

Garbage Stunt Confirms Trump is America's Meme King

By Mary Harrington



With American election fever now at a deafening pitch, there's something disorientating about stepping from one filter bubble to another and seeing how differently the same event can be treated.

Yesterday, for instance, Donald Trump staged a photoshoot in a branded garbage collection truck, in response to Joe Biden calling his supporters "garbage". This in turn was in response to a stand-up comic at Trump's recent New York City rally describing Puerto Rico as "a floating island of garbage".

The *Independent* reported the garbage truck stunt as a "total fail". The *New York Times* employed the "editorializing by proxy" strategy beloved of officially-still-objective newsrooms such as the BBC, in which they don't so much report the stunt as report the reactions of people who didn't like the stunt, so as to criticize it while preserving the appearance of merely reporting the news. Meanwhile, Trump-backing billionaire Elon Musk deemed it "genius-level trolling", and the *New York Post* called it "a big, beautiful MAGA garbage truck".

Now, I have come to appreciate the power of a well-judged meme. And on this front Trump has consistently been head and shoulders above his opponents in the election campaign.

The visual of Trump in a hi-vis vest, behind the wheel of a Trump-branded garbage truck carries potent connotations. Momentarily, the former president became the working man, doing the smelly, arduous but socially indispensable work of collecting everyone's rubbish. He became the practical man, doing tangible work in the real world. Postmodern politics retrieves "representation" in a more medieval than liberal-democratic sense. And from this perspective, we can read Trump's "garbage" stunt as representing — in archetype, if not yet in policy — a swathe of the American electorate that in recent decades has been largely abandoned by the Left which once voiced its interests.

Embodying archetypes in this way is a gift, not a learned achievement. Garbage Guy Trump is only the latest in a string of memetically potent Trumpian images and utterances. When he visited a

McDonald's, made some fries and "served" from the drive-thru window, his enemies protested that it was all staged. But it made little difference, because the resulting images were simply too symbolically dense for such details to matter.

This in turn offers a clue as to why Trump consistently outclasses his opponents in meme warfare. He seems to understand at an instinctive level that dominating Internet discourse isn't about whether everyone thinks you're a good person or not. The images, ideas, and phrases that make it beyond partisan filter bubbles do so not by being persuasively good across the board, but by transcending "good" and "bad" altogether.

True memetic power doesn't rest in making everyone like you. Really, the entertainment value of the whole system rests on images and ideas strong enough to drive discourse across the political spectrum. And in this game, nobody matches Trump. Kamala's "Brat" and "Joy" memes were good efforts, but ultimately weak. Meanwhile, it doesn't matter if you're lauding the appearance of Garbage Guy Trump as a supporter, or condemning it as a hater: you're still sharing the image.

So, what role can serious policy debate possibly play in a battle for viral cut-through?

Well, it's nowhere near as effective as a good story, apparently. Watch how Trump turned the whole episode into an amusing anecdote to entertain his supporters.

<https://youtu.be/aowTnISylRE>



1 Powerful techniques

Introduction

A Read this extract from a presentation. The presenter works in the human resources department of a multinational manufacturer. The audience are potential graduate recruits.

Summit Programme Presentation Transcript

Thursday, June 28

So, what is our second graduate programme?

This is our high potential Summit Programme that will take the best among you to the top, the very top. This is a very exciting option for those of you who are truly looking for variety, opportunity and challenge. The programme enables you to take on three different assignments in three countries in three years and at the same time study for postgraduate management and language qualifications.

It's a challenge, a real challenge. Your first assignment takes place in your home country, the second at our headquarters in San Diego and the third in another country where we expect you to learn a new language. Of course, we pay for all your relocation and study expenses. In fact, our support is very generous, very generous, indeed more generous than anything else you'll find on the job market. But, in return you have to be flexible, hard-working and self-motivated because this programme is not a holiday but a boot camp. You will work, work, work and study, study, study. We test you and you test us. If you successfully finish the three assignments, you are not simply at the end of your training, but at the beginning of a fast, interesting and rewarding career path on your way to the top, the very top.

Let me give you an example of a Summit success story. This is Milena Gawczynski. She had the best degree of her year from Warsaw University and a MBA that she completed during her year with us in San Diego. Her third year on the Summit Programme was spent in Barcelona where she initiated a project to improve communications between our southern European manufacturing plants. She speaks fluent Polish, Russian, English and Spanish and is currently head of our Central European Services office in Prague.

As you can see, our standards are much higher than other companies. Our assessment centre is far more rigorous than all the others presented to you today. That's because we only want the best and of course you'll get the best from us. Our 'summitteers' earn above average salaries and performance bonuses. Our mentoring scheme, international networks and development programme are second to none. If it's variety, opportunity and challenge you're looking for and you know you are the best, then, our Summit Programme is the one for you. It's the only one that will take you to the top, the very top.

HR Department

B Now read the presentation extract aloud. Which sections are more effective in speaking than in writing?

C Read what six presenters said about some of their favourite techniques they learnt on a presentations seminar. Then answer the questions below.

