Screens, Music and Audiences

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CHAPTER 4

MEMES, MUSIC, AND CINEMA: FROM THE INTERNET CULTURE TO THE BIG SCREEN

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Introduction

Memetic culture has completely invaded the realm of social media. Its expansion has been such that it has already crossed the limits of its original universe—the internet—to reach other traditional means of communication and entertainment. Many contemporary radio and television programs make constant use of memes that help define the true meaning of the discourse. Cinema, thanks to its capacity to generate indelible images in popular culture, has been an ideal source for the creation of memes. But besides this, cinema has been influenced by the power of memetic culture and has begun to incorporate memes into its own narrative strategies.

Many memes are constructed using only text and images. However, there are others that use music to transmit the meme's message. Some memes have their origin in cinema but online media has given them new semantics; others come from internet culture and wound up being used in film. This chapter will explore all these kinds of memes, examining the origin of the elements used to create them and above all, attempt to clarify the mechanisms by which their particular meanings are constructed. To do this, I will firstly explore a number of memes created from movie stills. Next, I will focus on memes that use music as a protagonist. Lastly, I will examine and analyse some movie scenes that reflect the incorporation of memetic culture into the world of cinema. In these cases, the focus is no longer on memes that are borne from film culture, but those where it is cinema that borrows the syntax and semantics of the internet memes.

Memetic Culture

In 1976 Richard Dawkins coined the term "meme" in his attempt to find a concept equivalent to that of "gene" that would explain cultural transmission through non-genetic mechanisms, mainly through imitation. Thus, in the same way that genes are replicators in charge of perpetuating the biological information of the species, memes are cultural replicators, responsible for passing down cultural elements from one generation to another. In short, a meme is "a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*." Some authors contest that memes are exclusively linked to the human being, unlike genes, present in all species. Our enormous capacity for imitation is what sets us apart from animals. However, other studies argue that memetics include non-imitative learning processes that also occur in other species.

Regardless of their approach and conclusions, all these studies delve into memetics from Dawkins' generic and open definition, according to which every transmissible cultural element is a meme: the language, a melody, a way of dressing or of gesturing, etc. However, with the great boom of the internet in the 21st century, the word meme has acquired a more precise and widely recognised meaning. Internet memes could be defined as "the linguistics, image, audio, and video texts created, circulated, and transformed by countless cultural participants across vast networks and collectives." These are the kind of memes that I will address throughout the chapter.

Every day, countless memes are spread across platforms such as Reddit, Twitter, and YouTube. Each day, millions of people around the world create, transform, remake, distribute, and consume pieces of information encapsulated in the particular form of a meme. In this context, memetics—regarded as a set of social practices⁶—it has become a powerful medium for spreading all kinds of ideas. Early on, the majority of memes were intended to be either humorous or used as a way of relating to a specific cultural identity. ⁷ In the last decade, however, other less-kind memes with darker and more damaging political intentions have proliferated, ⁸ even when they appear cloaked behind a layer of humour. ⁹

In any case, the truth is that memetic culture is more widespread than ever before. Memes have facilitated the creation of digital cultures, both local and global. In fact, memes are the "building blocks" of these complex cultures. Its very language has gone from being something exclusive to "internet nerds" to forming part of the daily life of any WhatsApp user. In

this sense, as Ryan M. Milner points out, "memetic media are a lingua franca, a shared 'common tongue' for mass participation." And, like any new language, it involves the need for a new literacy. To understand this "lingua franca" of the memetic culture in which we are immersed, it is necessary to understand its internal logic, its syntax, its particular patterns, and its possible meanings.

In their study on the early years of online memes, Lankshear and Knobel noticed the following: (a) humour was the overwhelmingly common feature; (b) several memes were characterized by rich intertextuality; (c) some memes employed anomalous juxtaposition (for example, incongruous couplings of ideas and/or images); (d) only one exceptional case did not display humour, intertextuality, or anomalous juxtaposition. ¹⁴ All the memes analysed in this chapter align with points (a) and (b), that is, they all display a marked sense of humour and are made through clearly intertextual procedures. Some memes also feature characteristics described in point (c), where totally contrasting and even antithetical elements are combined.

