EVOLUTION OR TRANSFORMATION ?
TRACING THE MINANGKABAU FOLKLORE IN MEME

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Article history:	Abstract
	For the millennial generation, folklore is considered boring as a product of tradition. This generation prefers instant things and tends to avoid time-consuming processes. On the other hand, folklore is a product of tradition, which is more concerned with the process. However, it seems that folklore survives and even develops the following technological developments cross-generational. Folklore has adapted and changed into new forms in cyberspace. This article explains memes' visual variations and meanings with Minangkabau folklore content. There is a change in appearance and sense of folklore in internet memes. As a product of social practice, memes are also seen as an element of social processes. Therefore, this study uses social semiotics as an analysis tool. The result shows that in addition to showing creativity in building new folklore, memes also showed a shift in the understanding of traditional folklore. Memes also show the process and form of evolution of folklore so that it can survive in the rapid development of information technology. It contains hidden messages and statements in memes as a representation of attitudes towards social conditions and behavior.

INTRODUCTION

Folklore is usually associated with oral traditions by looking at patterns of inheritance carried out from generation to generation. However, folklore is a term that is broader than just a story or tradition. Folklore reaches groups of people who share personal beliefs as part of the group. Folklore involves communication through games, songs, stories, anecdotes, and other traditional activities from one individual to another, and from one generation to the next. According to Tucker (Tucker, 2008), folklore has uniqueness, always dynamic, and reflects the needs and values of a community group.

Alan Dundes explains the concept of structure in folklore to study the organizational relationships between elements in folklore. This concept is taken from structuralism in linguistics; meaning emerges from within a generative system or structure. However, Dundes added, structuralism in folklore has philosophical implications for humanity; creativity (Bronner, 2006). Therefore, studying folklore is the same as studying the transformation of individuals and groups. Understanding folklore is one way of understanding a group of people (Hidayat & Wasana, 2018; Sims & Stephens, 2005).

In the process of growth and development, folklore is encouraged to find its formulation independently to change shape even though it is controlled by the owner community (Marzolph, 1998). Folklore has a broader reach than it seems. For example, although it can be said to have survived, oral stories have migrated to the realm of written literature and their scientific fields and seeped into the new thought process. In this sense, tradition (folklore) is a continuous process that can reach the future (Silva, 2012). Folklore is no longer considered to refer to ethnic or national identity. Folklore has been used for specific political interests and strengthens the group's absolute power (Gencarella, 2009). Folklore is one of the means for legitimacy (Mashudi & Thoyib, 2017), propaganda (Astapova, 2017; Varga, 2015), and industry (De Caro, 2013; Dharma, 2018; Koven, 2008).

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Zhang (Zhang, 2018) states that the vital thing to pay attention to today is how folklore forms group identities in the modern world, especially in the globalization era. Conrad (Conrad, 2014) adds that although it has a collective cultural aspect, folklore is temporary and continually forms and keeps away from the owner group's textual interpretation practice. This interpretation is evidenced by the emergence of "new folklore" forms, which are until now still considered "not folklore" (Hidayat, Wasana, Pramono, Sabar, et al., 2019).

The emergence of folklore in new forms as transformation is not a new phenomenon. As previously stated, many folklore appears in literary works, be it poetry, prose, or drama. Folklore also appears in the form of radio stories, paintings, and even films. However, the kinds of folklore that appear in the form of transformation are generally folk tales. Even though it adds an element of creativity, the folklore's transforming nature is still at the level of retelling. The education and learning purposes still dominate the reasons for the emergence of this form of folklore transformation (Almos et al., 2017; Bowman, 2006; Bustami, 2004; Yunarti & Rahmadani, 2017).

Folklore also seems to live and develops in the digital world. As a socio-cultural product, folklore has managed to adapt and survive in this new world. The traditional format of folklore also emerged in the form of popular culture. This change is caused by users who also have different characteristics; in this case, the difference in generations. The presentation of folklore also penetrates the audio and visual dimensions directly. The use of oral means and interfaces (face to face) is no longer a priority in conveying folklore. The appearance of the writing has been modified to be more visual. For example, the content of folklore in memes spread on the internet. Writing and pictures (photos, paintings, comics) are the power to convey messages in memes. A meme is a form of adaptation and survival of folklore in the digital world (Hidayat, Wasana, Pramono, Immerry, et al., 2019).