“

- 1 When we're presenting, it can feel unnatural to say the same words over and over again. But, I've noticed that **repetition** really works when I listen to a presentation. It really helps to clarify and consolidate the key points. So, I try to use repetition myself. I think if you can get over the 'unnatural' feeling, it's a really easy technique and it actually makes presenting in English less difficult as you don't have to find different words for the same things.
- 2 You can repeat a phrase or a slogan like a **mantra**. Sometimes it's this mantra that everyone remembers long after the presentation is over. I learnt that classical orators used this technique and I think one of the most famous modern examples is the Martin Luther King speech where he used the 'I have a dream' mantra. People even call it the 'I have a dream' speech. Mantra has to be precise, to the point and memorable. When you get the mantra right, everyone remembers it.
- 3 I quite like using **rhetorical questions** as they create expectation and a feeling of dialogue. They're also a useful tool for outlining or signposting the structure. You should use grammatically correct questions though if you're presenting in another language. It's no good asking a question if the audience don't understand it or because you asked something too complex.
- 4 I really remember the **Rule of Three**. It's so easy. Good presentations often have lists with three different words, three identical words, three phrases or three sentences. Most experts attribute the Rule of Three to Aristotle's Art of Rhetoric in which he referred to 'three types of speeches' and 'three forms of proof'. Pythagoras said three was the 'perfect number'. Lists of three have a sense of completeness and research shows that listeners wait for and expect a third item in a list. As a presenter, I think it's a fairly simple but highly effective technique.
- 5 One of the things I like to do is give real life **examples** or examples that everybody knows. I think this really 'speaks' to the audience as they remember things when they relate them to themselves, events or people. Examples bring things to life. It's all about creating associations.
- 6 A number of effective techniques we use today go right back to the classical writers on rhetoric. Take **contrast**, for example – if you compare one thing to another, you are making a contrast. 'We are bigger than our competitors' is an example. Another contrast technique is to use words that are opposites. Kennedy did it in that famous speech, 'symbolizing an end not a beginning' and 'United, there is little we cannot do ... Divided, there is little we can do'. He used 'not ... but' in the same speech too, 'We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom'. From a language point of view, these are really not complicated techniques for non-native speakers to use.

”

- 1 Can you find examples of techniques 1–6 in the presentation transcript in A on page 50?
- 2 Do you already use any of techniques 1–6 in your presentations?
- 3 Which new techniques would you be able to incorporate in your presentations?
- 4 Would you find any of the techniques difficult to use?

First, watch this video-clip:

Frank Underwood 'You are entitled to nothing'

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O28zRWR5QT4>

Good evening. For too long, we in Washington have been lying to you. We say we're here to serve you, when in fact, we're serving ourselves. And why? We are driven by our own desire to get reelected. Our need to stay in power eclipses our duty to govern. That ends tonight. Tonight, I give you the truth. And the truth is this: The American dream has failed you. Work hard? Play by the rules? You aren't guaranteed success. Your children will not have a better life than you did. Ten million of you can't even get a job, even though you desperately want one. We've been crippled by Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, by welfare, by entitlements. And that is the root of the problem: entitlements. Let me be clear. You are entitled to nothing. You are entitled to nothing. America was built on the spirit of industry. You build your future. It isn't handed to you. And the problem with Washington is that we haven't given you the tools to build it. The only way for us to serve you is to give you the means to serve yourselves. Well, that's exactly what I intend to do. Not handouts. Jobs. Real paying jobs. In the next few weeks, the Democratic leadership will introduce a program called 'America Works'. Its goal is simple: to put the ten million Americans who are unemployed to work. All of them. If you want a job, you get one. The cost is five hundred billion dollars. Now, that's a lot of money. To pay for it, we'll need to rethink Social Security, healthcare and benefits from the ground up. We can't maintain the welfare state as we know it. Now, that's not a popular thing to say. Anyone running for office wouldn't dare utter those words. Every advisor and consultant and staff member would beg a presidential candidate not to say them. But I can say them. Because I will not be seeking the Democratic nomination in 2016. Candidates are cautious. They must equivocate, they dodge and tiptoe. But I'd rather leave this office having accomplished something of value than secure another four years having done nothing at all. Franklin Delano Roosevelt ushered in an era of hope and progress when he proposed the New Deal. And at the time, his reforms were considered radical. But he once said, "This country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. And if it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something". Roosevelt would have understood better than anyone the necessity for trying something different. The New Deal succeeded for many years, but we must now try something newer before it fails us. If 'America Works' succeeds, we will reinvent the American dream. If we fail in our attempt, we will admit it frankly and try another. But above all, we must try something. Thank you, and God Bless the United States of America.

Good evening.

For too long, **we** in **Washington** have been lying to you. (*STARTLING STATEMENT*)

We say we're here to **serve you**, **when in fact**, **we're serving ourselves**.

And why? We are **driven** by our own **desire** to get re-elected.

Our need to stay in power eclipses **our duty to govern**.

That ends *tonight*.

Tonight, I give you the *truth*.

And the *truth* is this: The American dream has failed you. (*STARTLING STATEMENT*)

Work hard? Play by the rules? You aren't guaranteed success. (*STARTLING STATEMENT*)

Your children will not have a better life than you did. (*STARTLING STATEMENT*)

Ten million of you can't even get a job, even though you desperately **want one**.

We've been crippled by Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, by welfare, by *entitlements*.

And that is the root of the problem: *entitlements*.

Let me be clear.

You are entitled to nothing.

You are entitled to nothing.