Memetic Culture and Cinema

Memes feed on popular culture and, without a doubt, one of the key pieces in popular culture is cinema. Thousands of memes have been created using movie scenes. In most cases, those memes capture some moment, situation or acting gesture in order to extrapolate its original meaning to a new context.

Let us look at a first example. Figure 1 shows a version of the meme known as "Leonardo DiCaprio Laughing." It is an image macro 16 taken from the movie *Django Unchained* (dir. Quentin Tarantino, 2012), where the character Calvin Candie, played by Leonardo DiCaprio, is seen smiling sarcastically while holding a glass. This particular frame has been circulating on the internet since November 2017, but began to become popular in 2020 as a reaction image. In this case, the emotional reaction that it intends to convey is that of mockery at the naive approach expressed in the accompanying text. For example, in Fig.1 the mockery is aimed at football fans convinced that England would win Euro 2020. In short, the gesture made by Leonardo DiCaprio has taken on a new meaning in memetic culture: laughing at the naivety of thinking that things really are as we believe they are or that things will work out according to plan.



Fig.1: "Leonardo DiCaprio Laughing" meme. Source: prepared by the author

There are memes constructed as a sequence of images, in the manner of a comic strip. One of the most widely disseminated since 2020 is the meme known as "Captain America Elevator Fight Dad Joke," consisting of four frames from two films in the Marvel universe, *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (dir. Anthony and Joe Russo, 2014) and *Avengers: Endgame* (dir. Anthony and Joe Russo, 2019). The first three vignettes show Captain America chatting with another character (Jasper Sitwell). The last image shows the enraged captain wrestling with several agents from the evil Hydra organization in an elevator. The format of the meme is completed with the addition of text in the first three images, with the particularity that said text is always some typical dad joke. Thus, the last image serves to express the angry reaction caused by these types of jokes.

Another even more recent example is the "Anakin and Padme 4-Panel" meme (Fig.2). ¹⁹ As its name indicates, it is a panel made up of four images of Star Wars characters Anakin Skywalker and Padmé Amidala. Specifically, the stills come from a scene in the movie *Star Wars: Episode II-Attack of the Clones* (dir. George Lucas, 2002), where Anakin and Padmé appear to be having a picnic on the planet Naboo. In the meme, Anakin tells Padmé something and she reacts in an overly optimistic way.

The third image shows a serious looking Anakin, in silence, which induces a change in Padmé's attitude; all his initial optimism turns into evident hesitation. The ultimate goal of this meme and its variants is to laugh at the innocence of believing that the world works in a good and fair way.



Fig.2: "Anakin and Padme 4-Panel" meme. Source: prepared by the author

The memes shown so far have two types of constituent elements: images and text. All of them conform to a similar format: one or more stills taken from a popular movie and text that modifies the original meaning of the image to build a new one.

Musical Memes

There are other kinds of memes that include music. More specifically, musical memes are those where music does not function as a mere decoration at the service of an image, but plays a key role in constructing the ultimate meaning. Evidently, with the incorporation of a musical element, these memes are presented in the format of a video clip.

One of the most viral memes of 2020 was the video "Coffin Dance," featuring African men carrying a coffin while dancing.²⁰ This curious practice originated in Ghana, where in the early 2000s, a pallbearer company called "Dancing Pallbearers", also known as "Coffin Dance" was

founded. In 2017, these peculiar carriers gained some global recognition thanks to a BBC report.²¹ Later, in 2020, someone had the idea of replacing the ethnic music typical of their dances with a very different one, the electronic dance song "Astronomia" by Vicetone and Tony Igy, using the audio as a comedic punchline for fail videos, that is, videos where the ending results in unfortunate situations.²² The format is always the same: it starts with an image of someone about to do something that involves a certain amount of risk while the song begins to build, increasing the tension, and then at the exact moment of the epic fail, the music reaches a climax, a beat drop²³ occurs and the pallbearers appear dancing.

