

Index

Page numbers in italics denote figures. Footnotes are indicated by “n” followed by the note number.

- 2/28 Incident, Taiwan, 259, 260
4/3 (Jeju uprising), 259–60
2016 Counterterrorism Law (Israel), 245–7
- Abdat, Said, 245–6
abduction, indexicality and, 59
Ab Imperio journal, 165
abnegation of agency, 278, 286
Abu Akleh, Shireen, 239–40, 256
Abu Hanifa, 98
academic boycott, 248–9, 254–5
acoustemology, 323
Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, 244
Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association, 244–5
Adi, Stanley Yoseph, 69
Adorno, Theodor, 290
advice: “advice” (*nasiha*), 97–9, 109; “hearing” as “heeding,” 198
Aesopian language, 149, 157, 158–9, 163–5
agency: abnegation of, 278, 286; authorial, 62; listening as vehicle for, 324; magical social agency, 156; negative, 195; in rewriting history, 290–2; role of narrative in, 300; sovereignty and, 66. *See also* autonomy; narrative struggles
Age of Saturn exhibition: closure of, 302, 303–4, 312–13; eliciting disorientation, 26, 304, 309, 310–11, 314–16; presenting truthful untruths, 317–18. *See also* historical vertigo
Agha, Asif, 336n21
Agnew, Spiro, 357
Ahmed, Shahab, 96n2
Ajjawi, Ismail, 252–3
Al-Haq (human rights organization), 245n4, 246
Al Jazeera Media Network, 239
allegorical precedent, 163–5
Allen, Pamela, 335
allocentrism, 337–8
Alternative for Germany (AfD), 134
Althusser, Louis, 9
American Anthropological Association (AAA), 249
American Renewal Project, 129
American Studies Association (ASA), 249

- Amnesty International, 244
 anarchic listening, 198
 ancestral rites, 261–4, 266
 Anderson, Jane, 66
 anger, 191–3, 196–7
 anthropology: academic boycotts, 249;
 authors' approach, 3–5; citational
 practices and accountability, 242–4,
 248; ethical limits to knowledge, 66;
 free speech in extant scholarship,
 8–14; pluralizing understandings of
 freedom, 5–7
Anthropology's Politics (Deeb and
 Winegar), 241
 anti-boycott laws, 249–50
 anti-communism, 260, 264, 265
 anti-essentialism, 39–40
 anti-immigration sentiments, 174–8
 anti-Semitism, 242, 251, 341n27
 Appadurai, Arjun, 300
 April Third Incident, 259–60, 261, 263
 Arendt, Hannah, 290–1, 292, 300
Areopagitica (Milton), 10
 Arnheim, Rudolf, 227
 artistic critique: contradictions and
 cynical critique, 214–20; critique
 and value creation, 213–14, 220–3;
 cynical *parrhesia*, 212; democracy
 and liberalism, 223–4; public art acts,
 210–12
 artistic practices: archival research in,
 308–9; censorship and repression of,
 302–3, 312–14, 315–16; defunding
 of artistic institutions, 171; as
 objectifications of intentionalities, 315
 Asad, Talal: on ethical speech in
 Islam, 18, 96–100, 109; on freedom
 in Islamic traditions, 40–1; on
 limitations of liberal free speech, 4,
 15, 40; on shared roots of Islam and
 Christianity, 95–6; using “frontal”
 comparisons, 43–6
 Ashrawi, Hanan, 252
 “as if,” 299
 “as it were,” 287–8, 299, 301
 Assad, Hafiz al-, 297
 Atassi, Ali, 288, 292–5
Atlantic, The (magazine), 134
 Atlas Group (fictional collective),
 309–10
 Al Attar, Mohammad, 288
 audiovisual litany, 227, 228
Augustijn (2018), 315
 Austin, J.L., 64, 75–6, 135, 146, 242
 authenticity: bullshit as voice of, 232–3;
 in exposing fraud and deception,
 234–6; radio's appeal to, 228
 authority: confronting bullshit with,
 234–6; critiques of behaviourism
 and, 356; exchanging compliance
 for inclusion, 206–7; performances
 of inferiority, 203–6; rejection
 of, 189–91, 197–9; reorganized
 understandings of freedom and,
 207–9; vox populi and moral
 authority, 236–8
 autocratic legalism, 171, 174, 177–8,
 187
 autonomy: as argument for free speech,
 12, 13, 48, 83; Vietnamese language
 reform and, 85–8, 91. *See also* agency
 Azarova, Valentina, 255
 Azzarà, Stefano, 224
 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian
 Residency and Refugee Rights, 244,
 254
 Bakhtin, Mikhail, 152
Baladna Rahib (2014), 293–4
 Bales, Robert Freed, 330
 “Balkans-to-Bengal complex,” 96n2
 Bangladesh: archival research in artistic
 practices, 308–9; history-related
 public cultural forms, 314; state

- repression and censorship, 302–3. *See also* historical vertigo
- Barthes, Roland, 172
- Bayly, Christopher, 4
- behaviourism: critiques of, 346, 348, 356–9; politics of self-actualization, 352–5; Rogers’s “reflective listening” and, 347–52
- Bell, Duncan, 43, 44
- Benjamin, Walter, 57
- Benveniste, Emile, 86–8
- Bernstein, Andrea, 121
- Best Party (Icelandic political party), 11
- Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (Skinner), 357
- “biblical worldview,” 117
- biblicism, 64
- Bidayyat collective, 292–3
- Binyon, Laurence, 283
- Black Lives Matter movement, 114
- blasphemy: *Charlie Hebdo* debates, 14, 37–9, 40, 46–7, 51–2, 94, 110; Danish cartoon controversy, 15, 16, 37, 40, 41n2, 46–7, 94, 109; iconicity of the Qur’an and, 58–9, 61–2
- Bolshevik Revolution, 151–2, 159
- Boltanski, Luc, 213, 218–19
- book banning, 55
- Borneman, John, 153, 364, 368
- Bose, Girindrasekhar, 386
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 23, 240–1, 250, 254
- Bowers, Rusty, 114, 127–9
- Bowler, Kate, 115
- Bowman, Matthew, 127
- Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, 246, 248–50, 251–2, 254
- Boyer, Dominic, 11, 213, 221, 314
- Boym, Svetlana, 300–1
- Bradford, Martha, 329–30
- Breeze FM radio, 230–1, 234–6, 237
- Bresson, Robert, 318
- Brexit, 365
- Brooks, David, 341, 342
- Brown, Wendy, 4
- B’Tselem (human rights organization), 244, 248
- bullshit: complicity in vs. exposé, 228–31, 236–7; lies vs., 226, 236; met with authority, 234–6; as voice of authenticity, 232–3. *See also* people’s radio
- Bunn, Matthew, 8–9
- Butler, Judith, 4, 40–1, 44, 156n6, 158, 160, 241
- Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), 255
- Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 368
- Canary Mission website, 251
- “cancel culture,” 3, 55, 321, 337
- Cannell, Fenella, 283, 284
- “Can the Subaltern Listen?” (Slotta), 324
- capitalism: artistic critiques of, 216; critique as value creation, 21, 213, 217–20
- Captain Moroni, identification with, 117–22, 126, 129
- care for the dead, 283–5
- Carsten, Janet, 310
- Catholicism, 61, 107
- celebrity culture, 219
- censorship: of artistic practice, 302–3, 312–14, 315–16; “cancel culture,” 3, 55, 321, 337; Cold War era, 172; under French colonialism, 79–80; “historical vertigo” and, 304, 316; in history and cultural studies, 8–11; in Indian cinema, 373–4; in Indian social discourse, 379; Indonesian “treason” law, 208; news media consolidation, 181–5; post-2000

censorship (*continued*)

