"She snow on my clone 'til I change the words": A construction based analysis of "She X on my Y till I Z"

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Abstract

The meme "She X on my Y till I Z", coined in late 2021, has risen to virality as an example of what is often regarded as as a snowclone, a partially fillable phrase based on a preexisting culturally salient saying. The present study takes a critical eye towards this phenomenon and analyzes it from the point of view of Goldbergian construction grammar. I review the existing research regarding resultative and causative constructions, which the phrase resembles, as well as definitions of snowclones in construction grammar and their connections to extravagant linguistic phenomena. Using a small corpus of examples from Tumblr.com, I then look at the syntax and semantics of the phrase, synthesizing definitions of the resultative and causative constructions and identifying what features it inherits from those constructions and where it diverges, making it a unique construction in its own right. I also examine the semantics of the different senses of the phrase, constructing metaphorical links between its central sense and subsenses in the same vein as Goldberg (1995)'s treatment of the ditransitive. I discuss the fillers for the X, Y and Z variable slots as well as their semantic domains, discovering its pragmatic function of building in-group solidarity in online communities. I argue that the current linguistic definition of snowclones must be modified in order to capture memes deemed snowclones by internet users, with less emphasis on lexical fixedness and more attention paid to how reformulations of a snowclone retain pragmatic associations of the original.

1.   Introduction

On December 3, 2021, Twitter user @NapeMango allegedly tweeted the first instantiation of what has come to be known as the "She X on my Y till I Z" meme:

    (1) she ebbin on my nezer till I scrooge (NapeMango 2021)

The tweet is a reference to the character Ebenezer Scrooge from Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*, arranging the name in a ludic allusion to oral sex. Since then, the phrasal template has risen in popularity in online meme culture, with users reinterpreting the meme by filling in each variable slot with their own cultural references.

    (2) she ring on my ding til I dong [reference to song "Ring Ding Dong" by Shinee]
    (3) She glom on my nit til I post [reference to book *Going Postal* by Terry Pratchett]
    (4) She Gol on my D. 'til I Roger [reference to anime/manga *One Piece*]

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Although the reference changes, "she", "on my" and "til(l)" are fixed lexical elements. On Google Trends (n.d.), "she x on my y till I z" peaked in popularity in mid 2023 and continues to be used to this day. The internet meme archive site *Know Your Meme* added an entry for the phenomena on December 9, 2022, labeling it as a snowclone, a subclass of memes on the website (Philipp 2022). Although linguists have given snowclones a technical definition (Traugott & Trousdale 2013, Hartmann & Ungerer 2023), the memetic entries listed as snowclones vary in how fixed their structure is. Some, like "she X on my Y till I Z", embed the slots within a phrase while others feature a fixed phrase followed by a single variable slot. What unifies snowclones under *Know Your Meme*'s definition is the user's ability to alter some part of the phrase to comedic effect.

Previous work on snowclones has focused on their development and characteristics within the framework of construction grammar, as well as their evincing of linguistic creativity and extravagance (Traugott & Trousdale 2013, Bergs 2019, Hartmann & Ungerer 2023, Koliopoulou & Walker 2024). However, there does not seem to have been any investigation into this internet meme. The present paper looks at "She X on my Y till I Z" as an example of an internet snowclone in order to analyze aspects of this construction as well as its place in the extant snowclone literature. I will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What are the semantic and syntactic features of "She X on my Y till I Z" and its different lexical instantiations?
2. Does "She X on my Y till I Z" adhere to the definition of a snowclone outlined by Hartmann and Ungerer (2023)?

Section 2 takes a brief look at the "She X on my Y till I Z" and reviews construction grammar (Goldberg 1995) literature on causative and resultative constructions, which the phrase seems to resemble. Section 3 offers different definitions of snowclones as well as their relevance to research on extravagance and creativity in human language. Section 4 analyzes the phrase at hand. Section 4.1 argues that "She X on my Y till I Z" inherits properties of causative and resultative constructions, and that different formulations of the meme play with the distribution of cultural references among the three variable slots to emphasize either the verbal or constructional subevent. Section 4.2 examines the fillers for the X, Y and Z variable slots, identifying their lexical categories and the semantic domain of their source references. Section 5 argues that, although "She X on my Y till I Z" and other internet snowclones do not fully fit the definition outlined in Hartmann & Ungerer (2023), the prevalence of phrasal templates in internet meme culture merits an expansion to the current conception of snowclones in the literature. Finally, the conclusion wraps up the paper and offers some avenues for further research.

2.   "She X on my Y till I Z" and Causative & Resultative Constructions

The central tenet of construction-based approaches is that speakers' grammars are composed of a set of constructions which link a certain form to their meaning, represented in the mind as a construct-i-con. In this construct-i-con, constructions are related through connections called subpart links, defined as "associations between constructions that share formal or semantic structures but cannot be seen as instances of one another" (Hilpert 2019: 62). However, links do not only exist between different constructions but between

different instantiations of the same construction. One way of creating new constructions is via schematization, which occurs when speakers draw generalizations from different utterances to create one overarching construction (Hilpert 2019). Schematization characterizes the approach that Traugott & Trousdale (2014) take towards the lexicalization of constructions over time. They propose that new constructions emerge out of schematizations of a previously freer morpheme or phrase, becoming more productive but losing its independence as its meaning generalizes. One example they discuss is X-HOOD, which rose from being an independent noun in Old English meaning "status, office, rank, character, nature, state", to being schematized as an affixoid meaning "rank, status of the person denoted by N" (2014: 265-266). The authors expand the same logic afforded to morphemes to phrasal snowclones, treating their creation as the "constructionalization of a partial schema" (2014: 270-271) in the sense that snowclone formation takes a previously fixed string and inserts a variable, making it more productive, while also generalizing its meaning.

A similar diachronic approach with "She X on my Y till I Z" would be difficult given that there seems to be no culturally salient, high frequency source for the construction, a key aspect of Hartmann & Ungerer's (2023) snowclone definition, discussed further in section 3. However, if we look back at the original instantiation of the phrase, we can glean a few preliminary properties. The slot fillers come from splitting the name of character Ebeneezer Scrooge from Charles Dickens' novel *A Christmas Carol*. The fillers for X and Y come from the character's first name while Z comes from his last name, suggesting that X and Y are more semantically linked to each other than they are to Z. The decision of where to split the name is also interesting, as X appears to have coerced the first two syllables of "Ebeneezer" into a form resembling the present progressive with a deleted copula, the Standard English version being something like "She is ebbing".

The sexual element of the original should now be dealt with, as it affects the syntactic and semantic interpretation. The phrase "she ebbin on my nezer till I scrooge" is a thinly veiled metaphor for (heterosexual) oral sex, with the subject (she) fellating (ebbin) on the speaker's penis (on my nezer) until the speaker achieves orgasm (till I scrooge). The syntax of the phrase, drawing on the sexual act it references, then seems to be resultative or causative in nature, with a causer acting on a part of the causee until they reach a certain state without conscious decision; indeed, the plain "she ebbin on my nezer till I scrooge" could be interpreted as a token of either of those two types of constructions. However, as we will see in the analysis section, I argue that "She X on my Y till I Z" constitutes its own unique construction that shares properties with the causative and resultative but is not completely subsumed by them. In order to do this however, we will first establish the boundaries of the causative and resultative constructions to see which aspects "She X on my Y till I Z" inherits from, and where it diverges from those constructions semantically and pragmatically to become its own construction.

2.1.   Causatives & Resultatives

Dixon (2000) defines the causative as "the specification of an additional argument, a causer, onto a basic clause", with the causer being "someone or something (which can be an event or state) that initiates or controls the activity" (2000: 30). Although he identifies the causative as a valency increasing construction (Hilpert 2019), Dixon's (2000) conception of the causative is a derivational one, in which a source sentence has a causer added

to it with the causer becoming the new subject and the source sentence becoming a subordinate clause. In English, the source sentence becomes a "*to*-type complement clause" with the original subject, called the "causee" by Dixon, "coded with accusative case, as the object of the causative verb", giving the examples "I forced him to go, I made him go, I allowed him to go" (2000: 36). He also discusses another set of verbs he calls "Secondary Verbs" (Dixon 2005: 96) in which the derived sentence does not have a *to*-type clause but one with a gerund clause, giving the example "The maid started cleaning the bathroom at ten o'clock" and its derived causative, "Mother started the maid cleaning the bathroom at ten o'clock" (Dixon 2010: 42).

