Metaphors to Live and Die By:
Decolonial Smuggling for Disciplinary Futures

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> A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language. [1]
>
> **Frantz Fanon**

> Every field of inquiry, regardless of its ideological positioning, holds a set of questions which, more often than not, inform the deep structure of disciplinary thought, demarcating the thinkable from the unthinkable, the thought from the unthought.[2]
>
> **H.L.T. Quan**

> From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. [3]
>
> **Linda Tuhiwai Smith**

Scholars advocating for a transformative and decolonized racial rhetorical criticism have detailed the forms of gatekeeping, gaslighting, erasure, fragility, dismissal, nepotism, white ignorance, and privilege that undergird the #CommunicationSoWhite and #RhetoricSoWhite controversies, or what Darrel Wanzer-Serrano calls "rhetorics' rac(e/ist) problem."[4] Martin Law and Lisa Corrigan, for example, critique how rhetorical studies' reliance on "white speak" and the Greeks—and the white canon more generally—occludes contemporary issues and literatures and "prevents… critical inquiry and alternative ontological and epistemological frameworks and stifl[es] the performance of critics of color." [5] Fanon observes, to be recognized as a "real human being" requires speaking the dominant language, assuming a culture, and "support[ing] the weight of a civilization"; failure to register by these markers relegates one to subhuman status.[6] This reflects the experience of Black scholars and scholars of color who fail to adhere to white speak and the culture of canon, and whose voices are rendered incoherent under the weight and watch of normative modes and gatekeepers of knowledge-production. These are all fundamentally issues regarding the epistemologies that comprise rhetorical studies' dominant conceptual system and the alternative epistemologies, ontologies, and the ways of being that it occludes, displaces, and obscures. As I write elsewhere, "this ingrained constitution constrains the rhetorical imaginary and its (white) practitioners from seeing beyond the limited horizons of the epistemic terrain upon which the field is founded, while casting all that falls off the map into the unnamed excesses of intelligibility" – and beyond the edges of the intelligible world, *there be monsters*, as Bernadette Calafell might remind.[7] This calls "for shaking up and shifting the epistemic terrain that undergirds" rhetorical studies and working to transform the field.[8]

This short essay pursues these ends by thinking through how one might "smuggle" alternative epistemologies into the discipline in order to transform it. This is not an argument for mere add-and-stir inclusion within the canon. Sara Baugh-Harris and Wanzer-Serrano take issue with the "troubling notion of canonization and its inevitable imbrication with universality as a solution for the absence of representation in racial rhetorical criticism." They attest that the logic of inclusion reproduces a totalizing zero-point epistemology that is inherently hostile to racial difference.[9] Their interrogation of the canon, and what Raymie McKerrow calls the "silent and often non-deliberate ways rhetoric conceals" these forms of power/knowledge,[10] thus implies

that one must imagine something outside of its violent conceptual system. To these ends, I turn my critical gaze back onto the discipline's power/knowledge structures and use "metaphoric [meta-]criticism,"[11] a rhetorical studies staple, as an entry point to poke holes in the underlying epistemic terrain in order to smuggle bits and pieces of alternative epistemic frameworks into these spaces of disruption. From within these spaces, and through collective, response-able, and intentional engagement with alternative epistemologies from cross disciplinary race scholarship, new grounds might be constructed for building disciplinary futures beyond the canon's limited horizons. In this essay, I first address the epistemic violence of rhetorical studies' conceptual system, then unpack and perform the disruptive act of decolonial smuggling, and close with some forward-looking thoughts.

The Epistemic Violence of Disciplinary Formations

Conceptual metaphors carry, transmit, and normalize epistemologies. They thus carry, transmit, and normalize forms of violence as well. Metaphors, that is, elicit normative frameworks and fundamental perspectives that legitimate what counts as knowledge[12] and fortify the white speak Law and Corrigan interrogate. A discipline's conceptual system provides stability and organizing guides to a field. Yet, Anne Laura Stoler attests, its own colonial and racist legacies are often obscured by the sedimentation of a disciplinary common sense that goes interrogated. These "epistemic assumptions" render some events, contexts, and histories wholly unintelligible, reproducing a zero point epistemology that poses as neutral and disinterested.[13] Peter Garnsey, for example, figures Aristotle as the "high priest of slave theory" who encoded his ideas regarding "natural slaves" in metaphors that circulated for hundreds of years in Western debates over freedom, property, and rationality.[14] Scholars have also exposed the racist common sense of rhetorical studies' contemporary conceptual system evidenced by critiques of the metaphors of civility, merit, fragmentation, the social, publics, kairos, temporality, citizenship, the human, place, and others.[15] In short, rhetoric's rac(e/ist) problem, beyond the question of what voices are privileged, is more deeply perpetuated through the dominant vocabulary that demarcates the thinkable and sayable.

