the vendor continued intermittently discussing

different attributes of the merchandise, with Rabia in particular posing informational questions – about how the craftsmen are trained (if they attend a school), the provenance of the design style of the models on display, and whether the furniture is able to be broken down without damage for transport. All of these questions relate to informational asymmetry (Geertz, 1979): vendor and client are using information available to them (and their knowledge of each other's lack of information) to evaluate prices. They also demonstrate that a certain amount of credibility might be attached to the vendor's answers as an 'expert'. Though we do not know if Rabia (and her uncle) believe his answers, Rabia is nevertheless posing these questions to him, seeking his 'expert' information.

Her pursuit of information then returned to the activity of bargaining, as Rabia resumed a discussion on price (Table 2).

This short sequence begins with Rabia claiming, then her uncle echoing, that the prices

Table 2. Segment 2

Min: 36:16		
24 RB	daba ajbatni bəzzaf wələkin šuwya təmən əh- [katgaliu	now I like this one a lot but the price, a little eh- [you are making it expensive
25 UN	[ga:lia hadi ()ghalia (xxx)	[expen:sive this one () expensive (xxx)
26 VE	hadi ra fiha elkhədma takriban ra fiha: (1.3) šHal bəntlik aləf u sbəa mya dirhəm, w hadi takriban ši tməntaş əlyum (H)[ta əlašrin yum	this one in her is work maybe in her: (1.3) how much do you see for a thousand and seven hundred dirham, and this one maybe some eighteen days up [to twenty days
27 RB	la fiha elkhədma, bayna/	no there's work in her, it's obvious/
28 VE	šHal dyəl khədma.	how much work.
(5)		
29 RB	k[ayna	there [is
30 VE	[yeanni həd əlkhədam li raykhədamhalək taTe gir khəmsin dirhəm fi nəhar, (.4) raha myat aləf frank/	[so that work that he will put in her for you, he gets just fifty dirham a day (.4) that's a hundred thousand frank/
31 RB	mm	mm
32 VE	khəlli ələoud, khəlli əlm3awad, khəl[li	leave out the wood, leave out the tools, lea[ve
33 RB	[bsaH. təkhədam bəzzaf	[it's true. he works a lot
(1.0)		
34 VE	hakək! ow bn- bnisba nadaria dyəl Sanə3, [ra arkhesa. (.8) wələkin bnisba šariekat[ji galia ((laugh))	that's right and fro- from the perspective of the worker, [it's cheap. (.8) but from the perspective of the buyer it see[ms expensive ((laugh))
35 RB	[mm	[mm
36 UN	[((chuckle))	[((chuckle))

are too high (lines 24–25). The vendor responds by introducing a new topic that might inform an evaluation of price: how much work is 'in' these pieces. He takes as an example one table, claiming that it required eighteen to twenty days of work by the craftsman who made it (line 26). He then calculates the daily salary of that person at fifty dirham (five Euro), multiplied by an estimated number of days worked, arriving at a price of 100,000 *frank* (the equivalent of 1000 dirham or 100 Euro; line 30). After a pause, he concludes the topic by framing the relative position of craftsman and buyer: to the craftsman the price is cheap; to the buyer, expensive (line 34).

The vendor's choice to introduce these two significant details indicates how information is asymmetrical here – specifically, what he presumes about Rabia's lack of knowledge. His claims, of course, may or may not be true; many rumors are repeated throughout Morocco impugning the veracity of claims about handicraft work, particularly the claims of vendors about the authenticity, provenance, or amount of work required to make

'Moroccan' objects like rugs, leather, and carved furniture. (One of the native speakers who assisted in transcribing this extract immediately and without prompting declared the vendor's claim to be false.) Nevertheless, these informational details are claims the vendor makes in the process of bargaining, as part of his strategies to achieve the interactional goal of agreeing on a price.

Each of these details continues to frame Rabia as a non-expert on the production of objects, and – given that their introduction sequentially follows both the previously analysed segment and Rabia's questions about production and the possibilities for transport – they also further refine how she might be categorised as a buyer. The first detail informs the buyer about quality and authenticity, implicitly comparing the craftsmanship of this object (through the amount of time necessary to produce it) to other similar objects she might encounter, whether in Morocco or elsewhere. Rabia agrees to this 'craftsmanship' claim in lines 27 and 29, observing that there is 'work in it', and effectively accepting his

proposition that this table would take 18 to 20 days to make.

