

'Tourist Price' and Diasporic Visitors: Negotiating the Value of Descent

Lauren B. Wagner

Abstract

Marketplace exchange is implicitly both economic and social. Participants in marketplace encounters assemble into multidimensional categories of familiarity and difference, both through the material culture object for sale and through the interaction between vendors and clients within their transactions. This paper brings attention to the latter through microanalysis of one example from a corpus of recorded marketplace interactions of Moroccan diasporic visitors from Europe with marketplace vendors. This example illustrates a repeatedly observed bargaining strategy: to explicitly or implicitly claim the category of 'a son/daughter of this country' (*weld/bint el-bled*) as an argument to lower prices. While vendors did not straightforwardly refute this category of 'descendant', they often did respond by introducing other—sometimes seemingly contradictory—categorical differentiations they found relevant to finding a price. This article explores how vendors and diasporic customers negotiate these categories, and how categorization become significant for the emergent value of the goods under negotiation. Through turn-by-turn analysis, I demonstrate how interlocutors engage with ideas of 'Moroccanness' beyond ethnonational discourses of belonging, in that 'doing being Moroccan' while bargaining becomes a negotiation of being 'Moroccan' geographically, socially and economically, as resident in or out of Morocco.

Key words: marketplace bargaining; belonging; assemblage; diasporic tourism; service encounters; membership categorization

Value of 'Being-Moroccan'

I begin from an assertion that finding a 'right' price is an interactional achievement. The concept of 'price' may be based in classic economic notions of how a 'market' facilitates the transfer of goods between interested actors, but finding an agreed-upon value for goods requires two (social) actors to agree upon it. As a means to set value, price

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LiU Electronic Press, DOI 10.3384/VS.2001-5992.1532119

<http://valuationstudies.liu.se>

situates market functions of quality and access to information as social activities that integrate materialities of the goods as well as positionings of the social actors negotiating for them. The possible social factors in play, or at risk, in any negotiation can be extremely diverse, and often go unchallenged between actors who perform this activity on a regular basis. The context of this paper involves actors who may not be so experienced at negotiating goods for a price, and whose inexperience plays into social characteristics that are nearly constantly at risk—namely, a sense of ‘belonging’ in a community, perceived by individuals for whom this ‘belonging’ is frequently brought into question. The interactional achievement of a ‘right’ price, then, becomes not only an index of a functioning market, but enmeshes with other perceptual indices about mobility and social community.

Drawing on 37.5 hours of recorded marketplace interactions between post-migrant generation Moroccan-origin European visitors to Morocco and locally resident Moroccan vendors, this paper uses one particularly explicit example to investigate a frequently recurring claim that diasporic visitor (DV) interactants made in the course of negotiations—namely, categorizing themselves as a ‘son/daughter of this country’. Across independent participants in independent recordings, this claim to an ethnonational belonging-by-descent frequently reappeared in a similar sequential format: making the claim in concert with a request for a lower price. The claim then becomes a bargaining strategy, pointing to a seemingly widely held assumption that there would be a connection between ‘being-Morocco-by-descent’ and ‘getting a lower price’. Yet this strategy frequently did not lead to a lower price; in fact, making an overt claim to a category can actually highlight the speaker’s distance from that category, and difficulty in ‘belonging’ within it (Wagner 2015a). The task here, then, is to tease out what sort of logics DVs rely upon in attempting to claim belonging in an ethnonational category, and how that category has a value; that being ‘of-Morocco’ as a descendant, if not as a resident, might be ‘agreed upon’ within the process of negotiating a price.

Deconstructing these logics involves an analytic tactics of what might be called ‘before category’ (Sassen 2013a, 2013b). While I must present a context by setting out details and descriptions that categorize participants as ‘diasporically Moroccan’ within a particular historical time-space enabled by borders, labor power and debates on diversity (cf. Chattou 1998 for detailed Moroccan migration history), what I want to explore is how the notion of ‘Moroccanness’—more specifically the notion of ‘being-Moroccan-by-descent’ as implied in the claim to be a ‘son/daughter of Morocco’—becomes relevant to and takes shape in these encounters. The central crux to this shape emerges through how different interlocutors make arguments for increasing and decreasing price as an agreed-upon value.

That crux is shaped in some ways by elements that are not immediately apparent in the transcribed interaction below, but are part of the historical and ethnographic background to this site. These elements may not be directly ‘causal’, but their nonlinear influence on this encounter—like the simple fact of mass migration from Morocco to Europe, mentioned above—needs to be acknowledged. The first nonlinearly influential factor is the habit of this cohort to regularly visit Morocco. Many of them were raised in Europe and have visited Morocco on a regular basis—often with family, during their summer holidays—since they were children. This habit is part of what makes negotiating ‘Moroccanness’ relevant at all, in that these individuals are cyclically present in this ‘homeland’ en masse, unlike many other diasporic groups who might return less frequently (cf. Ang 2001; Stephenson 2002; Ramji 2006; Taylor 2015 on different possibilities and consequences of visitation and return).

Second, this crucial point of negotiation encounter may also be implicitly shaped by Morocco’s discursive, political and economic position as a site for tourism (Hillali 2007; Minca and Wagner forthcoming). As a colony and an independent state, Moroccan spatial planning has fostered the physical space for these interactions to take place by preserving the ‘old city’ as a place to go shopping, and perpetuating the demand for souvenirs as an emergent and complex site themselves (Swanson and Timothy 2012; Swanson 2014). Finally, intersecting these two, this crux may also be shaped by a desire for material culture objects (which may or may not be characterized by the purchaser as a ‘souvenir’) that locate belongings across borders, and recreate a ‘home’ at a distance (cf. Fortier 1999; Savaş 2014). All of these elements are part of the environment that enables the analyzed interaction to take place, and are indirectly, nonlinearly part of how different dimensions and practices of ‘belonging’ become relevant in this particular site.

However, to analyze this sense of belonging using a logic that is ‘before category’—that is, in this context, to avoid as much as possible predetermination by labeling what is ‘diasporic’, ‘touristic’ or ‘local’—I approach this marketplace interaction as constitutive of emergent membership categorization, involving both social and material elements (Livingston 1987; Francis and Hester 2004). I focus on how participants make different threads of this complex mass of elements relevant in the practice of negotiating value (or the ‘right’ price) in Moroccan marketplaces, and then analyze, partially informed by ethnographic familiarity with this multilayered environment, how those threads might provide a shape to ‘Moroccanness’.

Finding the ‘right’ price for an object becomes thus an interactional achievement located in and constituting this complex site (Schatzki 2003), reflecting economic differences, material conditions, social categorizations, and geographic dimensions that influence perceptions

of value. To frame that interactional achievement, I will first discuss dynamics of markets and marketplaces, describing my ontological and methodological approach to how geographical, material and social factors contribute to emergent agreement on value in this marketplace exchange. Then, I will walk step by step through one selected excerpt from a marketplace exchange to demonstrate how actors simultaneously negotiate the value of a good by constructing its materiality as a product of human labor, and their respective—and sometimes sharply differentiated—membership in a category of ‘Moroccanness’. Focusing on value as emergent among all of these interlacing processes, this analysis indicates how different emergent potential and actual belongings in ‘Moroccanness’ become relevant as valuable, through the practice of negotiating this potential purchase.