Gayatri Spivak uses the term "epistemic violence" to describe the silencing of marginalized groups and non-Western perspectives.[16] This speaks to how domination is maintained through practices of coercion, control, brutality, and oppression but more significantly through the construction and regulation of epistemic frameworks that legitimize certain perspectives at the expense of Others.[17] A discipline's conceptual system and its gatekeepers police and demarcate disciplinary borders in these same ways, as the exigence of this special issue makes apparent.[18] Yet, this system is also embedded within "relations of force" that prove such stability to be "fictions… that entail violences of their own."[19] By refusing to name this form of "epistemic racism" we risk preserving the dominant terms of the conversation that reproduce these forms of violence and occlusion, as Walter Mignolo notes. This stifles potentials for radical critiques, transformative forms of knowledge-production, and critical voices and perspectives of those most marginalized.[20] Thus, if "our conceptual metaphors promise insights about our motives, values, and commitments,"[21] what does that say about the motives, values, and commitments reflected in rhetorical studies' canonical commitments? More importantly, what motives, values, and commitments are being silenced, suppressed, or blocked from entry altogether – and how might one smuggle such alternative epistemologies into and against the discipline while refusing the siren song of canonization and mere inclusion?

Decolonization itself is not a metaphor, as Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang insist. As a verb (decolonize) and a noun (decolonization) to simply fold it into established epistemic frameworks, "even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks," constitutes a violent act of settler appropriation.[22] Given the forms of epistemic violence reflected in rhetoric's rac(e/ist) problem, it becomes clear that criticism as usual is not sufficient for attending to the manifold contexts of race. What is needed are disruptive methods and frames that allow one to think against rhetorical studies' epistemic terrain so that more radical disciplinary futures and horizons might be imagined and enabled. In what follows, I continue performing metaphoric meta-criticism across various strands of race scholarship to sketch out decolonial smuggling as a method/frame for enacting a more response-able and transformative citation politics as one path for getting there. Although my focus is narrow, my analytic texts are works from contemporary race scholarship. From these texts, I draw complex conceptual metaphors that carry epistemologies of Black being and anti-Blackness, Indigeneities, and where Blackness and Indigeneities intersect. My goal is to "render… explicit these metaphors' commitments and entailments and not[e] their convergences and divergences,"[23] and introduce this curated set of epistemic disruptions as tools for thinking the discipline Otherwise.

Decolonial Smuggling and Epistemic Disruptions

Although often evoking racist or xenophobic connotations, smuggling is also a practice of "fugitivity" for many indigenous and communities of color who must find ways to navigate around and through a hostile system of surveillance and punishment. Fred Moten names "fugitivity… [as] a desire for and a spirit of escape and transgression of the proper and the proposed. It's a desire for the outside, for a playing or being outside, an outlaw edge proper to the now always already improper voice or instrument."[24] It is, in other words, an active, embodied practice of non-compliance or refusal of standards, norms, and practices imposed from elsewhere. Smuggling, for those of more privileged subject positions (like myself), is an accomplice's act of anti-racist solidarity in the face of injustice – of using one's privilege as a shield to help Others and Other materials slip past the gatekeepers and borders, to help facilitate "improper voices" and the "desire for an outside."[25] As a contingent form of what Mignolo calls "delinking,"[26] smuggling is a decolonial practice that names the cross disciplinary border-jumping process of bringing in bits and pieces of alternative epistemologies through the fissures within rhetoric's underlying epistemic terrain to expose its fault lines, reveal its instability, and pry open enough space to build new worlds.