This last example of *-ing*-type clauses in causatives is treated by Kim & Davies' (2016) investigation on the *into*-causative using corpus data, relating it to the resultative and *way*-construction. The *into*-causative is composed syntactically of the "subject, object and *into*-gerundive clause" (2016: 56), with the matrix verbs falling into six main classes: deception, exerting force, arousing fear, enticing, other specific means, and nonspecific means (Rudanko 2011: 25), as well as a class of neutral verbs such as *influence* or *lead*. Semantically, Kim & Davies (2016) state that, in the *into*-causative, the "subject referent of the construction causes the object referent to perform the action denoted by the gerundive clause and then be in the resultant state described by the gerundive clause" (60). Using a more formal template, the authors define the *into*-causative as being semantically "X CAUSES Y TO BECOME Z & BECOME Z happened" (74).

In relation to the resultative, the authors point out a few key differences. The authors assert that the resultative does not "entail that the action described in the subordinate clause really happened" and that verbs in the resultative have the "constraint for the direct causation that no cognitive decision can mediate between the causing event and the entailed motion" (Kim & Davies 2016: 73). The verbs "convince", "instruct" and "encourage" are used as examples of verbs that do imply that the causee is making a cognitive decision, making them infelicitous in resultatives with into-NP construction. However, in the corpus examined in the article, these types of verbs are found in the into-causative construction:

(5) "he secretly hoped they would be of any help to **convince** her into believing those words"

(6) "to help and **encourage** others into finding that purpose that God has put them on earth"

(7) "He didn't have to **inspire** others into creating socially conscious corporations" (Kim & Davies 2016: 74).

The causees in these examples do seem to be making a cognitive decision to complete an action, which they explain "can be interpreted as an indirect causation of the subevent, which in turn does not need to be temporally dependent" (2016: 74), a difference from the resultative which requires the action to be directly dependent on the causer's action.

Kim & Davies (2016) also make a passing reference to the existence of two subevents in the *into*-causative, a concept expanded upon in Goldberg & Jackendoff's (2004) examination of resultatives. In their discussion, the resultative is not one type of construction but a family of subconstructions that are related semantically and syntactically but differ in noticeable ways. A resultative consists of a resultative phrase (RP) that describes the end state of the host, the entity undergoing the change. Semantically, there are two events described by the resultative: the constructional subevent, the action determined by

the meaning supplied by the construction; and the verbal subevent, the action described by the verb. For example, in the sentence "Willy watered the flowers flat" (2004: 538), the constructional subevent is "Willy made the flowers flat" while the verbal subevent is "Willy watered the flowers".

Attempting to make a clear distinction between what the authors above call the causative and the resultative construction is admittedly rather difficult. Dixon (2010) only deals with what he considers the causative but makes frequent references to "results" in his analysis. When talking of the parameters of the causative in other languages, he defines the "Intention" parameter as "Does the causer achieve the result accidentally or intentionally?"; the "Naturalness" parameter as "Does it happen fairly naturally (the causer just initiating a natural process) or is the result achieved only with effort (perhaps, with violence)?" (2010: 62). Furthermore, when talking about the indirect causative in the Buru languages, he uses Grimes' (1991) definition of it as one "where the causer 'brought about a situation that caused the resulting action or state'" (Dixon 2010: 69). Compare this to Goldberg & Jackendoff's (2004) treatment of the resultative. They muddy the water regarding the difference between the two constructions, distinguishing between causative and noncausative resultatives, with the former having an explicit causer and the latter having none, the subject playing the role of the host. Their preferred term for the outcome that the host achieves is "state", saying that resultatives "designate states that are contingent on the action described by the main verb" (2004: 536).

Another difference is in their discussions of the semantics of *make*. Dixon (2010) asserts that *make* is the prototypical causative verb in English. However, Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004) call *make* "inherently resultative" (2004: 539) along with *get*, defining them semantically as "X cause Y to become Z", matching how the arguments are laid out in other resultatives and thus acting as their prototypical examples. Although both agree that *make* is the prototype of some construction, they disagree on whether it is the prototype of the causative or the resultative.

Kim and Davies (2016) does a better job at differentiating the two constructions. As discussed above, the *into*-causative has some differences in terms of the verbs that it will accept depending on if cognitive action is required to complete the ending action. Their semantics of the *into*-causative also slightly differs, being "X CAUSES Y TO BECOME Z & BECOME Z happened", reflecting the difference in how the resultative does not require that Z occurs while the *into*-causative does. However, there is no discussion of causatives that do not use *into*, making its generalizations more restricted. All this being said, because "She X on my Y till I Z" seems to emulate both the causative and resultative constructions at least in form, it inherits some of the semantic functions of each construction, explained further in section 4.1.

3. Snowclones, Extravagance & Creativity

Coined by Geoffrey Pullum to describe "some-assembly-required adaptable cliché frames for lazy journalists", the concept of snowclones has received increased attention from archivers of internet culture in recent years (Pullum 2004). Wiktionary has compiled a list of over a hundred phrases deemed snowclones, ranging from pre-1900s to the 21st century (Wiktionary n.d.). As mentioned, the internet meme archive site *Know Your Meme* has a dedicated entry for snowclones, describing them as "phrasal templates in which certain

words may be replaced with another to produce new variations with altered meanings"[1], along with compiling examples of snowclones that are used in modern meme culture.

Linguists have not been idle in analyzing this phenomenon either. Aside from the original term being coined by a linguist, the linguistics student Erin O'Connor created *The Snowclones Database* to track new snowclones in 2007; unfortunately, the latest entry is from 2020 and the database is thus not up to date. The first peer reviewed work I can find analyzing snowclones is Traugott & Trousdale (2013), who give the snowclone some attention in their discussion of the creation of constructionalization from a historical linguistics perspective. The constructional approach set the tone for following research on snowclones, culminating in the most recent publication on snowclones (Hartmann & Ungerer 2023) which, along with applying quantitative collostructional approaches (Stefanowitsch 2013) to analyze the semantics of snowclones, also presents a formal definition based on the previous literature. They define a snowclone in the following way:

1. The existence of an (alleged) lexically fixed source construction that is culturally salient and has sufficiently high token frequency to serve as a template for snowcloning
2. Productivity (operationalised via type frequency), i.e. the extension of the pattern to new instances via lexical substitutions in one or more variable slots
3. Distinctive ('extravagant') formal and/or functional characteristics that function as markers of linguistic innovation and increase the pattern's memorability (Hartmann and Ungerer 2023: 7)

One of the case studies the authors apply these rules to is [X *BE the new* Y], used in phrases like "pink is the new black" to mean that one concept has replaced another in terms of social relevance. Unlike some other constructions whose origins are clearly from a single source at one point in time, there is no one authorship claim for [X *BE the new* Y], instead being attributed to 1970s fashion magazines. This does not preclude the authors from considering it culturally salient and lexically fixed, since "language users 'beliefs about the alleged source of the patterns are of greater relevance than their actual etymological origin" for new snowclones. Partial productivity of [X *BE the new* Y] was analyzed using a set of examples drawn from corpora, finding that it accepts a wide range of fillers that fall into a few semantic domains such as colors (harkening back to the snowclone's origins) and political/ideological groups. They note that, in the relationship between the X and Y slots, abstract concepts in X are often paired with concrete or color words in Y, pointing to the purpose of [X *BE the new* Y], creating a metaphor to help conceptualize less tangible concepts.

It bears dwelling more on the third criterion, extravagant formal and/or functional characteristics. Extravagance is defined as the maxim to "talk in such a way that you are noticed" by Haspelmath (1999:1055), who considers it to be one of the drivers of linguistic change and innovation. This definition is a fundamentally social one, since it relies on a relationship between individual interlocutors' linguistic choices and the norms of the speech community they inhabit. Something may only be extravagant if there is a norm from which to be distinct from, and as a new innovation spreads throughout the community it begins to lose its extravagance. The notion of extravagance is often connected to the phenomenon of linguistic creativity, a subject long discussed in linguistics. Chomsky (2015[1965])defined creativity as the ability to generate novel, grammatical sentences, with any deviation from the grammar seen as the result of speaker error. Sampson

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[1] https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/snowclone

(2016) makes a distinction between two types of creativity, F(ixed)-creativity and E(nlargening)-creativity. The former describes creativity along the existing rules of the grammar like Chomsky does, while the latter violates those given rules. Sampson (2016) calls into question the decision to call some sentences grammatical and others not, arguing that humans have always used language in novel, E-creative ways that do not cleanly divide into comprehensible and incomprehensible sentences.