Practices Making a Marketplace

Markets are social spaces. Considering markets from an economic perspective, this statement would seem to be the start of an argument (Granovetter 2005; Beunza et al. 2006; Fligstein and Dauter 2007); considering markets—or more pertinently here, marketplaces—as sites where human (and non-human) actors converge for interaction (cf. Geertz 1978, 1979; Stoller 1996; Curry 1999), it becomes a tautology.

While sociologists, anthropologists and geographers of economics have recently increased their attention to the social dynamics of markets—particularly in relation to global financial markets and new forms of technological intervention in trading (cf. Callon 1998 and followers)—there have been key interventions preceding this recent turn on the social dynamics of marketplaces, sometimes called bazaars (Khuri 1968; Geertz 1978, 1979; Fanselow 1990), as highly influential on how value is emergent in trade. The more recent work contributes many invaluable observations about the construction of tradeable objects and the mechanisms of global trading: the tangible and intangible currencies, devices and properties that emerge and are configured by a market constructed for their trade, and even the transformation of embodied practice to facilitate trade (Beunza et al. 2006). The older work is generally less concerned with the objects themselves and more concerned with the individuals, or ‘middlemen’, doing the trading: how their economic and non-economic relationships with one another and diverse knowledges about quality, supply and demand come to influence the process of trade.

Complementarily, each of these branches seems to take either the market and its objects or the roles of different traders as already in place, and focus attention on how the other develops under normal conditions. That is, those investigating the non-human actors of devices and markets tend to take the roles of human actors as relatively conscribed by the professional role assigned to them—regulator, broker, trader—and those investigating how human actors

engage with each other define the market space (e.g. 'bazaar'), and give a general label to the goods involved (e.g. 'commodities'). Given the dense potential complexity of a market interaction, it is entirely reasonable to enter into these discussions with some of the moving parts fixed in place. Yet, in the effort to approach this negotiation through a site ontology (Schatzki 2003) as an emergent categorization, I want to dislodge these fixities as much as possible to see how they are constituting each other through negotiations of value. In an attempt to explore how all convene to emerge in the course of interaction, I will juggle three moving parts: 1) rules understood as implicit in the geographical location; 2) semiotics and materialities of the tradeable goods under negotiation; and 3) personal and professional roles of the individual participant. In the next sections, I discuss these geographical, social and material contexts in some detail, in order to explore, in the following section, how different utterances in the negotiation might relate to how this geographic space fits in a global scope, and how this object construes both its vendor and its buyer into certain categorial logics.

Marrakech Marketplaces: Relevant Potential Categories of Shoppers

Through a cartographic lens, the shop where this interaction took place is situated in a pedestrian shopping street immediately off the central square in Marrakech, the Djemaa el Fna. That cartographic location puts us in the 'Arab world', specifically in Morocco, and in the city of Marrakech, cartographically located in this vicinity for about 1000 years. This cartographic and geographic location immediately implicates the 'bazaar'-style market referred to by Geertz (1978, 1979) and Fanselow (1990) as the context for shopping. There are many different types of cosmopolitan consumption spaces possible in the 'Arab world' (see Schwedler 2010), meaning we cannot necessarily assume that a shop in Morocco is a 'bazaar'. However, the cartographic location next to Djemaa el Fna implies the 'bazaar' format specifically because of the role of 'bazaars' as heritage in the 'Arab world'.

As the epicenter of a UNESCO World Heritage Site and the historical central square of the city of Marrakech, Djemaa el Fna and its immediate surroundings formulate a geographically precise configuration of cultural production and consumption. The map below (Figure 1) shows the outlines of the 'medina' of Marrakech that was designated in 1985 as world heritage by UNESCO, with the Djemaa el Fna marked in yellow on the original image (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/331/multiple=1&unique_number=376). Through dense colonial and post-colonial processes of preservation and tourism, this zone is dominated by architecture, businesses, inhabitants, and users who collectively, continuously reproduce it as a consumption space for Moroccan heritage, both old and new (Wagner and Minca 2012, Minca and Wagner forthcoming). As with any central gathering place



Figure 1: UNESCO map of the protected heritage zones in Marrakech (1994)

in a city, it is not exclusively occupied by tourists or tourist-oriented consumption, but the overwhelming orientation of this zone is towards a tourism economy. This tourism economy includes both domestic and foreign tourists, but is dominated by rising numbers of non-domestic visitors, with Marrakech as the most popular destination in Morocco (Amine 2014).

The shop in question, selling original and unique painted artwork, operates from a fixed structure (i.e. not a mobile vendor in an open-air market) on one of the pedestrian-dominant streets that is linked by connecting streets to Djemaa el Fna. Its approximate location is marked by a blue dot on the map in Figure 1. The street includes shops of many different types, selling anything from nuts and dried fruits to ‘Moroccan’ clothing and textiles, to jewelry. Based on some simple visual observation, these shops do not resemble what might be found in neighborhood shopping streets elsewhere across Morocco, or even elsewhere in the Marrakech medina: they often include signposted written prices; many of the goods available have written labels or decoration signifying ‘Morocco’ or ‘Marrakech’; and many of the goods are otherwise semiotically ‘Moroccan’, to the extent that their design style can be traced to this particular site. Otherwise, in terms of volume of foot traffic and location, simply based on its accessibility and proximity to Djemaa el Fna, this is likely one of the highest potential customer value business locations in the Marrakesh medina, and would likely command a concomitantly high rent.

Geographically, as a relationship between cartographic location, social location and semiotic materialities that might be observed here, we may conclude that this street is oriented to tourist consumers. It sells objects that are semiotically ‘Moroccan’ in some way, which adds to their value for non-local buyers but would not necessarily add value for perennial residents. That added value would be important to shop owners, who are likely paying high rents to have businesses in this location. Many shops use forms of commerce (e.g. signposted prices) that are not frequently found in shopping districts elsewhere in this region, setting this one apart as possibly targeting a consumer not commonly found outside of this geographic zone. Finally, it is selling predominantly non-essential goods—even the foods and textiles available could be considered luxury items and decorative for a specific audience that is interested in purchasing a ‘souvenir’ referring to the place from which it was purchased (Swanson 2014). While perennial residents do live in close proximity to this area, many of their daily needs are not met on this street. We can anticipate that those who are actively shopping on this street would tend to be visitors to Marrakech, whether foreign or domestic.

In line with these observations, the shop where the recorded interaction took place was selling original and possibly unique painted artwork that would fit into the category of ‘souvenir’. The paintings

mostly depicted scenes of landscapes with anonymous figures that can be semiotically linked to Morocco or to Marrakech: desert landscapes with figures in traditional dress, street markets with objects recognizable as ‘Moroccan’ crafts, or more abstract portraits of figures in clothing referencing ethnicities and specific regions in Morocco. They appeared to be individual, original works of art, signed by a variety of artists.