America was built on the spirit of industry.

You **build** your future.

It isn't **handed** to you.

And the problem **with Washington** is that **we** haven't given you the tools to build it.

The only way for us to **serve** you is to give you the means to **serve yourselves**.

Well, that's exactly **what** I intend to do.

Not **handouts**.

Jobs.

Real paying jobs.

In the next few weeks, the Democratic leadership will introduce a program called 'America Works'.

Its goal is simple: to put the ten million Americans who are **unemployed** to **work**.

All of them.

If you **want** a job, you **get** one.

The cost is five hundred billion dollars.

Now, that's a lot of money.

To pay for it, we'll need to rethink Social Security, healthcare and benefits from the ground up.

We can't maintain the **welfare** state as **we** know it.

Now, that's not a popular thing to say.

Anyone running for office wouldn't dare utter those words.

Every advisor and consultant and staff member would beg a presidential candidate *not to say* them.

But I can say them.

Because I will not be seeking the Democratic nomination in 2016.

Candidates are **cautious**.

They must equivocate, they dodge and tiptoe.

But I'd rather leave this office having *accomplished something of value* than secure another four years *having done nothing at all*.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt ushered in an era of hope and progress when he proposed the New Deal.

And at the time, his reforms were considered radical.

But he once said, "This country demands bold, persistent experimentation. (QUOTATION)

It is common sense to take a method and try it.

And if it fails, admit it frankly and try another.

But above all, try something".

Roosevelt would have understood better than anyone the necessity for *trying* something different.

The New Deal succeeded for many years, but we must now *try* something *newer* before it fails us.

If 'America Works' succeeds, **we will** reinvent the American dream.

If we fail in our attempt, we will admit it frankly and try another. (QUOTATION)

But above all, we must try something.

Thank you, and God Bless the United States of America.

Notice how the President uses the following rhetorical devices:

QUOTATION

CONTRAST

ALLITERATION

REPETITION

THE RULE OF THREE

RHETORICAL QUESTION

“Vote for Trump”

Hulk Hogan at Madison Square Garden, New York City, 27 October 2024

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpcfbbkiGeE>

1) Watch the video, then read through Hulk Hogan’s speech carefully.

Well, let me tell you something, Trumpomaniacs,

Welcome to the house that Hulkomania built.

You know something?

Usually, when I’m in Madison Square Garden, I’m body-slamming giants,

I’m winning world heavy weight titles, I’m cracking people over the head with steel chairs,

And the energy in Madison Square Garden is off the Richter scale.

But today, Trumpomaniacs, the energy is something like I’ve never felt.

The energy of all these Trumpomaniacs is the most powerful force in the universe

And today, this is Donald Trump’s house, brother.

You know something, Trumpomaniacs?

I don’t see no stinking Nazis in here.

I don’t see no stinking domestic terrorists in here.

The only thing I see in here are a bunch of hard-working men and women that are real Americans, brother.

You know, when I hear my President, and our President, Donald Trump speak,

He sounds for real, brother, he sounds like he has a heart of gold that’s all for the USA

But when I hear Kamala speak, it sounds like a script from Hollywood
with a really, really bad actress.

You know, Kamala is responsible for the border crisis and Kamala is also responsible for inflation.

And then, you know something? She acts like SHE’s the victim.

And then, all of a sudden, she flips, she flops, she spins and turns it around,

And acts like SHE’s going to be the damned hero!

But we all know that Trump is the only man who can fix this country today.

And with Trump as our Commander in Chief,

“Peace through strength” will fix all the problems in the Middle East.

You know, I've been coming to this building month after month after month,
And I've seen sold-out crowds over and over again for over forty years.
And for forty years, I've always asked the question, "What are you going to do?"
Over and over and over again: "What are you going to do?"
Well today, after feeling the energy in this building, I finally got the answer.
And the answer is: "Vote. For. Trump."
So, now, I've got a couple of questions for YOU.
What are you going to do about the border invasion?
"Vote. For. Trump."
What are you going to do about inflation?
"Vote. For. Trump."
What are you going to do about keeping America safe, brother?
"Vote. For. Trump."
And what are you going to do about putting God in our homes and our country and our schools?
"Vote. For. Trump."
So, I guess we're all on the same page.
So, I've got one final question for you.
What are you going to do and who's going to Make America Great Again?
"Vote. For. Trump."
God bless Donald Trump, HE's our next President.