In this study, internet memes are interpreted as images or photos that are given text or language to produce a new meaning. In other words, the image in the meme tells its own story, for other users to interpret. It means that this meme phenomenon arose because of the uploader's desire to convey messages through new forms. One example is combining nonverbal communication (expression) with verbal communication (language) to produce meaning or message. Memes are scribbles of pictures, photos, and certain characters with an element of humor or satire on a problem (Luvytasari, 2015). A meme is also a phenomenon produced by some people who actively use social media to respond to an event or issue to be disseminated. Memes have various forms of variations and dimensions, namely text, graphics (images), video, or a combination of the three.

Concerning culture and the digital world, internet memes are a form of cultural information that crosses human boundaries into a sharing culture phenomenon. Although they are scattered micro, memes have an impact on a macro level. Memes indirectly divide people into groups of viewpoints, habits, and social actions. Memes also reproduce through various imitation meanings. In the oral tradition, reproduction will go through a process of selection based on intuition, reflection, and repackaging into variant forms. On the other hand, in the digital world, reproduction does not go through the same process. Direct distribution can be done by forwarding or copying (Shifman, 2013).

Therefore, memes have powerful influencing properties. Its spread through digital media can cross space, time, and generations. This condition finally brought folklore to become one of the varieties of popular culture because of its ever-changing form. In this case, Blank (Blank, 2018) said that folklore has a hybrid character. Individuals can take turns reacting to accessing information using online media in various ways. They can transfer knowledge through a story. In this case, folklore no longer has the authenticity of interaction and expressive content because it is only replicative and repetitive.

Internet memes originate from social networking and community environments, gradually spreading through other communication media. The popularity of memes is influenced by their ability to be used in many ways and various communication situations. Memes always refer to phenomena that have occurred and a brief form containing information about actual events and social reality phenomena. This article tries to identify, read, and interpret social signs through folklore in internet memes.

It can be said that meme contains socio-cultural information. The recognition of folklore content in memes will eventually lead to ongoing creative acts and new ideas (Hidayat, Wasana, Pramono, Sabar, et al., 2019). New appearance and meaning of folklore that appear in memes are signs of social structure changes. Transformation and repetition simultaneously show that meme folklore is a social product and shows a socio-cultural process. To limit this discussion, the Minangkabau folklore referred to in this article is knowledge of manners, customs, obedience, superstition, ballads, proverbs, and others from the past as a form of tradition or custom believed by the Minangkabau community. So, Minangkabau folklore is knowledge of manners, customs, obedience, superstition, ballads, proverbs, and others from the past as a form of tradition or custom believed by the Minangkabau people that appears in the form of memes, namely pictures or photos that are given text or language and spread on the internet through social media.

In the last two decades, folklore's study has penetrated in motifs and genres influenced by the media of folklore delivery. In its delivery, nowadays, folklore uses electronic and digital media. Folklore has become part of popular culture, which is temporary with specific motifs. Folklore appears in the form of e-lore (Kropej, 2007), newslore (Brunvand, 2001; Frank, 2011), and e-folklore (Krawczyk-Wasilewska, 2006). Folklore is not only seen as folk tales, legends, or myths. In computational folklore studies, studies can include collection and archiving, classification, visualization, and content analysis (Tangherlini, 2016). On the other hand, the study of folklore in the digital world framework can sharpen the analysis of folklore itself and expand the framework for the field of folklore studies (Dorst, 2016).

Although there have been many studies on memes, studies on memes folklore have not shown the same thing. Besides, the study of the existing folklore memes is only limited to the study of textual structures and the theoretical development of the study, in the sense that it still focuses on its content and alternative theories for analytical tools.

