

# ON THE FATE OF SOME FIXED EXPRESSIONS ON THE INTERNET: Four cases

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# The contemporary Internet abounds in every kind of sayings, modifications of them and improvisations induced by them – "usual" proverbs, parodies of proverbs (so-called anti-proverbs), aphorisms, proverial phrases, idioms, slogans, metaphors, demotivators entitled with folkloric "memes", etc., etc. that raise difficult questions for the general theory of folklore:

- Which of these text variants belong to folklore and which ones not?
- Do we have any chances to divide that jungle of texts to a certain number of "different proverbs" (i.e. discrete typological, or "emic" units)?
- Is everything that we see in such thickets the progeny of a single ancestor or, if not, from which roots does this or that of them actually originate?
- How are loaning and so-called generatio aequivoca (spontaneous generation) related in these sets of texts?
- To what extent the generation of neologisms has been induced by knowledge of traditional recurrent syntactic-logical formulas as "empty slots" to be filled and to what extent by knowledge of certain prototypical examples as wholes?

# They also rise questions relevant for the theory of humour:

- Is there any possibility to distinguish here the "serious" utterances from "antis"?
- Is there any possibility to estimate the "degree of funniness" of each particular modification of a proverb?
- Is there any possibility to estimate their humorous specificity without considering contexts of particular utterances of this or that text variant?

In some cases the number of text variants in such thickets runs to hundreds and the number of occurrences of some text variants runs to thousands.

We are used to believe that the difference between the ordinary, "serious" proverbs and funny "antis" is clearly distinct, and the serious prototypes of "antis" are clearly identifiable:

- Laughter is the best medicine is serious
- Slaughter is the best medicine is "anti-"
- An apple a day keeps the doctor away is serious
- An onion a day keeps everybody away is "anti-"
- Where there's a will, there's a way is serious
- Where there's a will, there's a relative is "anti-"
- Where there's a will, there's a lawsuit is "anti-"
- The early bird gets the worm is serious
- The early worm is being picked first is "anti-"
- The early bird gets the worm is serious
- A rolling stone gathers no moss is serious
- A rolling stone gets the worm is "anti-"

and so on.

# Case 1: BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

Estonian, Finnish, German, English, and Russian examples

### **ESTONIAN:**

In Estonian, hilja means 'late' and Hilja is a popular women's name, therefore the most productive method of creating "antis" is the one where "hilja" is interpreted as a name and the @-gap is fulfilled with various other women's names.

# Parem Hilja kui @:

X = Leida 51 ~ Ilma 16 ~ ilma 23 ~ Salme 37 ~ Helga 35 ~ Selma 27 ~ Helju 14 ~ Alma 10 ~ Silja 10 ~ Hilda 8 ~ Vilja 8 ~ Malle 5 ~ Olga 5 ~ Valve 5 ~ Linda 4 ~ Maria 4 ~ Milvi 4 ~ Heldur 2 ~ Helmi 2 ~ Koidu 2 ~ Mari 2 ~ ei Malletki 1 ~ Ilja 1 ~ Leili saunas 1 In the case of Ilma / ilma and Leili saunas the additional punning occurs:

Parem Hilja kui Ilma means 'Better (a woman ~ girl ~ ... named) Hilja than Ilma;

Parem hilja kui ilma means 'Better late than without'.

Parem Hilja kui Leili saunas means 'Better Hilja than Leili in the

sauna bath;

Parem hilja kui leilisaunas means 'Better late than in a vapour-bath'.

### **FINNISH:**

Parempi myöhään kuin ei @ (-milloinkaan -ollenkaan -silloinkaan -koskaan - lainkaan)

@ = (liian) aikasin ~ aiemmin ~ aikaisemmin ~ kymmenen oksalla ~ näin myöhään ~ pyy pivossa ~ iäti ilman ~ tosi myöhään ~ myöhemmin ~ kanaa orrella ~ koira veräjästä ~ patchin jälkeen ~ vielä myöhempään ~ liian myöhään ~ ei ainankaan joulun jälkeen ~ vasta keskikesällä ~ vuoden loputtua

# Parempi @ kuin ei milloinkaan

@ = aikaisin ~ aiemmin ~ ajoissa ~ joskus ~ Latte ~ näin ~ nuorena ~ nyt ~ riverillä ~ silloin ~ varhain

### **GERMAN:**

# Besser spät als @

@ = neulich ~ rechtzeitig ~ schwul ~ zu früh ~ zu spät ~ tot

# Besser @ als nie

i (= bisexuell) ~ früh ~ gleich ~ heute ~ irgendwann ~ jetzt ~ Knie ~ langsam ~ manchmal ~ nach der Ehe ~ nachträglich ~ neu ~ nun ~ Pet ~ schräg ~ Sonntag ~ stehend ~ tot ~ überhaupt ~ Väth ~ kurz

### **ENGLISH:**

# **Better late than @**

@ = absent ~ bad ~ botched ~ broken ~ buggy ~ clever ~ dead ~ early ~ forever ~ frozen ~ Kevin ~ larger ~ later ~ leather ~ life ~ lost ~ naked ~ none ~ nothing ~ out of date ~ pregnant ~ randy ~ red ~ rescheduled ~ sober ~ sorry ~ too late ~ Tuesday ~ wait ~ wrong

# **Better @ than never**

@ = Accolate ~ Bait ~ copulate ~ date ~ dead ~ debate ~ early ~ eight ~ forever ~ freight ~ Gates ~ Greek ~ hate ~ innate ~ Kate ~ knit ~ lace ~ lagged ~ laid ~ lake ~ lame ~ lat ~ latent ~ Latex ~ Lathe ~ latte ~ Layton ~ leak ~ leight ~ Leighton ~ Leite ~ let ~ light ~ lite ~ live ~ nate ~ now ~ once ~ plate ~ rate ~ read ~ red ~ regulate ~ skate ~ slate ~ slayed ~ slow ~ tardy ~ Tate ~ template ~ wait

### **RUSSIAN:**

# Лучше поздно, чем @

© = байан ~ в нищете ~ в темноте ~ весной ~ (не) вовремя ~ вчера ~ ещё позднее ~ иногда ~ как всегда ~ как обычно ~ на следующей неделе ~ наврать ~ не в квадрат ~ не до дна ~ не с кем ~ не туда (скачать) ~ ни разу ~ ни хрена ~ (вообще) никак ~ никому (is said to be a slogan of old maids) ~ никуда ~ нифига ~ ничего ~ ногами вперед ~ очень поздно ~ плохо ~ пропустить ~ рано ~ раненько ~ слишком поздно ~ совсем поздно ~ туда ~ хуже сразу ~ через год ~ Лучше поздно, чем поспешишь и людей насмешишь

# Лучше @, чем никогда

© = вовремя ~ иногда ~ много ~ Познер ~ Польше ~ порно ~ рано ~
 раньше ~ сейчас ~ стыдно ~ тепло ~ через год увидать

# **Example 2: TO BE OR NOT TO BE**

**English examples** 

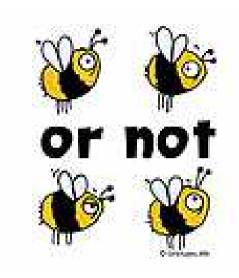
The first 9 pages of Google brought forth 358 different substitutes for to be:

3d  $\sim$  abuse  $\sim$  accept  $\sim$  add  $\sim$  age  $\sim$  allow  $\sim$  alloy  $\sim$  apple  $\sim$ ashton  $\sim$  aspirate  $\sim$  audit  $\sim$  azure  $\sim$  b  $\sim$  baby  $\sim$  bag  $\sim$  balance  $\sim$ bandanna  $\sim$  bless  $\sim$  bling  $\sim$  blog  $\sim$  blow  $\sim$  blur  $\sim$  board  $\sim$  bob  $\sim$  box  $\sim$ breakfast ~ breed ~ brick ~ brooks ~ build ~ bulk ~ buy ~ cache ~ call ~ capitalize ~ car ~ carb ~ cc ~ censor ~ centralize ~ change ~ charge  $\sim$  cheat  $\sim$  chew  $\sim$  choose  $\sim$  clap  $\sim$  clay  $\sim$  click  $\sim$  clip  $\sim$  clone  $\sim$ cloud ~ coach ~ coat ~ colorize ~ contract ~ cool ~ copy ~ cosplay ~ crack  $\sim$  crop  $\sim$  cry  $\sim$  cum  $\sim$  cut  $\sim$  cycle  $\sim$  date  $\sim$  decal  $\sim$  default  $\sim$ defend  $\sim$  derp  $\sim$  Detox  $\sim$  diagram  $\sim$  die  $\sim$  diet  $\sim$  dinan  $\sim$  dip  $\sim$ discipline  $\sim$  disclose  $\sim$  diversify  $\sim$  divorce  $\sim$  do  $\sim$  donate  $\sim$  draft  $\sim$ drag  $\sim$  dream  $\sim$  drill  $\sim$  drink  $\sim$  drip  $\sim$  drive  $\sim$  dye  $\sim$  e  $\sim$  ease  $\sim$  eat  $\sim$ enter  $\sim$  ERP  $\sim$  exercise  $\sim$  extend  $\sim$  facebook  $\sim$  fake  $\sim$  farm  $\sim$  fear  $\sim$ feed  $\sim$  fell  $\sim$  fight  $\sim$  filter  $\sim$  fish  $\sim$  flash  $\sim$  fly  $\sim$  follow  $\sim$  forgive  $\sim$  foul  $\sim$  frack  $\sim$  franchise  $\sim$  freak  $\sim$  freeze  $\sim$  fret  $\sim$  friend  $\sim$  fuck  $\sim$ fuse  $\sim$  gem  $\sim$  ghetto  $\sim$  give  $\sim$  glove  $\sim$  GMT  $\sim$  go  $\sim$  Google  $\sim$  GPU  $\sim$ graft ~ green ~ greet ~ grill ~ group ~ grow ~ guide ~ hang ~ hat ~ have  $\sim$  haz  $\sim$  heat  $\sim$  helmet  $\sim$  help  $\sim$  hold  $\sim$  hospitalize  $\sim$  host  $\sim$ hybrid  $\sim$  innovate  $\sim$  install  $\sim$  interview  $\sim$  invite  $\sim$  iPad  $\sim$  jam  $\sim$  job  $\sim$ join  $\sim$  JSON  $\sim$  juice  $\sim$  jump  $\sim$  kill  $\sim$  kiss  $\sim$  know  $\sim$  kronk  $\sim$  lag  $\sim$ 

launch  $\sim$  layer  $\sim$  learn  $\sim$  lie  $\sim$  lighten  $\sim$  lightner  $\sim$  like  $\sim$  link  $\sim$  live  $\sim$ lock  $\sim$  log  $\sim$  look  $\sim$  love  $\sim$  map  $\sim$  marry  $\sim$  McRib  $\sim$  merge  $\sim$  micron  $\sim$ migrate  $\sim$  MIMO  $\sim$  mine  $\sim$  mix  $\sim$  mod  $\sim$  munch  $\sim$  munsch  $\sim$  mute  $\sim$ nap  $\sim$  nuss  $\sim$  offset  $\sim$  OPAC  $\sim$  operate  $\sim$  own  $\sim$  p  $\sim$  paint  $\sim$  parse  $\sim$ participate ~ pay ~ pee ~ peek ~ peel ~ peer ~ pie ~ pierce ~ pierre ~ piss ~ plan ~ play ~ plug ~ portal ~ potato ~ praise ~ pray ~ preach  $\sim$  print  $\sim$  profile  $\sim$  profit  $\sim$  pron  $\sim$  publish  $\sim$  pull  $\sim$  push  $\sim$  QR  $\sim$  queue  $\sim$  quit  $\sim$  quote  $\sim$  radiate  $\sim$  read  $\sim$  relate  $\sim$  release  $\sim$  remake ~ repackage ~ report ~ repress ~ resect ~ respond ~ resprout ~ restrict ~ retrieve ~ revascular- ~ revise ~ RF ~ rinse ~ risk ~ robust  $\sim$  root  $\sim$  rotate  $\sim$  roth  $\sim$  rub  $\sim$  rug  $\sim$  run  $\sim$  SaaS  $\sim$  scrap  $\sim$  screencast ~ see ~ seed ~ sell ~ send ~ sew ~ sext ~ shade ~ share ~ shave ~ shit ~ show ~ sign ~ signal ~ sin ~ sing ~ sit ~ slack ~ snack ~ snitch ~ snoop ~ spank ~ spark ~ speak ~ spin ~ spiral ~ spit ~ splurge ~ spring  $\sim$  spy  $\sim$  stache  $\sim$  stage  $\sim$  steal  $\sim$  step  $\sim$  stereotype  $\sim$  stop  $\sim$ stream  $\sim$  stretch  $\sim$  strike  $\sim$  strip  $\sim$  surcharge  $\sim$  suture  $\sim$  swatch  $\sim$ swing  $\sim$  switch  $\sim$  talk  $\sim$  tape  $\sim$  tax  $\sim$  tea  $\sim$  teach  $\sim$  tell  $\sim$  test  $\sim$  thin  $\sim$  think  $\sim$  thong  $\sim$  tithe  $\sim$  torah  $\sim$  touch  $\sim$  train  $\sim$  transfer  $\sim$  treat  $\sim$ trend  $\sim$  trust  $\sim$  try  $\sim$  twee  $\sim$  tweet  $\sim$  twitter  $\sim$  union  $\sim$  update  $\sim$  use ~ ustnagle ~ V ~ vaccinate ~ veil ~ ventilate ~ voice ~ wait ~ wait ~ walk ~ We ~ wean ~ wear ~ weigh ~ wet ~ wire

# Plus various demotivators and other pictures, including visual puns on two bee and 2-B:













# Case 3: POLITICS MAKES STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

**English examples** 

# Wolfgang Mieder's "Dictionary of American Proverbs" includes the following "ordinary" proverbs:

**Adversity** makes strange bedfellows

**Business** makes strange bedfellows

Misery makes strange bedfellows

**Necessity** makes strange bedfellows

**Politics** makes ~ has strange bedfellows

**Poverty** makes strange bedfellows

~ gives a man strange bedfellows

~ makes a man acquainted with strange bedfellows

# Mieder & Litovkina (1999: 173–174) offer "antis" only for the prototype Politics makes...:

**Divorce** makes **estranged** bedfellows

Marriage makes strange bedfellows

**Politicians** ~ **Politics** makes **estranged** bedfellows

Politics doesn't make strange bedfellows – marriage does

Politics makes strange **bad** fellows

Politics makes strange bedfellows, and so does prostitution

Politics makes strange bedfellows, but they are always willing to lie on their own side

The bedfellows politics makes are never strange

# The first 40 pages of Google indicated 148 different constants to fulfill the variable gap @ makes strange bedfellows:

politics 479 ~ adversity 356 ~ war 244 ~ misery 171 ~ necessity 101 ~ business 99 ~ money 92 ~ poverty 88 ~ history 85 ~ desperation 80 ~ greed 71 ~ football 67 ~ media 61 ~ oil 61 ~ technology 61 ~ marriage 59 ~ prophecy 58 ~ warfare 58 ~ badgers 57 ~ recession 57 ~ sleeping 54 ~ economics 53 ~ privacy 53 ~ revolution 52 ~ misfortune 50 ~ pot 50 ~ love 49 ~ SOPA 49 ~ fashion 48 ~ amendment 45 ~ bankruptcy 45 ~ music 45 ~ murder 44 ~ reform 44 ~ gambling 42 ~ Facebook 40 ~ Internet 39 ~ geopolitics 38 ~ Hollywood 38 ~ environmentalism 36 ~ loneliness 36 ~ metal 36 ~ TV 36 ~ security 34 ~ truth 34 ~ conglomerates 33 ~ hockey 32 ~ settlements 32 ~ terrorism 32 ~ semioticians 31 ~ television 31 ~ parties 31 ~ fear 30 ~ sex 30 ~ frontier 29 ~ morality 29 ~ time 29 ~ conferences 28 ~ education 28 ~ marketing 28 ~ radio 26 ~ weed 26 ~ Berlin 25 ~ divorce 24 ~ litigation 24 ~ science 24 ~ PPACA 23 ~ hunger 22 ~ censorship 21 ~ conflict 20 ~ reality 19 ~ revenge 18 ~ Jihad 17 ~ journalism 15 ~ karaoke 14 ~ theology 14 ~ hierarchy 13 ~ panic 13 ~ poetry 13 ~ cyberspace 12 ~ globalization 12 ~ philosophy 12 ~ space 12 ~ dictionaries 11 ~ food 11 ~ peace 11 ~ psychology 11 ~ reconsiliation 10 ~ Celiac 9 ~ culture 9 ~ exploitation 9 ~ Obama 9 ~ prison 9 ~ rain 9 ~ theatre 9 ~ fortune 8 ~ pornography 8 ~ skepticism 8 ~ alcohol 7 ~ boredom 7 ~ evil 7 ~ metaphysics 7 ~ Apocalypse 6 ~ fidelity 6 ~ Kashrut 6 ~ literature 6 ~ short-termism 6 ~ casinos 5 ~ devil 5 ~ environment 5 ~ pipeline 5 ~ Pox 5 ~ training 5 ~ ACLU 4 ~ alcoholism 4 ~ failure 4 ~ friendship 4 ~ genealogy 4 ~ inexperience 4 ~ medicine 4 ~ cloud 3 ~ coffee 3 ~ combat 3 ~ destinity 3 ~ porn 3 ~ Vegas 3 ~ volleyball 3 ~ adventuring 2 ~ Bollywood 2 ~ church 2 ~ circumlocution 2 ~ cruelty 2 ~ disillusionment 2 ~ leaping 2 ~ matrimony 2 ~ modernity 2 ~ schism 2 ~ April 1 ~ audio 1 ~ debts 1 ~ deceit 1 ~ engineering 1 ~ junk 1 ~ peacekeeping 1 ~ Rohypnol 1 ~ tennis 1 ~ unbelief 1 ~ Zuda 1