The decolonial smuggler, as coyote, works to use disciplinary entry points—such as cornerstone methods like metaphoric criticism and critiques of the zero-point embedded within normative concepts, but also privileged opportunities like special issues, edited collections, etc.—to help create space and vocabularies for building new worlds and new possibilities across the border, new horizons of meaning and meaning making. To resist appropriating the coyote figure in a "recolonizing gesture," I follow Caleb Bailey who draws on Cree and Anglo-Creek scholars' understandings of the coyote. "Coyote exists at both borders," he writes, "as a trickster figure in Indigenous Canadian literature and as a people smuggler in Mexico."[27] The coyote thus works across space and time, across different epistemic orientations and material realities, ducking the normative and procedural to disrupt the status quo. As Rafael Pérez-Torres notes, "those involved in the articulation of minority discourses of all kinds act like *coyotes*, smuggling across national, disciplinary, and methodological boundaries... agents who already challenge the significance of those boundaries."[28] Such practices help jump the barriers of what Chela

Sandoval describes as the "theoretical apartheid" that separates disciplinary conversations[29] but also the internal borders constituted by rhetoric's rac(e/ist) problem. Decolonial smuggling works toward slipping through both of these borders as one who knows the terrain, can identify the entry points, and who may slip Others and Other materials to the other side in the pursuit of decolonial futures.

Ethical, response-able, accountable citation politics geared toward decolonization must go beyond simply citing Black scholars or scholars of color to check boxes and carry on with criticism as usual. Such add-and-stir citation practices, often performed with best intentions, are certainly important for scholars' job, tenure, and promotion prospects. However, as Achille Mbembe notes, "the decolonial turn" and other nascent turns that critique Western thought's foundations must "effect deeper questions of epistemology" to be considered a real turn.[30] Scholars must resist irresponsible "drive-by-race scholarship,"[31] and all the crude violence the metaphor implies, if committed to creating openings for spaces of disruption, interruption, rupture. A transformative, decolonial citation politics must work to challenge rhetorical studies' zero-point conceptual system and seek to build an outside(ers') epistemic terrain upon which alternative disciplinary futures might be imagined and enabled. The situated and historical contexts of race, racism, anti-Blackness, Indigeneities, settler colonialism, and colonialism require a deep commitment to what Mignolo calls "epistemic disobedience"[32]—coyote thinking—and writing against the logics of inclusion, against the canon.

Smuggling alternative epistemologies into the discipline through the response-able employment of conceptual metaphors introduces new frames and contexts for situating the experiences and lives of racial minority groups. Critical geographer Kavita Ramakrishnan echoes this notion, stating that "metaphor[s] and [their] entailments are… crucial to our conceptual system and to constructing 'realities'" as they help racialized minorities and the dispossessed "describe, experience, and challenge the spatiotemporality to which they have been relegated."[33] Although Ramakrishnan centers on metaphors in everyday life, particularly in eviction and resettlement narratives, the same holds true for scholars' use of metaphors in theory building and criticism. Christina Sharpe's *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*, for example, provides a wealth of conceptual metaphors that carry an epistemology of Black being, anti-Blackness, and what it means to live in what Saidiya Hartman has called "the afterlife of slavery." For Hartman, the afterlives of slavery mark the persistence and accumulation of anti-Blackness that manifests today in overt and discreet ways and which share a legacy with slavery and the transatlantic slave trade.[34] Sharpe provides a new vocabulary and set of orientations for grappling with these material and affective realities.

These are imperative temporal, material, and affective contexts and frameworks for rhetorical scholars who desire to think about Black life, struggle, and survival in the United States and beyond. Sharpe's deep, trenchant, and moving work cuts across literary, visual, cinematic, and everyday representations of Black life to theorize "the orthography of the wake." She articulates the wake across multiple metaphoric registers—the path behind a ship, keeping watch with the dead, coming into consciousness—to think through what type of life remains despite the normativity and ceaselessness of anti-Black violence over time and space. The afterlife of slavery is a site of mourning and trauma, but Sharpe refuses melancholy and holds these present and ongoing traumas as a praxis of attendance, survival, love, and imagining more livable futures. She advances a method and theory for reading her cluster of conceptual metaphors of the wake, "the ship," "the hold," and "the weather," which together describe the conditions of white supremacy and anti-Blackness that haunt Black life in diaspora. Yet, within

these conditions, she identifies "wake work" as an artistic and embodied praxis of living in slavery's afterlives and working to build something for the future.