Folklore memes are a form of folklore survival in the digital world. As a folk, Netizen is an essential element in this adaptation and survival process (Hidayat, Wasana, Pramono, Immerry, et al., 2019). One of them is that there are still many memes that display rhymes and proverbs in conveying their communication ideas (Wasana et al., 2019). On the other hand, memes are a source of post-folklore creativity on the internet, and the texts themselves are a means of intercultural communication (Denysyuk, 2017). Therefore, it is not surprising that memes are also a source of ethnographic studies (Nugraha et al., 2015).

On the other hand, several studies on memes have shown a relationship between memes and social behavior. Memes have been considered a new form of communication (Rahayu et al., 2019). Memes also used as a joke expression (Anuar et al., 2018; Cholifah & Adrianto, 2019; Juditha, 2015) as well as a reflection of netizens on daily life regarding aspects of democracy, social, political (Allifiansyah, 2017; Bebic & Volarevic, 2018; Mahadian et al., 2019; Wadipalapa, 2015), gender (Astuti, 2018; Widyaningrum & Hartiana, 2017), criticsm (Hidayat, 2019), even hatred (Malik, 2017).

It can be concluded that memes are social products. A meme is a response to a social event. Its continuous changes show the participation of netizens as readers as well as creators. These changes also show that memes are generated as a social product and, at the same time, a form of social processes. Meme, as a form of social behavior and practice, is a cultural material that contains potential meaning. In this case, the possible meaning will relate to the

relationship between resources and the perceived meaning that has been recognized (assumptions). Hodge & Kress (Hodge & Kress, 1988) call this practice a relational model (classification of types/types of social actors) and an active model (a specification of the behavior/actions of social actors). The gap or contradiction that appears in the interaction between the relational and active models is the potential for semiosis.

However, identifying these contradictions is not sufficient as a process of meaning because it is only in the level of meaning towards a known behavior or habit. It is also necessary to understand the nature of language in the context of interaction and communication. In general, language contains two characteristics; functional and formal. The functional nature sees language in terms of its function, namely as a shared tool to express ideas. The formal nature sees the language of the formation process, which follows a particular order or rules (Ratmanto, 2004). However, the meaning is still textual. More in-depth knowledge is needed in the context of a broader social practice to produce a complete meaning. In this case, Hodge & Kress (Hodge & Kress, 1988) states that a logonomic system practice needs in social semiotics. This system regulates the production and acceptance of meaning; find who initiates (produces and communicates) or knows (accepts and understands) the meaning of a topic in a condition using specific modalities (how, when, why).

This logonomic arrangement is in the form of categorization: social class, topics, and conditions that arise from group ideas. Logonomic systems subtly and cryptically arrange messages in the form of codes that appear in the interaction and relations process between groups. Logonomic systems reflect contradictions and conflicts in social formation (Hodge & Kress, 1988). In social semiotics, messages are seen as the result of manipulation and arranged according to the creator's will and deliberately constructed as signs in social interactions and vaguely become part of semiotic resources. Also, representation in social semiotics is seen as a means, purpose, and arrangement (Kress, 2009).

The smallest form of the social semiotic component is a message which contains source and purpose, social context, and purpose. The social process in which meanings are constructed and exchanged is called the semiosic plane. Then, the message is constructed in a certain way to refer to something, and its meaning appears in the form of representation or mimesis. This plane is called the mimetic plane. However, the realm of social semiotics is not solely based on the accumulation of messages' meaning. In the relationship process between messages and participants, there are text and discourse. The text refers to the structure of messages that are socially considered as a unity, while discourse refers to social processes. If text is oriented in the field of mimetics, discourse is oriented to the plane of semiosis. So, the text is a material realization of the marking system and containing continuous change (Hodge & Kress, 1988).

It can be said that discourse is a dialectical form between text and social systems. There is a relationship between the microstructure (text) and the macrostructure (social). This relationship is called the genre system, which refers to a unique form of text that connects producer, a consumer, topic, media, purpose, and reason. This genre is the means of operation and transmission of statements and determination of a social group (Hodge & Kress, 1988).

METHOD

This study used qualitative research methods. This qualitative research method is often interpreted as an interpretive method for answering open-ended research questions. Qualitative research aims to explore and understand individuals' and groups' meaning related to social or humanitarian problems. Data analysis was carried out inductively to build findings from specific things to general themes. The final report has a flexible structure in the sense of building findings that are individual and open (Creswell, 2014).