# **Politics makes @ bedfellows**

@ = estranged 81  $\sim$  odd 62  $\sim$  strained 47  $\sim$  interesting 41  $\sim$  dead 36  $\sim$  weird 24  $\sim$  uneasy 15  $\sim$  queer 14  $\sim$  changing 11  $\sim$  gay 11  $\sim$  no 11  $\sim$  funny 10  $\sim$  good 10  $\sim$  great 10  $\sim$  unlikely 10  $\sim$  smart 9  $\sim$  loud 7  $\sim$  crazy 5  $\sim$  poor 5  $\sim$  curious 4  $\sim$  consistent 2  $\sim$  evil 2  $\sim$  hot 2  $\sim$  disgusting 1  $\sim$  filthy 1  $\sim$  lethal 1  $\sim$  nice 1  $\sim$  unsavory 1

# @ makes @ bedfellows

**Adjudication** makes **odd** bedfellows 1 **Adultery** makes **dull** bedfellows 4 Big business makes odd bedfellows 1 **Bigotry** makes **telling** bedfellows 4 Biopharm makes odd bedfellows 3 Biz makes weird bedfellows 1 **Business** makes **interesting** bedfellows 2 Co-branding makes coxy bedfellows 1 **Cohabitation** makes **disengaged** bedfellows 7 Common intent of purpose makes interesting bedfellows 1 Compartmentalization makes swell bedfellows 2 Cooking makes odd bedfellows 1 **Crime** makes **interesting** bedfellows 1 **Democracy** makes **bad** bedfellows 3

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Desperation makes ugly bedfellows 3
EDUN makes unlikely bedfellows 4
Fate makes peculiar bedfellows 1
History makes ironic bedfellows 1
Immigration makes odd bedfellows 7
Lawsuits makes interesting bedfellows 1
Marriage makes good bedfellows 7
Money makes bipartisan bedfellows 1
Pain makes interesting bedfellows 4
PHP makes happy bedfellows with SQL and Java and C++ 1
Pride makes prime bedfellows 1
Publicity makes queer bedfellows 6
Punk makes interesting bedfellows 1
Racing makes interesting bedfellows 2
Referendum makes interesting bedfellows in Britain 12
Rock makes kooky bedfellows 1
Scientism makes odd bedfellows 1
Shoe biz makes estranged bedfellows 1
Trauma makes strangers bedfellows 1
Truth makes interesting bedfellows 4
Unpaid overtime makes unlikely bedfellows 6
War makes odd bedfellows 14
War makes unexpected bedfellows in heaven as well as on earth 6
```

# **Politics makes strange bed-@**

Politics makes strange bedbugs 5
Politics makes strange bed-partners 62
Politics makes strange bedpersons 22
Politics makes strange beds 28
Politics makes strange bedsores 6
Politics makes strange bed-tuckers 9

# **Politics makes strange @-fellows**

Politics makes strange bleacher-seat fellows 2
Politics makes strange bon fellows 72
Politics makes strange bon fellows 3
Politics makes strange buffaloes 2
Politics makes strange churchfellows 10
Politics makes strange coffinfellows 14
Politics makes strange dead fellows 13
Politics makes strange endorsement-fellows 1
Politics makes strange food fellows 2
Politics makes strange goodfellas 6
Politics makes strange gun club fellows 6
Politics makes strange hiphop talk showfellows 3
Politics makes strange med-fellows 7

Politics makes strange musicfellows 4
Politics makes strange rally-fellows 5
Politics makes strange red fellows 13
Politics makes strange seat-fellows 8
Politics makes strange sidewalk fellows 27
Politics makes strange test tube fellows 2
Politics makes strange webfellows 11
Politics makes strange wheel-fellows 1

# **Politics makes strange @-mates**

Politics makes strange kitchen mates 11 Politics makes strange paddock mates 2 Politics makes strange roommates 8 Politics makes strange seatmates 3

# **Politics makes strange (@-)partners**

Politics makes strange partners 34
Politics makes strange dancing partners 3
Politics makes strange dining partners of us all 3

# **Politics makes strange @**

Politics makes strange allies 14 Politics makes strange birds of a feather, too 3 Politics makes strange blind spots 1 Politics makes strange co-workers 4 Politics makes strange enemies 30 Politics makes strange energy rule 1 Politics makes strange envoys 7 Politics makes strange friendships 3 Politics makes strange guest star combinations 4 Politics makes strange homeowners 8 Politics makes strange intellectual mattress companions 1 Politics makes strange **ironies** 7 Politics makes strange juxtapositions 1 Politics makes strange **metaphors** 4 Politics makes strange **neighbors** 3 Politics makes strange **postmasters** 82 Politics makes strange progeny 9 Politics makes strange **relationships** 7 Politics makes strange rock programs 1 Politics makes strange sleeping arrangements 1 Politics makes strange **sport** 11 Politics makes strange theater 4 Politics makes strange videos 5

# **Adversity makes strange @(-fellows)**

Adversity makes strange badfellows 5
Adversity makes strange boat-fellows 2
Adversity makes strange bod-fellows 1
Adversity makes strange companions 3
Adversity makes strange friends 8
Adversity makes strange moose cankles 2

# War makes strange @(-fellows ~ -mates ~ ...)

War makes strange bedmates 7
War makes strange ballon fellows 3
War makes strange couchfellows 4
War makes strange embedfellows 9
War makes strange würmfellows 3
War makes strange bunk mates 1
War makes strange roommates 5
War makes strange trench mates 2
War makes strange friends 7
War makes strange friendships 6
War makes strange companions 7
War makes strange companions 7

War makes strange allies 51
War makes strange heroes 3
War makes strange probabilities 4
War makes strange romances 1
War makes strange situations 2

# @ and @ make strange bedfellows

**Art** and **advertising** make strange bedfellows 12 Atheists and fundies make strange bedfellows 15 Backpacks and bedbugs make strange bedfellows 4 Birds and bats make strange bedfellows 31 Churches and casinos make strange bedfellows 3 **Dementia** and **passover** make strange bedfellows 4 **Education** and **contraception** make strange bedfellows 7 Life and death make strange bedfellows 13 Politics and Hollywood make strange bedfellows 34 Politics and malware make strange bedfellows 47 **Politics** and **science** make strange bedfellows 40 **Religion** and **politics** make strange bedfellows 77 **Sex** and **politics** make strange bedfellows 39 Social media and politics make strange bedfellows 44 **Technology** and **poetry** make strange bedfellows 7 **Tennis** and **golf** make strange bedfellows 9

# Some examples of comparative, parallelistic and other more complex structures:

Religion makes stranger bedfellows than politics 2
Football makes stranger bedfellows than politics 6
Censorship, like politics, makes strange shelf-fellows 1
Just as war makes strange enemies, peace brings strange combinations into the bond 1

The arena of **politics** makes strange animals and often **ugly beasts** of intentions 2 **War** makes strange **friends**, **war** makes strange **enemies** 1 Politics **in the pews** makes **predictable** bedfellows 4

# Case 4 (the most impressive): (HE) WHO LAUGHS ~ @-s FIRST ~ LAST ~ ..., LAUGHS ~ @-s BEST ~ BETTER ~ LONGEST ~ LOUDEST ~ HARDEST ~ SLOWEST ~ MOST ~ LAST ~ LEAST ~ WORST ~ ...

**English examples** 

# These expressions are considered as evident "antis" by Mieder & Litovkina (1999: 97)

He laughs best who laughs least

He who laughs first laughs loudest

He who laughs last at the boss's jokes probably isn't very far from retirement

He who laughs last didn't get the point anyway

He who laughs last doesn't get the joke

He who laughs last is generally an Englishman

He who laughs last is thick headed

He who laughs last is trying to think of a dirty meaning

He who laughs last is usually the dumbest

He who laughs last, lasts

He who laughs last, laughs best, but soon gets a reputation for being slow-witted

He who laughs last probably got a different meaning

He who laughs last probably has an insecure upper plate

He who laughs last, was just the last one to get it

He who laughs, lasts

# 25 most frequent expressions

who laughs last, laughs (the) best	928
who laughs last, laughs (the) longest	897
who laughs last, laughs (the) loudest	756
who laughs last, laughs (the) hardest	631
who laughs last, didn't get it	520
who laughs, lasts	510
who laughs last, didn't get the joke	484
who laughs last, thinks slowest	480
who speaks first, loses	425
who laughs last, doesn't get the joke	419
who laughs last, probably didn't get the joke	353
who posts last, laughs last	331
who laughs last, has not yet heard the bad news	328
who laughs last, laughs dead	328
who farts in church, sits in his own pew (Man)	315
who laughs last, laughs alone	262
who hits first, hits twice [partially a heading]	257
who laughs last, laughs first	245
who acts first success comes to the one	213
who defects first, defects best	208
who panics first, panics best	208
who strikes first, strikes twice	191
who comes first, grinds first	182
who laughs last, lasts	165
who laughs last, last(s) best	160

# 20 most frequent verbs in the 1st position

Verb	Text variants	Occurrences
laughs	99	9915
strikes	30	965
speaks	21	578
posts	19	543
comes	24	519
hits	20	407
farts	14	377
is	9	356
panics	26	353
dies	31	311
acts	14	305
shoots	31	275
talks	9	270
defects	5	259
cries	16	198
sells	15	187
loves	6	179
sees	8	176
fires	16	170
lives	8	129

# And the following is the actual list of Google findings:

```
who ACTS first success comes to the one 213
who acts first, acts best 4
who acts first, acts last 4
who acts first, gets paid first the creditor 1
who acts first, gets the best deal of the day 1
who acts first, gets the guy's heart in the end 1
who acts first, loses 20
who acts first, will make the most 1
who acts first, will win the pot 1
who acts first, wins... 49
who acts last, acts best 4
who acts last, acts last 4
who acts last, acts longest 1
who acts last, gets fucked the hardest the conference 1
who ADVERTISES first, wins 1
who advertises last, advertises best 1
who ANCHORS first, has prior claim 1
who anchors last, anchors best 4
who anchors last, moves first 2
```

```
who ARRIVES first, arrives last 1
who arrives first, is in charge 4
who arrives first, is served first person ∼ one 44
who arrives first, stays better 20
who arrives last and throws himself into a battle too fast, will exhaust 7
who arrives last to dinner (the cook-pot), is served the worst 1
who arrives last, exercises most power 1
who arrives last, gets the leftovers 1
who arrives last, is the first to understand this sad truth the young man, 5
who arrives last, moves first 1
who BALLS last, bawls first 1
```

who **BATS** first, laughs last 19 who bats last here, bats best 1 who bats last, bats longest 11 who bats last, often laughs last 7

who **BITES** best, bites last 4 who bites cookie, bites the god damn cookie 2 who bites first, bites best 7 who bites first, bites last 7 who bites first, bites the hardest 1

who bites first, bites twice 2 who bites hardest, bites last 4 who bites last bites good 1 who bites last, bites best 7 who bites lip, bites pillow 1 who bites once, bites again a dog 1 who **BLASTS** first, blasts again 2 who blasts first, gets the mobs 1 who blasts last, blasts best (filmi pealkiri?) 44 who blasts last, blasts last 1 who blasts last, blasts loudest 1 who **BOOKS** first, is right 1 who books first, is served first. First comes – first books the one 1 who books first, laughs the last laugh 1 who books first, stays longer 2 who books last, cries alone 1 who books last, gets the dosshole 2 who books last, laugh 1 who **BORROWS** first, makes most 1 who borrows last, borrows best 1 who borrows money, borrows trouble 10

who **BOUNCES** first, bounces last (Ancient Chinese proverb) 2 who bounces last, bounces best 15

who **BUMPS** last, bumps best 19 who bumps last, bumps last 1 who bumps last, bumps most 1 who bumps last, bumps most 1

who BWAHAHAHAHAS" last, "bwahahahahahas" best 1

who **CELEBRATES** last, celebrates loudest 1 who celebrates last, celebrates the longest 1

who **CHAOSES** last, chaoses hardest 2

who CHEATS first, cheats best 6
who cheats first, is always the loser 3
who cheats last, cheats best 1
who cheats last, cheats loudest 2
who cheats last, laughs last 1
who cheats last, laughs least 2

who **CHEERS** last, cheers (the) loudest 7 who cheers last, cheers best 7

who CHOKES first, chokes last 1
who chokes first, it's about who chokes last it's not about 4
who chokes last, chokes (the) loudest 5
who chokes last, chokes best 15
who chokes last, chokes first 1
who chokes last, chokes hardest 1
who chokes last, chokes longest 3
who chokes last, chokes worst 9

who **CHORTLES** last chortles best 2
who chortles last, chortles (the) loudest 3
who chortles last, chortles best 3
who chortles last, chortles longest 1
who chortles last, chortles most 1
who chortles last, truly chortle best? Does he 1

who **CHUCKLES** last chuckles best, 3 who chuckles last, chuckles best 10 who chuckles last, chuckles loudest 3 who chuckles last, chuckles the most 1

who **CLASPS** last, clasps best 2

# who **CLAVINS** first, clavins best 1

```
who CODES last, codes best 3
who codes last, codes longest 1
who codes last, out codes the rest 1
who COMES first, comes last 25
who comes first, comes last & who comes last, comes first [- Corinthians * i think] 1
who comes first, eats first 147
who comes first, gets first 75
who comes first, grinds first 182
who comes first, he who chews first 8
who comes first, is best 3
who comes first, laughs least 2
who comes first, sits best 1
who comes last, comes best 8
who comes last, comes first, and he comes first, comes last as Jesus Christ said he 1
who comes last, comes first, and who comes first, comes last it says in the Bible 1
who comes last, comes longest 8
who comes last, comes loudest 2
who comes last, is a hero 2
who comes last, is a mousebrain 1
who comes last, is commonly best 16
```

who comes last, is death [the heading of a horror novel] 1 who comes last, is first 2 who comes last, is gay 4 who comes last, is often first 14 who comes last, is sure to be caught 1 who comes last, is the largest the child 1 who comes last, is the longest 1 who comes last, will always be last 1 who comes last, will be first 10 who comes last, will first 1

who **COMPLAINS** first, is in the right 4 who complains first, is the one who farted 12 who complains first, is usually giving more creditability 1 who complains first, is what is right 1 who complains first, turns out to be the culprit 1 who complains first, wins 22

who cries first God will come to the one 14
who cries first, cries last 3
who cries first, doesn't cry in a rematch 9
who cries first, is not necessary the one who suffers 1
who cries first, is the guilty one 1
who cries first, laughs last 13