Russia, 148–9; of satirical criticism, 178–81; Soviet-era Russia, 151–2, 154–6; of student protesters, 341n27; in UK Muslim communities, 102–5. *See also* designing limits on public speech; historical vertigo; Putin-era Russia; sexuality and censorship

Censorship and Silencing (Post), 8

Central European Press and Media Foundation (CEPMF), 184

Chace, Zoe, 119, 121

Chair, The (television series), 339–41

Charity and Security Network, 247

Charlie Hebdo debates, 14, 37–9, 40, 46–7, 51–2, 94, 110

Chatterjee, Parambrata, 372

Chiapello, Eve, 213, 218

Chinese language, 79, 82n7

Chitra (Tagore), 382–4, 388

Chitrangada: The Crowning Wish (2012), 384–6, 388

Chomsky, Noam, 357–8

Chowdhury, Nusrat, 314

Chowdhury, Omar A.: *Age of Saturn* closure, 312–13, 314–16; *Age of Saturn* overview, 25–6, 302, 303, 304–8; on experience of censorship, 316–18; parafiction and, 309, 310–11

Chronicle of Ancient Sunlight, A (Williamson), 272

Chugtai, Ismat, 373

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS): Captain Moroni, 118; centrality of free will, 126–7; historical pageantry, 120; as majority-Republican church, 112; social aspects of salvationism, 127–9. *See also* Mormon *parrhesia*

Ciaranfi, Angelo, 143

citational practices and accountability, 242–4, 248

civilizational approaches to freedom of speech, 37–9

Clastres, Pierre, 191

“cloacal” language, 150–1

Coates, Ta-Nehisi, 341

Cohen, G.A., 226

Cohen, Lawrence, 378, 379, 387

Cohen-Cole, Jamie, 329

Colclough, David, 10–11, 49, 50

Cold War period, 28, 172, 185, 259–60, 265, 348, 352–5, 357

Coleman, Simon, 287, 292

collective repair. *See* performance of reparation

Comedian in a Syrian Tragedy, A (2020), 295

commemoration: ancestral, 261–4, 266; immersive reading and, 279–82; race, and war commemoration, 269–70, 284–5. *See also* public modes of remembrance

Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 270

communism, 260, 264, 265

community-driven development, 206

comparing freedoms: classic comparative devices, 35–6; diversity in debates over, 37–41; frontal comparisons and liberalism, 41–7; lateral comparisons, 47–51; lateral vs. frontal comparisons, 53–4, 170; other aesthetics and ideologies, 51–2

Coney Barrett, Amy, 116

Confucianism: intellectual critiques of, 79–81; proposed language reforms and, 81–8; uprisings against, 73–5, 91–2

“Confucianism and Democracy” (Phan), 82

“consciousness-raising” (CR) activism, 322, 332–5, 338–9, 340, 341, 342

- Conservative Political Action
 Conference (CPAC), 176–7
 co-optation of public criticism, 217–20
 Corbyn, Jeremy, 269
 Corroon, Avril, 210–11
 courage: justifying free speech, 51–2;
parrhesia, 10–11, 49, 50, 68, 95, 109,
 212, 270–3
 Crapanzano, Vincent, 116
 creative indexicals, 59
 Creative Ireland, 217
 critical speech in Islam: British Muslim
 communities, 100–5; comparisons,
 105–9; Islamic tradition vs. Western
 modernity, 96–100, 109; potential
 commonalities, 94–6
 criticism (*naqd*), 97
 critique: as “advice” (*nasiha*), 97–9,
 109; of behaviourism, 346, 348,
 356–9; of capitalism, 216; of
 Confucianism, 79–81; of expert
 authority, 348, 356–7; hierarchy and,
 220–3; satirical criticism, suppression
 of, 170–1, 178–81; as secular, 95;
 as source of value creation, 21,
 213, 217–20; *stiob* (absurd, parodic
 critique), 221–2; of Donald Trump,
 119. *See also* artistic critique; critical
 speech in Islam
 Croce, Benedetto, 140
Crossing a Line (Bishara), 243
 crudeness, 151, 157–61
 Crusade for Freedom, 260, 264
 cultivated listening, 364
 cultural studies, 8–11
 cynical critique. *See* artistic critique
 cynical *parrhesia*, 212
 Cynics, 10

 Danish cartoon controversy, 15, 16, 37,
 40, 41n2, 46–7, 94, 109
 Danziger, Eve, 324

 Das, Veena, 290, 299–300, 311
 death commemoration rites, 261–4, 266
Death of the Father, The (Borneman),
 153
 Debenport, Erin, 66
 decentralization, West Papua, 201–2,
 202
 decolonization, 260, 271, 284
 decorum, 50, 52
 Deeb, Lara, 241
 deep listening, 325–6
 Defense for Children International
 Palestine, 244–5
 deliberative listening, 322, 332, 335–7,
 342
 demand sharing, 192, 204
 democracy: behaviourism as anti-
 democratic, 356; cleavage
 between liberalism and, 214,
 223–4; deliberative, 322; democratic
 technology of interaction, 326–32;
 increase in parodic critique and, 221;
 as justification for free speech, 12, 48;
 self-actualization and, 344–6, 352–3,
 359; South Korean transition to, 259
 democratic surrounds, 323
 descriptive fallacies, 76, 135
Deseret News newspaper, 112–13
 designing limits on public speech:
 “design,” defined, 170; ideologies
 and metapragmatic struggles, 172–4;
 legal circumventions of pluralism,
 170–1, 185–7; media capture, 181–5;
 Viktor Orbán’s “mixed-race” rhetoric,
 174–8; reflexive metadiscourse, 169;
 satire and, 178–81
 Deuchler, Martina, 263
 discursive engineering, 20
 dissidence, cynical critique and, 221–2
 divine speech, 57, 58–9, 61–3
Đoạn tuyệt (Nhất), 80
 Dobrin, Lise, 324

doubles, internal, 311, 312–13, 315
 Drabinski, John, 365, 370
 Dublin City Council (DCC), 217, 222
 Dumont, Louis, 46
 Duy Tân movement, 81

Echo, Saturn (2019), 316
Echo, Saturn – Prologue (2018), 316
Echo, Saturn – The Courts (2021), 316
 Eco, Umberto, 135–6, 145
 economy of attention, 219
 economy of enrichment, 219
 egalitarianism: exchanging compliance
 for, 206–7; fear of standing out, 195;
 obedient “heeding” and, 197–9;
 performances of inferiority, 203–6;
 rejection of authority and, 191
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 260, 264
 Elgin, Catherine Z., 298
 Empire of Liberty vs. Empire of
 Equality, 260
 Englund, Harri, 11
 Enke, Anne, 334
 enlivening the dead, 283–5
 enregisterment, 336n21
 entailing indexicals, 59
 Entrekin, Nathan Wayne, 117–18,
 120–1, 122n13
 environments for expression on
 Palestine: on academic practice,
 242–4; boycott, divestment, and
 sanctions, 248–50; controls on
 movement, 250–3; expression as
 site of struggle, 253–5; power and
 intellectual production, 240–1, 256;
 racialized dimensions of expression,
 239–40; state speech, 241–2;
 threatened human rights activists,
 244–8, 256
 epistemic access, 298–9
Epistemology of the Closet (Sedgwick),
 30, 371, 374, 386–7