There were countless versions of this meme throughout 2020.²⁴ Combining dance music with images of dancing pallbearers thus became a formula for eliciting laughter at risky, reckless or downright stupid actions that end badly. The song "Astronomia" has become so synonymous with the "Coffin Dance" meme that there are versions that even dispense with the images of Ghanaian pallbearers.²⁵ The musical element has taken on the meaning that it originally acquired when placed in conjunction with the image, and, therefore, the music alone is capable of conveying these meanings to any viewer with an understanding of these kinds of memes.

Another musical example that has been used in fail videos is the beginning of the song "Fix you" by the band Coldplay, whose lyrics include: "When you try your best but you don't succeed". Obviously, the melancholic tone of this piece reveals that we are presented with a type of fails video that is different to "Coffin Dance". In this case, it is common for these videos to reveal the protagonist's disappointment after the fail. The music here works empathetically with that frustration. Let's imagine a simple scenario: a boy asks a girl out on a date but she rejects him; at that moment the Coldplay song is used while viewers are shown the sadness on the boy's face. ²⁶

In 2019, a video was posted on YouTube where a Turkish busker sang a Finnish folk song called "Ieva Polkka", accompanied by a darbuka. Later, this same video appeared on Twitter, edited with an important addition of the meme known as "Vibing Cat", a popular emoticon on Twitch of a cat shaking its head rhythmically.²⁷ This is how the "Cat Vibing to Ieva Polkka" meme was born.²⁸ In turn, this new meme has served to spawn other versions with the aim of making different characters dance. A particularly funny example is a kind of memetic crossover where we see Donald Trump dancing, Bernie Sanders sitting, and an aerobics teacher who became famous for a video she created where she was giving a class

while the Burmese army was staging a coup in the background; all of these images appear together with the vibing cat to the rhythm of "Ieva Polkka". Here music fulfils one of its basic functions in audio-visual language, that of providing narrative or structural unity to a scene despite the heterogeneity of the elements comprising it.

Musical Memes and Cinema

As I have already mentioned, there are numerous memes that take their elements from film culture. Musical memes are no exception. In general, one of the elements of these memes comes from cinema and the other does not. The resulting hilarity is born precisely from that contrast. In some cases, we have movie scenes that have been used with music that is different to the original track; in others, we have fragments of film soundtracks accompanied by images that do not have their origin in film. Let's look at some examples of both types of memes.

The first, known as "Mary smashing record", is created using a scene from the movie *It's a Wonderful Life* (dir. Frank Capra, 1946). Mary Hatch's character (played by Donna Reed) has just had an argument with her beloved, George Bailey (played by James Stewart), and shows her despair by breaking the record that is playing on the gramophone. The music in the original scene is "Buffalo Gals", a traditional American song.²⁹ The memetic culture has used this scene to incorporate other types of music, making that gramophone play all kinds of popular songs whose incessant spread has made them become irritating. Thus, Mary Hatch's furious reaction becomes a true reflection of the weariness that these songs elicit in us.³⁰

Another very similar meme is "Chuck Norris kicking TV", based on a scene from the movie *Missing in Action* (dir. Joseph Zito, 1984). The tormented protagonist (played by Chuck Norris) is watching TV until, unable to bear what he is seeing any longer, kicks the TV apart.³¹ Just as in the case of the "Mary smashing record" meme, this scene has been used with different songs that audiences find unbearable to hear.

The previous memes take their visual part from cinema. Let's now look at a couple of examples where the cinematographic element is music. More than a decade ago, the musician and comedian Matt Mulholland posted a hilarious video on his YouTube channel where he performed the famous song "My Heart Will Go On", originally composed by James Horner for the soundtrack of the film *Titanic* (dir. James Cameron, 1997). The video

is a parody of the romantic genre, but the most striking thing is its musical component. Mulholland's version sees him perform the song with a recorder; the result is terrible, full of errors and out-of-tune notes, along with the unbearable timbre of the recorder.³² This particular version has been used by other internet users as a soundtrack for fail videos.³³ The link between music and images cannot be more obvious, since the music itself is also an absolute fail.