What linguistic phenomena counts as F- or E-creative is a matter of debate, the two options often represented as points on a scale. Bergs (2019) gives a rather strict definition of E-creativity, labeling only phenomena that are completely divorced from existing syntactic rules as E-creative. Coercion and constructional innovations like the *way*-construction are not considered E-creative since they still obey some rules, such as the idea that constructions may only combine if their is no clash in their syntax or semantics. What Bergs (2019) calls "aberrations" do qualify as E-creative, giving the post adjectival *not* and *much* (as in "I am a doctor. Not!" or "Jealous much?"), as well as the coinage *phteven* (an imitation of saying the name "Steven" with a lisp) as examples that break English syntactic and phonological rules. He ultimately proposes a cline with F-creativity on one end and E-creativity on the other.

Koliopolou & Walker (2024) take issue with the strict definition of E-creativity Bergs (2019) gives, but adopt and develop his idea of the creativity cline. Koliopolou & Walker (2024) are interested in using the cline to emphasize how new constructions do not fall neatly into the E- or F-creative categories, but are dynamic. They point out that all E-creative linguistic phenomena were originally coined by one person to stand out in some way, naming this state of a construction's existence X-creativity to invoke both extravagance and "the initially fundamentally individual, and often unknowable origin, of an extravagant" (2024: 88). Although an X-creative coinage might be a one-off curiosity, or even be considered Ill-formed by other interlocutors, if it becomes more widespread, it moves up the cline to E-creativity, and, if it becomes part of the accepted grammar of the speech community, moves up further to F-creativity (Figure 1).
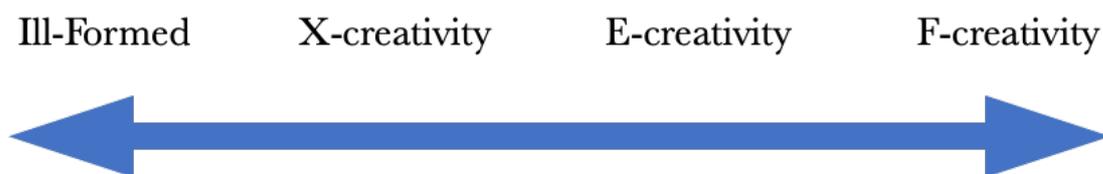

Figure 1: Creativity cline (based on Koliopolou & Walker 2024)

They are careful to emphasize that this is not a unidirectional process of grammaticalization, but a bidirectional one in which constructions may fall at different points on the scale in a given context, as "ill-formedness is in the eye of the beholder". Koliopolou & Walker demonstrate this dynamism using examples from their corpus of Double-ER suffixation (as in "picker-upper"). Although relatively common, hesitation in the discourse surrounding tokens suggest that the construction has not fully reached F-creativity:

(8) "Guys are usually the *asker outer* (is that a word?)"
(9) "Are you the Breaker-upper or Breaker-ee? (Breaker-upee?)" (Koliopolou & Walker 2024)

They point to the first token as falling somewhere between the E- and F-creative points on the scale, as the speaker chooses more conventional form but is still unsure if it is considered grammatical. The second token is an example of what the authors call "paradoxical hestiation" by calling attention to multiple (potentially) ungrammatical forms, falling closer to the X-creative or even Ill-formed end of the cline.

Returning to snowclones, Bergs (2019) places them closer to the F-creative end of the spectrum, arguing that because they follow rules of formation and often rely on the form of other constructions they do not qualify for E-creativity. If we look at Koliopolou & Walker (2024)'s creativity cline, however, it seems that snowclones should fall closer as X- or E-creative due to their role in prompting language change (Traugott & Trausdale 2014) and uniqueness in comparison to F-creative forms of language use. Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) defend snowclones as extravagant, saying:

> "The creative reuse of stylistically striking patterns, in combination with ever changing slot fillers, allows language users to portray themselves as competent and innovative users of their language. At the same time, language users limit this creative variation to the open slots of the constructions, while simultaneously using their fixed formulaic elements to allude to a shared stock of (pop-)cultural knowledge." (p. 7)

Snowclones are extravagant in their ability to call attention to the user and their cultural competence through novel syntactic formulas and refomulations.

4.   Analyzing "She X on my Y till I Z"

In order to more deeply investigate the syntax and semantics of "She X on my Y till I Z" and whether or not it fulfills the definition of an extravagant snowclone as described above, we should now examine its usage on the internet. Analytical approaches from construction grammar will be used for the first question. A collostructional analysis similar to Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) would be preferred for the second; however, since this snowclone is so recent, English internet corpora do not contain it. Instead, I will be analyzing a set of examples and testing their characteristics of the snowclone against it. The data for this analysis consists of a mini-corpus of 47 instances of the snowclone from the social media site Tumblr.com, a "micro-blogging SNS [social networking site] platform" (China 2020). Users create their own public blogs where they can post entries with text, images or videos, often categorizing them using (hash)tags. Tumblr allows users to input search queries for posts based on the tags associated with them. I searched the tags "She X on my Y till I Z" and "She X on my Y til I Z" (the precise spelling of "til(l)" tends to differ among posts) y. The text of each post was collected using Web Scraper (https://webscraper.io/) and put into a spreadsheet. Duplicates were removed so that there was one type for each example, as well as extracting the snowclone if it was embedded within a longer piece of prose. Two more sexually explicit tokens of the phrase were omitted from the present dataset[2], being:

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[2] As the dataset was initially for a term paper, I omitted what I felt to be sexually explicit uses of the phrase (such as those containing explicit references to genitalia or sex acts). Future studies should extend the database and include explicit uses.

(10)   when he Cum in my Sancto til I Spiritu [reference to song "Cum Sancto Spiritu" by Antonio Vivaldi]

(11)   she ruby on my gillman till I fill her kraken [reference to movie "Ruby Gillman, Teenage Kraken"]

The initial analysis left me with 46 tokens of the snowclone, from which I extracted the fillers for X, Y and Z and coded them based on their source phrase, relationship to each other, and semantic domain.

Table 1: Snowclone examples

Post	Reference
she candy hearts on my paper flowers till i know that we're gonna be okay no matter what.	Song "Candy Hearts and Paper Flowers" by Raggedy Ann
She glom on my nit til I post	Book *Going Postal* by Terry Pratchett
She's shaking on my speare till I	Author Shakespeare
She zeppelin on my airship till i blimp	Types of lighter-than-aircraft
She proliferate on my poison counters 'till I lose the game as a state based action.	Actions in tabletop card game "Magic the Gathering"
she toastin on my RAM til i beep	Memes associated with the"furry" fan community
She barbed on my broad 'til I sword.	Weapon from Lego toy/media series "Bionicle"
She non on my fungible till I token.	Non fungible tokens (NFTs)
she schedule on my sleep till i zzzzz	Phrase "sleep schedule"
She grilles on my cheese untill I croque monsieur.	Food "croque monsieur"

Although the dataset is arguably skewed towards more innocent uses of the phrase, I believe that the results given are still valid as users are seemingly aware of and incorporate their knowledge of the reference to oral sex in their formulations of "She X on my Y till I Z".

4.1.   Inheritance from the Causative/Resultative

Based on the similarities and differences with analyses of resultative and causative constructions, we can say that "She X on my Y till I Z" inherits certain traits from both. Inheritance is taken to mean the way constructions are connected to each other in the hierarchically organized construct-i-con, capturing "a relation between more abstract constructions, which are situated towards the top of the constructional network, and more

specific constructions, which are found in lower levels of the constructional hierarchy" (Hilpert 2019: 57). The "She X on my Y till I Z" construction is then a lower level, more specific type of construction drawing from the higher level resultative and causative constructions. From causatives, it inherits the semantics of $make_{Caus}$ and the entailment of Z occurring; from resultatives, it inherits its syntactic structure of constructional/verbal subevents and the semantic roles of host and RP, with the host being a noncognitive agent.