The second claim, about salary, is more complex. In response to the vendor's calculations of the worker's estimated pay, Rabia replies wordlessly (line 31), neither confirming nor rejecting them. This claim is not something she can visually observe on the object; rather, it is information she may or may not have access to as a 'Moroccan' buyer, whether VFR, elite, or 'local'. Arguably, however, the introduction of this salary calculation demonstrates that the vendor categorises her as neither elite nor local: as an adult, living in Morocco, in a financial position to buy a table like this, she would presumably have some knowledge about average wages of laborers. Including this piece of information as balancing their asymmetry – along with the switch to French described in segment 1, and Rabia's intervening questions about possibilities for transporting goods – indicate that the vendor is interpreting Rabia's mobility as not from within Morocco, but 'from elsewhere'. Even though she clearly is linked to VFR networks, through familial companions in this interaction, she herself is categorically a physically, socio-economically 'mobile' consumer, who does not know how much laborers in Morocco are paid.

If Rabia in fact agrees with the vendor's estimate of the craftsman's labor and earnings, then her price offer for this table should be at least 1000 dirham. Though at the close of this segment she seems to affirm the vendor's logic and framework, her further attempt to bargain demonstrates that she is calculating the price along different information than what he has offered.

Segment 3: Mobility Made Explicit

Launching shortly thereafter into the central negotiation sequence of this shop, Rabia does not call on her uncle again as proxy-bargainer; instead, she opens negotiation herself, after a long conversational pause, by asking if she can pay using a card (line 37 in Table 3 below). The vendor's uncertain reply indicates trouble (line 38), and she repairs her question, changing the verb and adding a question tag (line 39). He answers negatively, using her verb from the initial question (line 40). This brief trouble-repair sequence, as the opening to Rabia's final attempt to bargain, contextually further confirms Rabia

as a physically and socio-economically 'mobile' buyer: relatively few Moroccan businesses accept payment in any other form besides cash, even for large purchases. The form of the vendor's final answer – using the verb from her initial question – makes the source of trouble uncertain. It may have been a practical problem of hearing or understanding Rabia, or may be related to the proposition of 'paying by card' being unusual.

Though Rabia has given the above unintended indication, along with many others in previous segments, that she is a member of a 'mobile' category of buyer, she continues in this sequence to purposefully attempt to position herself in some ways as 'local', while often inadvertently positioning herself as 'mobile'. This third segment of bargaining demonstrates how many of these complex negotiations of categorial systemics become embedded in the rapid flow of conversation (Table 3).

From line 41, Rabia states her intention to purchase this table, which the vendor had previously priced at 1700 dirham (170 Euro), though she must return with adequate cash. The vendor interjects a welcoming greeting (line 42) as she continues her turn, demanding that he lower the price on her indicated table (line 43). The vendor immediately claims that this is a 'correct' price (line 44) as she simultaneously declares her inability to pay that price (line 45). At this point, they have established generally familiar bargaining positions between vendor and client, with the former claiming the validity of a price and the latter seeking to lower the price (Lindenfeld, 1990; Kapchan, 1996).

Lines 48 and 49 turn these bargaining claims into a juxtaposition of direct categorial claims by these two participants. The vendor defends the accuracy of his price by denying that it is a 'tourist' price, saying that they do not sell with 'tourist' prices. This claim is complex: though no one has stated it explicitly, this is a souq almost exclusively oriented towards trade with foreigners, tourists, and elites. The vendor's denial of that category's relevance, before anyone even accuses him of using it, frames how 'tourist', or 'mobility', is implicitly relevant throughout this interaction. Still, he has not and does not directly categorising Rabia as 'tourist'. Instead, he preemptively denies that he is categorising her as such, or indeed any client in this shop – and by doing so, indicates that this category might be relevant to her.