This form of non-essential decoration as a consumption item further indicates how this shop would be oriented towards a non-local consumer. From ethnographic experience, I have not observed many original artworks like this hanging in households in Morocco, in comparison to other types of wall hangings like Quranic verses or images of religious sites, or likewise images of family or possibly mass-produced images of the royal family of Morocco. In fact, the presence of human figures in and of itself could be a significant indication that such artwork is intended for a non-Muslim category of client, in that many Muslims observe an interdiction on depicting the human form. Beyond that, the ‘traditional’ subjects of this art, and possibly the ‘local’ origin of its creators, indicate how it materializes a semiotic relationship between the place from which it was purchased and what it depicts that categorizes it as a ‘souvenir’ intended for purchase by a ‘tourist’ audience.

In terms of the first and second issues listed above—the role of the geographical location, and the semiotics and materialities of the goods being traded—we can develop certain links between object, time, space and experience. Beyond its emergent and contingent value as a decorative object, this artwork can have value for being purchased in this place, at this time. Likewise, it blends in to a geographically-specific experience of shopping in the ‘preserved’ marketplace of Marrakech, Morocco. All of these elements become part of the emergent potential value, which might be assessed at different prices by different possible customers approaching along this street. Yet, more likely than not, the approaching client who chooses to enter this shop and enquire about a price would be a non-local ‘tourist’, for whom the cost of this object includes the experience of buying it and the transportable semiotic materiality of the place where it was purchased.

Bargaining in the Bazaar: Creating Relationships

If, based on the geographical, social and material configuration outlined in the previous section, we can categorize the most frequent client in this shop as a ‘tourist’, we can then explore interactions taking place here, even before anyone begins to speak, as invoking specific categories of agents and actors—vendors, ‘tourist’ clients and ‘souvenirs’—in how they relate value to an emergent construction. That is, before the practices of interactive communication—which are

often the data source, for this and other studies on markets—can occur, this encounter requires that human actors present themselves, taking part in creating this site of encounter in concert with emergent geographical and material conditions. Building from the previous section's discussion on geography and materiality, this section focuses on the third issue: personal and professional roles of human actors in relation to this site, and how they come to develop in concert.

Much recent work on markets concentrates on repetitive daily practices of what are usually professional actors. These markets—financial, commodity or otherwise—are often only accessible to professionals, so being present and active in them requires an acquired skill set in marketplace performance and a social network to facilitate success (Knorr Cetina and Bruegger 2002; Beunza et al. 2006; Caliskan 2007). Likewise, many of these actors are reliant on some kind of widely distributed stream of information (price charts, stock tickers) that produces a basis for setting and negotiating price, alongside whatever narrower streams of information and trust networks they might develop in competition.

Instead, this case presents one category of actor—vendor—composed of professional members who are individually engaged in practices of bargaining the value of goods every day in this location, encountering another category—'tourist' client—composed of a circulation of non-professional individuals who are each likely to be engaged in this activity rarely, possibly only once in his or her lifetime in this location. Also, in contrast to other settings, information about prices is by no means widely distributed—rather, it is often available only in face-to-face interaction, by reading posted signs at an individual stall, enquiring with an individual vendor, or being told by another client ('tourist' or 'local') an estimated price for a type of object.

These specific configurations of information flows and human encounters become key factors in how value emerges here, and constitute materially different relationships than those observed in many other market contexts. Instead of familiarity with the marketplace, its diversity of quality and costs, and the various actors in it, we have repeated iterations of vendor-client encounters, in each iteration of which information about the goods in question and about each other emerges in the course of negotiation. If we take this relationship to be between 'local vendor' and 'non-local tourist'—based only on the geographic and material conditions described above—then the main work of negotiation is in how these two categorizable actors use their limited knowledge of each other, and broadly different knowledge about the object under negotiation, to arrive at a price acceptable to both.

To delve in to how this process works, I return to Geertz's research. Following ethnographic work in the market of the Moroccan city of Sefrou (1978, 1979), he proposed a model for thinking about markets through their 'information asymmetry' and 'clientalization'. While he frames this work in contemporary anthropological style as a window into 'traditional' life, he relates his observations to contemporary economic theories about the role of 'information, communication, and knowledge in exchange processes' (1978, : 28). Arguably, these two intertwined and effectively inseparable factors—asymmetrical flow of information and preferential, long-term trust relationships between agents—can equally characterize current theories on markets as sites of human and non-human agent interactions in 'non-traditional' fora. Whatever technologies or agents may be involved, much of the activity of a market depends on agents' differential access to flows of information, and their potential for communication, collaboration, or competition as a basis for their networked relationships.

For Geertz, the information at stake included governmental regulation and public common knowledge about 'normal' prices, as well as more specialized knowledge on quality, availability or predictable scarcities that would only be accessible to well-connected experts as part of their professional skill (1979, 216-17). In tandem, clientalization referred to how the 'bazaar' operates as a communication network with uneven signaling systems that are smoothed by individual actors (1978, 31), as well as how reciprocities of obligation emerge through a tendency for repetitive exchange between certain 'adversaries' (1979, 218-19).

Geertz's model is a good starting point for the present discussion of categories not only because it is based in Morocco—specifically in a bazaar context comparable to the data here—but also because he draws conclusions on the importance of the predictable patterning of human practice to return repeatedly to the same networked connections for newly occurring goals. This notion of trust in a networked relationship is a core topic for some discussions on social functioning of markets, but not for others that prefer institutional intervention or assemblage devices as a framework for exploring markets (Granovetter 2005, Muniesa et al. 2007; see Fligstein and Dauter 2007 for more detailed comparisons). Yet all of these economic decision-making structures—whether individual humans, human-based collectivities or algorithmic technologies—tend to learn, trust and repeatedly follow the easiest pathways that can be predicted by past experience. In contexts where all participants are human professionals or purpose-built technologies oriented around a market, past experiences can be assumed to involve familiar and multifaceted

relationships between actors. As Geertz put it, '[b]azaaris are not projected, as for example tourists are, into foreign settings where everything from the degree of price dispersion and the provenance of goods to the stature of participants and the etiquette of contact are unknown. They operate in settings where they are very much at home' (1978, 31). In contrast, 'tourists', who by definition lack any familiarity with their bargaining adversary or to potential flows of information that would strengthen their position, must somehow immediately build that sense of 'home' and obtain access to information, in order to achieve 'value' in this non-repeatable bargaining interaction.

By itself, creating familiarity is a complex task of negotiating one's limited access to knowledge to determine value; communicatively, designing and creating face-to-face familiarity is an equally complex process, especially in this scenario of international—and therefore multilingual—travel. Sources from several domains point to how creating familiarity in bargaining involves specific embodied abilities in verbal and nonverbal interactional performance in different market spaces. Often, even in 'local' scenarios, these performances draw on multilingual resources, demonstrating how varying and complex social categorizations, often indexed and performed linguistically, become relevant to seeking value in marketplaces.