Esquerre, Arnaud, 213, 219
 Establishment remembrance, 268, 279,
 283
 ethical speech: in British Muslim
 communities, 100–5; Islamic tradition
 vs. Western modernity, 96–100,
 109; public vs. private use of reason,
 105–9
 evangelical Protestantism, 114–17
 expression as transaction: compliance
 for inclusion, 206–7; free speech as
 violation, 188, 191–3; “giving up”
 as freedom, 194–7, 197; Korowai
 models of freedom, 188–9; rejecting
 authority yet valuing unity, 197–9;
 reorganized understandings of
 freedom, 207–9; self-lowering,
 188, 203–6, 207; state intrusion and
 political change, 199–203, 200, 202;
 taboo and avoidance, 193–4; “talk” as
 political conflict, 188, 189–91

 fake news, 69, 181
 Fanon, Frantz, 345
 Fanone, Michael, 121
 Farah, Rami, 288, 295–8
 Farnsworth, David, 129
 Fascism: in British historical sagas,
 273n1; indexes of, 131–2, 139;
 Nazism vs., 137–9; “ordinary
 language” and “free speech,” 132–3,
 147; ordinary scepticism and, 145–7;
 self-interest vs., 139–45; speech
 about, 134–7
Fascism (Passmore), 134
 Fayad, Firas, 295
 Fedda, Yasmin, 295
 Fedirko, Taras, 6
 Feld, Steven, 323
 feminism: 1970s political landscape and,
 55; “consciousness-raising” activism,
 322, 332–5, 338–9, 340, 341, 342;

- opposition to pornography, 64–5. *See also* gender; women
feminitiva, 157
- fiction reading, war remembrance and, 272–82, 285–6
- Fidesz government, Hungary: 2015 anti-immigration campaign, 180; Hungarian Supreme Court and, 178; legal circumventions of pluralism, 170, 177; news media consolidation and, 182–4. *See also* designing limits on public speech
- field theory, 23, 240–1, 254
- Finland, *Kansanradio* radio program, 228–30, 231–3, 236–7. *See also* people's radio
- Firsov, Boris, 150
- First Indochina War, 260
- first person pronouns, Confucianism and, 85–8
- First World War: commemoration after immersion, 279–82; competing modes of remembrance, 267–9; decolonizing teachings on, 269–70; fiction reading and, 271–3; immersive experiences of, 273–8; nation-building and self-discovery, 282–6. *See also* public modes of remembrance
- Fish, Stanley, 8, 9, 46–7
- Flake, Jeff, 117, 118–20
- Fleming, Luke, 59
- Floyd, George, 338
- folk paradigms of justice, 344
- Foot, Michael, 267–8, 269
- “For the Fallen” (Binyon), 283
- Foucault, Michel: exploring free speech as virtue, 9–10; on frugal government, 213; on heterogeneous kinds of freedom, 35–6, 46; material order as discourse, 198; on *parrhesia*, 68, 113, 124, 212, 271
- France, colonial censorship, 79–80
- Frankfurt, Harry G., 21, 226
- Fraser, Nancy, 78, 344
- Frassinetti, Giorgio, 131, 132
- freedom: behaviourism and, 352–4, 356–7; Christianity, “free will” and, 122–4; decentering of, 22; interactional, 73–5; Korowai models of, 188–9; modalities of, 20; negative and positive, 13, 23–4, 92, 149, 165; public vs. private use of reason, 105–6; in ritual form, 261–4, 266; separate meanings of, 260, 264–5; as social process, 196; in unfreedom, 194–7; unfreedom and, 56, 60–9, 75–9
- Freedom of Entry* art act, 210–12
- Freedom Party of Austria, 134
- freedoms of speech: alignment with modernity, 37; concerns with evil and, 50–1; as expansive and multiplicitous, 3–7; hate speech and, 324; historical narration and, 23–6; in history and cultural studies, 8–11; individual and collective therapies, 26–30; *khamstvo* language culture, Russia, 157–61; Korowai models of freedom, 188–9; language, tradition, and comparisons, 14–19; in legal and philosophical scholarship, 12–14; “liberated” harsh speech, 151; mental health and, 344; “ordinary language” and “free speech,” 132–3, 147; political economy of, 19–23; political order and, 188; two senses of “free speech,” 134–7. *See also* artistic critique; comparing freedoms; critical speech in Islam; designing limits on public speech; environments for expression on Palestine; expression as transaction; historical vertigo; Jeju shamanism; language reform in Vietnam; listening; metapragmatic

freedoms of speech (*continued*)

struggles; narrative struggles;
ordinary scepticism; people's radio;
performance of reparation; public
modes of remembrance; Putin-era
Russia; sexuality and censorship;
therapeutic speech

Freud, Sigmund, 26–7, 312, 313, 372,
380, 383, 386

frontal comparisons, 36–7, 41–7, 53–4,
170

Futures Past (Koselleck), 291

Gal, Susan, 44, 344n1

Gebusi people, 195

Gell, Alfred, 315

gender: in death commemoration rites,
263; in Indian literature and film,
382–6, 388; patriarchal subordination
and autonomy, 198; racialization and,
251–2; Russian hard sign and, 155,
156–7; transgender identity, 372, 373,
382–5. *See also* listening; sexuality
and censorship; women

genealogical exceptionalism, 285

genres of listening, 336n21

gentrification, 210–12, 214–15

Ghosh, Rituparno, 371, 384–6

Ghosts of Memory (Carsten), 310

Giai Phẩm journal, 91

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson, 239

Giuliani, Rudy, 128

Glass, Ted, 280

“Godwin’s Law,” 134

Goffman, Erving, 176, 325

Gogo Breeze, 230–1, 234–6, 237

Gorky, Maxim, 151–2

Graan, Andrew, 20

Graeber, David, 191

Gramsci, Antonio, 9

Guardian, The, 270

Guinan, Kerry, 210–11, 213

Guinane, Kay, 247

Gupta, Madhusudan, 375, 377, 387

Guseinov, Gasan, 150–1, 157, 159

Haapakangas, Olli, 229, 232, 233

Haaretz newspaper, 244, 251

Habermas, Jürgen, 323

Haj Saleh, Yassin al-, 287, 293–4

Hansen, Thomas Blom, 303

“hard sign,” resignification of, 154–7,
155, 165

harm principle, 337, 341n27

Hass, Amira, 244

Hatcher, Brian, 376–7

hate speech, 38, 56, 158, 162, 324, 339–41

Hawley, Josh, 116, 129–30

hegemony of form, 221

Hellbeck, Jochen, 153–4, 156

Helou, Fares, 295–6

Henry Williamson Society, 24, 271,
274–82

Heryanto, Ariel, 69

hierarchy: cynical critique and, 220–3;
within “sacred space” of liberalism,
223–4. *See also* artistic critique

higher education: academic boycott,
248–9; citational practices and
accountability, 242–4, 248; illiberal
listening in, 335–41; limits on
mobility and, 250–1, 252, 255, 256