In 2007, a small video clip appeared on YouTube where a prairie-dog is seen suddenly turning its head and looking at the camera wide-eyed while very dramatic music plays.³⁴ The images are taken from the Japanese television program *Hello! Morning* and the music that accompanies it is a striking sequence of three chords (A minor–C# minor–E minor) extracted from the soundtrack of the film *Young Frankenstein* (dir. Mel Brooks, 1974), composed by John Morris. This ingenious combination of the animal's surprising gaze and highly expressive music quickly became viral, and the video, known as "Dramatic Look" or "Dramatic Chipmunk," began to be used as a reaction meme for any dramatic comment or situation, albeit for obviously comedic purposes.

Musical Memes in Cinema

So far I have referenced memes born from cinema. But there are also cases where it is the cinema that borrows the language and forms of internet memes to design scenes. In this last section, I will analyse some examples that show that memetic culture has extended its influence over a medium as traditional as cinema. Memes are no longer exclusive to internet culture but have made their way onto the big screen.

The action film 6 Underground (dir. Michael Bay, 2019) narrates the adventures of a group of six illegal agents that has been formed to dismantle dangerous criminal gangs. The names of the members of the group are numbers, from One, the leader (played by Ryan Reynolds), to Six. The movie opens with a thrilling car chase sequence through the streets of Florence (Italy). After a few minutes of frantic action with countless violent deaths, Six, the driver, asks the other members of the group to put on some music in the car to break the tension and turns on the radio. At that moment the song "Wannabe" by the Spice Girls begins to play. Then, without a word, One rips out the car stereo and throws it out the window. Clearly this gag works like a meme within the movie; it is reminiscent of memes such as "Mary smashing record" or "Chuck Norris kicking TV" when hearing a song that they dislike. Fun fact: during the

promotion of the film, Ryan Reynolds had to clarify that he had nothing against the Spice Girls' song and that the music was added in post-production.³⁶

There is one more example of memetic culture within the cinema in another scene taken from 6 Underground, on this occasion featuring Four, the group's thief and parkour expert. The team of 6 is on a mission to free a character held in the luxurious attic of the Ni Hai Tower in Hong Kong. The mission gets complicated, especially for Four. All the members of the group manage to escape from the building, with the exception of Four, who at one point is surrounded by enemies and is about to die. Just when it seems that there is no way out for him, the song "Run" by the alternative underground rock group Awolnation is played extra-dietetically and an impressive parkour scene begins after which Four manages to escape from those in pursuit.

This scene makes a clear reference to a type of video that became popular in 2015, where distressing situations are shown and the only possible way out is to run.³⁷ What is characteristic of these videos is that a dangerous situation arises first and suddenly Awolnation's "Run" plays as the signal to flee as quickly as possible. "Run" is not only the title of the song, but is also the lyric taken from a fragment of the song. In this way, the music used in these videos effectively sounds like an imperative to run. The use of this song as a meme went viral thanks to, among others, the YouTube channel of the Jalals brothers, who specialise in prank videos. These videos feature ordinary people who, unbeknownst to them, are faced with pranksters disguised as terrorists with a bomb, or as a terrifying character like Slender Man. At that moment, everybody flees in terror as the song "Run" begins to play.³⁸

A final example of a film scene influenced by memetic culture appears in the animated film *Klaus* (dir. Sergio Pablos, 2019). This film tells a different version of the origin of Santa Klaus based on the adventures of a character called Jesper, a postman who has been banished to a remote island in the Arctic Circle. One of the film's scenes has been shot in the style of a class of memes that first appeared in 2014 under the label "Thug Life", and that quickly spread across the internet.³⁹

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, a thug is "a person who acts violently, especially to commit a crime." But in the 90s, rapper Tupac Shakur appropriated the label "Thug Life" endowing it with another meaning. From his perspective, "Thug Life" did not have a negative

connotation, but rather referred to the lives of those who were trying to move up in life with dignity. Tupac coined an acronym: The Hate U Give Little Infants Fucks Everybody. Thus, "Thug Life" represented a code of conduct for African-American gangs from underprivileged neighbourhoods in the United States. 41 Memetic culture has used this label to show situations where someone unexpectedly responds with a badass attitude or behaves "like a boss." To depict this scenario, it is common to add elements typical of gangsta culture, such as sunglasses, a baseball hat or a joint, plus the label "Thug Life" (Fig.3) and, of course, some gangsta rap music.