In Taiwan, Van den Berg (1986) frames code choice between local vernaculars and Mandarin as a key differentiation between neighborhood and upscale market spaces. (S)he concludes that shifting between codes indicates how speakers are accommodating to macrolevel characteristics of each context over individual social identity (1986, 108). French (2001), exploring contrasts between Maya and Ladina in Guatemala, likewise notes that access to dominant Spanish over one of the many Maya languages is essential to economic activity in the market. Even for speakers with fluent skills in a given language, marketplace registers can include specialized varieties of politeness and etiquette that require induction and practice in executing the genre (Khuri 1968; Lindenfeld 1990; Herrmann 2004). Kapchan's discussion on how claiming a shared religion (Islam) operates as a key bargaining tool for one buyer illustrates how—whether or not it is a specifically 'economic' category—social categorizations that emerge through communicative interaction play essential roles in bargaining value (Kapchan 1996, Chap. 2).

These manipulations of interactional resources often respond to contextually relevant social categorizations, and to individuals' goals to maximize the value of their embodied presentation as it comes into play in a marketplace.

Yet familiarity in bargaining is also complicated by the economic goals of exchange, and the presumption of an ‘adversarial’ relationship between buyer and seller, which presumably results in determining value to the benefit of one and detriment of the other. As much as interlocutors can implement practices intended to maximize their connection and co-membership with one another, they can also harbor categorial preconceptions on social categories that reinforce that adversarial orientation. For example, as Desforges discovers with British long-term visitors in Peru, ‘monetary exchange is seen as based on pecuniary interest, it seems to mitigate against “authentic” relationships with others. When travellers are associated with money, they perceive themselves as identified as tourists, with subsequent inability to engage “genuinely” with place’ (Desforges 2001, 359). That is, when financial interests are made explicit in relationships that these tourists thought were based on non-monetary bonds, the familiarity of a ‘genuine’ or ‘authentic’ engagement between actors disintegrates, and becomes categorized in terms of an adversarial relationship of ‘tourist’ to ‘local’. While, anthropologically, exchange of value has long been recognized as key to almost any relationship (Mauss 1966; Otto and Willerslev 2013), the material format of that exchange can be vital to each party’s perceptions about the texture of the relationship.

Pulling Geertz through more recent conceptualizations of markets and their devices, bargaining sits in an intersection between the management of the marketplace as a sea of information (both accessible and shadowy, institutional and emergent), the anthropological potential to build a relationship, and the economic potential to determine a price in some exchangeable form as value. None of these are extricable from the others; while price may reflect many sources of information, it does not exist outside of the buyer-seller relationship that sets a value on that particular exchange. This combination of sources does, however, enable us to imagine how claiming familiarity as ‘being-of-Moroccan-descent’ might be perceived to have value in this tourist-oriented marketplace, as a means to dissolve a perceived, and value-relevant, distinction between ‘tourist’ and ‘local’.

Place of Origin versus Place of Residence: Bargaining for a Painting

Entering this interaction, we can establish how specific categories like ‘tourist’ or ‘local’ will likely be made relevant simply because it happens in this particular place, over these types of objects, and between individuals taking on these delineated vendor/client roles. We

can also establish how bargaining as part of marketplace activity involves differentials in access to information, which can be ameliorated or managed through relationships as well as through repetitive experience, and can involve skill sets, like linguistic competences, that require incremental learning through practice. However, we can anticipate that the buyer in this context has relatively little repetitive experience in making this kind of purchase in comparison to the vendor, who engages in bargaining every day as a professional. The buyer, however, may have experience in making parallel types of purchases, and may have prior knowledge or preconceptions of what the price 'should' be as a default, based on previous experience (cf. Carmon and Ariely 2000).

Likewise, the buyer may have abilities to perform linguistically and interactionally as a skilled bargainer. Yet, in this specific context of a highly trafficked tourist-oriented market, we can anticipate that a main difference between most buyers and vendors is 'place of origin'—those who are 'from here' are less likely to shop in this specific site. In fact, 'place of origin' has potentially radiating effects in all of the dynamics related to this encounter: linguistic codes and skills, access to information and a sense of social familiarity all relate to how the categories of 'tourist' versus 'local' emerge. In interviews, in fact, many participants in this project framed their experiences in purchasing items in terms of this problem of place of origin: they often felt they were given 'the tourist price', which is higher than 'the Moroccan price', and attributed that price to the fact that vendors could figuratively 'smell' that they were from Europe, or literally hear that they were speaking other languages (Wagner 2011). Clearly, then, these aspects of performance and practice are recognized by individuals themselves as being categorized in an undesirable way—being perceived of as 'non-local' when one desires to be perceived of as 'local'.

As we dissect this conversation, we can notice how these various dynamics are interwoven into the emergent development of the 'right' price. That is, we can pay attention to what the buyers consider to be a 'default' or baseline price, and what informational tools they use to argue for that price. We can observe how the vendor uses access to information and status as an experienced professional to skillfully bargain for a different price. Moreover, we can observe how, using the resources of bargaining, both buyers and vendor can position themselves categorially in relation to one another to justify their respective prices. That categorial positioning becomes particularly interesting in this case, where the potential category of 'place of origin' can potentially influence the emergence of value by shifting the relationship between vendor and client from 'local' versus 'tourist' to 'ethnonational peer' versus 'ethnonational peer'.

Methodological Orientation

My approach to this analysis is grounded in a methodological orientation towards site ontology (Schatzki 2003), or, more specifically, taking social and material expressivities as emergent, and exploring how they take shape along with each other as they emerge in iterating events. This analysis of emergence is based on the segment of conversation transcribed below, extracted from a larger project on experiences of DVs in Morocco (see Wagner 2006, 2008, 2011, 2015a, and 2015b for comparable examples of bargaining interactions). To trace how these categories emerge, I employ techniques for analyzing talk-in-interaction based on conversation analysis (CA) and ethnomethodology (Hester and Eglin 1997; Nguyen and Kasper 2009) to explore how the roles of different participants emerge through what participants ‘do’, turn by turn, through talk.

While most work in this subdiscipline of sociolinguistics focuses on analyzing how conversational structures function, some strands focus on the contingent and continuous emergence of social categorizations through conversational structures (Nguyen and Kasper 2009). Strictly speaking, along these lines of ‘categorical systematics’ (Stokoe 2012), the analysis here should rely exclusively on the different categories as continuously and emergently put into play by participants and demonstrable through a turn-by-turn analysis of the transcript. In this sense, CA sometimes paradoxically focuses on the transcript as ‘objective’ data, and diminishes the methods and limitations contributing to creating that transcript—from practical aspects of capturing voices (and sometimes bodies) in recorded interaction to the transcription problem of reducing many complex communicative signals to writing on a page. Like any method, this one is limited in that it can never achieve the unknowable goal of incorporating all of the factors an individual draws upon in accomplishing his or her next conversational turn. It can be extremely useful, however, because it forces attention to minute detail (more so by far than most qualitative social science in the making of transcripts; see Bezemer and Mavers 2011), and to patterns that might emerge across multiple participants whose conversations were recorded among similar circumstances.