2) ANALYSIS: now read through the script and indicate examples of

The Mantra

The Rule of Three

Repetition

Contrast

Rhetorical Questions

The 'You' Orientation

Hyperbole

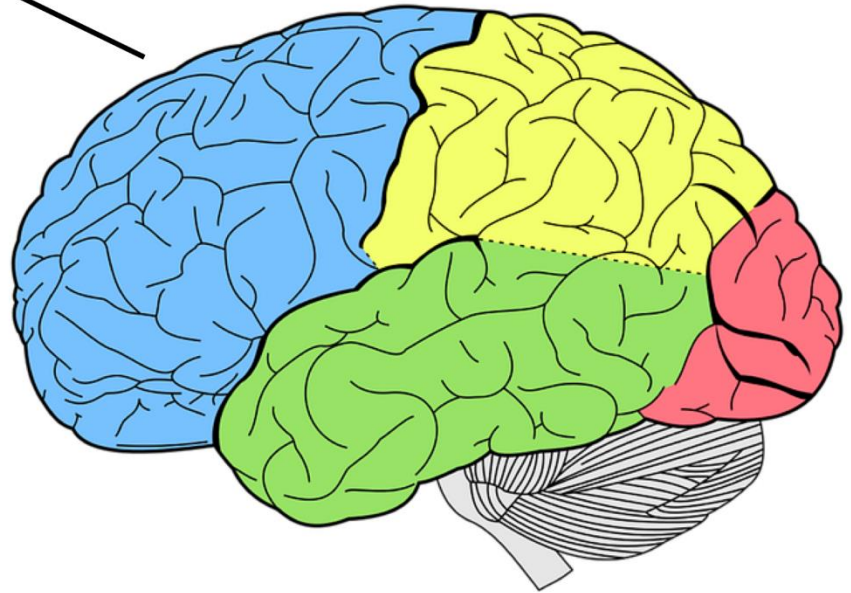
Alliteration

Frontal

Executive Functioning - DA

- Planning
- Problem Solving
- Motivation
- Judgement
- Decision Making
- Impulse Control
- Social Behavior
- Personality
- Memory
- Learning
- Reward
- Attention

Function: “Action” Mental & Physical



1) READING

Your frontal lobe – the part of the brain where we plan for the future and tackle questions that don't have black-and-white answers – does not reach full “maturity” until sometime during our 20's. From an evolutionary perspective, the late teens and early twenties are when young adults learn to manage the competing demands of increasingly complex social systems. Communities that have, in the last few centuries, expanded from dozens to hundreds to thousands, even millions of people.

An adult brain differs from an adolescent brain in many ways. Between childhood and adulthood, the brain loses gray matter as excess neurons and synapses are pruned away. The rate of loss slows down by a person's late 20's. At the same time, some brain regions strengthen their connections with each other, and the major nerve tracts become wrapped in insulating myelin, which increases the brain's white matter. White matter volume peaks around age 40.

Much of the added white matter represents increased connections between widely separated brain areas. During childhood and adolescence, most brain networks are locally organized — areas near each other work together to accomplish a cognitive task. As we mature, distant areas of the brain begin linking up with each other, leading to larger and more widely distributed networks.

The most important brain area to become fully “wired up” in adulthood is the prefrontal cortex — the front portion of the frontal lobe. This area handles many of our higher-level cognitive abilities such as planning, solving problems, and making decisions. It is also important for cognitive control — the ability to suppress impulses in favor of more appropriate actions. The adult brain is better wired for cognitive control compared to the adolescent brain, which is more influenced by emotions, rewards, and social acceptance when it comes to making decisions.

Intelligence also peaks during early to middle adulthood, roughly ages 25 to 60. However, intelligence involves many different cognitive abilities, each of which develops on its own timescale. Crystallized intelligence, which deals with vocabulary and knowledge of facts, increases until about age 50. Fluid intelligence, by contrast, which includes abilities like solving problems and identifying patterns, peaks at around 30. So, your 20's are when you have your best, most original ideas.

2) VIDEO COMPREHENSION

Now listen to Graham Horton talking about creativity in a TED talk called 'How to Have Great Ideas':

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u-Jaij-7Bmk>

Make notes about the following:

i) His striking opening image and surprising opening statement

ii) The use of expert testimony and existing research

iii) A quotation from a famous person

iv) Personal experience and real life examples

v) An engaging anecdote

vi) The Rule of Three

vii) His use of images

viii) His closing statement or "What's in it for me?"

‘What’s in Your Backpack ?’

How much does your life weigh ? Imagine for a second that you’re carrying a backpack. I want you to feel the straps on your shoulders. Feel them ? Now, I want you to pack it with all the stuff that you have in your life. You start with the little things: the shelves, the drawers, the knickknacks, collectibles. Feel the weight as that adds up. Then, start adding larger stuff. Clothes, tabletop appliances, lamps, linens, your TV. The backpack should be getting pretty heavy now and you go bigger. Your couch, bed, your kitchen-table; stuff it all in there! Your car, get it in there. Your home, whether it’s a studio apartment or a two-bedroom house. I want you to stuff it all into that backpack. Now, try to walk. It’s kind of hard, isn’t it ? This is what we do to ourselves on a daily basis. We weigh ourselves down until we can’t even move and, make no mistake, moving is living. Now, I’m going to set that backpack on fire, what do you want to take out of it ? Photos ? Photos are for people who can’t remember. Drink some Ginkgo and let the photos burn. In fact, let everything burn. And imagine waking up tomorrow, with nothing ! It’s kind of exhilarating, isn’t it ? This is how I start every day of my life. Now, this is going to be a little difficult, so stay with me. You have a new backpack. Only this time, I want you to fill it with people. Start with casual acquaintances, friends of friends, folks around the office. And then you move into the people you trust with your most intimate secrets. Your cousins, your aunts, your uncles; brothers, your sisters, your parents. And finally, your husband, your wife; boyfriend, your girlfriend. Get them into that backpack. Don’t worry, I’m not going to ask you to light it on fire. Feel the weight of that bag. Make no mistake, your relationships are the heaviest components in your life. You feel the straps cutting into your shoulders ? All those negotiations and arguments and secrets and compromises. You don’t need to carry all that weight. Why don’t you set that bag down ? Some animals were meant to carry each other, to live symbiotically for a lifetime: star-crossed lovers, monogamous swans. We are not those animals. The slower we move, the faster we die. We are not swans. We are sharks.