Hinduism, 375

Hirsch, Eric, 291

Hirschkind, Charles, 95

historical studies, 8–11

historical vertigo: *Age of Saturn*,
overview, 304–8, 307; characterized,
303–4, 308; Omar Chowdhury on,
316–18; history and parafiction,
308–11; state repression and
censorship, 302–3; uncanny pressure,
312–14; vertigo and momentum,
315–16

- historicity, 291, 292
 historiopraxy, 287, 292
 history: allegorical precedent, 163–5; clashes between modes of remembrance, 267–70; critical events and time, 298–301; pensiveness and, 289–90; rewriting of, 288, 290–2; Russian linguistic transmutations and, 154–6; shamanism and historical memory, 262, 264; witnessing and troubling, 23–6. *See also* historical vertigo; narrative struggles; public modes of remembrance
 Hollande, François, 37
 Holocaust denial, 38
 homosexuality, 371, 373–4, 375–9, 382
 Homs, Ziad al-, 293–4
 Hopi people, 66–7
Hostage: The Bachar Tapes (2000), 310
How Dear Is Life (Williamson), 273, 274, 276
 Howe, Ben, 115
 Huli people, 195
 Hull, Matthew, 326–7
 human rights activists, threats to, 244–8
 Human Rights Watch, 244
 Hungary, “mixed-race” rhetoric and, 174–8. *See also* designing limits on public speech
 Huỳnh Sanh Thông, 83n8
 Huỳnh Thúc Kháng, 74
HVG weekly publication, 178–81, 182
 hypostatic abstraction, 76

Ibn al-Am (2001), 292
Ibn al-Am Online (2013), 292
 iconicity, 55–6, 58–9, 61–2, 70
 ideologemes, 152–3, 155, 164
 ideologies: metapragmatic struggles and, 172–4; semiotic, 15, 56, 58, 70, 95
Ijesa malhaemsuda (Now we speak out), 259, 261, 264

 immersive reading practices, 272–82, 285–6
Immoral Majority, The (Howe), 115
 independent media consolidation, 181–5
 indexicality, 58–9, 60–1, 62, 64, 66–7, 71–2
 India, censorship and, 373–4. *See also* sexuality and censorship
 Indian residential schools, 368
 individual liberty vs. social responsibility, 40, 45–6
 Indonesia: Indonesian translation of the Qur’an, 62; Korowai-Regent interactions, 203–6; media suppression in, 68–9; name taboos, 60–1, 193; state intrusion, 199–203; state propaganda and suppression, 208. *See also* expression as transaction
 industrial production, displacement of, 219
 inferiority, performances of, 203–6
 interaction: anger in relation-making, 196–7; consciousness-raising activism and, 332–5; as epistemic object, 325; freedom as social process, 196; language and social relations, 78–9, 85–8; science of interpersonal democracy, 326–32; social aspects of salvationism, 127–9. *See also* performance of reparation; therapeutic speech
 interactional freedom, 73–5
Intercept, The (online publication), 245
 internal democracy, 322, 334–5, 342
 internal doubles, 311, 312–13, 315
 internet-based linguistic forms, 161–2
 intertextuality, 57
 interventionist listening, 337–8
 intimacies across continents, 387
 intimacy of radio, 227, 229

- Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, 327
- Ireland, gentrification in, 21, 210–12, 214–15. *See also* artistic critique
- Irvine, Judith, 172
- Isaiah, Berlin, 13
- Is Critique Secular?* (Asad et al.), 4
- isegoria* (“freedom of speech”), 11n1, 266
- Isherwood, Christopher, 378
- Islam: *Charlie Hebdo* debates, 14, 37–9, 40–1, 46–7, 51–2, 94, 110; emergence of liberalism and, 43; iconicity of the Qur’an, 58–9, 61–2. *See also* critical speech in Islam
- Ismail, Salwa, 289
- Israel: anti-terror legislation, 23, 244–8, 256; killing of Palestinian journalists, 239–40; Palestinian-led boycott movement, 248–50, 254; “state speech,” 242. *See also* environments for expression on Palestine
- Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano), 144
- Italy, identifying Fascism and, 137–9. *See also* ordinary scepticism
- Jackson, Michael, 300
- Jakobson, Roman, 150, 156
- January 6 United States Capitol attack, 111, 113, 114, 118, 120–1, 128–9
- Jassin, H.B., 62
- Javanese speech levels, 59, 60
- Jeju shamanism: April Third Incident, 259–60; death commemoration as truth-telling, 261–4; separate ideas of freedom, 260, 264–6
- jesa* (commemorative rite), 262–3, 266
- Jesus in Our Wombs* (Lester), 123
- Johnson, Boris, 270
- journalism: media capture, 170–1, 181–5; suppression of, 178–81; violence faced by journalists, 239–40
- Jungle Book* (Kipling), 163–4
- Jyllands Posten* newspaper, 37, 52
- Kali’s Child* (Kripal), 375–9, 386–7
- Kansanradio* (People’s Radio), 228–30, 231–3, 236–7
- Kant, Immanuel, 96, 105–8, 109
- Kathamrita* (Gupta), 375, 377, 379–80, 387
- Kaul, Mani, 318
- Kaur, R., 374
- Keane, Webb, 14–15, 41n2, 47
- Kendall, Laurel, 263
- Khải Định, Emperor of Vietnam, 79
- Khái Hưng, 80
- Khalil, Samira, 293
- khamstvo* language culture, 157–61
- Khatib, Abdullah al-, 295
- Khatib, Waad al-, 295
- kheit* linguistic form, 161–2
- khí tiết* (moral integrity), 85–6, 91
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 92
- Kim, I.E., 153
- Kim Seong-nae, 262, 264
- kin terms, Vietnamese, 77–8, 85–8
- Kipling, Rudyard, 163–4
- Knauft, Bruce, 195
- knowledge: ethical limits to, 66–7; knowledge production and state speech, 245–6; secrecy and, 373, 377, 378–9
- Kommersant* newspaper, 156
- Korowai people. *See* expression as transaction
- Koselleck, Reinhart, 288, 291, 293
- Kripal, Jeffrey, 375–80, 382, 383, 386–7
- Kuomintang (KMT) military rule, 259
- kut* (shamanic rite), 261, 262–3, 264
- Ladies Home Journal*, 356
- Laidlaw, James, 5–6, 41, 48, 114, 122–3
- Lambek, Michael, 122