The circumstances for recording this, and the other marketplace conversations used in this research (Wagner 2006, 2011), were thus approximately similar. In an effort to ‘follow the people’, I joined groups of DVs during their summer holidays for varying lengths of time (from a single afternoon to more than a week). Alongside the ethnographic and interview data gathered through this close contact, I asked some participants to wear a recording device—which was concealed, though the microphone was visibly attached to their

clothing—during their time spent shopping in markets. The person wearing the microphone agreed to be recorded; I considered vendors as engaged in ‘public speech’ without an expectation of privacy, and so recorded them and subsequently asked their permission to keep the recordings. In some circumstances involving larger groups, like the instance below, I had two recorders running simultaneously to later collate activity among different members. Though I had access to a video camera, collecting video data proved too intrusive, and so the lack of data on multimodal communication is a notable limitation to this analysis (though not necessarily inconclusive; see Wagner 2015b).

While the analysis below provides an extreme level of detail on how categorial elements become relevant turn by turn in the verbal sequential elements of this conversation, in contrast to most orthodox applications of CA I draw on ethnographic detail to describe the context beyond the exclusivity of the transcript. This is an attempt towards a more ‘material CA’, oriented to the geographical and temporal setting of this conversation, as well as the object under negotiation, along a spectrum of objects and contexts in its proximity.

Work on categorization systematics is likewise predicated on using certain contexts where specific kinds of categories (like ‘gender’ in speed dating (Stokoe 2012)) are implicitly relevant. I use marketplace interactions because, along the lines traced out above, categories like ‘local’ or ‘tourist’ are implicitly relevant in accomplishing this type of marketplace activity. My micromanalysis of this encounter also incorporates tools employed in analyzing institutional talk (Heritage and Clayman 2010), where the professional and situational roles of different participants, as well as the place and time where the interaction takes place, are acknowledged in how those roles and places are produced, reproduced and innovated in interaction. That is, we may have some ideas on how markets work as institutions, as detailed in the preceding sections, but these individuals are also creating the market-as-social-institution in this interaction, and creating each other’s roles as relevant to the geographical place and time.

My presence, of course, might play a role in how those categories are put into play. Indeed, my presence is taken into account only when it is made relevant by participants in the transcribed interactional sequence—a condition that did occur in some examples (such as Wagner 2015a), but does not in this one. The methodological focus is then on how the practical action taking place in this location—to the best extent that it can be recorded and transformed into analyzable data—might indicate how agents made relevant to this site are produced in relation to one another.

Transcript

Hicham, Latifa, her sister, and four other friends were visiting Marrakech as a group, very explicitly to have a ‘holiday’ in a place where none of them had been before. Amongst them, they all had family in other areas of Morocco, except for one friend of Algerian origin. After initially meeting the whole group while they were shopping one afternoon around Djemaa el Fna, I spent the entire next day, from breakfast to dinner, with them. We spent about 3 hours shopping, which included many shorter and longer interactions with vendors. The one transcribed here comes from one of the few shops where they made a purchase, which, as described above, sold original artwork.

This excerpt starts at about minute 4 of the 13 minutes Hicham and Latifa spent in this, the second shop they entered seeking to buy a painting. Latifa’s price enquiry in line 2 began their second round of price requests, after they had already been quoted prices ranging from 400 to 600 dirham for paintings in this shop. I present only this minute-long excerpt of the whole bargaining encounter because it contains the most explicitly categorizational activity in the interaction, though other category-relevant elements continued to emerge as they eventually agreed on a painting and its price.

Transcription conventions:

xx	inaudible
?	intense rising intonation
,	slight rising intonation
.	intense falling intonation
/	slight falling intonation
:	Elongated vowel or geminated consonant
	emphasis
[overlap
[[simultaneous turn
(), (1.2)	less than .2s pause, pause timed in seconds
.hhh / hhh	outbreath / inbreath
(())	explanatory or descriptive remark
<__>	uncertain transcription
normal	language of turn initiation
italic	secondary within-turn language

Hicham, Latifa, Vendor, Vendor2; Marrakech, 14 June 2008, 1m40s (after about 5 minutes of already looking at paintings in the shop; H and L have asked prices on 2 other paintings which they found too expensive, and told V that this will be a present for L's mother)		
1	L	c'est oran:ge: saumon: rouge= it's oran:g:e salmon: red=
2	V	gulti 'ajbatek? =aš did you say you like? =what
3	L	ce qui est carré là, combien il peu txx the square one there, how much could it xx
4	V	huit cent eight hundred
5		(0.9)
6	H	sowwəb m'ana temen mə[zyen afək ašrif deal me a good pri[ce please mister
7	V	[ha huwa [this one rah fih mi[lle deux cents= it's one thou[sand two hundred=
8	L	[j'ai mal au coeur eh [I'm in shock
9	V	=rah le prix qui est affiché mille deux cent. [xx toi tu as dit le prix pour l'étudiant =so the price that's on the tag one thousand two hundred. [xx you you said the price for a student
10	H	[na:: ((back of throat)) [na:: ((back of throat))
11	L	étudiant. [moi je suis plus que student. [me I'm more than
12	H	[la maši hna, hna maši étudiant(s) [hna uled bled hna jina həna bash [nfarḥ- nfarḥou bil bled [no not us, we're not student(s) [we're children of the country we came here to [be hap- be happy with the country
13	L	[pire qu'étudiant, () c'est un bébé: [worse than a student, () it's a baby:
14	V	[həna étudiant həssən min uled elbled yanni [ra baqe teyqrau m'anduš flus. [xəšek tsa'du baš yəxodi elpiyasa [here student is better that child of the country because [(he who is) still studying doesn't have money. [you have to help them so they can make purchases
15	H	[hna: [we:

16	H	[hna- hna bǧina temen məzyen 'andna elflus li- [<i>budget = limité</i> hna[, tem[en-	[we- we want a good price, we have money li- [<i>budget =limited</i> we[, pri[ce-
17	L	[c'est vous?	[it's you?
18	V	[ehn?	[huh?
19	L	[c'est vous qui ait peigné?	[is it you who painted it?
20	V	non e[h non	no e[h no
21	L	[ça c'est pas beau enh, (<i>) écoute,[combien</i>	[that's not good enh, (<i>)</i> listen,[how much
22	V	[les jeunes artists/[les artistes-	[the young artists/ [the artistes
23	L	[celui=là- celui=là pxx trois cent?	[that one there- that one there xx three hundred?
24		(1.2)	
25	V	[[<doucement>	[[<gently>
26	L	[[hahahahhahhhh	[[hahahahhahhhh
27	V	wa hadek un metre/(<i>) carré/</i>	and that one <i>one meter/(<i>)</i></i> <i>square</i>
28	L	un metre carré	one meter square
(11.8) ((background activity - V departs looking for change for other customer))			
29	H	<i>ils sont qəşheyn eh wullah,</i> (.7) <i>qəşheyn bəzzef/</i>	they are <i>hard I swear (.7)</i> <i>really hard/</i>
30	L	Hicham, tu préfères celui-là toi. (.5) y a aucune [couleur	Hicham, you prefer this one you. (.5) there's no [color
31	H	[c'est pas les touristes hna saħa°	[it's not tourists us <i>frie</i> °
(10.0) ((end of other negotiation in background; L discussing painting with her friend))			
32	H	šti, šti hna, hna 'andna passeport mağrebi ,[w 'andna <i>la carte nationale</i> [w 'andna kullš i t'aal mağreb/[(<i>)</i> xəşna temen mağrebi , maħəsnaš temen eh=	look look we, we have Moroccan passports,[and we have <i>the national identity</i> <i>card</i> [and we have all the stuff of Morocco/[(<i>)</i> we need a Moroccan price, we don't need a price=
33	V	[mm	[mm
34	V	[mərħaba	[welcome
35	V	[mərħaba	[welcome