```
who cries first, usually lost the argument 1
who cries first, wins 40
who cries last he cries best, 3
who cries last, cries and bitches all winter 1
who cries last, cries because of the heart the child 1
who cries last, cries best 11
who cries last, cries longest 12
who cries last, cries loudest 4
who cries last, cries the hardest [a song by mark douglas] 79
who cries last, cries the most 1
who cries last, cries worst 4
who CROWS first, crows last 1
who crows first, crows loudest 1
who crows first, gets shot by the angry neighbour 1
who crows first, may be the first to croak 1
who crows last and least, governs longest 1
who crows last he crows best, 11
who crows last, crows best 19
who crows last, crows hardest 1
who crows last, crows longest 4
who crows last, crows loudest 12
who crows last, is first one found by the fox 1
who crows last, may crow the longest 9
```

who **DANCES** last, dances alone 1 who dances last, dances best 26 who dances last, dances happy 1 who dances last, dances longest 2

who **DEALS** first, deals best 2 who deals last, deals least 2

who **DECIDES** first, decides best no one is arguing that he 2

who **DEFAULTS** first, defaults best 21 who defaults first, recovers first 1 who defaults first, wins 4 who defaults last, defaults hardest 1 who defaults last, laughs loudest 3

who **DEFECTS** first, defects best 208
who defects first, gets the best deal 2
who defects first, loses the least 10
who defects first, will be the one who sleeps best 5
who defects first, wins 34

who **DELIVERS** last, delivers best 1

who **DERPS** last, derps hardest 1 who derps last, derps loudest 1 who derps last, derps slowest 1 who derps last, derps the most 1

who **DIALS** first, gets the seat 1 who dials first, takes the offensive 1 who dials first, waits in a queue first 2 who dials first, wins 1

who dies first, dies loudest 1
who dies first, dies most honorably 1
who dies first, gets longer rest 1
who dies first, gets the monument 10
who dies first, goes to heaven 1
who dies first, is better off 2
who dies first, is dead the longest 1
who dies first, looses his guns 1
who dies first, loses 65
who dies first, needs a bigger mech 2
who dies first, stops suffering 1
who dies first, will fret his being 2
who dies first, wins 48

```
who dies first, with the most toys wins 20
who dies last, dies alone 2
who dies last, dies best 5
who dies last, dies hardest 15
who dies last, dies longest 10
who dies last, dies slowest 12
who dies last, dies with the most stories to tell 1
who dies last, gets the last word 4
who dies last, has all the toys 1
who dies last, has honor 3
who dies last, is still dead 1
who dies last, is the winner 16
who dies last, lives later 2
who dies last, lives longest 3
who dies last, must pay the bills 1
who dies last, still doesn't get to take any with him 2
who dies last, will not be remembered 3
who dies last, wins... 74
who DISSES last, disses best 3
```

who **DIVES** last, dies first 1 who dives last, dives best 2 who dives last, dives longest 1

```
who dives last, does he dive best? 1
who dives last, laughs last 1
who DRESSES first, dresses best 3
who dresses first, is the winner 1
who EAT fast, eat more 16
who eat last, eat the most 1
who eats fast, eats best 1
who eats fast, eats the most.... And we must not insult the host 1
who eats first, eats best 8
who eats first, eats blood 1
who eats first, eats last 2
who eats first, eats longest 1
who eats first, eats most 1
who eats last, eats (waits patiently) in peace 1
who eats last, eats alone 2
who eats last, eats best 27
who eats last, eats least 11
who eats last, eats less 2
who eats last, eats longest 2
who eats last, eats more 3
who eats last, eats the last of whatever is left 4
```

who eats last, eats the planet 1

who **EDITS** last, edits best 3 who edits last, edits last 2 who edits last, edits loudest 1

who **ELFS** last, elfs (the) loudest 107

who **ENLIGHTENS** last, enlightens loudest 1

who **EXORCISES** last does he exorcise best? 42

who **FAILS** last, fails hardest 3 who fails last, wins 2

who falls first, falls furthest, falls forever 28
who falls first, is the loser 50
who falls first, isn't who falls last 1
who falls first, usually loses 2
who falls first, will lost in love 1
who falls last, falls good, and wants a heaven houri at that 1
who falls last, falls hardest 9
who falls last, pounds best 2
who falls last, wins 7

```
who FARTS art, needs her canvas 7
who farts best, farts last 3
who farts first, farts best 1
who farts first, farts fastest 2
who farts first, farts longest 1
who farts first, farts the finest 1
who farts first, laughs last 12
who farts in church, sits in his own pew (Man) 315
who farts last, farts best 13
who farts last, farts longest 3
who farts last, farts loudest 12
who farts last, farts most 1
who farts loudest, farts longest 4
who farts loudest, laughs longest 2
who FIGHTS best, laughs last 1
who fights first, fights best 1
who fights last, fights best 9
who FILES first, has the other guy by his balls 1
who files first, wins 61
who FINISHES first, finishes last 5
```

who finishes last, finishes best 8

```
who finishes last, finishes first 10
who finishes last, finishes well 7
who FIRES first, dies ~ will have to die (as the) second 20
who fires first, fires last 14
who fires first, is defeated 1
who fires first, jumps last 1
who fires first, lives longer 1
who fires first, lives to fight another day 1
who fires first, lo(o)ses 21
who fires first, usually doesnt die 1
who fires first, usually wins 25
who fires first, wins... 70
who fires last, fires best 4
who fires last, is already dead 1
who fires last, not who fires first wars go to 3
who fires last, usually dies first 1
who fires last, usually is the loser 2
who fires last, wins 4
who FLAPS first, flaps least 2
who flaps last, flaps left dee, 21
```

who **FLUSHES** last, flushes best 4 who flushes last, flushes loudest 1

who **FOAFS** first, foafs best 1

who **FOOS** first, foos the most 1 who foos last, foos best 63

who **FORTS** last, forts best 45 who forts last, forts best 45

who **FUCKS** first, fucks hardest 1 who fucks first, fucks last 3 who fucks last, fucks best 16 who fucks last, fucks hardest 9 who fucks last, fucks the sweetest 1

who **GAFFES** first, gaffes best 11 who gaffes last, gaffes best 33 who gaffes last, gaffes worst 1

who **GASSES** first, loses 10 who gasses first, usually loses the fight 1 who gasses last, gasses best 1

who **GLOATS** first, dies first 1 who gloats first, floats never 1

who gloats first, gloats last 2
who gloats first, grieves last 1
who gloats first, usually does not gloat last 1
who gloats last, gloats best 32
who gloats last, gloats better 1
who gloats last, gloats longest 20
who gloats most, gloats last 1

who **GOBBLES** last, gobbles best 3 who gobbles last, gobbles loudest 2

who **GOES** around, comes around 75 who goes fast, comes down fast 1 who goes fast, comes first 1 who goes fast, comes in last 1 who goes first, dies last 2 who goes first, does best 1 who goes first, often goes last 1 who goes last, are best 3 who goes last, comes out first 1 who goes last, laughs last 13

who **GREPS** last, greps better 2

who HACKS first, hacks best 5
who hacks first, hacks last 7
who hacks first, often hacks last 1
who hacks last, hack best 2
who hacks last, wins 11

who HAHA'S first, haha's last 1 who haha's last, didn't get the joke 1 who haha's last, haha's best 11 who haha's last, haha's slowest 1

who **HIRES** last, hires worst 1

who was **HIT** first and who hits last all that matters is 1 who hits first, but who hits last that it is not 7 who hits first, does not matter... 6 who hits first, doesn't necessarily win fight guy 2 who hits first, hits (the) hardest 29 who hits first, hits best 9 who hits first, hits better 6 who hits first, hits fastest 1 who hits first, hits final 1 who hits first, hits hard 9 who hits first, hits harder 9

```
who hits first, hits last 34
who hits first, hits twice [partially a heading] 257
who hits first, hits two times 9
who hits first, it's who hits last it's not 4
who hits first, it's who hits last that counts it dosn't matter 1
who hits last, hits best 14
who hits last, hits hardest 4
who hits last, laughs last 1
who hits last, walks alone 3
who HYPES last, hypes loudest 2
who INVENTS last, invents best 3
who IS last, is first ~ who's 133
who is last, is first to pay 2
who is last, is left to frost 5
who is last, is lunch 9
who is last, is quickly forgotten 2
who is last, is responsible 1
who is last, is ridiculed 2
```

who is now first, everyone will be last, and everyone who is last, will be first 49

who is last, shall be first~ who's 153

who **JABS** first, jabs hardest 3 who jabs first, laughs last 4 who jabs last, jabs best 1

who **KOOPS** last, koops best 10

who LAPS first, laps last 1
who laps last, laps best 22
who laps last, laps longest 3
who laps last, laps the loudest 1
who laps last, laughs 3
who laps last, laughs best 1
who laps last, that truely laps longest 1
who lapse(s) last, lapse(s) best 46
who lapses last, lapses worst 1
who lapses last, will lose 5

who **LARCENIES** last, larcenies longest 4

who LATHS last, laths best 9 who laths last, laths hardest 3 who laths last, laths longest 7 who laths last, laughs last 1