Table 3. Segment 3

Min: 39:04		
37 RB	smaHliya ntuma tətqoblu <i>la carte</i> ?	excuse me can you be paid <i>by card</i> ?
38 VE	neam?	yes? ((formal))
39 RB	kat- eh: tət xullSu b <i>la carte</i> ula	you- eh: payment can be with <i>a card</i> or
40 VE	la la makənqəbluš	no no we cannot
41 RB	<i>ouais</i> () daba ana majibtš meaya:: zaema baš nxulləS wəlakin eh: labuda narjea ləandək =	<i>yes</i> () now I didn't bring with me: that is to pay but eh: we have to come back to your shop =
42 VE	marHəbabik [makayn muškil	welcome [no problem
43 RB	[=inša'allah lakin xəSSək labuda dir liya lmrowwa fi hədək	[=inshallah but you have to necessarily make me a better price on this
44 VE	zaema li[temen rah munnasib =	that th[e right price for that =
45 RB	[manqədərš li həd ttemen	[I can't at that price
46 VE	= fhəmti rah ttemen munnasib (xxx)=	= you understand it's the right price
47 RB	[ha::di ttemen liha	[thi::s price for her
48 VE	= [makənbəeūš zaema temen dyel < ma:t- > mandirleh temen smitu dyel turis ula matgulu. makaynš ši [(xxx) əalik	= [we don't sell that is prices of < no:t > we don't do prices say of tourists or what they say there's none of that stuff [(xxx) for you
49 RB	[<i>quand même</i> ntuma: nə wə- ntuma daba nə dəb- <i>commerçants, négociateurs</i> labudaxna ne: (^a ahh) <i>négocié</i> -u meakum šwiya. (laughing voice) (.8) əala jina liməgreb baš eh	[<i>even so</i> you are: n- w- you are now n- no- <i>businessmen, negotiators</i> we have to ne (^a ahh) <i>negotiate</i> with you a little. (laughing voice). (.8) that's why we come to Morocco to eh
50 VE	marHəba	welcome
51 RB	allah ybarak fik	God bless you
52 AU	(distant) u hədi šHal tət dir?	(distant) and this one how much is it?
53 VE	hədik tətəməl səttələf w xəmsmya dərham/ mya u tletin ələf ryal	that one takes seven thousand and five hundred dirham/ a hundred and thirty thousand ryal
54 RB	hədi daba- (.8) šHal təqdər txəlliha? (1.0)	this one- (.8) how much can you let her for?
55 UN	gədi yHeid lik. meənduš (xx[x] Həta rah Heid (xx) wəš gul ləha	he will take something off for you. he doesn't have (xx[x] up to take off (xx) what do you say for her
56 VE	[ewa:	[well::
57 RB	la: He[ɪ:d!	no: take[ɔ:ff!
58 VE	[(xxx) Heidkum ši Həja zaema. () nəHeid lik xəmsin dərham gəe ila Heid lik.	[(xxx) take off something that is. () I'll take off for you fifty dirham if I ever take something off for you.
59 UN	(xx)?	(xx)?
60 RB	<i>cinquante dirham?</i>	<i>fifty dirham?</i>
61 VE	<i>cinquante dirha[m</i>	<i>fifty dirha[m</i>
62 RB	[la. t t t	[no. ((negative))
63 VE	həđ ši li kayn () mHət meadnaš ši atman lihuma xyaliin	that's what there is () because we don't have those unrealistic prices
64 UN	ha- hədi atmina xyəlli[ha	the- these prices are unreali[stic
65 VE	[ila gəlt lik tətələf dərham ula ələfeyn u xəmsmya dərham yəmkəllia ntəamməl meak/ imma gəlt lik ttemen dyel beə dyelha	[if I told you three thousand dirham or two thousand five hundred dirham I could
66 RB	la la la <i>écoute/ huit cent dirham</i> šHal huit cent	no no no <i>listen/ eight hundred dirham</i> how much is <i>eight hundred</i>
67 UN	eh?	wha?
68 RB	<i>huit cent dirham/</i> šHal tə:	<i>eight hundred dirham/</i> how much t-
69 UN	<i>huit cent dirham?</i>	<i>eight hundred dirham?</i>