36	V	[[xxxxxxx	[[xxxxxxx
37	L	[[il y a pas	[there isn't
38	H	[[=(loud)) sma' elḥedara elhamdulillah/ rah keyn eh:	[[= (loud)) listen to the words thanks to God, there will be eh:
39	V	fin ga'a din fi-	where are you in-
((L discussing painting with her friend; overlapping 4 turns))			
40	H	hna, raḥna ḥena fi merrakš fi:	we, we came here to Marrakech in:
41	V	la la fin fin kat'ayšu	no no where where do you live
42	H	fransa	France
43	V	fransa fina blasa	France in what place
44	H	ḥeda l'allemagne ḥeda Mulhouse, t'aref Mulhouse?	near Germany near Mulhouse, do you know Mulhouse?
45	V	Mulhous[e	Mulhous[e
46	L	[très loin, Strasb[ourg	[very far, Strasb[ourg
47	V	[xxx	[xxx
48	H	Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Besançon/ () <i>hadi hiya el-</i>	Strasbourg, Mulhouse, Besançon/ () <i>that's the-</i>
49	V	merḥaba. ari temenalif.	wel come. give me eight thousand.
50	H	la- la/ [la/ temenalif=	no, (.) no[no eight thousand=
51	L	[šhal temenal[if	[how much is eight th[ousand
52	H	[= <i>quatre</i> <i>cent dirham</i> la la walu. (.) la la la:.	[= <i>four hundred dirham</i> no no nothing. (.) no no no:.
53	V	aṭeni trois cent	give me three hundred
54	H	[[gəbila gultina <i>trois cent</i> <i>cinquante/ trois cent</i> rah	[[before you told us <i>three</i> <i>hundred fifty/ three hundred</i> that's
55	L	[[c'est xx:!! trois cent!	[[it's xx three hundred
56	V	'aya 'aya heyt njib fiha reduction [xx	hey hey cause I'll bring it in on discount [=xx
57	L	[trois cen[t, xxx	[three hundre[d, xxx
58	H	[šti daba xemsin dərḥəm ma fiha walu,- šti daba ḥena mlli kan jina ḥena, katḥdərü ġir b <i>les</i> <i>cents les deux cents</i> makeyn ġir, m[li kansəksiü šḥal	[you see now fifty dirham there's nothing in it, you see now we since we came here, you speak only with <i>the</i> <i>hundreds the two hundreds</i> there's not just, wh[en we ask how much
59	V	[ra mabġitiš temši lilbled nətana saḥabi	[so you don't want to come to this country of ours my friend
((several vendor voices overlapping))			

Analysis

At the outset, I can establish some roles and contexts extrapolated from some things the participants are doing, as evidenced in the transcript and supported in ethnographic interviews with these participants and in the background theory on how markets work economically and linguistically. Hicham and Latifa are a couple (supported by their collaborative participation in negotiating); between the two of them Hicham is the more fluent speaker of Moroccan Arabic (Darija) (consistent with the fact that the majority of his replies are mostly or entirely in Darija, and the majority of hers are entirely in French). He had volunteered to wear the microphone, so the data here consists of what was captured in this conversation with Hicham as the reference point for audio recording. For instance, Hicham and Latifa's five travel companions were also in the shop, and some of them were likewise engaged in enquiring about merchandise and negotiating but not recorded fully enough to be transcribed.

By examining what various participants are 'doing' in the transcript, we can easily determine that Hicham and Latifa are in a role of 'client', in that they are seeking to purchase something. Vendor 1, named as such because of his professional role as 'vendor', is the one with the rights to sell and the ability to require a price. As roles related to a linguistic genre and social institution of the marketplace or bazaar, the transcript of their conversation can then be expected to follow a basic structure, not unlike that suggested by Geertz (1979, 226), of offers, counteroffers and justifications over prices until they reach an agreed price or they each reach their limit on price without agreement.

We can also expect, following Kapchan (1996) in particular as well as other linguistic research on markets described above (e.g. Lindenfeld 1990), that marketplace negotiation involves drawing on a variety of social categorizations and skill in speech play to argue for each counteroffer. This toolbox can include any number of devices that engage the emotional performance and investments of each participant, which include their potential investment in being ratified by their adversary as belonging in certain groups or categories. So, while bargaining is functionally motivated by the economic goal of trying to reach an agreed price, it is complicated by the economic and social flows of information during this communicative activity, and by emergent social relationships that might influence flows of information or economic potential. The analysis needs, then, to examine what Hicham, Latifa and the vendor(s) do with their tools, actions and orientations in this encounter.

The first round of activity in this extract gives us some insights into a flow of information among these participants, and in particular the linguistic features which enable this flow. Prior to this segment, Hicham had made the initial enquiries on price in Darija. As Latifa and Hicham discuss their choice of colors for the painting, Vendor 1

follows up on their previous enquiry in Darija (line 2), and Latifa indicates a different painting in French (line 3). He replies with a price in French (line 4), then after a significant pause (line 5) Hicham makes a counter-argument in Darija (line 6). Vendor 1 replies to him in Darija (line 7), then continues to address Latifa's 'shock' (line 8) in French (line 9). This exchange follows a standard pattern of bargaining, starting with a price enquiry that can produce different possible counterarguments to that price. Neither Latifa nor Hicham introduce a different price offer, or other market-based information about price; rather, both of them frame their counterarguments as an emotionally distressed plea. Vendor 1 becomes the source of information on price, though he also indicates that price information is visually available on the tag (line 9).

In terms of language, the interlacing of linguistic codes does not seem to be remarkable to these interlocutors. None of them (so far) requests translations or interpretations of speech, nor indicates any dispreference for the 'norm' of code mixing that they have established. Given the broader linguistic contexts of Morocco as a former French Protectorate and of this place as a locus for foreign tourists, it is not surprising that this vendor would be competent bargaining in French (Wagner 2015a). Nor would a mixture of competences between Darija and French necessarily indicate that Hicham and Latifa were not resident in Morocco (Ziamari 2008). At this point, we cannot assume that Vendor 1 has information pinpointing where Hicham and Latifa live (though, through the material geographical configuration described above, he equally might assume that they are 'tourists'), and Latifa and Hicham do not seem to have any information beyond Vendor 1's claims about what a painting 'should' cost in this context.