This research material is memes that are available and spread on the internet. In this case, meme folklore is seen as a practice in a social process that contains a particular message. Folklore memes are not only seen textually from the folklore content but in a broader context, the socio-cultural context. Therefore, in this study, folklore memes are analyzed through social semiotics.

The folklore memes were collected from several social media accounts, sites, and pages (*Facebook, Instagram, Blogs*) that were limited to Minangkabau language memes. Apart from language, the collection is also limited to users' quantity, namely through the number of likes (likes), reposts, or forwards. The first analysis stage is a classification based on the results of the analysis of various memes, namely images, writings, or a combination of both. The next analysis stage is content analysis, analysis of the Minangkabau folklore content contained in memes. The indication of a sign in a meme and its meaning then analyzed using social semiotics theory. The interpreting process of the signs and symbols is direct at the assumption that creators are generations far from traditional concepts in folklore inheritance (millennials). Therefore, the analysis also touches on aspects of folklore variations that contain the possibility of forming meanings, or even new folklore, in their use.

RESULTS AND DISSCUSSION

In a previous study of Minangkabau folklore memes (Wasana et al., 2019), various and forms of folklore memes appeared on social media. These types are memes with written text, memes with pictures, and memes with a combination of written text and images. Memes with pictures are subdivided into meme images related to the content and meme images that are not related to the content.

The folklore content in Minangkabau language memes is traditional folklore and new folklore (Hidayat, Wasana, & Sari, 2019). The traditional folklore is folk tales, legends, myths, rhymes, proverbs, and traditional social systems. Meanwhile, new folklore is a form of personal behavior that eventually spreads to social behavior. Some of the things that influence are the development of technology and modern life patterns.

This article describes a study of several memes that show the content of Minangkabau folklore. In this case, memes are chosen for folklore content that shows a change in form, both in delivery and meaning. Besides, textually, Minangkabau folklore meme is also interpreted in a broader context as a product form and a social process.

Figure 1. Meme *sijundai* (source: blogyoiko.blogspot.com)

Textually, meme Figure 1 contains several motives: jokes, satire, and threats through the written text, *Jan sombong bana, Diak. Kumanyan saribu ciek nyo. Mamanjek dindiang Adiak di tangah malam beko* 'Do not be too arrogant, Sis. Incense only costs a thousand. You will climb up the wall later in the middle of the night'. Identification of the folklore content in the text is the greeting of *Diak/Adiak* 'sis/little sister', *kumanyan* 'incense, dan *mamanjek*

dindiang 'climbing the wall'. These texts indicate the Minangkabau people's belief (superstition), namely *sijundai*.

Superstition is a type of folklore (Danandjaja, 2002). The meme above (figure 1) shows one of the Minangkabau community's superstitions, namely *sijundai*. *Sijundai* is one of the black magic to get back at someone's treatment through magical means. The characteristic of this *sijundai* is that the victim can climb walls (Rang Paniang, 2011). The black magic practice can be seen from the text of incense (*kumanyan*). Frankincense is commonly considered as one of the means of offerings or worship (Wahyudi et al., 2019). Therefore, as a tool, incense contains the connotation of inviting spirits or ghosts (Nofrita & Hermawan, 2018), especially in the world of shamanism (Musadad, 2016). According to Asaari (Asaari et al., 2017), frankincense is considered a means of connecting the supernatural to the real world. Another feature that indicates this meme refers to sijundai is the title or greeting to the victim: *diak* or *adiak* (Elia & Abdullah, 2004).

It seems that belief in superstition and the occult has persisted despite the rapid development of technology based on logic. The millennial generation still knows and recognizes these forms of traditional folklore. This meme shows the strong ties of traditional knowledge to the Minangkabau people's life, even though it is displayed in a different form.

The behavior of modern life, in the end, raises the power of creativity, which also influences the material forming ethnicity of the Minangkabau generation. This creativity and influence are evidenced by the emergence of variations in Minangkabau folklore memes.

Figure 2. Meme incense (source: Instagram account)

As stated before, memes open up new creativity as a form of acceptance of folklore. Recognition and understanding of the content and ideas will lead to new variations of a meme.