Along the causative analyses, going by Dixon (2010)'s analysis, "She X on my Y till I Z" seems to be able to accept $make_{Caus}$ if we were to rework the phrase as "She made me Z by Xing on my Y". It also appears to act like an *into*-causative by Kim & Davies (2016)'s interpretation, as" She X on my Y till I Z" seems to entail that the act of Z actually occurred, with" until" implying a definite connection between the act of X and Z occurring at some point in the future as a result of X. As for the resultative analyses, the paraphrased "She made me Z by Xing on my Y" does not fit the Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004) "means paraphrase" (in this case the "by Xing on my Y" part) when combined with *make*, who argue that *make* itself encodes the resultative. However, the components of the resultative they describe (host, RP, and constructional and verbal subevents) fit nicely with an analysis of how the slots of "She X on my Y till I Z" are filled, as we will see. The resultative interpretation is supported by Kim & Davies (2016) assertion that the causee of the resultative does not make a cognitive decision to complete the action in the subordinate clause; the "I" in "She X on my Y till I Z" does not seem to cognitively act.

Another piece of evidence regarding the inheritance links between "She X on my Y till I Z" and the causatives and resultatives is the distribution of a source reference among the X, Y and Z slots. In the corpus, there appears to be a canonical way to distribute strings that recognize the boundary between the verbal and constructional subevent. The examples "she drum on my major till I conduct" and "she dewey on my decimal till I system" will be used to illustrate this. In the first token, the source string "drum major" is divided between the slots in the verbal subevent, [She drum on my major], while "conduct", a semantically related word, is placed in the constructional subevent, She CAUSE [I DO conduct]. In this sentence, the source reference is kept whole in one subevent. The second example is more complex, since it splits the source "dewey decimal system" among all three of the slots, breaching the boundary between the verbal subevent, [She dewey on my decimal], and the constructional subevent, She CAUSE [I DO system]. However, notice that both slots in the verbal subevent are filled before moving on to fill the Z slot in the constructional subevent. There were no examples in the corpus where the X and Z or Y and Z slots alone are filled by the source reference. We might then say that "She conduct on my major till I drum" and "She decimal on my system till I dewey" are ungrammatical since they cross the boundary between the verbal and constructional subevent more than once. There is another possible explanation with the data presented, that X, Y and Z are filled in that order with the source reference going first. However, in some examples the source reference is reversed between X and Y, such as in "she ache on my head till i ibuprofen" or "she schedule on my sleep till i zzzzz". Linearity is violated here, but since the reversal occurs within the verbal subevent it appears that it is still considered grammatical. Therefore, the rule seems to be that the verbal subevent's slots must be filled first before moving on to complete the constructional subevent. The existence of this rule means that, cognitively, users are drawing on their knowledge of the two subevents of the resultative in relation to the creation of new "She X on my Y till I Z" phrases, obeying the boundary and not randomly sticking pieces the source reference into the slots.

Table 2: Syntax and semantics of "She X on my Y till I Z"

"She X on my Y till I Z"	
Syntax	She V [on my NP]$_{PP}$[until I VP]$_{CP}$
Semantics	She CAUSE [I DO Z] MEANS: [She X on my Y]

Using the notation of Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004), "She X on my Y till I Z" can be characterized as follows.

The previous discussion has established the characteristics that "She X on my Y till I Z" inherits from the existing causative and resultative constructions. Now, let us examine the properties that make it different enough from both to justify labeling it its own construction.

4.1.1. "She X on my Y till I Z" as its own Construction

There are two main differences between this phrase and the casuatives/resultatives: that the RP is not an AP or a PP, but a CP in which the host and result are contained; and that there is an added patient role, the NP that fills the Y slot in the PP. We will discuss these two in turn.

Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004) distinguish between two kinds of RPs: property resultatives and spatial resultatives. Property resultatives refer to a change of the internal state of the host, such as "The gardener watered the flowers flat" and "The professor talked us into a stupor" (2004: 536). Notice that both of these describe property changes, whether it be an AP or a PP. Similarly, an AP or PP may describe a spatial resultative, which describes a change in the physical location of the host, such as in "Bill followed the road into the forest" and "He jumped clear of the traffic". The CP is never discussed as a possible RP; I argue that it can be treated as such in this phrase. The CP in this snowclone, "until I Z", describes the state change with the verb, which in standard English does not usually indicate properties such as color or physical state like adjectives. Although English deals with most of these cases with adjectives, states can also be encoded using participles derived from verbs, such as in "the typing student" or "the painted bookshelf". The examples above from Goldberg & Jackendoff (2004) can be expressed with a CP: "The gardener watered the flowers until they flattened", "The professor talked to us until we were in a stupor", "Bill followed the road until he was in the forest", "He jumped until he cleared traffic". The key change here is that the sentences with the CP as the causative phrase seem to encode eventive situations, in that the action described in the verbal subevent proceeds until a sudden, eventive change occurs in the host. A CP can also be inserted into the RP slot when using the prototypical *make*$_{Caus}$, such as "She made me go to the store" or "I'll make him wash the dishes". Thus, we can make an addition to the possible RPs: CPs can act as RPs that contain the host and end state encoded in an eventive verb.

The extra patient thematic role exists in the PP in the syntax and in the verbal subevent in the semantics. In relation to the resultative, the PP never contains the host and is never an adjunct; it is always the RP. In this snowclone, the PP is required and actually appears to be closer to the central meaning of the snowclone than the following CP phrase. In a post on the photo and video sharing site Ifunny, dated to just a few days after the snowclone's genesis, the caption to a video reads

(12)   She finna be ebbin on my neezer till I scrooge. She finna be santing my
       Claus. She finna be Rudolphing my rednose [etc.] (iFunny 2021).

The format of the snowclone is less fixed at this early stage in time as evidenced by the use of "finna be X" instead of just "X", as well as showing that it was not yet liberated from the desire to inflect X into a verb like the first attestation. More importantly, there are only X and Y slots in this early example; no CP with the Z slot is included and the reference is implied by reproducing the first attestation at the beginning of the post. We can also look at the semantics of the slot fillers for evidence. In the mini-corpus, the X and Y slots are sometimes references to the source entity while Z is not, for example in:

(13) She proliferate on my poison counters tilll I lose the game as a state based ac-
      tion [Actions in tabletop card game "Magic the Gathering"]

"proliferate…poison counters" is a reference to a card in the game "Magic the Gather-ing" and the Z phrase is a possible result of playing said card. Even in examples where X, Y and Z are all from the source entity, X and Y tend to be clippings of one word while Z is another; there is no example where Y and Z or X and Z are connected in this way. It is therefore inappropriate to say that the PP is an adjunct for this particular snowclone.

In order to explain this difference, we can appeal to argument structure in con-structionist approaches. Goldberg (2005) distinguishes between two ways arguments can be added, that is as specified by the verb and as specified by the construction. Arguments contributed by the verb are the arguments selected by the semantics of the verb, for ex-ample "bake" usually selects an agent, the baker, and a theme, the food that is baked. In contrast, arguments contributed by the construction are not inherent to the semantics of the verb and are valence increasing, adding arguments to the verb (Hilpert 2019), such as adding a benefactive to "bake", creating "She baked me a cake". Under this approach, we have two options of how to explain the requirement of the PP of "She X on my Y till I Z". The case for verbal selection seems weaker here, since many of the X fillers are nonsense words and have no inherent semantics that would license a PP complement. Causative/resultative constructions do not require a PP, making it an adjunct under Goldberg's schema. As we have seen above, though, this PP is central to the meaning of the snowclone as evidenced in its early versions and the distribution of clippings between X and Y. Thus, the label of adjunct seems inadequate to explain the obligatory nature of the PP. This is a key difference between "She X on my Y till I Z" and the constructions it inherits properties from, showing its distinctiveness as a construction.