The next part of this sequence demonstrates how the crux of categorizations can relate to how categorial elements are emergently, participatively linked together. Vendor 1's line 9 characterizes their previous price offer as the 'student price', which both Latifa and Hicham take up in different ways. Effectively rejecting that category as being relevant to the price for them, Latifa compares being a student to a 'worse' circumstance (line 11, line 13) and Hicham rejects the characterization of themselves as 'students' by opposing that with being 'children of this country' who 'came here to be happy with the country' (line 12). Before he finishes that claim, Vendor 1 takes up Hicham's comparison between 'students' and 'children of the country' by framing the difference in terms of 'having money' (line 14); overlapping with Vendor 1's financial comparison, Hicham requests a 'good price' related to their 'limited budget' (line 15-16).

Within this sequence, the notion of being a 'student' and of being 'children of this country' become opposing categories, hinging on a distinction of 'having money'. Hicham, in his nearly continuous talk between lines 12, 15 and 16, is drawing a connection between being

‘children of this country’ and a ‘good price’ for their ‘limited budget’, while Vendor 1 asserts that being a student is ‘better’ for this claim to penury as a reason for a lower price. While Latifa’s interjection in lines 17 and 19 on a different topic cuts into this exchange, Hicham and Vendor 1 have now established a category that calls into question where Hicham and Latifa are ‘from’, and how being ‘from’ a certain place can relate to economic status.

The subsequent segment between Latifa and Vendor 1 builds in an entirely different categorizational direction, based on the object as a product of labor rather than membership in to any particular ethnonational group. Latifa is first relating the value of the painting to who has painted it in contrast to who is selling it (lines 17-23) while Vendor 1 counters, after another significant pause, by relating its value to the physical size of the painting (lines 25-28). Here, the categorization argument shifts from who the clients are, which was Hicham’s principal claim, to the price of the object as a product of its labor value. Latifa links her price offer of 300 dirham (about €30) to it being ‘not good’ that Vendor 1 did not make this object himself, while Vendor 1 makes no direct counteroffer, instead prompting Latifa’s laughter (line 25-26) and indicating the size of the painting. This paired response to Latifa’s offer amounts to an outright rejection: there is no counteroffer price, only an argument characterizing the object along a different value assessment than that proposed by Latifa. Like other examples of DV bargaining (Wagner 2015a), she seems to be disregarding the labor value of Vendor 1’s work as ‘vendor’, while also diminishing the value of the artist’s creative labor in her too-low price offer.

The activity of their bargaining is interrupted by activity elsewhere in the room. In this pause, Hicham characterizes ‘them’ as ‘hard’ (line 29)—probably referring to the vendors in this shop, in reference to his own bargaining efforts and those of his friends with a different vendor in the room. Possibly in alignment with his friends, or intervening in this other negotiation, he calls out ‘we aren’t tourists, us’ (line 31). No take-up of this comment is audible in the data, but it indicates the latency of ‘being a tourist’ as a category for clients in this context. Though we do not know what specific behavior prompted Hicham to distance himself and his entire group from being ‘tourists’, this distinction is clearly important to the multiple ongoing negotiations over prices.

The importance of this distinction to Hicham is demonstrated when Vendor 1 returns to him. Having just claimed to ‘not be a tourist’, Hicham continues by claiming to have ‘all the stuff of Morocco’ (line 32). He lists the geographical materialities of belonging linked with having a passport and national identity card—to which Vendor 1 interjects ‘welcome’ at the second and third steps in the list (lines 34-35)—then concludes ‘we need a Moroccan price’. More

explicitly than in many other recordings, Hicham is using a logical structure (list of evidence and conclusion) to argue a connection between ‘being-Moroccan’ and ‘getting the best price’, where he characterizes ‘being-Moroccan’ as, among the myriad possible ways to essentialize ‘Moroccanness’, being a passport and identity card holder. He concludes this argument (simultaneously with Latifa’s short interjection in line 37, which is not taken up by either Hicham or Vendor 1), by using an ordinary religious oath (‘thanks to God’) in asking the vendor to listen, perhaps seeking sympathy or affiliation (line 38).

What becomes extremely important in this negotiation, and in many others like it that were recorded for this research, is how participants’ argumentation about ‘being Moroccan’ turns next from a distinction of ethnonational citizenship to one of place of residence. Vendor 1 does not directly or explicitly say to Hicham ‘you are tourists’, though perceptions of that sentiment as a reason for raising prices is often what DVs report about these encounters (Wagner 2011). Instead, he begins a series of questions about Hicham’s provenance (lines 39-48). The series of questions begins with a problem-repair sequence (lines 39-41) when Hicham begins to answer the partial question Vendor 1 poses; Vendor 1 then repairs the question to the more specific ‘where do you live?’ (line 41); Hicham has a one-word answer, ‘France’. In the successive questions on ‘where in France?’ and paired responses (lines 43-48), Hicham, Vendor 1 and Latifa (line 46) pinpoint a more specific cartographic location of their place of residence. The vendor concludes this sequence by again welcoming them—which may be indexing them as ‘being-from-elsewhere’—and gives another price offer (line 49). Sequentially, he connects where Hicham and Latifa are ‘from’ (France) to the emergent value of the object over which they are bargaining.

In terms of the categorial systematics in play, we can trace, from previous exchanges up to this point, how the idea of ethnonational citizenship and belonging has changed shape as part of what might influence an agreement on price (as value) in this interaction. At first, Vendor 1 responds to Hicham’s claim to be ‘children of this country’ along the categorial framing of ‘student’ that he had previously established, drawing a distinction between the two in that one has an assumed lack of wealth (student), while the other does not. Then, when Hicham reiterates his ‘Moroccan’ framing, by first making a claim about not being tourists (in French), then making a more explicit claim to the ‘stuff’ of Moroccan citizenship (in Darija), Vendor 1 responds to a systematics of being ‘Moroccan’—and getting the ‘Moroccan price’—by framing price through place of residence rather than ethnonational citizenship or descent. The categorization device of ‘Moroccanness’ is becoming defined along systematics that intersect, but do not necessarily coincide: between a descent-based

‘Moroccanness’ category that explicitly involves citizenship but also incorporates both Hicham and Latifa’s linguistic competencies in Darija, demonstrated by their ability to accomplish this negotiation; and a place-based ‘Moroccanness’ category that involves living in Morocco as an additional qualification for membership. The claims Hicham makes do not meet the minimum for this systematics.