Ryan Bingham, as played by George Clooney in the film ‘Up In The Air’ (2009).

How much does your life weigh ?

Imagine for a second that you're carrying a backpack. I want you to feel the straps on your shoulders.

Feel them ?

Now, I want you to pack it with all the stuff that you have in your life.

You start with the little things: the shelves, the drawers, the knickknacks, collectibles.

Feel the weight as that adds up.

Then, start adding larger stuff: clothes, tabletop appliances, lamps, linens, your TV.

The backpack should be getting pretty heavy now, and you go bigger.

Your couch, bed, your kitchen-table; stuff it all in there ! Your car, get it in there. Your home, whether it's a studio apartment or a two-bedroom house. I want you to stuff it all into that backpack.

Now, try to walk.

It's kind of hard, isn't it ?

This is what we do to ourselves on a daily basis. We weigh ourselves down until we can't even move and, make no mistake, moving is living.

Now, I'm going to set that backpack on fire. What do you want to take out of it ?

Photos ? Photos are for people who can't remember.

Drink some Ginkgo and let the photos burn.

In fact, let everything burn and imagine waking up tomorrow with nothing.

It's kind of exhilarating, isn't it ?

This is how I start every day of my life.

Now, this is going to be a little difficult, so stay with me.

You have a new backpack. Only this time, I want you to fill it with people.

Start with casual acquaintances: friends of friends, folks around the office.

And then, you move into the people that you trust with your most intimate secrets: your cousins, your aunts, your uncles; brothers, your sisters, your parents. And finally, your husband, your wife; boyfriend, your girlfriend.

Get them into that backpack.

Don't worry, I'm not going to ask you to light it on fire.

Feel the weight of that bag.

Make no mistake, your relationships are the heaviest components in your life.

You feel the straps cutting into your shoulders ?

All those negotiations and arguments and secrets and compromises.

You don't need to carry all that weight.

Why don't you set that bag down ?

Some animals were meant to carry each other, to live symbiotically for a lifetime: star-crossed lovers, monogamous swans.

We are not those animals.

The slower we move, the faster we die.

We are not swans.

We are sharks.

Watch the following video-clip:

‘How much does your life weigh?’

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKbJzGMZyil>

How **much** does your **life** weigh?

Imagine for a **second** that you're **carrying** a **backpack**. I **want** you to **feel** the **straps** on your **shoulders**.

Feel them?

Now, I **want** you to **pack** it with all the **stuff** that you **have** in your **life**.

You **start** with the **little** things: the **shelves**, the **drawers**, the **knickknacks**, collectibles.

Feel the **weight** as that **adds** up.

Then, start adding **larger** stuff: **clothes**, **tabletop appliances**, **lamps**, **linens**, your **TV**.

The **backpack** should be getting **pretty heavy** now, and you **go bigger**.

Your **couch**, **bed**, your **kitchen-table**; **stuff** it all **in** there! Your **car**, get it **in** there. Your **home**, whether it's a **studio apartment** or a **two-bedroom house**. I **want** you to **stuff** it **all** into that **backpack**.

Now, try to **walk**.

It's kind of **hard**, **isn't** it?

This is what we **do** to ourselves on a **daily** basis. We **weigh** ourselves **down** until we **can't** even **move** and, **make** no **mistake**, **moving** is **living**.

Now, I'm **going** to **set** that **backpack** on **fire**. **What** do you **want** to take **out** of it?

Photos? Photos are for **people** who **can't** remember.

Drink some **Ginkgo** and **let** the **photos** burn.

In **fact**, let **everything** burn and **imagine** **waking up** tomorrow with **nothing**.

It's **kind** of **exhilarating**, **isn't** it?

This is how I **start every day** of my **life**.

Now, **this** is **going** to be a **little** bit **difficult**, so **stay** with me.

You **have** a **new** backpack. Only **this** time, I **want** you to **fill** it with **people**.

Start with **casual** acquaintances: **friends** of **friends**, **folks** around the **office**.

And **then**, you **move** into the **people** that you **trust** with your most **intimate secrets**: your **cousins**, your **aunts**, your **uncles**; **brothers**, your **sisters**, your **parents**. And **finally**, your **husband**, your **wife**; **boyfriend**, your **girlfriend**.

Get them into that **backpack**.

Don't **worry**, I'm **not** going to **ask** you to **light** it on **fire**.

Feel the **weight** of that **bag**.

Make no **mistake**, your **relationships** are the **heaviest** **components** in your **life**.

You feel the **straps cutting** into your **shoulders**?

All those **negotiations** and **arguments** and **secrets** and **compromises**.

You don't **need** to **carry** all that **weight**.

Why don't you **set** that bag **down**?

Some animals were **meant** to **carry** each other, to live **symbiotically** for a **lifetime**: **star-crossed lovers**, **monogamous swans**...

We are **not** those **animals**.

The **slower** we **move**, the **faster** we **die**.

We are not **swans**.

We are **sharks**.

What kinds of words are stressed in this speech?