Fig.3: Elements typically associated with the term "Thug Life". Source: prepared by the author

In the movie *Klaus* there is a scene that is clearly inspired by this type of meme. Jesper is at his workplace, picking up children's letters to Klaus. At that moment, the most wicked kid in town throws a snowball at him and confronts Jesper for having sent a letter to Klaus and receiving only a piece of coal. Jesper responds that this happened because he is a bad boy and goes on to explain that Klaus knows everything that children do and that he has a "naughty list" that contains all the names of those who have misbehaved. The naughty boy is left scared and speechless. Jesper then retires with a triumphant attitude, lowers the visor of his cap and begins to walk away with a cocky attitude while all the other children look on in amazement. At that exact moment, the gangsta rap song "Don't mess with the postman", composed for the film by Alfonso G. Aguilar, begins to play.⁴³

Would this scene work without the music? It is likely that the general meaning would still be understood, that is, the postman's triumphant encounter with the naughty boy. But it is also evident that the music and the entire design of the scene based on the "Thug Life" meme help to reinforce the message. A viewer who has seen this style of meme before will clearly recognise the influence on the movie and, more importantly, will immediately assume its meaning.

Conclusions

Memetic culture has gone from being indebted to film culture to being a source of inspiration for cinema. Memes have moved from being a communicative resource characteristic of internet culture to being a formal and expressive model useful for constructing new movie scenes capable of connecting with an audience familiar with memetic language. The expansion of the internet has caused this language—the *lingua franca* mentioned by Milner—to become increasingly understood and employed, and as a result, traditional media channels such as cinema, aware of this circumstance, have wanted to incorporate it into their own narrative structures. In short, the syntax and meanings typical of memes have reached the big screen.

The scenes analysed in this chapter are a clear example of adaptation to the cinematographic language of some internet memes. The Spice Girls' song scene and the parkour scene in 6 Underground, as well as the postman vs. the naughty boy scene in Klaus are perfectly understandable to all viewers, but they certainly work as a nod to the memes they are based on for all those who are able to recognise the influence. In this sense, these scenes could be seen as an example of fan service, that is, the inclusion of elements in the plot that are designed to amuse and please a public of fans that is aware of the references they allude to. More specifically, all these scenes work as a cameo. But in this case, it is not the cameo of a celebrity or a character from another movie or television series, but the cameo of a meme from internet culture into a different context, into the context of cinema.

Memetic culture has matured. Memes are no longer just the product of an internet subculture whose codes are in the hands of a few nerds, but have already reached a global audience capable of understanding their mechanisms and unravelling their meanings. Its presence in the cinematographic medium is the ultimate proof of this.

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Notes

¹ The word "meme" comes from a shortened version of the word "mimeme", which derives from Ancient Greek μίμημα (mimema) and whose meaning is "imitated thing". Dawkins preferred "meme" because of its phonetic similarity to "gene". Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, 249.

¹⁷ According to Know Your Meme, "reaction Images are images or animated gifs that are meant to portray a specific emotion in response to something that has been said. They are commonly used in discussion threads in a similar fashion to emoticons." "Reaction Images," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/reaction-images.

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/for-the-better-right.

² *Ibid.*, 249.

³ Susan Blackmore, *The Meme Machine*, 4.

⁴ Robert Aunger, *Darwinizing Culture*, 16; Kevin N. Laland and John Odling-Smee, "The evolution of the meme," 122.

⁵ Ryan M. Milner, *The World Made Meme*, 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷ Christian Bauckhage, "Insights into Internet Memes," 42.

⁸ Colin Lankshear and Michele Knobel, "Memes, Macros, Meaning, and Menace," 43.

⁹ For instance, Jessica Drakett et al. assert that "online sexism and harassment are often reframed as 'acceptable' by constructing them as a form of humour." Jessica Drakett et al., "Old Jokes, New Media," 109.

¹⁰ Asaf Nissenbaum and Limor Shifman, "Meme Templates," 294.

¹¹ Limor Shifman, "An Anatomy of a YouTube Meme," 189.

¹² Ryan M. Milner, *The World Made Meme*, 5.

¹³ See Colin Lankshear and Michele Knobel, *New Literacies*; Knobel and Lankshear, "Online Memes," 203.