The meme in Figure 2 illustrates a variant of *sijundai* folklore in memes. *Adiak ndak dapek, kumayan den baka* 'If I cannot have you, I will burn incense' is the text that also refers to *sijundai* by identifying *Adiak* 'Sister' and *kumayan* 'incense'. The difference appears in the use of a photo of a man in figure 2 above. Figure 1 is not explaining, neither the perpetrator nor the victim, meme 2, visually explains it. The victim, who was called *Adiak/Diak* was female.

On the other hand, the folklore meme containing the *sijundai* (figure 1 and 2) also shows the Minangkabau ethnic, social structure, and process. The practice of shamanism appears featured in this meme. Indirectly, this meme shows the animist practices of the Minangkabau people that are still practiced today. The assumption that Minangkabau is synonymous with Islam is not entirely correct when viewed from the history and behavior of the Minangkabau people to this day. Lots of studies had revealed that Minangkabau society and culture existed before Islam entered the archipelago's western coast, including Minangkabau, even long before Buddhist civilization (Cecioria, 2011; Hadler, 2008; Mansoer

et al., 1970). Several Minangkabau traditional processes show traces of legacy of animist civilization, including *lukah gilo* (Desfiarni, 2004), asking for rain tradition (Halid, 2011) and *sirompak* (Putra, 2017). The use of mantras, which is known as the oldest form of Minangkabau oral literature, also shows the legacy of Minangkabau's animist civilization (Djamaris, 2002). This mantra is still used for various purposes today, among others, the tradition for babies *turun tanah* (Noviana et al., 2013), medicine (Bahardur & Ediyono, 2017), trade (Jasentika et al., 2013), and shamanism (Rahmah et al., 2013). Uniquely, like the development of mantras in other cultural areas, Minangkabau's incantations also incorporated elements of Islam. In its use, there are prayer texts taken from the Koran or at least in the Arabic language in the mantras.

Apart from visual text, the change in folklore content in the two memes above is also evident in the motive. Besides the threat, the motive for the joke is also dominant in both. The magical content contained in sijundai seems to be "liquefied" by its textual tone and intonation. If seen as an act of communication, the variety and form of conveying such messages will be more acceptable to the millennial generation familiar with the world of social media.

The motive for the ironic allusion to status is also evident in the meme. In this case, the status as single called *jomlo*. *Jomlo* is one of the feelings most expressed through memes on social media. *Jomlo* is the non-standard form of singles 'old girl, man, or woman who does not have a life partner' (Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Bahasa, 2016). For adolescents, single status can be a "disgrace" in everyday life. Having a partner or lover seems to be a necessity for personal existence in the group. In the association of young people, single can mean that there is no opposite sex who likes, does not hang out, or it can also mean that they do not care about the social environment (Safitri, 2019). Both memes above show both rejection and irony of the single status when the effort to get a partner is not achieved.

Figure 3. Meme *Ninja* smoke (source: Twitter account)

As stated above, as a social process, internet memes are always open to the continuity of creativity on themes and content. The text *ternyata asap Ninja labiah santiang dr pado asok kumayan* 'the Ninja smoke is more intense than incense' in Figure 3 shows this creativity. Identification of the relationship between these memes appears in the word *kumayan* 'incense.' It seems meme 3 is a response to meme 1 and 2. When efforts to find a partner through the alternative world of the occult do not work, there will be aware of behavior changes in this modern era. Wealth and ownership of a branded item have become a lifestyle that has not been realized so far.

The word ninja in meme 3 refers to a motorcycle brand, namely Kawasaki Ninja. This motorbike is known as one of the prestigious sports motorbikes in Indonesia. Since its official appearance in Indonesia in 2008 (Brian, 2020; Candra, 2019), this motorbike has become an icon and symbol of the younger generation's lifestyle. This motorbike has been considered a

lure for girls to become partners and lovers (Hidayah, 2017; ipanase, 2015). Various reasons for the selection emerged due to several characteristics of this motor. As a type of motorsport, in addition to high prices and high specifications, the Kawasaki Ninja is widely used and considered the owner as a racer. The high price makes the owner considered a member of a group who has abundant wealth. In short, this motorbike brand is a symbol of the owner's wealth.