```
who is last to be laughing, LAUGHS most loudly 56
who LAUGHS first, does not ~ doesn't always laugh last 4
who laughs first, has the dirtiest mind 1
who laughs first, he will laugh last ~ laughs last 2
who laughs first, laugh laughs last 2
who laughs first, laughs ~ laugh last 2
who laughs first, laughs loudest 32
who laughs first, may cry last 1
who laughs first, never laughs last 1
who laughs last at the boss's jokes, probably isn't far from retirement he or she 80
who laughs last at the boss's jokes, probably isn't very far from retirement 7
who laughs last he laughs better 1
who laughs last, probably was the last one to understand 1
who laughs last, certainly laughs the hardest 1
who laughs last, did not get joke 32
who laughs last, didn't get it 520
who laughs last, didn't get the joke 484
who laughs last, didn't get the point (anyway) 8
who laughs last, does he laugh longest? 1
who laughs last, doesn't get the joke 419
who laughs last, doesn't know that it relieves stress 5
who laughs last, gets fired first 15
who laughs last, giggles longer 1
who laughs last, goes broke 5
```

```
who laughs last, has not yet heard the bad news 328
who laughs last, has the cleanest mind 18
who laughs last, has the last laugh 140
who laughs last, is fatest 1
who laughs last, is generally an Englishman 1
who laughs last, is generally the last to get the joke 134
who laughs last, is just a hand in the bush 79
who laughs last, is laughing at you 112
who laughs last, is often hard of hearing 6
who laughs last, is probably an Englishman 3
who laughs last, is slow witted 17
who laughs last, is stupid 2
who laughs last, is the slowest the one 1
who laughs last, is thick headed 3
who laughs last, is trying to think of a dirty meaning 6
who laughs last, is usually an idiot 5
who laughs last, is usually the dumbest 52
who laughs last, it is he who cries first it is not he 22
who laughs last, just got the joke 30
who laughs last, last(s) best 160
who laughs last, lasts 165
who laughs last, laughs (the) best 928
who laughs last, laughs ~ will laugh laughs best 124
who laughs last, laughs best 31
```

```
who laughs last, laughs (the) better 151
who laughs last, laughs (the) hardest 631
who laughs last, laughs (the) lastest 22
who laughs last, laughs (the) laughiest 68
who laughs last, laughs (the) longest 897
who laughs last, laughs longest 30
who laughs last, laughs longest 3
who laughs last, laugh louder 1
who laughs last, laughs (the) louder 56
who laughs last, laughs louder the one 1
who laughs last, laughs (the) loudest 756
who laughs last, laughs loudest 31
who laughs last, laughs (the) most 108
who laughs last, laughs (the) richest 27
who laughs last, laughs (the) slowest 67
who laughs last, laughs (the) sweetest 47
who laughs last, laughs a lot 12
who laughs last, laughs all summer long 1
who laughs last, laughs alone 262
who laughs last, laughs breast (s)he 3
who laughs last, laughs dead 328
who laughs last, laughs first 245
who laughs last, laughs first next time 27
who laughs last, laughs for eternity 5
```

```
who laughs last, laughs harder 62
who laughs last, laughs his ass off 8
who laughs last, laughs longer 4
who laughs last, laughs longer 112
who laughs last, laughs well 42
who laughs last, probably answered first 10
who laughs last, probably didn't get it at first 32
who laughs last, probably didn't get it in the first place 2
who laughs last, probably didn't get the joke 353
who laughs last, probably doesn't understand the joke 136
who laughs last, probably flushed 2
who laughs last, probably found it funnier 5
who laughs last, probably got kicked in the head by a horse 1
who laughs last, probably had it explained 14
who laughs last, probably had to be explained in sign language 1
who laughs last, probably had to have it explained 7
who laughs last, probably has a cooking disaster he hasn't confessed 5
who laughs last, probably has an insecure upper plate 2
who laughs last, probably has the least advanced cognitive capabilities 1
who laughs last, probably hasn't realised that everyone else had already stopped
laughing 2
who laughs last, probably is slow in thinking 1
who laughs last, probably isn't too far away from retire 1
who laughs last, probably isn't very smart 3
```

who laughs last, probably kept talking to himself after everyone else left the room 3 who laughs last, probably knew the truth all along She 2 who laughs last, probably knows something you don't 2 who laughs last, probably made a backup ~ made backups 116 who laughs last, probably made a group ofit 1 who laughs last, probably missed the point 1 who laughs last, probably set a bomb in the other guy's car 3 who laughs last, probably shot first 1 who laughs last, probably started laughing first 1 who laughs last, probably thinks the slowest 9 who laughs last, probably took the biggest hit of nitrous 1 who laughs last, probably uses simplest architecture of developing .NET application 13 who laughs last, probably wasn't listening, and is only laughing because everyone else is 15 who laughs last, probably won 1 who laughs last, thinks slowest 480 Who laughs last, thinks too slow 2 who laughs last, usually had to have joke explained 48 who laughs least laughs best 70 who laughs the hardest, laughs the least 2 who laughs, lasts 510

who LAYS last, lay best? Does she 1

who lays last, lays best 1 who lays last, lays longest 1

who LEAKS first, laughs last 1 who leaks last, leaks best 29 who leaks last, leaks loudest 3 who leaks last, looks like an idiot 2 who leaks last, wins 2

who LICKS first, licks best 1 who licks first, wins 1 who licks last, laps longest 1 who licks last, licks longest 3

who lies first, always loses 1
who lies first, defines the divorce 2
who lies first, determines truth 7
who lies first, generally has his lies believed 1
who lies first, gets believed 6
who lies first, gets to tell the biggest whoppers 1
who lies first, is generally the one who lies best
and reaps the reward 1
who lies first, is often most believed 1
who lies first, is usually he who lies best 1

who lies first, lies best 7
who lies first, never stands a chance 1
who lies first, often wins 2
who lies first, tells the story the loudest 1
who lies first, wins 23
who lies last, lies (the) best 33
who lies last, lies the longest 4
who lies most, lies worst 21

who lives last, lives (the) best 13
who lives long and well, has a long seed 15
who lives long, knows what pain is 52
who lives long, only lengthens out his thread of sorrow, the experience of man teaches the same lesson 2
who lives long, sees much 37
who lives long, will mourn his friends 8
who lives long, will see many things 1

who LOLS first, gets the last lulz 1
who lols first, lols again but not last for u se 1
who lols first, lols last too 1
who lols last, has the last lol 1
who lols last, is out of touch 12

```
who lols last, is partially-deaf 2 who lols last, Imaos 2 who lols last, loling the longest and the out-loudiest 5 who lols last, lols hardest 2 who lols last, lols lololongest 8 who lol's~ lols last, lol's ~ lols best 67
```

who LOSES first, can't eat chocolate for an entire year 1 who loses first, will end up winning 2 who loses last, asks for terms 33 who loses last, cries the most 1 who loses last, loses best 3 who loses last, loses longest 1 who loses last, loses worst 8

who LOVES last he loves best, 15
who loves last, laughs longest 4
who loves last, loves (the) longest 99
who loves last, loves best [partly < Dar Williams] 49
who loves last, loves loudest 4
who loves last, loves most 8

who LULZ last on teh intern37s, must be living in North America 1 who lulz last, laughs longest 20

who lulz last, lulz best 17 who lulz last, lulz hardest 2 who lulz last, lulz longest 13 who lulz last, lulz loudest 3

who LURKS first, lurks longest 1 who lurks last, bunks best 1 who lurks last, lurks best 2 who lurks last, lurks longest 5 who lurks last, lurks loudest 4

who LUSTS last, doesn't necessarily lust best 1 who lusts last, lasts longest 26 who lusts last, lusts best 2 who lusts last, lusts longest 8

who MARKS labst, laughs longest 1 who marks last, marks best 2

who **MASTURBATES** last, masturbates best 1 who masturbates last, masturbates loudest 1

who MOCKS first, laughs last 1 who mocks first, mocks himself 1

who mocks first, mocks last 2
who mocks last, mocks best 28
who mocks last, mocks longest 2
who mocks last, mocks loudest 2
who mocks last, mocks most 2
who mocks last, mocks the mockiest 1

who **MOVES** first, finishes last 24 who moves first, moves fastest 20 who moves last, moves best 14 who moves last, moves farthest 1 who moves last, moves quickest 1

who **NERDS** first, nerds best 1

who **NUKES** first, nukes last 7
who nukes first, nukes most 1
who nukes first, usually dies 3
who nukes first, won't die 1
who nukes last, has the best nuke 1
who nukes last, nukes best 1
who nukes last, nukes loudest 1

who **OGLES** last, ogles best 1

## who **OUTS** first, outs best 1