- Langton, Rae, 64–5
- language: Aesopian, 149, 157, 158–9, 163–5; behaviourism and, 357–9; Bolshevik language reform, 151–2, 154–7; “cloacal” language, 150–1; “florid” speech, 240; ideologemes, 152–3, 155; *khamstvo* language culture, 157–61; *kheit* linguistic form, 161–2; “language on holiday,” 17–18, 133, 136–7, 146; “linguistic aphasia” of post-Soviet era, 150, 153; living language, 151; moral struggles over semiotic form, 14–15; “ordinary language” and “free speech,” 132–3, 147; ordinary scepticism, 145–7; pedagogical role of speech, 96–100, 109; performative and social aspects, 13–14, 19, 151, 203–6, 362–3; recipient design, 176; semiotic ideology, 15, 56, 58, 70, 95; speaker-centricity, 321–2, 342–3; speech in Korowai-Regent interactions, 204–5; “talk” as political conflict, 188, 189–91; truth-telling speech, 364–70. *See also* language reform in Vietnam; listening; metapragmatic struggles; ordinary scepticism; Putin-era Russia
- language reform in Vietnam: colonial censorship and Confucian oppression, 79–81; freedom and unfreedom, 75–9; interactional freedom, 73–5; new poetry and freedom from form, 88–90; Phan Khôi’s proposals for, 81–8; toward positive freedoms, 91–2
- Last Man in Dhaka Central (The Young Man Was, Part III)* (2015), 309
- lateral comparisons, 16, 36–7, 42, 47–51, 53–4
- Latour, Bruno, 327
- Laursen, John, 108
- “lawfare,” 246–7
- Lee, Mike, 117, 118
- legal scholarship, 12–14
- legislation: anti-boycott laws, 249–50; autocratic legalism, 171, 174, 177–8, 187; Israeli anti-terror legislation, 23, 244–8, 256; “lawfare,” 246–7; media consolidation, Hungary, 184; suppression of satirical criticism, 170–1, 178–81
- Lester, Rebecca, 123
- Levy, Gideon, 244
- Lewin, Kurt, 27, 322, 326–8
- Lewinian training labs, 328–32, 341, 342
- libel, 38, 56
- liberalism: authors’ use of, 35n1; cleavage between democracy and, 214, 223–4; co-optation of public criticism, 217–20; frontal comparisons and, 41–7; “frugal government” and, 213; illiberal listening in higher education, 335–41; increase in parodic critique, 221; Islamic tradition vs. Western modernity, 96–100, 109; liberal listening, 323–6; limits of “liberal” freedoms of speech, 15; new censorship theory and, 9; Viktor Orbán’s “mixed-race” rhetoric and, 177; as shared Western background, 5–6. *See also* artistic critique; comparing freedoms; critical speech in Islam; listening; pluralism
- Liebllich, Eliav, 247
- “Limits of Religious Criticism in the Middle East, The” (Asad), 95
- linguistic sovereignty, 57, 66–7
- Lippitt, Ronald, 327
- listening: anarchic, 198; “consciousness-raising” activism, 332–5; cultivated, 364; democratic technology of interaction, 326–7; “hearing” as “heeding,” 198; in higher education,

- listening (*continued*)
 335–41; Lewinian training labs, 328–32; liberal listening, 323–6; reflective, 349–52; rethinking deliberative responsiveness, 342; speaker-centricity, 321–2, 342–3; witnessing as act of, 368–9
- literacy, Vietnam, 79
- literalism, 116
- “literary language,” Soviet-era Russia, 151–2, 154–7
- Little Prince, The* (Saint-Exupéry), 164
- “living language,” 151
- Local Call* news magazine, 245
- Locke, John, 10, 43
- Long, Paul, 296
- Losurdo, Domenico, 214, 223–4
- Lowe, Lisa, 387
- Lunde, Ingunn, 151
- Lungu, Joseph, 234–6, 237
- Luu Trọng Lư, 90
- MacIntyre, Alasdair, 96, 122–3
- MacKinnon, Catherine, 64
- Madden, Joe, 274–5, 277
- magical social agency, 156
- Magyar people, 175, 178–80
- Mahmood, Saba, 4, 37, 40–1, 43–7, 52, 95–6, 123
- Mai Di, 73
- Malaysian Emergency, 260
- Mamoon, Dhali Al-, 306–7, 310, 312–13
- Manto, Saadat Hasan, 373
- marapu* followers, 14–15
- Marker, Chris, 310, 318
- marketplace of ideas model, 9, 12, 66, 67, 68, 181–2
- Marritz, Ilya, 121
- Marsilli-Vargas, Xochitl, 336n21
- Marx, Karl, 9
- Masud, Catherine, 308
- Masud, Tareque, 308
- Mazzarella, William, 225, 374
- McElgunn, Hannah, 66
- McHale, Shawn, 79
- Meadows, Ali, 278, 280
- media: media capture, 170–1, 181–5; suppression of satirical criticism, 178–81; Syrian documentaries and serials, 287, 288, 292–8; violence faced by journalists, 239–40; visual and linguistic, relationships between, 57–8. *See also* people’s radio
- memory. *See* historical vertigo; narrative struggles; public modes of remembrance
- mental health. *See* performance of reparation; psychotherapy; therapeutic speech
- Mental Health Act (United Kingdom), 360
- mentalism, 353–4, 355
- metapragmatic struggles: blasphemy, 61–3; ideologies and, 172–4; name taboos, 60–1; news media consolidation, 181–5; pornography, 63–5; racist lexicon, 55–6; representational economy, 57–8; satire, 178–81; semiotic transgression, 56–7; signs, indexicality and, 58–60; social relations and semiosis, 70–2; sovereignty, 66–7; truth, 67–9
- Middle East, 96n2, 97–8
- Middle East Studies Association (MESA), 249
- Mikhailoga, T.V, 153
- Mill, John Stuart, 12, 65, 337
- Milton, John, 10, 50–1
- Minima Moralia* (Adorno), 290
- “mixed-race” discourse, 174–6
- mobility, racialized restrictions on, 250–3, 255
- Mohaiemen, Naeem, 308–9
- Mohammad, Ossama, 295
- Moll, Yasmin, 62–3

- “monotonous violence” of standardized rhetoric, 151
- moral integrity (*khí tiết*), 85–6, 91
- Mormon *parrhesia*: Captain Moroni, 117–22; “freedom” and “free will,” 122–4; Mormon responses to Donald Trump, 111–14, 124–9; *parrhesia* defined, 113; religion, politics, and Donald Trump, 114–17
- Moynihan, Patrick, 119
- Mukti Gaan* (1995), 308
- Mussolini, Benito, 144–5
- Mwale, Grayson Peter Nyozani, 230
- mysticism, 124, 375–6
- Nader, Laura, 243
- Nakassis, Costas, 87n12
- name taboos, 57, 60–1, 84–5, 193
- narrative struggles: Ali Atassi (documentary filmmaker), 292–5; critical events and time, 298–301; Rami Farah (documentary filmmaker), 295–8; freedom to narrate, 287–8; pensiveness and spaces of reflection, 289–90; sediments of time and rewriting history, 290–2
- nasiha* (“advice”), 97–9, 109
- Nassy Brown, Jacqueline, 284
- national approaches to freedom of speech, 37–9
- National College of Art and Design, Dublin, 210
- National Organization for Women (NOW), 334
- National Rally (France), 134
- National Training Laboratory (NTL) on Group Development, 328–32
- “Nature of Pronouns, The” (Benveniste), 87–8
- Navalny, Alexei, 149
- Nazism, 137–9, 176, 356
- negative agency, 195
- negative and positive freedoms, 13, 23–4, 92, 149, 165
- Nehammer, Karl, 177
- neo-liberalism, 219
- Népszabadság* newspaper, 181–5
- Netanyahu, Benjamin, 252
- neutral pronouns, 85–8
- new censorship theory, 8–9
- New Spirit of Capitalism, The* (Boltanski and Chiapello), 218
- New York Times, The*, 183, 341
- NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 244–8
- Nguyễn Bá Học, 81
- Nguyễn Bá Trác, 73
- Nguyễn Du, 78
- Nhân Văn* journal, 91–2
- Nhất Linh, 80
- Nibley, Hugh, 129
- Niezen, Ronald, 368
- Nimr, Abu, 296–7
- Nimr, Nimr al-, 98
- nostalgia, 290, 300–1
- “nostalgics” (*nostalgiçi*), 17, 139–40
- nudity, 205n3
- Obhishopto Nighty* (The cursed nighty) (2014), 371–4, 388
- O’Connor, Lynn, 333
- “Old Love” (Phan), 78, 89
- On Living in an Old Country* (Wright), 267
- On the Subject of Virtue* (Laidlaw), 122
- Open Dialogue method, 360, 364n1
- operant conditioning, 356
- Orbán, Viktor, 20, 174–8, 184. *See also* designing limits on public speech
- ordinary language: “free speech” and, 132–3, 147; language on holiday vs., 18, 133–4