The next offer sequence repeats some of these dynamics, and finally illustrates some of the emotional stakes invested in these categorial negotiations of value. Vendor 1’s price offer of 8000 (line 49) may be confusing, given that the previous price quotes were all less than 1000. It appears to be confusing to Latifa, who asks for information—‘how much is 8000?’ in line 51 (her only interjection in Darija so far)—while Hicham appears to recognize what 8000 means, by translating it for her (line 52) into 400 dirham. In fact, saying 8000 to indicate 400 dirham is an example of a spoken currency in Morocco (ryal) whose usage was sometimes unknown to DVs in this research, even if they were relatively fluent speakers of Darija (Wagner 2011, 2015a). Hicham’s knowledge about its usage is an index of his familiarity with not only the linguistic code of Darija, but also contextual, ‘local’ practices of bargaining as a linguistic activity. Latifa’s lack of knowledge on how to translate this ‘local’ usage (though she may understand already that she needs a translation of the currency and not of the number into French) highlights Hicham’s access to knowledge, as he translates for her from 8000 of an unknown unit to 400 dirham rather than Vendor 1 responding to that question.

Hicham and Vendor 1 then continue debating prices as values relating to different paintings, until Hicham complains (line 58) about the scale of prices: always in the ‘hundreds, two hundreds’, ‘since we came here’. His utterance does not definitively indicate ‘here’ as being a geographic or cartographic location—it could be coming ‘here’ to Morocco, to Marrakech, to this market, or even to this shop. Vendor 2 now enters the conversation—audibly at a distance from Hicham’s microphone—in a way that characterizes Hicham’s ‘here’ as being ‘this country of ours’, with an argumentative accusation about Hicham’s desire to come ‘here’ (line 59). That response confirms Hicham’s categorization as being Moroccan-from-elsewhere: addressed in Darija, but understanding Hicham’s ‘here’ to be to the ‘country’, not to Marrakech or to the shop.

I have cut off the transcript at this point because this minute and a half contained the most explicit references to categorial systematics related to negotiating the value of ‘Moroccanness’ as the claimed category for Hicham and Latifa. The subsequent talk, however, also demonstrates how place and mobility become part of the negotiations of value. In response to this last transcribed line from Vendor 2, the conversation turns to discussions of economic hardship in France and in Morocco. Then, Vendor 1 argues for the ‘logic’ of his offered price

as allowing him to ‘earn something’ and Hicham tries negotiating a lower price by claiming hardship from the extra transport and other costs he would incur in returning to France with a painting. Once a painting is found in an agreeable object-to-price ratio for all parties, the final negotiations over it involve repetitions of some of the systematics discussed above, including negotiations about value as a function of labor of both artist and vendor, and further ‘Moroccan’ categorial systematics linked with Vendor 1’s geographical and ethnic origins (from Agadir, a city linked with Amazigh ethnic subcategory of the Souss valley, who Hicham recognizes as having a reputation as ‘hard’ bargainers).

Once the painting and money have been exchanged, Hicham offers (possibly playfully) to send his boss to this shop when he visits Marrakech in the near future, if he (Hicham) can receive a commission on whatever his boss might purchase. Some of these subsequent segments relate to Hicham and Latifa’s status as being ‘from elsewhere’, and possibly their lack of economic knowledge about labor value in Morocco, while others index something about their familiarity with social geographies of Morocco. In sum, however, they continue to reflect the difference of place of residence: there are no more explicit claims to ‘being Moroccan’ as itself of value in this negotiation, while differences in ‘place’ as value of labor or comparative prices, and as familiarity with social geography, continue to emerge.

Finally, reconsidering this conversational minute as rife with the institutional framework of the market, the categorial systematics demonstrated by this turn-by-turn analysis can integrate into the management of information access and creation of a social relationship. Being ‘from Morocco’ involves knowing key information, like how to correctly interpret ‘8000’ as 400 dirham, as well as knowing how to develop sympathetic relationships in this vendor-client dynamic. While Hicham successfully demonstrates part of this relevant knowledge, he is unsuccessful in his initial attempts to create a shared membership in a common network of ‘Moroccans’: his various claims to ‘Moroccan citizenship’ generate replies that situate him as ‘outside Morocco’ (even while they are taking place in Moroccan linguistic forms). While he may in fact be getting a ‘Moroccan’ price, or at least a low price, in the final sale (purchased at 180 dirhams), he does so effectively as a ‘person from France’ who happens to speak Darija and has some knowledge about bargaining, rather than as a ‘child of this country’.

Conclusion

Hicham’s explicit request for the ‘Moroccan price’ reflects a specific and persistent notion, which seems to be common among many DVs who participated in this research, that a value for these saleable objects

is reserved exclusively for ratified ethnonational members of 'being-Moroccan'. His pursuit of that price only leads his interlocutors to draw on alternate systematics for differentiation. Rather than questioning his 'Moroccanness', either directly by denying his claim or indirectly by, for example, refusing to use Darija with him (cf. Wagner 2015b) both vendors index distinctions of place, pointing out that he lives elsewhere, thereby implicitly rejecting the full membership which he tries to claim and framing their price valuation for the object at hand in light of that differentiation. In other words, he does not manage to enter into the necessary relationship of familiarity as a means to a lower price.

Paying close ethnomethodological attention to how interlocutors are doing categorial work in this negotiation, alongside a piece by piece unpacking of geographic and material circumstances of the place where it happened, enables an analysis that explores value as an emergent, continuous and multifaceted operation. By privileging participants' ongoing (verbal) interpretations of each other and their material surroundings, we can interlace pervasive ideas about 'tourist' versus 'local' price, with a place where 'tourist' prices might occur, and individuals who are invested in finding and materializing the distinctions between the two. Their vested interest reverberates as well into broader circumstances of diasporic belonging in a 'homeland' and how touristic visits can contribute to building or dismantling a sense of community.

This interaction, as one of many observed during this research in which participants invoked similar structures and parallel categorial systematics, demonstrates how DVs to Morocco and marketplace vendors resident in Morocco employ very different frameworks to establish 'Moroccanness' and determine what 'value' might be negotiated through that category. While one group tends to focus on 'Moroccanness' as a shared membership, as a reason to be recognized as familiar with and therefore getting the 'right price' in this place, the other group tends to recognize 'Moroccan-living-here' and 'Moroccan-living-elsewhere' as a key distinction. In a global sense, this distinction is a salient one when it comes to questions of value for pricing goods, given that these 'Moroccans' are visiting from the same places as other 'tourists' who visit this place and buy these goods.

Despite his failure to achieve his instrumental goals, this interaction does become 'valuable' in ways that, as transcribed data representing (with given limitations) the sequence of conversation, it becomes useful to dissect how these categories are practiced in interactions between DVs and vendors in Morocco. Through detailed analysis, this particular marketplace—possibly comparable to site configurations in marketplaces elsewhere—combines into an entangled, emergent site, from its specific cartographic location and geographical history, to the different human actors and their potential forms of interaction, to the

material objects and how they can be compiled and recompiled as valuable. Most importantly, this approach prompts exploring a site as a 'before category', by forcing the detailed work of attempting to construct how agents accomplish emergent social life.

Acknowledgements. I heartily thank the anonymous reviewers and patient editors of this journal, and in particular Carina Ren and Dianne Dredge for the opportunity to contribute to the special issue. The research reported in this article was partially funded by the University of London Central Research Fund.

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