Engaging Sharpe's work and the abundance of conceptual metaphors that she unfurls requires recognizing and remaining true to the alternative epistemology and ontology that undergirds her work. These are essentially issues of context and the situated, embodied, and affective discourse of Black being, providing new theoretical frameworks that allow for thinking against the grain of rhetorical studies' epistemological terrain. Composition and rhetorical scholar, Louie Maraj, for one, employs Sharpe's wake work through an authoethnographic lens to explore his quotidian experience as a Black man participating in a Fantasy Football League. Maraj narrates how "fantasy football reveals how Black male bodies framed through a series of production stats summons… temporal pasts/presents" that link the contemporary conjuncture with the "transatlantic slave trade," as he navigates a series of microagressions and overt racist transgressions from other participants.[35] Yet, despite his understandable anger over the conditions he faces playing the game, embracing wake work leads him to read such Black rage as generative for coming to consciousness.[36] I would suspect to see more and different forms of wake work performed by Black rhetorical scholars in years to come, and racial rhetorical studies would be stronger as a result. White people cannot participate in wake work. However, Sharpe's analyses and conceptual metaphors carry alternative epistemologies, ontologies, contexts, and methods for approaching questions of Blackness and anti-Blackness that are otherwise lacking in rhetoric's conceptual system. Smuggling such alternative epistemologies across rhetorical scholars' borders forces scholars to grapple with forms of knowledge, praxes, and being that exceed the discipline's limited terrain while creating new space upon which others may build.

This obligation to theorize response-ably foregrounds a commitment to disrupting rhetorical studies' zero-point epistemic ground and working to build a more radical conceptual system somewhere outside of or adjacent to the canon. Metaphors can help establish a more robust vocabulary and imagery for creating a place that better facilitates critical dialogues and interrogations of the world.[37] But this place, as I am and others have conceived, must resist the violent logic of inclusion. One cannot wish for transformation by simply folding Sharpe's and others' rich conceptual metaphors into the House of Rhetoric as it currently stands, as Audre Lorde reminds.[38] Taking seriously the epistemologies of Black being and anti-Blackness in rhetorical studies requires grounding oneself outside the discipline's normative grammars, hopping disciplinary borders and thinking from the outside. This is also true for other marginalized subject matter such as Indigeneities and anti-Indigeneity. Similar to Sharpe, for instance, Tiara Na'Puti grounds her work in her own genealogy to "fulfill…[her] need to speak of Indigeneity in a way that Rhetorical Studies has not yet made possible, in a system of knowledge that has overwhelmingly perpetuated erasure and effacement of Indigenous work."[39] Na'Puti advances the conceptual metaphors of "archipelagic rhetoric" and "Chamarou sense of place" to counter rhetorical studies' landcentric conceptions of place that occlude Indigenous epistemologies and their relational orientations to land, water, space, time, and bodies.[40] As she insists, "when critical scholarship prioritizes landscapes over oceanic environments it dilutes our capacity for advancing cultural and political struggles of Indigenous peoples in lands and waters that are heavily settler colonized," and fails to register the "Indigenous communication and emancipatory politics toward decolonization."[41]

Others have also provided conceptual metaphors for more response-able engagements with Indigenous epistemologies and ways of being that add further weight and dimension to the discursive place that Na'Puti conjures. Karin Amimoto Ingersoll, for one, advances the metaphor

of "seascape epistemology" to decenter colonial and Western epistemological frameworks that assume landcentric understandings of place, politics, and identity. Ingersoll draws on Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawai'ian) understandings of the sea as fundamental to their epistemology and ontology. She fleshes out the seascape epistemology metaphor by centering on traditional cultural practices of fishing, surfing, and navigating the waterways.[42] Here again, the conceptual metaphor operates as both theory and method, casting a different horizon of thought that exceeds and complicates rhetoric's zero point. In short, Na'Puti and Ingersoll's respective metaphors open space for thinking Indigeneities from within their own situated epistemological orientations and which help to challenge narrow, anti-Indigenous readings of space and place within the discipline. In this instance, bringing in these bits and pieces of Indigenous frameworks through critique ruptures or creates tensions within rhetoric's Western, white epistemological frameworks and through which one might imagine, build, and sustain new disciplinary formations and horizons of thought.