- ordinary scepticism: Fascism vs. Nazism, 137–9; indexes of Fascism, 131–2; “ordinary language” and “free speech,” 132–3, 147; self-interest and shifting allegiances, 139–45; two senses of “free speech,” 134–7; in untethering Fascism, 145–7
- Orientalism, 240
- originalism, 116
- Origo news website, 183–4
- Orsi, Robert, 130
- Orwell, George, 134, 136–7
- Osetrova, E.V., 153
- Our Memory Belongs to Us* (2021), 295
- over-free speech, 162
- overidentification of critique objects, 211, 213, 221–2
- Pacific War, 260
- padonskii yazyk* linguistic form, 161
- Palestine: Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement, 248–50; Israeli anti-terror legislation, 244–8, 256; killing of Palestinian journalists, 239–40; racialized mobility restrictions, 250–3; “state speech” and, 241–2; and “universal” rights to free speech, 239. *See also* environments for expression on Palestine
- Papua, political change in, 199–203. *See also* expression as transaction
- Papua New Guinea, 195, 198, 324
- parafiction, 309–11, 314
- parrhesia* (“courage of truth”), 10–11, 49–50, 68, 95, 109, 212, 270–3. *See also* Mormon *parrhesia*
- Passavant, Paul, 43
- Passmore, Kevin, 134
- Patton, Laurie, 378–9
- Paxton, Robert, 134
- pedagogical role of speech, 96–100, 109
- Peer-Supported Open Dialogue (POD): as form of redress, 364; training sessions, 360–2; truth-telling speech and, 364–70
- Peirce, Charles Sanders, 58, 59, 76
- Pelagianism, 116
- pensiveness, 289–90
- people’s radio: affordances of radio, 227–8; bullshit as authenticity, 231–3; complicity vs. exposé, 226–7; in Finland and Zambia, 228–31; grandfatherly authority, 234–6; moral authority and vox populi, 236–8; populism and mediation, 225–6
- Per Cent for Art Scheme, 217
- performance of reparation: dialogue as performative act, 362–3; Peer-Supported Open Dialogue as redress, 364; Peer-Supported Open Dialogue training, 360–2; truth-telling speech, 364–70
- performances of inferiority, 203–6
- performative metalanguage, 19, 151
- Perry, Samuel, 63–4
- Peters, John Durham, 50–1
- Peterson, Nicolas, 192
- Phạm Quỳnh, 89
- Phan Châu Trinh, 73–4, 81
- Phan Khôi: in 1908 uprisings, 73–5; identifying obstacles to freedom, 77; new approach to poetry, 78, 88–90; positive freedoms, cultivation of, 92; proposed language reforms, 81–8, 91
- phenomenal vs. physical time, 311, 314
- Philosophical Investigations* (Wittgenstein), 136
- philosophical scholarship, 12–14
- pietistic idealism, 64
- Pina, Francisco de, 79
- “Plea for Excuses, A” (Austin), 75–6
- pluralism: circumventions of, 170, 177, 185–7; maintaining appearance of, 172–3, 181, 185–6
- poetry, language reform in Vietnam and, 88–90

- politeness, as untruth, 151
 politics: criminalization of Palestinian politics, 244–8, 252–3; critique and value creation, 220–3; critiques of behaviourism, 357–9; enrichment economies and, 219; ideologies and metapragmatic struggles, 172–4; legal circumventions of pluralism, 170–1, 185–7; “mixed-race” rhetoric in, 174–8; political change, West Papua, 199–203; of reparation, 363–5, 368, 369–70; of self-actualization, 344–6, 352–5; “talk” as political conflict, 189–91. *See also* artistic critique; designing limits on public speech; expression as transaction; liberalism; people’s radio
Politics of Piety, The (Mahmood), 41
 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 245, 247
 populism: complicity vs. exposé, 226–7, 228–31, 237–8; mediation and, 225–6, 236; vox populi radio genre and, 228. *See also* people’s radio
 pornography, 57, 63–5
 positive and negative freedoms, 13, 23–4, 92, 149, 165
 Post, Robert, 8
 post-structuralism, 9
 power: autocratic legalism, 171, 174, 177–8, 187; intellectual production and, 240–1, 256; Israeli anti-terror legislation, 23, 244–8, 256; “lawfare,” 246–7; state propaganda and suppression, 208, 302–3; state speech, 241–2. *See also* agency; authority; censorship
Power Worshippers, The (Stewart), 117
 pragmatics. *See* metapragmatic struggles
 Predappio, Italy, 131, 136, 137, 138–46. *See also* Fascism
 Preston, Andrew, 264
 presupposing indexicals, 59
 pronouns, Confucianism and, 85–8
 Protestant church, 61, 63, 112, 113, 114–17, 265n3
 Proust, Marcel, 49
 psychotherapy: “consciousness-raising” sessions and, 332–4, 339; democratic ideals and, 344–6, 359; in Indian film and literature, 372–3, 377–8, 384–6. *See also* performance of reparation; sexuality and censorship; therapeutic speech
 “public aphasia” of post-Soviet era, 150
 public modes of remembrance: Britain’s war dead, 282–6; commemoration after immersion, 279–82; historical context, 267–70; immersive experiences of war, 273–8; as “parrhesiastic game,” 270–3
 public/private dynamic, 105–8, 374, 388
 Putin-era Russia: counter-currents, 149–50; internet irreverence, 161–2; *khamstvo* language culture, 157–61; political change and linguistic normativity, 150–3; post-2000 legislative measures, 148–9; protests and allegorical precedent, 162–5; subject positions of speaking out, 153–7
 Pyongyang, North Korea, 265n3
 queerness, 373, 379, 380–1
quốc ngữ (“national script”), 79
 Qur’an, 58–9, 61–2, 97–8
 Raad, Walid, 309–10
 race: boycott campaigns against, 248; “consciousness-raising” activism and, 334n18; “mixed-race” rhetoric, 170, 174–8; racialization and mobility, 251–2; racialized dimensions of expression, 239–40; “use/mention” distinction, 55–6, 70;

race (*continued*)