¹⁴ Colin Lankshear and Michele Knobel, "Memes, Macros, Meaning, and Menace," 44-45.

¹⁵ "Leonardo DiCaprio Laughing," Know Your Meme (KYM), accessed July 17, 2021, https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/leonardo-dicaprio-laughing.

¹⁶ According to Know Your Meme, "an image macro is a broad term used to describe captioned images that typically consist of a picture and a witty message or a catchphrase. [...] Image macros can be also used to convey feelings or reactions towards another member of the community, similar to [...] emotions. It is one of the most prevalent forms of internet memes." "Image Macros," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021, https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/image-macros.

¹⁸ "Captain America Elevator Fight Dad Joke," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021, https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/captain-america-elevator-fight-dad-joke.

¹⁹ This meme is also known as "For the Better, Right?" and "Clueless Padme". "For the Better, Right?," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

²⁰ "Coffin Dance / Dancing Pallbearers," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021, https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/coffin-dance-dancing-pallbearers.

²¹ BBC News Africa, "Ghana's dancing pallbearers," YouTube, accessed July 17, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EroOICwfD3g.

²² "Fail / Epic Fail," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/fail-epic-fail.

- ²³ A beat drop in electronic dance music is a point where a sudden change of rhythm occurs, typically preceded by a build-up section and a break. Sometimes, drops are used at music festivals accompanied by pyrotechnics, confetti explosions, or strobe lighting, to encourage a reaction of euphoria among the audience.
- ²⁴ An example can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wE1JUOU7DEI, accessed July 17, 2021.
- ²⁵ For example, this video shows a Chinese woman eating a bat and the terrible consequences of this act. The images of the pallbearers have been replaced by images of the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and of healthcare personnel dancing whilst wearing personal protective equipment (PPE):

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vwmi_JsQ2mA, accessed July 17, 2021.

- ²⁶ An example can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4qgrN6-JsOU, accessed July 17, 2021.
- ²⁷ "CatJAM / Vibing Cat," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/catjam-vibing-cat.

²⁸ Bilal Göregen, "Cat Vibing to Ievan Polkka," YouTube, accessed July 17, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NUYvbT6vTPs. See also "Cat Vibing to Street Musician's Ievan Polkka," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/cat-vibing-to-street-musicians-ievan-polkka.

²⁹ The original scene can be seen at

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nNE0bqxDOiU, accessed July 17, 2021.

- ³⁰ There are multiple versions and compilations of this meme on YouTube. See, for instance, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KS19r8GJdbs, accessed July 17, 2021.
- ³¹ This scene can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ce0zSR2ParE, accessed July 17, 2021.
- ³² Matt Mulhollad, "My Heart Will Go On Recorder By Candlelight by Matt Mulholland," YouTube, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X2WH8mHJnhM.

³³ An example of this kind of videos can be seen at

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-aNaNyWF4dY, accessed July 17, 2021.

³⁴ "Dramatic Look," YouTube, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y8Kyi0WNg40.

35 "Dramatic Chipmunk," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/dramatic-chipmunk.

³⁶ Ryan Reynolds (@VancityReynolds), "The song was added in post production. I would NEVER interrupt the Spice Girls. Never. Especially during a car chase. That's when I'd need them most," Twitter, December 16, 2019,

https://twitter.com/VancityReynolds/status/1206415447014412293.

³⁷ "Run," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021, https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/run.

https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/thug-life.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ifNJ8gs2T5Y, accessed July 17, 2021.

³⁸ For example, see "Jalals Slender Man Prank Part 2," YouTube, accessed July 17, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNKnJcijV3E.

³⁹ "Thug Life," KYM, accessed July 17, 2021,

⁴⁰ "Thug," Cambridge Dictionary, accessed July 17, 2021, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/thug.

⁴¹ See "Code of Thug Life", accessed July 17, 2021, https://tupac.be/en/his-world/code-of-thug-life/.

⁴² For example, see "Like a Boss 2019 / Thug Life - Compilation #1," YouTube, accessed July 17, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=inOwzs083qc.

⁴³ This whole scene can be seen at