Racialized minority groups and racialization processes must be understood on their own terms. Yet, a growing body of scholarship centers "relational formations of race" that both honors and complicates this demand.[43] Tiffany Lethabo King, for example, provides an epistemological framework for attending to the complex intersections of Blackness and Indigeneity. King theorizes "the shoal"—an offshore formation that is neither land nor sea—as a metaphor, methodology, analytic, and a conceptual lens for disrupting the colonial common sense that separates normative land (Indigeneities) and sea (Blackness) metaphors. This enables an interrogation of "the terms on which the human comes into formation through Black and Indigenous death in the Western hemisphere."[44] King's dense metaphor offers a lens into how Indigenous genocide and settler colonialism collide with slavery and anti-Blackness to structure white supremacy.[45] Deeply indebted to Sylvia Wynter's work, King constructs the shoal metaphor from fragments of others, including Black fungibility, Hortense Spiller's conception of Black flesh, Lorde's notion of the erotic, and the metaphor of conquest. Overall, the shoal creates an "alternative site of engagement" that overrides the "dialogue [that] continues to be mediated by white modes of speech and liberal humanist protocols for understanding, theorizing, and addressing genocide and the afterlife of slavery."[46] This reflects Law and Corrigan's critique of white speak, while her project overall echoes Baugh-Harris and Wanzer-Serrano's call for "theoretical and methodological frames that speak to lived experiences, historical exigencies, and systemic operations of power in both situated and broad scopes."[47] Indeed, for King, the shoal "locates a space off the shores of white academic and political discourse" to create new conversations and a new vocabulary for taking up these entangled dynamics of power.[48] It is precisely within these sorts of offshore spaces that new disciplinary horizons might be glimpsed and imagined, spaces created by such "onto-epistemic rupture[s]."[49]

Although my focus was narrow, the metaphor-driven projects that I sketch out above provide rhetorical studies tools and frames to help break up the discipline's dominant epistemic terrain and make room for a more robust, decolonized racial rhetorical criticism. If Vandana Shiva's metaphor "monocultures of the mind" describes the Western imperial and colonial forms of knowledge[50] reflected in #CommunicationSoWhite and #RhetoricSoWhite, then rhetoricians desperately need to think, and think carefully, about what a future discipline more attuned to the complex contexts of race, racism, and race-making might look like beyond such a zero-point. Decolonization is an ongoing and indeterminate process, but it fails from the outset if rhetoricians refuse to see beyond the horizons currently constraining the rhetorical imaginary.

Toward New Disciplinary Horizons: With Emphasis on "the Racial"

Wanzer-Serrano argues that the "House of Rhetoric['s]… very epistemic ground" is "structured by a kind of racism" which "makes it hard for rhetoric to even ask the right sorts of questions."[51] If racism is endemic to the field—the epistemic site upon which knowledge is made and legitimated—then an alternative site of knowledge production is required for advancing a decolonial agenda. This is why, in part, canonization and its logic of inclusion is fraught from the first step. The question of who gets to speak and what knowledge and voices are legitimated is of central concern here. So what does it mean to write this essay as a white man for a journal that bears a racist legacy, and under two white women interim editors no less?[52] What does it mean for me to benefit from a publication of this sort, even if driven by an effort to create space and stand with my more marginalized colleagues? Toward what, and *whose*, disciplinary futures is *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* moving? What will come of this moment? What of the next?

Despite my own ambivalences and hesitations, I have suggested decolonial smuggling as a fugitive or solidarity act of bringing in bits and pieces of alternative epistemologies, methods, and ontologies of race, racial difference, and race-making through fissures in rhetoric's epistemic terrain in order to create space and materials to build more radical disciplinary futures. To perform this critical praxis, I have employed metaphoric meta-criticism and McKerrow's critical rhetoric as my disciplinary entry points. Through these openings, I turned my critical edge back against the canon by hopping across various disciplinary borders and smuggling in complex metaphors from contemporary race scholarship and the otherwise incommensurable epistemologies from those outside places. This method preserves some disciplinary coherence while rendering Otherwise the canon's zero point, ducking and dodging the guards to carry in new materials for constructing different worlds. Decolonization is an ethical, political, and ontological practice not just some alternative approach to knowledge-production – it is decidedly futural in orientation and disruptive to standard operating procedures, yet always cognizant of the colonial past's hold on present conditions. For McKerrow, "a critical practice must have consequences" and "identify the possibilities of future action available to the participants."[53] Thus, echoing many voices cited herein, taking decolonial smuggling seriously means resisting canonization and foregrounding a commitment to collective, self-reflexive, and intentional interventions, slipping by under cover of night into a new tomorrow. Through aggregate, border-jumping interventions over time and with a shared future imaginary, rhetorical studies—the discipline without a center—could become a transformational, borderless site for attending to the complexities and contextualities of race. Decolonial smuggling is among the future actions required to get there, albeit without guarantees.