```
who PANIC first, can save their money while he who panics last, loses money 1
who panics first, dies first 6
who panics first, gets at least some of his money back 8
who panics first, gets his money back 2
who panics first, gets most 1
who panics first, gets most of his money (back) 2
who panics first, has already lost 1
who panics first, just may salvage something 14
who panics first, live to tell about it 1
who panics first, loses 3
who panics first, loses (the) least 11
who panics first, panics best 208
who panics first, suffers the least 1
who panics first, survives 6
who panics first, wins 70
who panics last, gets bupkis 2
who panics last, gets fucked 1
who panics last, gets the shaft 1
who panics last, gets the worse price 1
who panics last, jumps 1
who panics last, or least, is the one most likely to survive 1
```

who panics last, panics loudest 1
who panics last, panics worst 3
who panics last, usually wins 1
who panics last, will be left burned alive 1
who panics last, wins 5

who **PAYS** first, get better seats 6 who pays first, gets paint 1st 1 who pays first, laughs last 46 who pays last, pays best 22 who pays last, pays most 3

who **PERFORM** last, finish first 56

who **PINGS** last, pings loudest 1

who **PLANS** first, is less likely to get stressed 4 who plans first, succeeds best 7 who plans first, usually wins 1 who plans last, plans least 7

who **PLAYS** last, plays best 8 who plays last, plays longest 2

```
who POINTS first, gets the raspberry jelly 1
who points first, wins 1
who points last, points best 1
who points last, points longest 1
who POOPS first, poops best 1
who poops last, poops best 6
who poops last, poops hardest 1
who poops last, poops longest 1
who poops last, poops loudest 1
who POSTS first, but who posts best it's not (about) 2
who posts first, posts first 2
who posts first, posts loudest 2
who posts first, posts truest 1
who posts first, wins... 69
who posts last, gets read last 1
who posts last, goes to bed latest 1
who posts last, is the best on mnlot 3
who posts last, is the winner 27
who posts last, laughs last 331
who posts last, laughs longest 2
who posts last, posts best 28
who posts last, posts breasts 4
```

who posts last, posts loudest 7 who posts last, shall be first 4 who posts last, speaks sh\*te 2 who posts last, thinks slowest 7 who posts last, wins 47 who posts last, wins first 3

who **PRAYS** last, prays loudest 1

who **PRODUCES** last, get richest 1 who produces last, makes the most money 5 who produces least, loses 1 who produces least, produces best 1

who **PUGNATES** last, pugnates best 15

who **PUNCHES** first, asks questions later 11 who punches first, normally wins 3 who punches first, punches best 20 who punches first, punches twice 42 who punches first, usually ends up losing the fight 2 who punches last, but he who punches best it isnt he 1 who punches last, falls 1 who punches last, laughs better 2

who punches last, punches best 7
who punches last, punches hardest 1
who punches last, punches the better 1
who punches last, wins 1

who **PUNKS** last, punks loudest 5 who punks last, punks the hardest 4

who **PURRS** last, purrs best 30 who purrs last, purrs loudest 2

who **QUACKS** first, quacks last 1
who quacks last, quacks best 11
who quacks last, quacks loudest 5
who quacks last, quacks loudest and longest 1
who quacks last, quacks the hardest 1
who quacks most, quacks least 1

who **REACTS** first, gets the battle 1 who reacts last, thinks the slowest 1 who reacts last, wins 2

who **READS** first, reads fast 2 who reads last, reads (the) most 5

who **REGISTERS** first, usually wins 1 who registers first, will get the seat first 2 who registers last, registers best 6

who **REPORTS** first, reports best 1 who reports first, reports the loudest 1 who reports last, reports best 4

who **RESPONDS** first, responds best 1 who responds last, is the winner 1

who **REVS** last, revs loudest 11

who **ROARS** last, roars loudest (the lion) 26

who **ROBS** last, also laughs last 1 who robs last, robs best 4 who robs last, robs longest 1

who **ROCKS** first, rocks best 1 who rocks last, rocks best 4 who rocks last, rocks longest 5

who **ROIDS** last, roids hardest 1

who **SAVES** last, gives what is kept 1 who saves last, saves best 7 who saves last, wins 65

who **SCOOPS** first, scoops best 7

who **SCORES** first, scores last 5 who scores first, scores most 1 who scores first, scores often 3 who scores last, laughs best 3 who scores last, laughs last 3 who scores last, laughs loudest 3 who scores last, scores best 14 who scores last, scores most 1

who **SCREAMS** last, screams (the) loudest 9 who screams last, screams best 19 who screams last, screams finalistist 5 who screams last, screams last 10 who screams last, screams most effective 1 who screams last, wins 3

## who **SCULPTS** last, sculpts best 1

```
who SEES first, greets first 1
who sees first, has won 21
who sees first, kills first 21
who sees first, lives longest 10
who sees first, shoots first 28
who sees first, wins 41
who sees last, gets stuck first 2
who sees last, sees best 52
who SELLS first, loses 39
who sells first, loses the least 32
who sells first, sells best 51
who sells first, sells highest 4
who sells first, sells the most 1
who sells first, will have a job tomorrow 14
who sells first, will lose the least 1
who sells first, wins 33
who sells last, gets the least 2
who sells last, is the looser 1
who sells last, loses 3
who sells last, loses ~ loseth the most 2
who sells last, sells best 2
```

who sells last, will lose the most 1 who sells last, will sell best 1

who **SEQUENCES** last, sequences best 1

who **SETTLE** first, breed best those 41 who settles last, settles best 3

who **SHEERS** last, sheers best 1

who **SHIPS** last, ships best 16

who **SHOOTS** best, is he who shoots last 1 who shoots first, dies first 6 who shoots first, dies last 50 who shoots first, dies second 30 who shoots first, laughs best 32 who shoots first, lives another day 2 who shoots first, lives forever 1 who shoots first, lives longer 14 who shoots first, lives longest 31 who shoots first, lives to fight another day 1 who shoots first, lives to shoot another day 1

who shoots first, lives to tell about it 1

who shoots first, lives to tell the tale 1 who shoots first, lives to tell the tell 1 who shoots first, shoots at all 2 who shoots first, shoots best 6 who shoots first, shoots last 25 who shoots last he shoots best, 2 who shoots last, dies first 14 who shoots last, drinks no more 7 who shoots last, gets the kill 3 who shoots last, is dead 3 who shoots last, laughs longest 2 who shoots last, loses 3 who shoots last, must eat it 2 who shoots last, shoots best 8 who shoots last, shoots finest 5 who shoots last, shoots loudest 1 who shoots last, usually dies 1 who shoots last, very rarely gets to shoot at all 4 who shoots last, will hit the target 1 who shoots last, wins... 14

who **SHOUTS** first, is always the winner 2 who shouts first, is lost 1 who shouts first, is right 5

who shouts first, is the winner 2 who shouts last, does it best 1 who shouts last, is right 2 who shouts last, loses 1 who shouts last, shouts loudest 7

who **SHOVELS** last, shovels most 1

who **SANG** last, kiss first 1 who sings first, sings best 2 who sings first, sings last 1

who **SINS** first, kicks the first ass 4 who sins first, makes the strife 14 who sins first, sleeps better 1 who sins last, sins better 1 who sins last, wins 4

who **SLAPS** first, it's who slaps last it's not 1 who slaps last, is the biggest pimp 1 who slaps last, slaps (the) best 9 who slaps last, slaps hardest and laughs longest 1 who slaps last, slaps loudest 2

who **SLEEP** last, wake first 10 who sleeps last, sleeps best 1 who sleeps last, sleeps loudest 5 who sleeps last, wins 4

who **SMILES** last, is the one who could really smile 1 who smiles last, is the one who isn't happy 2 who smiles last, may crack his face 1 who smiles last, probably found another meaning 6 who smiles last, smiles best 57 who smiles last, thinks slowest 7

who **SMIRKS** first, but who smirks last it is irrelevant 2 who smirks first, doesn't laugh last 2 who smirks first, gets smirked at last 2 who smirks first, is premature 1 who smirks last he smirks longest, 2 who smirks last, smirks best 39 who smirks last, smirks loudest 1

who **SMOKES** first (cocks gun), smokes last hippie 1 who smokes first, smokes loudest 1 who smokes last, smokes best 7

who **SNAFFLES** first, laughs loudest 2

who **SNARLS** last, snarls best 3

who **SNEERS** first, dies first 4 who sneers first, sneers best 17 who sneers last, sneers best 3 who sneers last, sneers longest 1

who **SNICKERS** last, snickers best 23 who snickers last, snickers hardest 2 who snickers last, snickers longest 1 who snickers last, snickers loudest 90

who SPEAK first, remember best 2
who speaks first, loses... 425
who speaks first, speaks for the partnership 4
who speaks first, speaks last 8
who speaks first, speaks loudest 2
who speaks last and most, seems right 1
who speaks last, buys first 2
who speaks last, closes first 1
who speaks last, does he have the last laugh? 1
who speaks last, fares well 6

who speaks last, has spoken the loudest 1 who speaks last, is right 11 who speaks last, is the one who has lost 1 who speaks last, is the winner 1 who speaks last, laughs last 1 who speaks last, loses 28 who speaks last, makes history 2 who speaks last, speaks best 16 who speaks last, speaks loudest 10 who speaks last, thinks slowest 2 who speaks last, wins 53

who **SQEALS** first, loses... 1 who squeals last, squeals loudest 2

who stabs first, avoids sloppy seconds 1 who stabs first, is usually the lucky one 1 who stabs first, stabs longest 1 who stabs first, wins 5 who stabs last, must drink the player 1 who stabs last, stabs best 45 who stabs last, stabs hardest 3 who stabs last, stabs last 1 who stabs last, stabs loudest 3 who stabs last, wins 2