Table 3. (Continued)

Min: 39:04		
70 RB	eh huit cent dirh[am	uh eight hundred dirh[am
71 VE	[huit cent dirham,	[eight hundred dirham,
	səttaš laləf ryal	sixteen thousand ryal
72 RB	eh səttaš lalif ryal	yeah sixteen thousand ryal
73 UN	(xxx)	(xxx)
74 RB	la la səttaš laləf ryal Safi/ baraka ælikum/	no no sixteen thousand ryal that's enough/
	ilhamdu illəh ((laugh))	blessings on you/ thanks to God ((laugh))
75 VE	makaynš b hadək ši wa:lu (xx) had šši rah bæ: in! ah:!	there's no:thing in that stuff (xx) this stuff would se:ll! ah:!
76 RB	non mais bien sûr [ana la ma- la mayəajbəniš, mayənšriš ^a . la mayəajbəniš gæ manæTe fik ^b səttaš laləf ryal bæzza:f	no but surely [me if I no didn- did not like it, it wouldn't be bought ^a . if I didn't like it I wouldn't give you in it ^b sixteen thousand ryal a lot
77 VE	[(xxx) mənTabæet lHal	[(xxx) it's normal it's normal God
	mənTabæet lHal allah yrHəm walədik wullah	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 ((God))
	[ttemen dyelu- axer	[the price for
	temen dyelu tləta u tlətin aləf	them- last price for them thirty three thousand
	ryal ari	ryal give
80 RB	non non səttaš	no no sixteen
81 VE	əajbək təbarak allah məajbəkš axti allah yjiblik	you like it blessings on you you don't like it my sister God bring it to you
82 UN	allah ybarak fik axoya	blessings on you my brother
83 RB	la səttaš bæzzaf a:min ((laugh))	no sixteen is a lot a:min ((laugh))
84 VE	(xxx)	(xxx)

^aProblem: passive voice.^bProblem: preposition does not match verb.

Rabia replies in line 49, overlapping his talk, with an utterance that is relatively heavy with French usage in comparison to her talk with this vendor up to this point, saying that 'you' (plural) are businessmen and negotiators (in French) and 'we' must negotiate with you. Importantly, she does not address the label 'tourist' directly, neither adopting nor denying it. Rather, she finishes by saying 'that's why we come to Morocco', leaving no question (if any still remained) that she is a 'mobile' Moroccan, from elsewhere. Thus, in quick sequence, the vendor has denied the existence of 'tourist' as a relevant category for his assignment of value (making it implicitly relevant), while Rabia has affirmed her (implicitly suspected) category of 'mobile'. He replies by welcoming her (line 50), again confirming her 'visitor' status there, and she completes the pair part – implicitly affirming that 'welcoming' was an appropriate act – by thanking him (line 51).

In the next turns of this sequence, Rabia's 'mobile' position is juxtaposed with her 'local' aunt. When Rabia's aunt asks the price of another object (line 52), the vendor inverts the pattern of price translation seen in segment 1. Unlike his use of French in reply to Rabia earlier, his reply to her aunt includes the dirham price followed immediately by conversion into the *ryal* price (line 53). This self-initiated repair indicates how he anticipates Rabia's aunt to understand prices – in a 'local' way, which contradicts with his previous anticipation of Rabia understanding prices in a 'mobile' way. Rabia does not immediately make this categorisation explicit, but it returns later as she continues to bargain.

In the next turns of this sequence, Rabia negotiates with help from her uncle. She makes a new price demand (line 54), then she and her uncle barter with the vendor over 'taking something off' (lowering the price; lines 55–57), with the vendor responding by offering fifty dirham off as the

largest reduction possible (line 58). He maintains that offer (lines 63, 65) despite Rabia and her uncle's surprise (lines 59–60), and their claims that the prices are ridiculous (line 64). 'Localness' in this sequence – as represented by Rabia's uncle's intervention as proxy-bargainer – does not have the presumed effect of lowering prices.