Content words i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

Headwords of the Academic Word List

with primary stress indicated in bold

abandon	area	code
abstract	aspect	coherent
academy	assemble	coincide
access	assess	collapse
accommodate	assign	colleague
accompany	assist	commence
accumulate	assume	comment
accurate	assure	commission
achieve	attach	commit
acknowledge	attain	commodity
acquire	attitude	communicate
adapt	attribute	community
adequate	author	compatible
adjacent	authority	compensate
adjust	automate	compile
administration	available	complement
adult	aware	complex
advocate	behalf	component
affect	benefit	compound
aggregate	bias	comprehensive
aid	bond	comprise
albeit	brief	compute
allocate	bulk	conceive
alter	capable	concentrate
alternative	capacity	concept
ambiguous	category	conclude
amend	cease	concrete
analogy	challenge	concurrent
analyze	channel	conduct (n.)
annual	chapter	conduct (v.)
anticipate	chart	confer
apparent	chemical	confine
append	circumstance	confirm (v.)
appreciate	cite	confirmation (n.)
approach	civil	conflict
appropriate	clarify	conform
approximate	classic	consent
arbitrary	clause	consequent

considerable
consist
constant
constitute
constrain
construct (n.)
construct (v.)
consult
consume
contact
contemporary
context
contract
contradict
contrary
contrast (n.)
contrast (v.)
contribute
controversy
convene
converse (adj.)
converse (v.)
convert (n.)
convert (v.)
convince
cooperate
coordinate
core
corporate
correspond
couple
create
credit
criteria
crucial
culture

currency
cycle
data
debate
decade
decline
deduce
define
definite
demonstrate
denote
deny
depress
derive
design
despite
detect
deviate
device
devote
differentiate
dimension
diminish
discrete
discriminate
displace
display
dispose
distinct
distort
distribute
diverse
document
domain
domestic
dominate

draft
drama
duration
dynamic
economy
effectiveness
element
eliminate
emerge
emphasis
empirical
enable
encounter
energy
enforce
enhance
enormous
ensure
entity
environment
equate
equip
equivalent
erode
error
establish
estate
estimate
ethic
ethnic
evaluate
eventual
evident
evolve
exceed
exclude

exhibit
expand
expert
explicit
exploit
export
expose
external
extract
facilitate
factor
feature
federal
fee
file
final
finance
finite
flexible
fluctuate
focus
format
formula
forthcoming
foundation
government
grant
guarantee
guideline
hence
hierarchy
highlight
hypothesis
identical
identify
ideology
ignorance
illustrate
image
immigration
impact
implement

implicate
implicit
imply
impose
incentive
incidence
incline (n.)
incline (v.)
income
incorporate
index
indicate
individual
induce
inevitable
infer
infrastructure
inherent
inhibit
initial
initiate
injure
innovate
input
insert
insight
inspect
instance
institute
instruct
integral
integrate
integrity
intelligence
intense
interact
intermediate
internal
interpret
interval
intervene
intrinsic

invest
investigate
invoke
involve
isolate
issue
item
job
journal
justify
label
labour
layer
lecture
legal
legislate
levy
liberal
licence
likewise
link
locate
logic
maintain
major
management
manipulate
manual
margin
mature
maximize
mechanism
media
mediate
medical
medium
mental
method
migrate
military
minimal
minimize

minimum
ministry
minor
mobile
mode
modify
monitor
motive
mutual
necessary
negate
network
neutral
nevertheless
nonetheless
norm
normal
notion
notwithstanding
nuclear
objective
obtain
obvious
occupy
occur
odd
offset
ongoing
option
orient
outcome
output
overall
overlap
overseas
panel
paradigm
paragraph
parallel
parameter
participate
partner

passive
perceive
percent
performance
period
persist
perspective
phase
phenomenon
philosophy
physical
plus
policy
portion
pose
positive
potential
practitioner
precede
precise
predict
predominant
preliminary
presume
previous
primary
principal
principle
prior
priority
procedure
proceed
process
professional
prohibit
project
promote
proportion
prospect
protocol
psychology
publication

publish
purchase
pursue
qualitative
quote
radical
random
range
ratio
rational
react
recover
refine
regime
region
register
regulate
reinforce
reject
relax
release
relevant
reluctance
rely
remove
report
require
research
resolve
resource
respond
restore
restrain
restrict
retain
reveal
revenue
reverse
revise
revolution
rigid
role

route
scenario
schedule
scheme
scope
section
sector
secure
seek
select
sequence
series
sex
shift
significant
similar
simulate
site
so-called
sole
somewhat
source
specific
specify
sphere
stable
statistic
status
straightforward
strategy
stress
structure
style
submit
subordinate
subsequent
successor
sufficient
sum
summary
supplement
survey

survive
suspend
sustain
symbol
tape
target
task
team
technical
technique
technology
temporary
tense
terminate
text
theme
theory
thereby
thesis
topic
trace
tradition
transfer
transform
transit
transmit
transport
trend
trigger
ultimate
undergo
underlie
undermine
understand
undertake
uniform
unify
unique
utilize
valid
vary
vehicle

version
via
violate
virtual
visible
vision
visual
volume
voluntary
welfare
whereas
whereby
widespread