```
who STARTS first, always wins 7
who starts first, but he who finishes first its not he 2
who starts first, but the one who makes the best of what there already was it's not
always he 1
who starts first, doesn't always finish first 1
who starts first, doesn't always win 1
who starts first, doesn't necessarily finish first 2
who starts first, finishes first 12
who starts first, first starts 1
who starts first, gets the most 4
who starts first, has rights 1
who starts first, is pretty sure to win 1
who starts first, is the aggressor 1
who starts first, often laughs last 1
who starts first, often wins 6
who starts first, pounds first 1
who starts first, stays first and he who starts last... 1
who starts first, usually finishes first 1
who starts first, wins 25
who starts last, doesn't necessarily finish last 1
who starts last, finish first may she 2
who starts last, finishes first 2
who starts last, finishes last 4
```

who starts last, is last to hear the starter 1 who starts last, laughs longest 28 who starts last, might finish first 1 who starts last, starts best 11 who starts last, will be last 1

who **STEALS** first, lasts 2 who steals last, steals best 11

who **STEPS** first in greed, will sell his soul and be devoured 1 who steps first into the stream, sees the water at its natural state 3 who steps first on the rug, will be the head of the house (Tolstoi translated?) 23

who **STRIKES** first prevails, he who strikes late fails (translation from Chinese?) 48 who strikes first, can defeat the enemy 11 who strikes first, has the right to play on 1 who strikes first, is better off 1 who strikes first, is usually angry or scared a man 2 who strikes first, laughs last 8 who strikes first, laughs most 6 who strikes first, lives 17 who strikes first, lives to strike second 6

who strikes first, or most, but only who strikes last it doesn't matter 8 who strikes first, seldom has to strike again 1

```
who strikes first, strikes before the guy who strikes second 16
who strikes first, strikes before the one who strikes second 4
who strikes first, strikes best 47
who strikes first, strikes last 57
who strikes first, strikes twice 191
who strikes first, usually wins 62
who strikes first, will win first 1
who strikes first, wins 149
who strikes last he strikes hardest 1
who strikes last, fails to laugh 1
who strikes last, has the last laugh 1
who strikes last, lives longest 1
who strikes last, strikes best 142
who strikes last, strikes finest 1
who strikes last, strikes hardest 1
who strikes last, will be beaten 11
who strikes last, will score best 13
who strikes the hardest, not who strikes first it's about 156
who strikes the hardest, not who strikes first the guy 1
```

who **SUCKS** last, sucks best 7
who sucks last, sucks the most 17
who sucks last, sucks worst 1
who sucks least, but who sucks last it's not 1

```
who SUES first, get the money 1
who sues first, gets the biggest cut 1
who sues first, laughs in name only, not last 1
who sues first, sues best 2
who sues first, sues more successfully 2
who sues first, usually wins first 2
who sues first, wins 8
who sues last, is richest 1
who sues last, sues best 2
who sues last, wins 1
```

who **SURGES** first, urges then woos, she who fights first, soon lights up, unglues she 3

who surges last, surges best 53 who surges last, surges to victory 1 who surges last, wins 1

who **TAKES** last, takes best 2

who **TALKS** first, gets punished least 1 who talks first, loses 132 who talks first, talks best 2 who talks first, wins 50

```
who talks last, has the last word 3
who talks last, talks best 8
who talks last, talks loudest 11
who talks last, wins 59
who talks the loudest and who talks last, wins 4
who THINKS first and moves first, frequently crosses the line first 1
who thinks first, acts last 1
who thinks first, acts second 10
who thinks first, comes first 2
who thinks first, fights last 1
who thinks first, speaks last and he who speaks first, thinks last 1
who thinks last and feels last, will be last always 1
who thinks last, copies he who is before him 1
who thinks last, dies first 7
who thinks last, laughs last 2
who thinks last, laughs slowest 3
who thinks last, speaks first 1
who thinks last, thinks (the) slowest 12
who thinks last, thinks best 2
who thinks last, thinks deepest 1
who thinks last, thinks he'll last 3
who thinks last, thinks slow 1
who thinks last, thinks the longest 1
```

## who **THRUSTS** last, thrusts best 2

who **TITTERS** last, titters best 4 who titters last, titters loudest 1

who **TRADES** last, laughs loudest 1 who trades last, trades best 3

who **TRAPS** last, laughs best 1 who traps last, laughs last 2 who traps last, traps best 11 who traps last, traps hardest 1

who **TRICKS** last, tricks best 11

who trolls first, trolls best 9
who trolls last, laughs first in the spring 1
who trolls last, trolls (the) hardest 4
who trolls last, trolls best 12
who trolls last, trolls better 2
who trolls last, trolls decisively 1
who trolls last, trolls longest 4
who trolls last, trolls slowest 1

who **TROUGHS** last, troughs loudest 1

who **TWEETS** last, tweets best 11

who **TWISTS** last, twists best 2

who **UNDERSTANDS** last, adjusts last 1 who understands last, changes last 6 who understands last, modifies last 4 who understands last, understands longest 4

who **WATCHES** last, watches best 42

who **WRITES** first, goes first 2
who writes first, is a loser 9
who writes first, writes best 6
who writes first, writes history 1
who writes first, writes last 1
who writes last, evaluates better 1
who writes last, writes best 38
who writes last, writes better 2
who writes last, writes last 1
who writes last, writes truth 1

## THANK YOU FOR ATTENTION!

ХИНДИ РУС(С)И БХАЙ БХАЙ 576 ХИНДИ РУС(С)И ПХАЙ ПХАЙ 328 HINDI-RUSSI BHAI BHAI 95 ХИНДИ РУС(С)И БХАИ БХАИ 62 ХИНДИ РУСИ БАЙ БАЙ 31 ХИНДИ РУСИ ПИФ ПАФ 23 HINDI-RUSSI BUY BUY 21 ХИНДИ РУСИ ШВАЙН ШВАЙН 18 ХИНДИ РУС(С)И ПХАИ ПХАИ 13

HINDI-RUSSI PHAI PHAI 11 HINDI-RUSSI BAI BAI 4 HINDI-RUSSI VAI VAI 2 HINDI-RUSSI BEHEN BEHEN 2 HINDI-RUSSI BRAT BRAT 2 HINDI-RUSSI LOVE LOVE 2 HINDI-RUSSI P'HIGH P'HIGH 1 ХИНДИ РУСИ БУХАЙ БУХАЙ 1 ХИНДИ РУСИ БРАТ БРАТ 1

Which of them is the prototype of the family?