Rabia declares her first (and only) price offer in dirham and in French, then asks how much that price is (line 66) – effectively inverting the repair sequence in segment 1 by now seeking a currency or code translation from dirham in French to something else. Her uncle responds first, as she repeats her trouble question looking for a translation (lines 67–70), but the vendor executes the conversion into *ryal* himself (line 71). Whereas the previous sequence using this pattern contributed to Rabia become categorised as 'mobile', this reversal of that pattern by trying to offer a price in *ryal* seems to be an effort at becoming categorically 'local', in the same way her aunt was categorised as 'local' by the vendor's self-repair. The effort, however, does not achieve that categorisation: instead of demonstrating that Rabia herself understands the 'local' currency, it demonstrates that she does *not* understand it; the vendor translates the offer himself – an offer that is only 80% of the minimum price he established in segment 2 – and immediately, emphatically, rejects it.

Using a louder voice, with elongation and pronounced vocalisation (line 75), the vendor first responds by saying there is nothing in that price, then (possibly sarcastically) that his items 'would sell' (if that were a feasible price). Even though Rabia has, with his help, succeeded in making the offer in the 'local' manner using *ryal*, the value she has assigned to this object becomes aggressively low through the vendor's excited response. Effectively, that offer rejects the 'local-expert' information that the vendor provided earlier about the cost of making the table. Furthermore, it transitively devalues the labor of the craftsman and the vendor himself, as still lower than the five Euro per day salary that the vendor calculated earlier.

As Rabia continues to insist on this price, the vendor eventually conforms to her repetition of the 'local' currency in his final counteroffer (line 79). He uses *ryal*, in Arabic, to express his 'last price' of 33,000 *ryal* (1650 dirham) – which is, in fact, the equivalent of his initial counteroffer

in line 58 to take off fifty dirham. After Rabia again insists on 16,000 *ryal* (800 dirham; line 80), vendor takes a passive stance. Seen elsewhere in similar bargaining sequences (Wagner, 2008, 2011), he avoids a dispreferred, overtly negative reply by using a religious oath (Kapchan, 1996) positing that if this table does not 'please' Rabia (at the quoted price) God might bring her one that does (line 81). This is a characteristic oath that acts as a polite refusal (Wagner, 2011); by not replying with the second pair part, Rabia again fails to be polite like a 'local'. This failure is evident here in that her uncle completes the pair part (line 82), though the oath was directed at Rabia. Her next turn is another repetition of her offer, concluded with a non-paired oath, 'amin'.

Effectively, these moves conclude the bargaining as unsuccessful. After that point, there was no further discussion on price between any of the interlocutors. Once our group exits the shop, Rabia and her uncle discuss their impressions, away from the vendor, adding additional 'local' perspective on the vendor's prices.

Sequence 4: Contextually 'Mobile' (Table 4)

Though Rabia's uncle argued that the prices were excessive during the interaction, here he defends them. He does not claim that this vendor in specific gave 'correct' prices, nor does he confirm Rabia's emphatic assessment (line 85) that the vendor was raising prices to an extreme; rather, he states generally that artisanal crafts are expensive (line 86). This statement, as an 'expert-local', positions Rabia's uncle in contrast with Rabia's expectations of lower prices. He offers to take her to an area where there are carpenters (line 90), presumably where she can find a similar object for a lower price, which she would not be able to find in this artisanal shop.

As a conclusion to this bargaining sequence, this exchange makes relevant Rabia's 'mobileness' as part of her entire objective at this vendor, and in this market. She has apparently rejected information previously offered through her VFR networks – that is, from her uncle – about the costs of goods at markets like these, and chosen to shop here. This contextual framing for her encounter points to the internal inconsistencies of her conversational actions here. While indexing her 'mobility' in many layered ways – from being present in this particular market, to being in the company