SOME BASIC GUIDELINES REGARDING STRESS IN ENGLISH

1) Some suffixes don't normally change the stress pattern of the root word:

-able	con ceive / conceivable
-age	per cent / percentage
-ance	dominant / dominance
-ancy	con sult / consultancy
-ant	con sult / consultant
-acy	im mediate / immediacy
-hood	child / childhood
-ize	energy / energize
-less	job / jobless
-ly	flexible / flexibly
-ment	govern / government
-ness	aware / awareness
-ous	vary / various

2) Other suffixes do change the stress pattern of the root word:

a) In these cases, the suffix takes the stress:

-cratic	bureaucrat / bureaucratic
-ee	employ er / employ ee

b) In these cases, the stress is usually on the syllable before the suffix:

-cracy	bureaucrat / bureau cracy
-ety	social / soci ety
-ian	politics / politi cian
-ical	analyze / analy tical
-ion	compute d / computa tion
-ic	strategy / strateg ic
-ive	direct / direct ive
-ity	product / producti ve

3) In the following cases, the stress falls on the first syllable when the word is used as a noun or an adjective. The stress moves to the last syllable when it is used as a verb.

- 'record'

As a noun: "The group made a **record**."

As a verb: "Remember to **record** the show."

- 'absent'

As an adjective: "We drank a toast to **absent** friends."

As a verb: "Please, don't **absent** yourself during the meeting."

absent · accent · ally · annex · combat · combine · commune · compact · compound · compress · concert · conduct · confine(s) · conflict · conscript · console · consort · construct · content · contest · contract · contrast · converse · convert · convict · decrease · default · defect · desert · digest · discard · discharge · discount · discourse · escort · exploit · export · extract · finance · frequent · impact · implant · import · incline · increase · insert · insult · intern · intrigue · mandate · misprint · object · perfect · perfume · permit · present · proceed(s) · process · produce · progress · project · protest · rebel · recall · recoil · record · recount · refill · refund · refuse · reject · relapse · relay · remake · reprint · research · reset · rewrite · segment · subject · survey · suspect · torment · transplant · transport · underscore · update · upgrade · upset



9 Word stress 1

Read the following two-syllable words and decide if the stress is on the first or last syllable. Then listen to the recording to see if you are right.

Example: table ☐ ☐ elect ☐ ☐ cancel ☐ ☐

repeat	edit	teacher	surprise
manage	bottle	listen	below
above	under	royal	postpone
allow	collect	limit	vanish
picture	forgive	funny	believe
village	sweeten	prefer	cover
after	lucky	former	local



Most two-syllable **nouns** have front stress (= stress on the first syllable, ☐ ☐). Most two-syllable **verbs**, by contrast, have end stress (= stress on the last syllable, ☐ ☐) except if the second syllable **must** be weak. (See the Answers for exceptions.)



29

Word stress 3

Primary and secondary stress

- A** Look at the grid below while you listen to the words on the recording. Then listen again and say the words at the same time as you hear them, giving special emphasis to the stressed syllables.

weak stress ○	SECONDARY STRESS □	weak stress ○	PRIMARY STRESS □	weak stress ○	weak stress ○
1		de	CI	sion	
2			MU	sic	al
3	UN	der	STAND		
4	CON	dem	NA	tion	
5		com	MU	ni	cate
6	CRE	di	BI	li	ty
7	pro	ci	A	tion	

- B** Now look at the words below and see if you can place each word in the grid opposite, according to its stress pattern. Use the recording to check.

editor / refugee / hallucination / ultimatum / departure /
 journalistic / interfere / afterwards / survivable / determination /
 oceanographer / mistranslate / musician / overpaid /
 conductivity / investigation / existential / seasickness / banana /
 congratulations / potato / customer / commemorate /
 inexcusable / computer / productivity / luckily / California /
 indecision / exhibitionist / expandable / survival / productive /
 chemistry / activate / avocado / executive

1	○ □ ○	decision
2	□ ○ ○	musical <i>editor</i>
3	□ ○ □	understand
4	□ ○ □ ○	condemnation
5	○ □ ○ ○	communicate
6	□ ○ □ ○ ○	credibility
7	○ □ ○ □ ○	pronunciation



In two-syllable words, a syllable is either strong or weak (see Tests 9 and 10). But in some three-syllable words, and in most words of four syllables or more, there are two stressed syllables: one carries **primary** (or **main**) stress, the other **secondary** stress.

40 Word stress 4

Words and phrases

A single word may have the same stress pattern as a phrase or group of words.

Example: ☐ ☐ ☐ introduce rock and roll
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ amplification go to the station

Match the stress pattern of the numbered words with that of the phrases below. Write the matching number above each phrase.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 after | 8 modification |
| 2 supply | 9 disability |
| 3 afterwards | 10 pronunciation |
| 4 introduce | 11 confusability |
| 5 departure | 12 parapsychology |
| 6 introduction | 13 legitimization |
| 7 biologist | 14 inconceivability |

6

on the table / a bird / an editor / half a pound /

sometimes I dream of it / above it / try to prevent it /

look around you / I hope they'll be coming / try some /

a lot of them / Jane's the type to manage it / help me /

far from the exit / all of them / the earth / buy an envelope /

the plane for London / under it / a bag of artichokes /

fish and chips / after the accident / a picture / the last of the apples /

the road to Manchester / a load of nonsense /

down the road to Manchester / come on Saturday

41 Word stress 5

Look at the following pairs of words and decide:

- a) where the main stress is in the first word;
- b) if it stays on the same syllable in the second word, or moves.