Let us now try to discover the phrase's semantics. Goldberg (1992) tackles the multiple meanings of the ditransitive by first defining its central sense and then drawing links between different polysemous senses of the construction by creating metaphors. For the ditransitive, the central sense is "Subj successfully causes Obj1 to receive Obj2", but other senses allowed by the construction include "Subj intends to cause Obj1 to receive Obj2", "Subj enables Obj1 to receive Obj2", and so on (1992: 56). In Goldberg's ap-proach, the submeanings and their metaphorical links are necessary to describe how dif-ferent verbs act within the ditransitive. Focusing on the verbs is a problem for "She X on my Y till I Z", since X is not required to be a verb or be interpretable as one. However, we can look at the semantic relationships between the slots to try and come up with a sort of schema that mirrors Goldberg's. In the data, there are several different semantic rela-tionships between X, Y and Z (XY together means that they are treated as one unit):

- Purely Formal
  - X, Y and Z Equal
    (14) She buffalo on my chicken til I strip [Food "buffalo chicken strip"]
  - XY and Z
    (15) She qli on my photh tilll I meltdown [Game feature "qliphoth mel-todwn" from game "Lobotomy Corp"]
- XY are a reference to a source, Z is not
  (16) She snow on my clone till I change the words [Linguistic phenomena of snowclones]
- XY describe source entity, Z is a subpart of said entity
  (17) She Mayday on my Parade till I Jamie All Over [Song "Jamie All Over" by Mayday Parade]
- Z describes source entity, XY is a subpart of said entity
  (18) She ghost on my face til I scream [Character "Ghostface" from movie "Scream"]
- XY and Z are subparts of a given source entity
  (19) She as on my bestos till I mesothelioma [Commercial which offered financial compensation to mesothelioma patients exposed to asbestos]

Let us focus on the examples where XY and Z have a relationship, focusing on the fillers' relationship to their references. In the "XY are a reference to a source, Z is not" type there is usually a causal relationship between XY and Z since XY describes the source and Z the user's reaction or a state change because of it. This most closely resembles the causative, so we will label it as the central sense. For "XY describe source entity, Z is a subpart of said entity", we can posit the metaphor that in the set of outcomes caused by XY, Z is a subset, reflecting the semantic connections in the source. To borrow Goldberg & Jackendoff's (2004) "Bill watered the flowers flat", the set of outcomes the verbal subevent "Bill watered the flowers" includes the flowers growing more, getting wet, or becoming flat; the constructional subevent "the flowers became flat" is merely one subset. As for its converse, "Z describes source entity, XY is a subpart of said entity", the metaphor might be that in the set of triggers for Z, XY is a subset. Here, the constructional subevent of "the flowers became flat" takes precedence and "Bill watered the flowers" is one possible cause; they could also have been driven over or stepped on. "XY and Z are subparts of a given entity" is harder to create a metaphor for, but we might say that XY must be semantically related to the outcome described by Z. For example, "watering the flowers flat" both refer to the domain of gardening is thus coherent. If we were to change it to "cook the flowers flat", the phrase makes much less sense and requires some context added for it to be so. In the same way, the verbal subevent should reasonably lead to the constructional subevent occuring. With this in mind, the map in Figure 2 of the senses of this snowclone emerges.
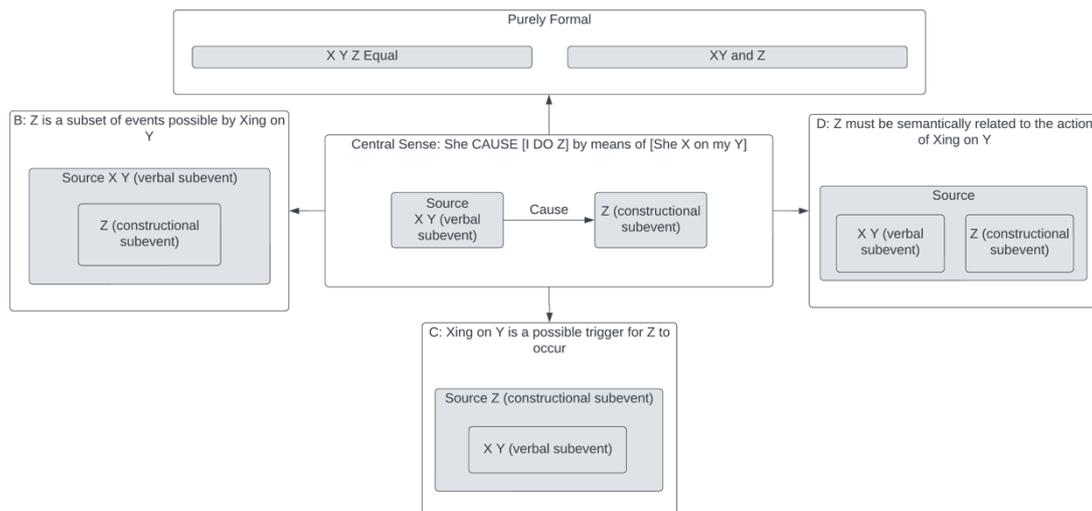
Figure 2: Schema of "She X on my Y till I Z" and its subsenses

      The multiple instantiations of this snowclone seem to be differentiated based on whether the user wishes to focus on the constructional subevent or the verbal subevent. The central sense creates a causal relationship between the two with a focus on the verbal subevent as the bearer of the source's reference. Subconstruction B spreads the reference between the two while focusing on the verbal subevent, the constructional subevent following from its action. Subconstruction C is its converse, with the focus being on the constructional subevent and listing the verbal subevent as one of its potential causes. Subconstruction D focuses equally on both subevents but maintains them as separate subparts within the source entity. The purely formal camp might be seen as a focus on neither the verbal nor constructional subevent; the snowclone has been bleached of its meaning from syntax.

4.2. "She X on my Y till I Z" as a Snowclone

    In order to determine whether or not "She X on my Y till I Z" fulfills the definition of an extravagant snowclone as described previously, we should now look at what fills the variable X, Y & Z slots. The first is X, which prototypically is a verb, the action that "she" is taking. The count of which lexical category X (Figure 3) is in its source phrase shows that half are NPs, under which I include bare nouns and proper names/titles. There are an equal proportion of APs and what I call "None", which refers to clippings of a single word which carries no meaning in and of itself; in essence, non-morphemic. There are only two instances of X that are also Vs in the source phrase. Although the vast majority of X fillers are not Vs in their reference, there is also the possibility that they are polysemous to a V, such as in:

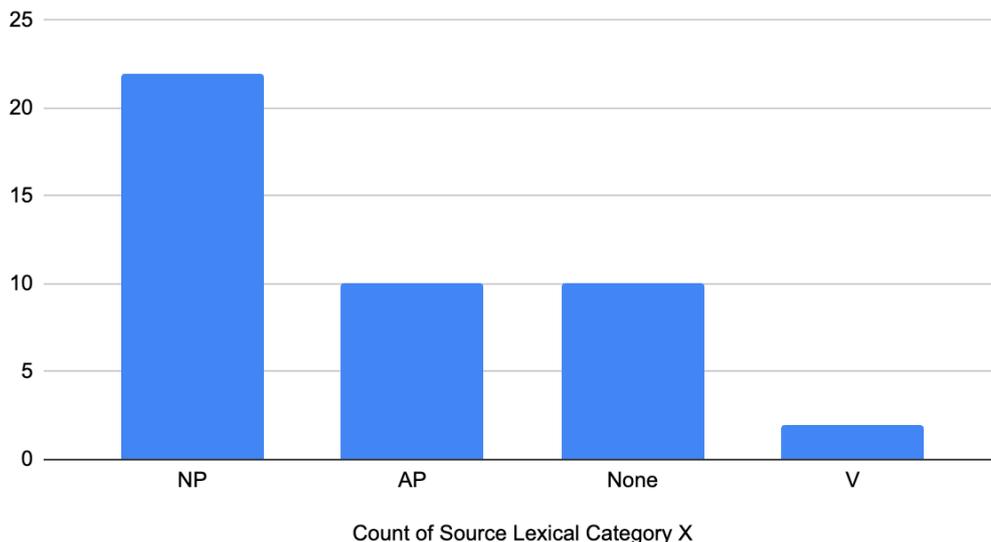## Source Lexical Category X

Figure 3: Count of source lexical category for the X slot (NP = noun phrase, AP = adjective phrase, V = verb)

(20) she... she drum on my major till i conduct.... [Band leader "drum major"]

In this case, "drum" acts as an AP in the original phrase, but can be interpreted as a V in the snowclone X slot. Looking at the count of whether or not the X filler is polysemous to a V (Figure 4), it appears that a slight majority cannot be interpreted as a verb. There are three examples of coercion on an X filler that was not a V in its source:

(21) She zeppelin on my airship till I blimp [Types of lighter-than-aircraft]
(22) she sin on my cos till I tan [Trigonometry operations sine, cosecant and tangent]
(23) she 'chuck' on my 'le sand' til I 'wich [Podcast "Chuckle Sandwich"]

For the first example, I take this to be a similar phenomenon to the originator of the snowclone in that it resembles the present progressive, and was chosen for this slot instead of the others for this reason. For the second, I consider "sin" (in the mathematical sense of sine, cosine and tangent) to be coerced because, in text, it is identical to the verb "sin", that is to commit an immoral act. Since the modality of internet language straddles the line between spoken and written text, I consider this to be an example of playing with the medium to communicate both meanings simultaneously. The last example is a reference to the podcast "Chuckle Sandwich", and in this case "chuckle" has been split so that the X filler is the transitive verb "chuck".