"Rhetoric is what rhetoricians do," Michael Calvin McGee famously asserted.[54] However, racial rhetorical criticism is what Black, Indigenous, and other rhetoricians of color do who speak against the disciplinary zero-point from alternative epistemological orientations, what white racial rhetorical scholars and antiracist accomplices *ought* to do as well. Critical rhetoric inaugurated the critique of the discourse of power—a necessary opening—but "it is no longer sufficient," as Law and Corrigan insist. Bold, insistent, "risky criticism" is needed to build something for the future that moves beyond the stubborn, violent reliance on white-speak and the white canon.[55] Racial rhetorical criticism puts the emphasis of critical rhetorical practice on the *racial*, and so the contexts, epistemologies, and ontologies imbricated in "the racial" must be a starting point for any response-able decolonial form scholarship. For any racial rhetorical criticism lacking a commitment to decolonial futures risks digging its own grave by relying on

the bloodstained epistemic ground upon which the House of Rhetoric stands – we need to imagine and practice disciplinary futures Otherwise.

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[1] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks.* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 18.

[2] H.L.T. Quan, "'It's hard to stop rebels that time travel': Democratic living and the radical reimagining of old worlds." In Gaye Theresa Johnson and Alex Lubin, *Futures of Black Radicalism.* (New York: Verso, 2017), 173.

[3] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People.* (University of Otago Press, 1999), 1.

[4] Lisa A. Flores, "Towards an insistent and transformative racial rhetorical criticism," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies, 15,* no. 4 (2018), 349-357; Paula Chakravartty, Rachel Kuo, Victoria Grubbs, and Charlton McIlwain, "#CommunicationSoWhite," *Journal of Communication, 68,* no. 2 (2018), 254-66; Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, "Rhetoric's rac(e/ist) problem," *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 105,* no. 4 (2019), 465-476

[5] Martin Law and Lisa Corrigan, "On white-speak and gatekeeping: Or, what good are the Greeks?" *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, *15,* no. 4 (2018), 326-327.

[6] Fanon, *Black Skin,* 11.

[7] Bernadette Marie Calafell, *Monstrosity, Performance, and Race in Contemporary Culture.* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015).

[8] Matthew Houdek, "The imperative of race for rhetorical studies: Toward divesting from disciplinary and institutionalized whiteness," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies. 15,* no. 4 (2018), 295.

[9] Sara Baugh-Harris and Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, "Against canon: Engaging the imperative of race in rhetoric," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies, 15,* no. 4 (2018), 338.

[10] Raymie McKerrow, "Critical rhetoric: Theory and praxis," *Communication Monographs,* 56, no. 2 (1989), 89.

[11] I.A. Richards, *Philosophy of Rhetoric.* (Oxford University Press, 1965).

[12] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By.* (University of Illinois Press, 1980).

[13] Anne Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities of Our Times.* (Duke University Press, 2014).

[14] Peter Garnsey, "Ideas of slavery from Aristotle to Augustine," 14-16.

[15] Kristiana Báez and Ersula Ore, "The moral imperative of race for rhetorical studies: on civility and walking-in-white in academe," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies, 14,* no. 4 (2018); Mohan Dutta, "Whiteness, NCA, and Distinguished Scholars," June 2019, http://culture-centered.blogspot.com/2019/06/in-post-made-in-response-to-changesto.html; Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, "Delinking rhetoric, or revisiting McGee's fragmentation thesis through decoloniality," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs, 15,* no. 4 (2012), 647-657. Armond Towns, "Whither the "Human"? An Open Letter to the 'Race and Rhetoric' forum." Unpublished, 2018; Karma Chávez, "Beyond inclusion: Rethinking rhetoric's historical narrative," *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 101,* no. 1 (2015),162-172; Lee Pierce, "For the time(d) being: The form hate takes in *The Hate U Give," Women's Studies in Communication.* Forthcoming spring 2020; Matthew Houdek and Kendall Phillips, "Rhetoric and the temporal turn: Race, gender, temporalities," *Women's Studies in Communication.* Forthcoming spring 2020; Tiara R. Na'Puti, "Archipelagic rhetoric: Remapping the Marianas and challenging the militarization from "A Stirring Place." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies, 16,* no. 1 (2019).