validation listening and, 338; war commemoration and, 269–70, 284–5

Rahman, Sadia, 302

Ramadan, Tariq, 252

Ramakrishna (Bengali sage), 375–80, 383, 387

Rancière, Jacques, 290

Rankin Street 1953 (2013), 308–9

Ray, Satyajit, 318

reading, war remembrance and, 271–82, 285–6

“reasoned criticism,” 97

reception. *See* listening

recessive agency, 195

recipient design, 176

Redstockings West (Women’s Liberation group), 333

reflective listening, 349–52

reflective nostalgia, 301

relativism, 39

religion: Catholic church, 61, 107; *Charlie Hebdo* debates, 14, 37–9, 40, 46–7, 51–2, 94, 110; Christianity, “freedom,” and “free will,” 122–4; in comparative framings of freedom, 37–9, 40–1; in conceptions of freedom, 260, 264–5; critique as secular, 95; discussion of divinities, 193; evil, courage, and freedom of speech, 50–1; homosexual erotics and mysticism, 375–9; moral struggles over semiotic form, 14–15; politics, Donald Trump and, 114–17; Protestant church, 61, 63, 112, 113, 114–17, 265n3; public vs. private use of reason and, 105–8; religious nationalism, 114, 117, 129; Russian *kham*, origins of, 158; truth-telling speech and, 370; “Word” in Christian thought, 198. *See also* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS); Islam

Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone (Kant), 107

remembrance. *See* public modes of remembrance

reparation. *See* performance of reparation

representational economy, 57–8, 64, 65, 67–9

repressed desire, speech and, 29–30

Republican Party (United States): criticisms of Donald Trump and, 125–6, 128–9; LDS church and, 111–13. *See also* Mormon *parrhesia*

Research Center for Group Dynamics, 326

restraint, 193–4, 195

Rhodes, Alexandre de, 79

Richland, Justin, 66–7

Riess, Jana, 120

Rings of Saturn, The (Sebal), 311

ritualized speech performances. *See* performance of reparation

Rodriguez, Danny, 121

Roe v. Wade, 115

Rogers, Carl, 28, 344–6, 348–55, 358–9

Romney, Mitt, 111–13, 124–6, 127

Roudakova, Natalia, 213, 221–2

Runia, Eelco, 289, 290

“rupture-repair-redemption” paradigm, 363, 369

Rushdie, Salman, 94

“Rushdie Affair,” 43

Russian “hard sign,” resignification of, 154–7, 155, 165. *See also* Putin-era Russia

Russkii Mir journal, 161

Ryazanova-Clarke, Lara, 152

Saber, Dima, 296

Sachedina, Abdulaziz, 103, 107

“safe” spaces, 333

Sahlins, Marshall, 193

- Said, Edward, 240
 Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de, 164
 Salem, Lyana, 297–8
Salt Lake Tribune newspaper, 120
Samantaral (2019), 372
 Samet, Robert, 226
 Sandomirskaya, Yulia, 156–7
 Sarachild, Kathie, 335
 Saria, Vaibhav, 381
 Sarkar, Sumit, 379–80, 381–2
 Sarraut, Albert, 77
Satanic Verses, The (Rushdie), 94
 satire, restrictions on, 178–81
 Saudi Arabia, 97–8, 100
 Saussure, Ferdinand de, 156
 Saving Freedom, 260, 264, 266
 Saxonhouse, Arlene, 50
 Scalia, Antonin, 67
 Scelba Law (1952), 138
 Schauer, Frederick, 13
 Scheppele, Kim, 171
 Scott, David, 291, 292
 Scott, James C., 191
 Scudder, Mary, 323
 Sebald, W.G., 308, 310, 311, 317
 second-wave feminism, 322, 332–5
 Second World War, 260, 264, 326–7
 secrecy, 371–4, 377, 379–82, 387–8
 secularism: alignment of free speech
 with, 37; critique as secular, 95
 Sedgwick, Eve K., 30, 371, 374,
 386–8
 sediments of time, 288, 290–2
Sediments of Time (Koselleck), 291
 Seizer, Susan, 67
 self-actualization, 344–6, 352–3, 359.
 See also therapeutic speech
 self-cultivation, 9–10
 self-discovery, care for the dead as, 283
 self-limitation, 193–4, 195
 self-lowering: as ambivalent mode of
 freedom, 198–9, 207; performances of
 inferiority, 203–6; as transactionally
 effective, 196–7
 Self-Reliant Literary Group (Tự Lực
 Văn Đoàn), 80–1
 Selin, Jaana, 229–30, 231–2, 233
 semiotic ideology, 15, 56, 58, 70, 95.
 See also metapragmatic struggles
 semiotic transgression, 56–7
 semiotic unfreedoms. *See*
 metapragmatic struggles
 Sen, Aparna, 371
 sexuality and censorship: boon, and
 Tagore's *Chitra*, 382–4; *Obhishopto*
 Nighty (The cursed nighty), 371–4;
 scandal, and Kripal's *Kali's Child*,
 375–9; secrecy, and Gupta's
 Kathamrita, 379–82; structure and
 shape, 386–8; therapy, and Ghosh's
 Chitrangada, 384–6
 Sfard, Michael, 246
 Shakir, Omar, 251
 shamanism. *See* Jeju shamanism
 shame, 50, 52
 Shammass, Diala, 247
 sharing, as transactionally effective, 196
 Shi'i community, 94, 98
 Shinar, Adam, 247
 signs: defining, 58; establishing
 indexicality of, 71–2; as vehicles of
 reference, 63
 Sil, Narasingha, 376, 378
timbang (specialist in shamanism), 261
 Sistani, Ali al-, 103–4, 108
 Skinner, B.F.: critiques of, 356–9;
 critiquing Rogers's "reflective
 listening," 346–52; politics of self-
 actualization, 352–5
Slate magazine, 134
 Slotta, James, 198, 324
 small group analysis, 326, 332–5
 Smith, Joseph, Jr., 112, 127, 129
 social relations. *See* interaction