Table 4. Segment 4

Min: 42:43		
85 RB	awawawawaw šHal keyğalliu bəz[zaaaaf!	wowowowowow how much did they make things expensive a l[:::ot!
86 UN	[ğali bəzzaf dək ši əlaš gultlik Sinaəa taqalidiya ġalia	[very expensive that's why I told you artisanal goods are expensive
87 RB	oh la la walakin əaud- (.6) [(xxx) had Tabla?	oh la la but about- (.6) [(xxx) that table?
88 UN	[daba huma (xx) iyeh mazyəna walin huma keyHtu- makeybəuəš əlmodel	[now they (xx) yes good but they kee- they don't sell the model
89 RB	(xxx) ra kun- kun had ši fi-	(xxx) that would- would that stuff in-
90 UN	wakha nəmšu nəjjarin, nəmšu nəjjarin/ (xxx) ana nəarəf wahad jiha	ok we'll go to a carpenter, we'll go to a carpenter/ (xxx) I know a street
91 RB	wakha (xxx)	ok (xxx)

of her local relatives (and a 'foreign' ethnographer), to indicating her access to socio-economic and physical mobility in the course of the negotiation – she has nevertheless attempted to draw on 'localness' as a resource in bargaining. The solution her uncle proposes, instead, is to go (with him) to a 'local' vendor.

CONCLUSIONS

Over this series of sequences, I argue, Rabia has interactionally become a 'diasporic VFR tourist'. While she began as a woman asking a price, over each sequence of turns she becomes more concretely categorised and categorisable as someone with access to mobility to another country, and access to elite-level financial capital. Even as she attempts to orient herself in contrast to these positions – trying to use 'local' spoken currencies, and calling on her 'local' relatives as consultants – she inevitably reinforces her own othering by her ineptitude at bargaining in a Moroccan context. She misses signals that her attempt to translate prices are not necessary; she also misses opportunities to create a better relationship by acknowledging the vendor's bargaining position relative to the costs of production, or performing politeness by completing his oath sequence. While focusing on her desired 'local' price, she misses the social aspects to the practice of bargaining that would characterise her as 'local'.

Rabia is not alone. I have repeatedly and consistently observed and recorded many Moroccan diasporic visitors in similar negotiations over price-as-belonging – marking the diasporic

distinction between 'local' and 'mobile' Moroccan. Each time a DV approaches this face-to-face interactional moment, she or he is instigating a negotiation of membership into a category, whose outcome is broadly assigned by DV interactants as successfully getting the 'right' price or unsuccessfully getting the 'tourist' price (Wagner, 2011). Though each iteration is different, many execute this practice in a similar manner to Rabia: while making claims, both linguistically and explicitly to some kind of 'local' status, they are simultaneously and contradictorily invoking their 'mobility' in conversation. They each walk away from the encounter with some new memory, adding to their lifetime of experiences on how to interact with residents in Morocco that sediments a new layer of feeling diasporically distanced or attached, transnationally in place or out of place, or possibly like a 'tourist'.

In whatever mode their sedimented experiences might characterise 'othering' in these encounters – whether as 'tourist' versus 'local', or something more complexly, diasporically, both familiar and strange – each new iteration presents a chance to rework the systematics of these categories by upholding or violating categorial precedents. The data presented here demonstrate some of the ways that these categorial systematics formulate around practices that are bound to 'being-mobile' as a diasporic visitor in Morocco, like shopping in certain places and for certain items, not using spoken currencies to bargain, and negotiating the transport of their purchases to their homes elsewhere. They also reflect how, even while conversationally enacting these practices of mobility, DVs make efforts to mask them.

They may ask for considerations that they see as ordinary – like being able to pay for expensive items with a bank card – without awareness of how that practice signals mobility. The microanalysis here demonstrates how even while perhaps attempting 'doing being Moroccan' they can be effectively, in some ways, be 'doing being a tourist'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Abdelali Gala, Abdelkrim Sarsif, and Alexandrine Barontini for their time and energy in refining these and many other transcripts.

NOTES

- (1) Though I have been unable to find sources documenting them by ethnographic experience, I have encountered four different regional ways to speak about money, or spoken currencies: most commonly *ryal* in a 20:1 dirham conversion rate through most of Morocco, *ryal* in rural Northern areas as 5:1 dirham, *doro* in the region around Al Hoceima as 2:1 dirham, and *frank* as 100:1 dirham in many regions, often quoted for very large values (i.e. the price of a house) or prices in multiples of 10. Anecdotally, I have been told that the names 'ryal' and 'frank' relate to the Spanish *real* and French *franc* used during the Protectorate.

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