[16] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak?" In Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture.* (University of Illinois Press, 1988).

[17] Enrique Galván-Álvarez. "Epistemic violence and retaliation: The issue of knowledges in 'Mother India,'" *Atlantis, 32,* no. 2 (2010), 11-26

[18] Dutta, "Whiteness"; Armardo Rodriquez, Mohan Dutta, and Elizabeth Desnoyers-Colas (Eds.), "Merit, whiteness, and privilege." Special Issue. *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research, 8,* no. 4 (2019); Devika Chawla (Ed.), "Resistances, resiliences, transformations." Special Issue. Departures in Critical Qualitative Research, 9, no. 1 (2019).

[19] Stoler, *Duress,* 17.

[20] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 193.

[21] Daniel Brouwer and Robert Asen, *Public Modalities,* (University of Alabama Press, 2010), 3.

[22] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society, 1,* no. 1 (2012), 3.

[23] Brouwer and Asen, *Public Modalities,* 2.

[24] Fred Moten, *Stolen Life.* (Duke University Press, 2018), 131.

[25] Moten, *Stolen,* 131.

[26] Mignolo, *The Darker.* See also Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, *The New York Young Lords and the Struggle for Liberation.* (Temple University Press, 2015), 22-28.

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[28] Rafael Pérez-Torres, "Chicano culture reclaiming our America: Coyotes at the border." *American Literature,* 67, no. 4 (1995), 823.

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[33] Kavita Ramakrishnan, "Disrupted futures: Unpacking metaphors of marginalization in eviction and resettlement narratives," *Antipode, 46,* no. 3 (2013), 755, 757. For metaphors and context, Brouwer and Asen, *Public Modalities,* 2

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[35] Louie M. Maraj, "What's in a game?: Wake-working (fantasy) football's anti-Black temporalities," *Women's Studies in Communication.* Forthcoming spring 2020.

[36] Maraj, "What's in a game?"

[37] A. Susan Owen and Peter Ehrenhaus, "Animating a critical rhetoric: On the feeding habits of American empire," *Western Journal of Communication, 57* (1993), 170.

[38] See her point about the "master's tools." Audrey Lorde. *Sister Outsider.* (Crossing Press Feminist Series, 1984).

[39] Tiara R. Na'Puti, "Speaking of indigeneity: Navigating genealogies against erasure and #RhetoricSoWhite," *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 105,* no. 4 (2019), 496.

[40] Na'Puti, "Archipelagic," 5.

[41] Na'Puti, "Archipelagic," 6, 19.

[42] Karin Amimoto Ingersoll, *Waves of Knowing: A Seascape Epistemology.* (Duke University Press, 2016).

[43] Natalia Molina, Daniel Martinez HoSang, Ramón A. Gutiérrez (Eds.), *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, Practice.* (University of California Press, 2019).

[44] Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies.* (Duke University Press, 2019), 9, 11.

[45] King, *The Black Shoals,* 11.

[46] King, *The Black Shoals,* 35.

[47] Law and Corrigan, "On white-speak"; Baugh-Harris and Wanzer-Serrano, "Against canon," 341.

[48] King, *The Black Shoals,* 35.

[49] King, *The Black Shoals,* 24.

[50] Vandana Shiva, *Monocultures of the Mind: Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology.* (London: Zed Books, 1993).

[51] Wanzer-Serrano, "Rhetoric's rac(e/ist) problem," 468, 470.

[52] With respect and gratitude for their critical voices/perspectives/labor/leadership.

[53] McKerrow, "Critical rhetoric," 92.

[54] McGee, "Text," 279.

[55] Law and Corrigan, "On white-speak," 329; Flores, "Toward."