For the Y slot, the expected lexical category would be an NP, and indeed most of the fillers for Y are already NPs in their source phrases (Figure 5), with "None" comprising a quarter. The one V can be found in the following example:

(24) she ring on my ding til i dong [Kpop song "Ring Ding Dong" by SHINee]
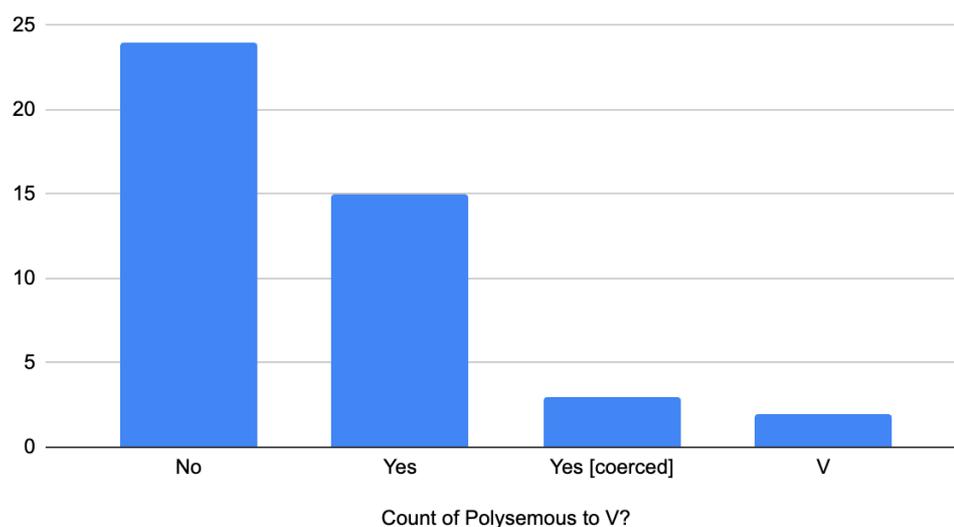
Polysemous to V?

Figure 4: Count of fillers polysemous to V for the X slot (V = verb).

There is also one D, coming from the token

(25) She mamma on my mia til we go again [Movie/song "Mamma Mia: Here We
       Go Again"]

I take the "mia" part to be a D since that is its lexical category in Italian. Most of the Y
fillers already match the expected lexical category (Figure 6), and many of the other tokens
are polysemous with NP, making this slot seem more selective for NPs than X is for Vs.
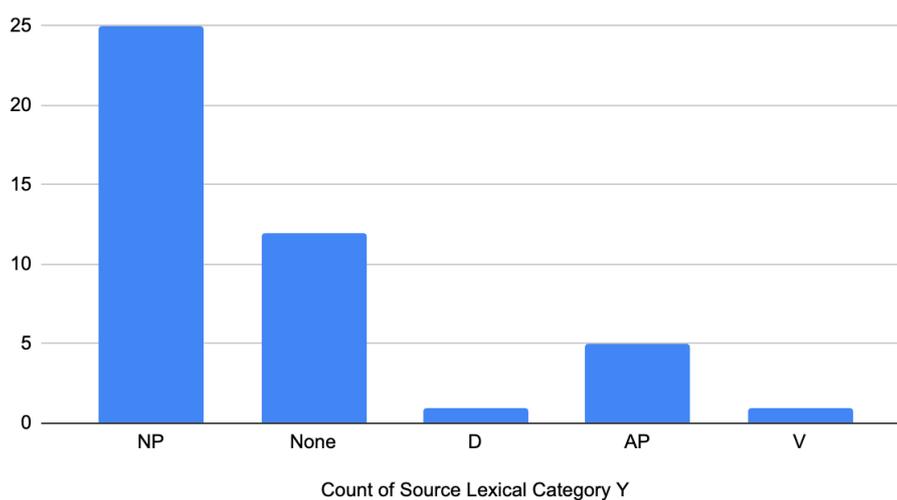
Source Lexical Category Y

Figure 5: Count of source lexical category for the Y slot (V = verb, NP = noun phrase, AP = adjective
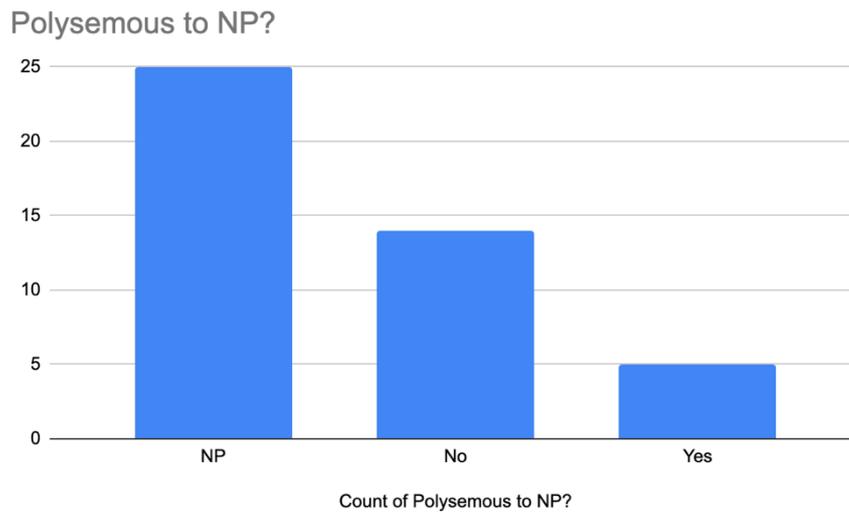phrase, D = determiner).

Figure 6: Count of fillers polysemous to V for the Y slot (NP = noun phrase).

For the Z slot, a V is expected. However, the slot also has a ability to comprise phrases longer than a bare verb, and in those cases I have labeled it VP to indicate the higher than usual length.

> (26) She ne on my genesis til I come tumbling down [Song from anime/manga "Neon Genesis Evangelion"]
> (27) He padam on my padam until I hear it and I know [Song "Padam Padam" by Kylie Minogue]
> (28) She marybell township on my vampire culture til I love me normally [Songs from "Suburbia Overture" by Will Wood]

The lexical category for Z in its source (Figure 7) is NP for a little over half of the tokens. Unlike the X fillers, there is a much higher proportion of V(P)s. The proportion of Z fillers that are not polysemous to V(P) is exactly the same as X, however (Figure 8).
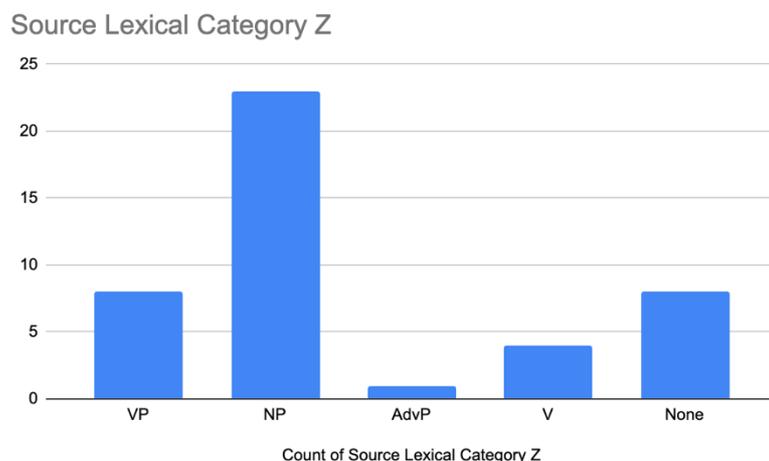
Source Lexical Category Z

Figure 7: Count of source lexical category for the Z slot (V = verb, VP = verb phrase, NP = noun phrase, AdvP = adverb phrase).
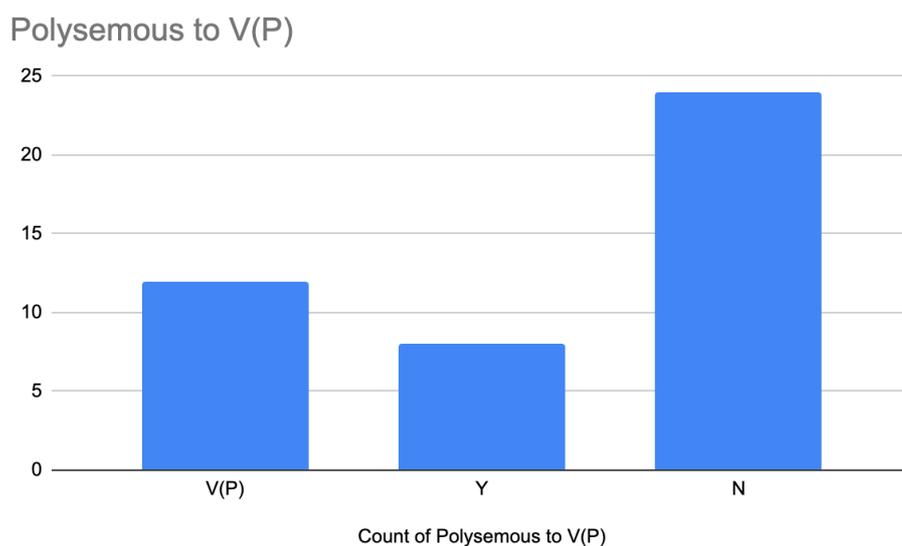
Polysemous to V(P)

Figure 8: Count of fillers polysemous to V for the Z slot (V(P) = verb (phrase)).