Example: The verb *support* has stress on the last syllable: ○ ☐

The noun *supporter* keeps the stress in the same place: ○ ☐ ○

The verb *concentrate* has stress on the first syllable: ☐ ○ ○

But in *concentration* the main stress moves forward: ☐ ○ ☐ ○

1 photograph → photography

2 estimate → estimation

3 consult → consultant

4 refer → referral

5 physic → physician

6 refuge → refugee

7 capable → capability

8 nation → national

9 consult → consultancy

10 ideal → idealist

11 compute → computer

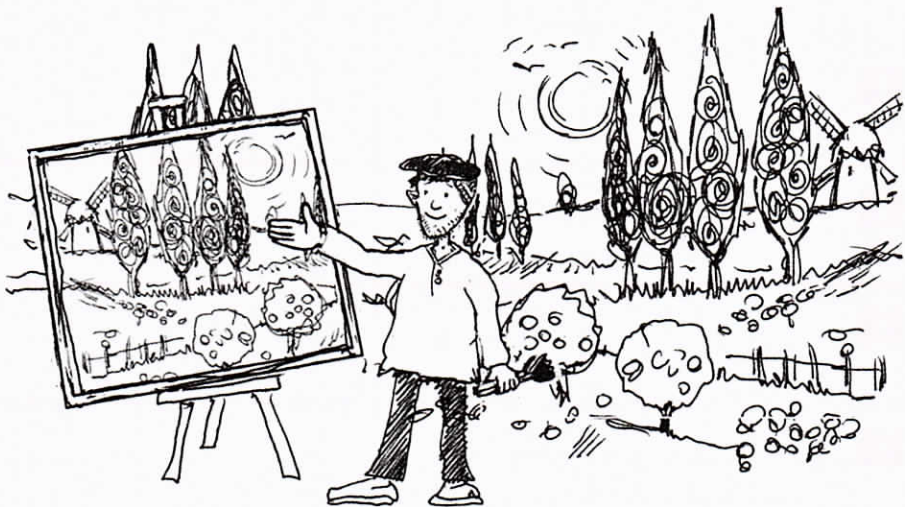
12 astronomy → astronomical

13 photography → photographer

14 sentiment → sentimental

15 approve → approval

16	forget	→	forgettable
17	telephone	→	telephonic
18	geriatrics	→	geriatrician
19	edit	→	editor
20	picture	→	picturesque



picture

picturesque



When you add an extra syllable to **two-syllable verbs** (to turn them into nouns or adjectives), the stress stays on the same syllable:

arrive arrival credit creditor depart departure
manage manager conform conformist

Sebastião Salgado was born on February 8, 1944 in Brazil. After an itinerant childhood, Salgado initially trained as an economist, earning a Master's degree in Economics from the University of São Paulo in Brazil. He began work as an economist for the International Coffee Organization, often traveling to Africa on missions for the World Bank, when he first started seriously taking photographs. He chose to abandon a career as an economist and switched to photography in 1973, working initially on news assignments before moving towards documentary-type work.

Salgado initially worked with the photographic agency Sygma and the Paris-based Gamma, but in 1979, he joined the international cooperative of photographers Magnum Photos. He left Magnum in 1994 and, with his wife Lélia Wanick, Salgado formed his own agency, Amazonas Images, in Paris, to represent his work. He is particularly noted for his social documentary photography of workers in less developed nations.

Salgado works on long term, self-assigned projects many of which have been published as books: *The Other Americas*, *Sahel*, *Workers*, *Migrations*, and *Genesis*. The latter three are mammoth collections with hundreds of images from all around the world. His most famous pictures are of a gold mine in Brazil called Serra Pelada.

Between 2004 and 2011, Salgado worked on *Genesis*, aiming at the presentation of the unblemished faces of nature and humanity. It consists of a series of photographs of landscapes and wildlife, as well as of human communities that continue to live in accordance with their ancestral traditions and cultures. This body of work is conceived as a potential path to humanity's rediscovery of itself in nature.

In September and October 2007, Salgado displayed his photographs of coffee workers from India, Guatemala, Ethiopia and Brazil at the Brazilian Embassy in London. The aim of the project was to raise public awareness of the origins of the popular drink.

Together, Lélia and Sebastião have worked since the 1990s on the restoration of a small part of the Atlantic Forest in Brazil. In 1998, they succeeded in turning this land into a nature reserve and created the Instituto Terra. The institute is dedicated to a mission of reforestation, conservation and environmental education.

Salgado and his work are the focus of the film *The Salt of the Earth* (2014), directed by Wim Wenders and Salgado's son, Juliano Ribeiro Salgado, and produced by Lélia Wanick Salgado. The film won a special award at Cannes Film Festival and was nominated for the best Documentary Feature at the 2015 Academy Awards. It won the 2014 Audience Award at the San Sebastián International Film Festival and the 2015 Audience Award at the Tromsø International Film Festival. It also won the César Award for Best Documentary Film at the 40th César Awards.

Sebastião Salgado has been a UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador since 2001.