Besides showing despair over trying to find a partner, meme 3 is also a form of representation of social behavior changes. Implicitly, modern society's behavior, which tends to be consumptive and commercial, is shown through the choice of a trademark (Kawasaki Ninja). Traditional culture has been defeated by modern culture, as confirmed by this meme 3. According to Adorno, the character of commercial culture has faded the boundaries of culture and a life practice. The aesthetic turn into a commercial advertising sheen, absorbing it into a commodity. Almost all aspects of life have shifted to a commercial and consumptive orientation (Adorno, 2001). On the other hand, meme 3 also contains a tendency to struggle over the rejection of this consumptive behavior. The complaint conveyed through meme three text shows this. The charge of irony appears when losing a girl. Meanwhile, a content of cynicism arises over consumerist behavior that the loser cannot achieve.

Indirectly, memes 1, 2, and 3 show changes in the response and meaning of the folklore content in them. Through the motive of jokes and satire, these memes also show social behavior changes. The following is another example of a folklore meme that has variations and shows a transformation of meaning.

Figure 4. Meme matchmaking 1 (source: kibrispdr.org)

The meme in picture 4 above shows the theme of matchmaking and marriage. The text said, *kato amak bialah ndak rancak bana asa lai urang awak* 'mother said, no need to be beautiful as long as *orang awak* (Minangkabau people)' show the process of choosing a mate in marriage. According to the Minangkabau people, an ideal marriage is a marriage between close relatives, for example, a marriage between a child and a nephew/niece. Such a marriage is commonly referred to as *pulang ka mamak* or *pulang ka bako*. *Pulang ka mamak* means marrying an uncle son/daughter while *pulang ka bako* means marrying a father's nephew/niece. The next sequence is marriage in the same *korong*, kampung, *nagari*, *luhak*, and finally, with fellow Minangkabau (Asmaniar, 2018; Navis, 1984). The Minangkabau's ideal marriage is *awak samo awak* (with Minangkabau person) with a background in the communal system and collectivism.

Figure 5. Meme matchmaking 2 (source: Instagram account)

Meme picture 5 also talks about matchmaking. In contrast to meme 4, besides the text *kecek amak ndak paralu cari jodoh nan rancak doh, yang pantiang lai urang awak amak alah sanang mah* 'mother said, no need to find a beautiful/handsome mate, the vital thing is orang awak, I am quite happy', meme 5 is shown with illustrations. Although the woman in Figure 4 is not clear about her activities, the impression is that of a woman crying or calling using a cell phone. This woman's figure can be interpreted as a mother (*amak*) because the text in the meme states *kecek amak* 'mother said.' It can be concluded that the text in the meme was pronounced by a child who was wandering. Indirectly, this meme also shows the habit of Minangkabau people migration.

Minangkabau is one of the tribes in Indonesia known as *perantau*. The motives for migrating Minangkabau people include economic factors, cultural factors, social factors, and deepening knowledge (Naim, 2013; Septian, 2017). This behavior eventually becomes an essential factor in developing ethnicity, both economically and socially (Kato, 2005; Naim, 2013; Salazar, 2016). In this regard, memes 4 and 5 also show patterns of matchmaking trends in the Minangkabau community. The ideal marriage is the main idea in the meme, which can be seen from the text: *yang pantiang lai urang awak* 'the most important thing is a Minangkabau person'. Navis (Navis, 1984) stated that although marriage with outsiders (other tribes) is not prohibited in Minangkabau custom, it is not preferred.
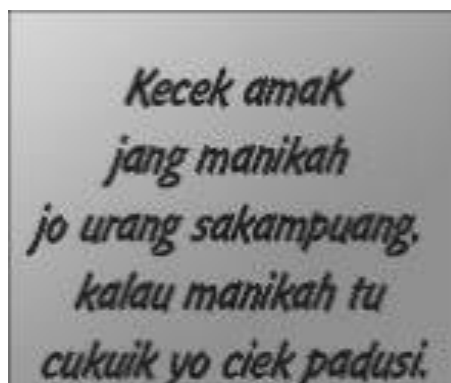