4.2.1. Applying the Snowclone Definition

Looking at Hartmann & Ungerer (2023)'s definition of snowclones, there is already one problem: there is no high frequency, lexically fixed source for this snowclone, the first characteristic in their definition. Zwicky (2006) as quoted in Traugott and Trausdale (2014) defines the first step of snowclone construction as "a pre-formula stage in which variations on an expression occur, all understood literally, and requiring no special knowledge". For our purposes, this would be a "non-joke" stage in which "She X on my Y until I Z" is a common and transparent phrase. A search on COCA for strings of "She X on my Y until" brings up no hits, meaning there was no stage at which the phrase was interpretable literally. We might say that the sexual paraphrase "She fellated on my penis

until I came" is the transparent stage, and the original "She ebbin on my neezer till I Scrooge" certainly does qualify as an extravagant, X-creative type phrase. However, neither of these phrases had high token frequency before schematization, as evidenced from the aforementioned COCA results and the iFunny (2021) example created only a few days after the purportedly original "She ebbin on my neezer till I Scrooge" post. Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) do not explicitly define what counts as "sufficiently high token frequency", but I should think that "She X on my Y till I Z" does not qualify, given the construction's absence on COCA and rarity on the internet before its schematization. It immediately started being modified in the specified slots by online users for humorous purposes, and the examples in the mini-corpus that copied the snowclone's original were simply references to the format of the snowclone itself, in lieu of using X, Y and Z for the variable slots.

The snowclone does seem to fulfill the second characteristic, that being partial productivity. As we can see, the nature of this snowclone is to insert as many semantically coherent yet syntactically odd fillers into the slots as possible. It is highly flexible, a likely reason it became so popular in online meme culture in the first place. One non-productive element is the subject "she", with only three tokens had "he" in place of "she":

(29) He padam on my padam until I hear it and I know [Song "Padam Padam" by Kylie Minogue]
(30) He au on my tis til I mmmmmmm [Word "autism"]
(31) He tum on my bl til I r [Site name "Tumblr"]

It is unclear why these three changed the gender of the subject, but they appear to be outliers. The heterosexual connotations also be why the construction gained traction in online meme culture, as misogyny and associated tropes of masculinity in online spaces are prevalent (Poland 2016, Bogetić 2023).

Hartmann & Ungerer stress the *partial* nature of snowclones' productivity since they are often restricted to a set of semantic domains. For example, the fillers for [the mother of all X] are often related to the military domain, organizations, and ailments; in their words, "dangerous or otherwise unpleasant events in which they [speakers] are emotionally strongly involved" (Hartmann & Ungerer 2023:15). By coding the snowclones to the domain their sources are associated with (Figure 9), we can see that this snowclone accepts a wide range of semantic domains, with music dominating, with lit(erature) second and games, tech, and memes tied for a close third place.
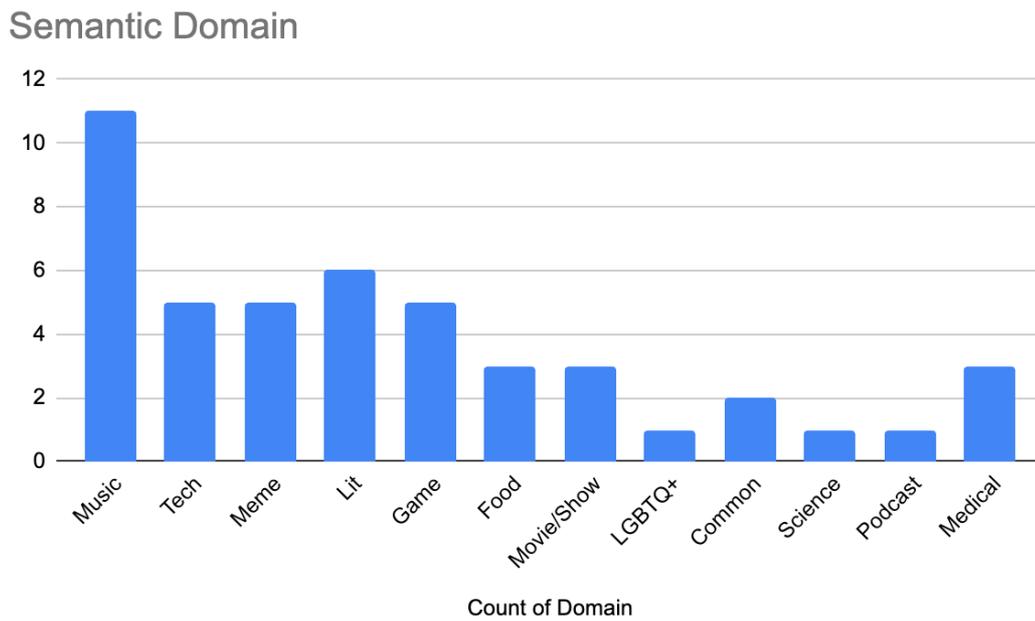
Semantic Domain

Figure 9: Count of semantic domain of snowclone

Although this initially seems like higher than partial productivity, it is noted that many of the entries in music were from indie or Kpop bands, music genres associated with high involvement by their fans in well organized internet communities based "identification with other fans who share the same interest", or what are called "fandoms" (Plante et al. 2021: 2). Video games often create strong fandoms online with their own associated cultures, and many of the entries for meme also signified in-group membership. The high proportion of literature references could be inherited from the original source of the snowclone, which is itself a literature reference. It could also be attributable to the source of the snowclones, Tumblr, which is more conducive to the creation of niche subcultures, many of which extol the virtues of the liberal arts. Thus, I suggest that this snowclone is partially productive in that it accepts references that signal high involvement in or knowledge of a subculture. This pragmatic usage is not surprising, given that Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) regard one of the main functions of snowclones as being used to indicate shared cultural knowledge.

 None of the slots seem very picky about which lexical categories they accept and which category they function as in the snowclone itself. The X and Z slots have an equal proportion of fillers that are not polysemous to V; however, Z accepts more actual verbs while X seems to trigger polysemy more often than either Z or Y. The Y slot appears to attract more fillers that are actually NPs, although this might be attributed to many of the source references being titles, which makes their majority here less surprising. The data here suggests that this snowclone is extravagant, fulfilling the third condition of Hartmann & Ungerer's (2023) definition. Competent users of the snowclone are able to split words or phrases and place the half more likely to trigger polysemy in the X slot since this is the action central to the snowclone's meaning. Let's look at this token

 (32) she schedule on my sleep till i zzzzz [Phrase "sleep schedule"]

The source string is "sleep schedule", but the user has chosen to put "schedule" before "sleep". Both can be interpreted as verbs and nouns, and at first glance the inversion is unmotivated. However, note that "schedule" is transitive while "sleep" is intransitive, and the structure of the snowclone as well as its sexual roots imply transitive action by "She" acting "on my Y". The user who made this example recognized the intended semantics of the construction as well as the centrality of the action X and so put "schedule" first to preserve transitivity even though it violates the order of "sleep schedule". A similar case is found in:

(33) she ache on my head till i ibuprofen [Ailment "headache" and medicine "ibu-profen"]

Although both "head" and "ache" are lexically verbs and nouns, "ache" is more central to the original meaning of the word "headache" and so occupies the X slot, showing that that slot attracts the filler that is most important to the interpretation of the snowclone; after all, "head" seems unlikely to cause someone to take ibuprofen, while an "ache" is much more likely to. Although the examples given underline the desire to maintain a sexual connotation, gesturing to sexuality metaphorically appears to be vastly more preferred than trying to evoke it outright. Only two tokens were taken out of the analysis for straying too closely to sexual acts, and only one token in the dataset appeared to be modified be more outright explicit:

(34) she wonka on my willy till i oompa loompa [Movie "Charlie and the Choco-late Factory"]

"Willy Wonka" is the actual name, but the creator of this example appears to have switched the two so that "Willy", a slang term for "penis", occupies the Y slot where "penis" would appear in the sexual paraphrase "She fellated on my penis until I came". Compare this example to:

(35) she ring on my ding til i dong [Kpop song "Ring Ding Dong" by SHINee]

The user could have moved "dong" to the Y slot and achieve an effect similar to that of (28), but maintaining the reference to the song has priority over explicit references to sexuality. The slot fillers in examples (26) and (27) are able to be moved around because doing so does not appear to reduce the salience of their source references, while moving "dong" in example (29) could confuse others about what the poster is referencing. Extravagance is evident not only in the ability to insert fillers that do not match the expected lexical category, but also in how the slot fillers themselves are assigned different levels of importance. Strings are not arbitrarily divided between the three, but are split to make the source reference as salient as possible.