- social responsibility vs. individual
liberty, 40, 45–6
- Socrates, 10
- Soerjo, Tirto Adhi, 69
- Sorabji, Richard, 3–4
- Sørensen, Signe Byrge, 297
- sound studies, 323
- South Korea: April Third Incident, 259–60; separate ideas of freedom, 260, 264–6; shamanic ancestral rites, 261–4
- sovereignty: in Korean shamanic culture, 266; linguistic, 57, 66–7; as palimpsest of institutional forms, 313–14
- speaker-centricity, 321–2, 342–3
- special autonomy, West Papua, 201–2
- speech act theory, 64–5
- Spencer, Steve, 281–2
- Spock, Benjamin, 356, 357
- Staël, Germaine de, 151
- Stalin, Joseph, 118
- Statesman, The* (newspaper), 376
- state speech, 241–2
- Sterne, Jonathan, 227
- Stewart, Charles, 291
- Stewart, Katherine, 114, 117, 129
- stiob* (absurd, parodic critique), 221–2
- Strategic Development Zones, 217
- Strodtbeck, Fred, 326
- “Style of ‘New Poetry,’ A” (Phan), 89
- subordination. *See* authority
- Sumbinese name avoidance, 60–1
- Sûreté Générale Indochinoise, 77
- symbolism, signification and, 58, 59
- Syria: documentary film-making, 292–8; historiopraxy and freedom to narrate, 287–8; role of history and reflection, 289–90, 298–301. *See also* narrative struggles
- SyriaUntold (online platform), 293
- taboos: avoidance and, 193–4; duality in taboo rules, 195–6; name taboos, 57, 60–1, 84–5, 193
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 382–4, 388
- Taiwan, 259
- Tale of Kiều* (Nguyễn), 78
- talk radio. *See* people’s radio
- Tantrism, 375–7, 380–1
- Taussig, Michael, 318
- Tempo* periodical, 68–9
- terrorism: Israeli anti-terror legislation, 23, 244–6, 256; Palestinian racialization and, 240
- Thatcher, Margaret, 267
- “them” vs. “us” comparisons, 40, 41–7, 53–4, 170
- therapeutic speech: democratic ideals and, 344–6, 359; politics of self-actualization, 352–5; Rogers’s “reflective listening,” 347–52; Skinner’s utopia, 356–9. *See also* performance of reparation; sexuality and censorship
- There’s No Such Thing as Free Speech* (Fish), 8, 9
- Thévenot, Laurent, 213
- This American Life* radio program, 119
- time: critical events and, 298–301; phenomenal vs. physical, 311, 314; sediments of, 288, 290–2. *See also* history; narrative struggles
- Tinh Gia* (Phan), 90
- Tlaib, Rashida, 251–2
- Togliatti amnesty (1946), 138
- tôi (first-person singular pronoun), 87–8
- Tóta, Árpád W., 178–81
- Tran, Ben, 80
- Trần Đức Thảo, 92
- Trần Quý Cáp, 74
- transactionality: expression as transaction, 207–9; self-lowering and, 196–7; of speech, 189, 206. *See also* expression as transaction
- transgender identity, 372, 373, 382–5
- Traux, Charles B., 350
- Trotsky, Lev, 155

- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 314
- Truman Doctrine (1947), 260, 264
- Trump, Donald: as Captain Moroni, 118, 120–1; democratic deficits and, 365; harassment of Rashida Tlaib, 252; Mormon responses to, 111–14, 124–9; qualifying Fascism and, 134; racist discourse and, 65; religion, politics, and, 114–17. *See also* Mormon *parrhesia*
- truth: as argument for free speech, 12, 48, 67–9; care for the dead and, 283; critiques of Donald Trump and, 119; death commemoration as truth-telling, 261–4; free speech and public spectacle as, 213; *parrhesia*, 10–11, 49–50, 68, 95, 109, 212, 270–3; politeness as untruth, 151; self-knowledge, 383; “sites of truth” protected by liberalism, 213; truth-telling about war, 269–70; truth-telling speech, 364–70; in uncritical reading experiences, 273–8, 286; Vietnamese language reform and, 76, 84, 91. *See also* historical vertigo; people’s radio; performance of reparation; public modes of remembrance
- truth and reconciliation commissions (TRCs), 364–5, 368, 369
- Tudor, Tamiza, 162n14
- Turgenev, Ivan, 152
- Turk, Riyad al-, 292
- Turner, Fred, 323
- Twelver Shi’i Khoja community, 94, 100–5
- Two Meetings and a Funeral* (2017), 309
- Ukraine, 176, 178
- uncanny, concept of, 312–14
- uncritical reading experiences, 272–82, 285–6
- unfreedom: freedom and forms of, 56, 60–9, 75–9; freedom in, 194–7; taboo and avoidance, 193–4
- United Kingdom: authenticity of historical tradition and, 267; competing modes of war remembrance, 267–9; nation-building through genealogy, 283–5; Twelver Shi’i community, 94, 100–5. *See also* performance of reparation; public modes of remembrance
- United Red Army (The Young Man Was, Part I)* (2012), 309
- United States: anti-boycott laws, 249, 250; boycott campaigns, 248; Canary Mission website, 251; critique of expert authority, 356–7; free speech and mental health, 344; Israeli anti-terror legislation and, 245, 247; January 6 Capitol attack, 111, 113, 114, 118, 120–1, 128–9; Viktor Orbán’s CPAC keynote speech, 176–7; originalism in Constitutional interpretation, 116; post–Second World War “mission” for freedom, 260, 264; racialized entry controls, 251–3; religious nationalism, 114, 117, 129. *See also* Mormon *parrhesia*; therapeutic speech
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 253
- United States Military Government of Korea, 260
- Unite the Right rally (2017), 324
- unity, 194–9
- University of Michigan, 336
- University of Minnesota Duluth, 345
- University of Toronto, 255, 256
- Ur-Fascism, 135–6, 145
- “use/mention” distinction, 55–6, 70
- “us” vs. “them” comparisons, 40, 41–7, 53–4, 170

- Vakhtin, Nikolai, 150
- validational listening, 322, 332–5, 338–9
- value creation: critique, hierarchy and, 220–3; critique as source of, 21, 213, 217–20
- Vastness in Eclipse* (2014), 310
- Venkatesan, Soumhya, 6–7
- Verbal Behavior* (Skinner), 357–8
- Vertigo* (Sebald), 308
- Vietnam. *See* language reform in Vietnam
- Village Block Grants, West Papua, 206
- Virilio, Paul, 289
- virtue: free speech as, 9–11; Islamic ethical speech and, 95–6, 97–100
- vision, as modern sense, 227–8
- visual and linguistic media, relationships between, 57–8
- Vivekananda (Bengali sage), 375, 382
- Voutilainen, Mauno, 231–3, 237
- vox populi, 228, 236–8. *See also* people's radio
- Walden Two* (Skinner), 356
- Wardlow, Holly, 195
- Warner, Michael, 272
- Warren, Martin L., 124, 129
- Wedeen, Lisa, 299
- Weerasethakul, Apichatpong, 310, 318
- Westad, Odd Arne, 260
- West Bank occupation, 243, 248–9
- West Papua, political change, 199–203. *See also* expression as transaction
- “What Is Enlightenment?” (Kant), 96, 105–6
- White, Gary, 276–7
- White, Ralph, 327
- White-Cain, Paula, 115
- Who Do You Think You Are?* television series, 283–4
- Williamson, Henry, 272–8, 282
- Wilson, Richard, 369
- Winegar, Jessica, 241
- Wissen Der Künsten* journal, 316
- witnessing as act of listening, 368–9
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 17–18, 133, 135, 136
- women: in death commemoration rites, 263; gendering of Russian hard sign, 155, 156–7; oppression under Confucianism, 80–1, 82; racialization of, 251–2. *See also* feminism; gender
- Women's Liberation movement, 333
- Women's News* (Phụ Nữ Tân Văn) periodical, 79, 81
- Wright, Patrick, 267–9, 271, 272, 279, 283
- “writing alongside” interlocutors, 239, 243, 244–8
- Yemel'yanko, Vladimir, 161, 162
- yer, in Russian alphabet, 154–7, 155
- Yermakov, S.V., 153
- Yopno people, 198
- Yurchak, Alexei, 213, 221, 222, 314
- Zaman, Shahidul, 25–6, 302, 304–8, 311, 312–14, 315–16
- Zambia: Breeze FM radio station, 230–1, 234–6, 237; populism and vox populi genre, 228. *See also* people's radio
- Zeitoun, Obaidah, 295
- Zelenskiy, Volodymyr, 124
- “zero-degree individual,” 87n12
- Zochrot (Israeli nonprofit), 243