Figure 6. Meme matchmaking 3 (source: blogyoiko.blogspot.com)

The meme in Figure 6 shows a response to Minangkabau customs for matchmaking and marriage. The text *kecek amak jang manikah jo urang sakampuang, kalau menikah tu cukuik yo ciek padusi* 'mother said, do not marry people one village, just one woman' shows a joke motive. This meme shifts the meaning of the same village marriage as referred to in Minangkabau custom (Navis, 1984) to the literal meaning of the word *sekampung* to be 'all the village people'. This shift in meaning was strengthened by choosing the word *cukuik yo ciek padusi* 'just one woman.'

It appears that memes 4, 5, and 6 contain the same theme content; matchmaking in marriage. When connected with the behavior of migrating Minangkabau society, these three memes indicate a rejection of matchmaking behavior in marriage. For some migrants, they cannot accept to return to their village for matchmaking. The interactions with Minangkabau foreign cultures seem to open the mind to be more open in accepting cultural and ethnic diversity in Indonesia. Matchmaking and marriage should not be limited in territory and culture. Meme 6 shows a strong tendency towards this by presenting it through a joke that deliberately shifts the meaning of *sekampung*.

Of course, the consideration of establishing the Minangkabau traditional structure and order was not a consideration in this rejection. According to Navis (Navis, 1984), marriages with outsiders, especially marrying non-Minangkabau women, tend to destroy customary structures. Children born to that couple will not be considered as Minangkabau (matrilineal system). Besides, the wife's life will become a burden on the husband, even though Minangkabau men have responsibilities to their relatives, *kaum*, and *nagari*. A man (husband) can be considered a "lost child" of his relatives. Therefore, *awak samo awak* marriage does not reflect the exclusive attitude of the Minangkabau, but rather a communal and collective background.

Considering that the millennial generation voiced the rejection of matchmaking in the Minangkabau marriage process, it is understandable. The millennial generation is known as the generation that tends to be instant, spontaneous, and process in a short time (Finansialku, 2017). On the other hand, tradition is the result of a process of life behavior obtained over a long time. Contemplation is a critical aspect of shaping tradition as an element of identity.

Memes 4 and 5 seem more emphatically against marriage matchmaking. However, through a parody motif, meme 6 cultivates rejection to make it look acceptable. If seen as the social behavior of the younger generation today, memes 4 and 5 above can also be related to a single status (*jomlo*). Regarding the level of matchmaking in Minangkabau marriages: *pulang ka mamak* or *pulang ka bako*, same *korong*, same *kampung*, same *nagari*, same *luhak*, and finally fellow Minangkabau, the two memes (4 and 5) indicate the final choice of levels. Implicitly, these two memes show despair in trying to find a partner *rancak* 'beautiful/handsome' as wanted with an emphasis on *bialah ndak rancak bana* 'let it be less beautiful/handsome' and *ndak paralu cari jodoh nan rancak* 'do not need to be beautiful/handsome' which then connected with *asa urang awak* 'Minangkabau person'.

It seems that the use of internet memes that contain motives for jokes, satire, or parody indirectly also reveals social practices in a particular group. Memes as a form of translation of an event or social condition are also an element of forming social structures through representation. Internet memes are both a product and a process of socio-cultural practice.

CONCLUSION

It is too much to say that folklore and traditional arts face extinction or are no longer in interest by the millennial generation. Regardless of whether they accept or reject, through different forms and forms, they still know and are still tied to traditional knowledge to represent their identity.

Characteristics of folklore as a product and process of social practice will always be open to change. The creativity and background knowledge of each generation will bring a tendency to change the appearance of folklore. Even so, the traditional values and orders that are bound in folklore will remain unchanged. One of the reasons is humanity's nature, which will manifest its existence as an identity, both personal and group.

On the other hand, internet memes are social behavior products that are also representations of social processes. Also, an internet meme is a statement of a social group's

attitude towards the socio-cultural practices that occur around it. In the end, memes will help shape social structures within the framework of the social process itself.

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