5.   Discussion

Overall, "She X on my Y till I Z" only fully fulfills conditions two and three of Hartmann and Ungerer (2023)'s definition, failing the criterion of having a lexically fixed source. This seems to be a problem of most memes listed as snowclones on *Know Your Meme*, many of which derive from surrealist and humorous tweets or image captions that had clearly

defined slots for users to play upon. With this in mind, are we justified in calling "She X on my Y till I Z" a snowclone? It would seem that it, along with other phrasal template memes, is not strictly speaking a snowclone. Nevertheless, it would also feel counterintuitive to cast out all these phrases as unworthy of analysis under the auspices of snowclone research. They are still partially productive extravagant constructions and, as we have seen with "She X on my Y till I Z", are interesting in their syntactic and semantic features. The only quibble is that, because they originate as memetic templates, they do not count as lexically fixed as given in our definition. Many of the meme snowclones, however, do have identifiable sources and creation dates, which is more detail than some "official" snowclones like [X BE the new Y]. "She X on my Y till I Z" in particular is still strongly associated with the progenitor "She ebbin on my neezer till I Scrooge", as many of the posts analyzed included the phrase in its tag or outright called it the "She ebbin on my neezer till I Scrooge" meme. Although it is not lexically fixed in the sense of having a transparent, F-creative type interpretation, there is still a sense of being tied to the sexual nature and pragmatic features of the original, a kind of intertextuality that being lexically fixed offers to conventional snowclones. The difference is that the intertextual relationship in official snowclones is between the new formulation and a culturally (and implicitly socially) powerful source like a politician or piece of media, while in internet snowclones the intertextual relationship is between the new formulation and the original poster's intentions. I believe that the focus on lexical form in Hartmann & Ungerer (2023)'s definition and set clichés in Traugott & Trausdale (2014) and Bergs (2019)s' definitions are subservient to the real purpose of lexical fixedness: the invocation of the pragmatic associations, defined as "who, where, when, what objects and actions were involved" (Schmid 2020, as cited in Hartmann & Ungerer 2023).

We can see this in the semantic domains that fillers for [mother of all X] and [X BE the new Y] fall into. [mother of all X], originally used by Saddam Hussein during the invasion of Kuwait, is often used to invoke unpleasant scenarios, carrying on the intensity and negative connotations of its source. Similarly, [X BE the new Y] still accepts color terms, a reference to its origin in fashion magazines, and is used to draw comparisons between two members of the same semantic domain. The pragmatic associations of "She X on my Y till I Z" are primarily drawn from its humorous sexual nature. It is an example of what Crespo-Fernández (2017) calls a "quasi-euphemism", a type of veiled reference to a taboo that serves as "a sign of social cohesion and in-group solidarity" (2017: 96). The association between the phrase and oral sex is apparent in the desire to maintain transitivity in the X slot, and invoking the taboo of sex in public discourse also functions to highlight the cultural references that are stuck into the slots, executed through the juxtaposition of the sexual with the seemingly unrelated slot fillers. The original post's usage of a prestigious novel, *A Christmas Carol*, to refer to a sexual act is shocking and unexpected, a pragmatic association that is apparent in most formulations of "She X on my Y till I Z". The "Common" category comprised a small proportion of the fillers' semantic domain, pointing to the desire for absurdity caused by the juxtaposition which is heightened when the fillers are niche in-group cultural references.

This last point, the fandom cultural references, converges with quasi-euphemism's purpose of showing in-group identity, and thus still carries pragmatic associations with the original, even if the allusion to sex is not the primary purpose of a specific user's reformulation of "She X on my Y till I Z". The extravagant way this in-group identity is demonstrated serves what in fandom studies is called optimal distinctiveness (Brewer 1991, Reysen et al. 2016, Reysen et al. 2017), the drive to at once identify with other

members of the group and also stand out from the group in some way without being too deviant as to violate its norms. The format of "She X on my Y till I Z" lets users flaunt their knowledge of in-group culture that may be opaque to outsiders, with the quasi-euphemistic humor adding to the sense of solidarity. At the same time, rules governing the distribution of the source reference among the slots (see section 4.1) ensure the reference's salience and retrievability among other group members, showing sensitivity to in-group concerns.

The mere fact of the snowclone having fixed parts adds to its recognizability and therefore cultural power among other in-group members. The "purely formal" subconstruction proposed in section 4.1.1 can be explained using this logic, as they are the subconstruction with the most semantic bleaching and come closest to breaking from the original entirely. There does not seem to be any tie to the semantics of resultatives and causatives and only seem to inherit the general syntactic form. Because of this however, they still retain the pragmatic force of the original, and thus still carry the sexual and humorous associations that give the snowclone its power in in-group fandom communities. It also lends credence to the assertion of the construction's extravagance in the Koliopolou & Walker (2024) sense, as the form of the resultative and causative is given new social functions in "She X on my Y till I Z".

Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) categorize constructions that fail the 'lexically fixed' criterion as "extravagant partially filled constructions" like [What's X doing Y]. It is clear that internet snowclones like "She X on my Y till I Z" are not the same as these more conventional constructions because of their strong connections to the pragmatic associations of the original post and their shared goal of in-group bonding through absurd humor. Based on this, I propose that the formal definition of snowclones should be somewhat modified, changing the first criterion of having a lexically fixed source to that of having a lexically *similar* form with identical pragmatic associations to that of the source. Deemphasizing the 'lexically fixed' criterion allows us to capture the same facts as conventional snowclones, include internet meme snowclones, and exclude extravagant partially filled constructions which cannot trace their pragmatic associations to a single source.

6.   Conclusion

The phrase "She X on my Y till I Z" is one of the most recent examples of internet language play, and—as has been demonstrated—is a very complex and varied example at that. Using a battery of analyses that constructionist grammarians have used to analyze novel constructions and snowclones before, I teased out the properties of this phrase and its purpose. I connected it to extant resultative and causative constructions and identified its divergence with the two, as well as its own subsenses. By looking at the phrase's actual usage, I evaluated its adherence to the Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) definition as well as its pragmatic function of indicating in-group membership in online communities. Finally, an expanded definition of the snowclone was offered to account for previously identified snowclones as well as those identified as snowclones in internet meme culture. As corpora are updated to include more recent language use on the internet, it will become easier to analyze the life cycles of snowclones and their social meanings as Hartmann & Ungerer (2023) and Traugott and Trausdale (2014) do.

Although I have taken an in-depth look at "She X on my Y till I Z" in this paper, there is undoubtedly more work to be done. One of the biggest potential improvements is to expand the corpus, including examples from more social media sites such as Twitter

(now X) where usage of this meme is also prolific. Doing so may show how meanings of the construction differ based on social media sites and their respective cultures, as I suspect that a Twitter-based corpus will be less focused on indicating one's familiarity with a subculture and more on the purely comedic aspect. We might also entertain the notion of ungrammaticality, or at least infelicity, in regards to the usage of this snowclone. There is a variant of this meme in which a user gives a list of "She X on my Y till I Z" tokens, each followed by the user typing [(EXTREMELY) LOUD INCORRECT BUZZER SOUND], with EXTREMELY sometimes omitted. Users seem to know whether they have created a well formed example of "She X on my Y till I Z", with the parameters possibly being the division between the subevents described above or whether the wider community finds it sufficiently funny or not as articulated in their comments on the post.

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