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From School Performance to TikTok Trend: Audience Reception and the Recontextualization of Tari Semut

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ABSTRACT

In mid-2026, a school extracurricular routine called Tari Semut (Ant Dance), originally designed to model cooperative insect-colony movement for children, went viral on TikTok and was quickly absorbed into adult creator culture far removed from its classroom origin. The original upload gathered roughly 6.7 million likes, 5.4 million shares, and 68,300 comments within days, before the accompanying audio spread to public figures and ordinary users across Indonesia and Thailand. This paper does not claim to be a full netnography. It is an exploratory qualitative reading of a modest dataset, six purposively sampled videos and 18 coded top-level comments, analyzed by a single coder, and the findings should be read as patterns within that dataset rather than as a general account of TikTok discourse on the trend. No statement from the choreographer or the school confirmed the dance's pedagogical intent; that absence is treated here as a limitation, not a settled fact. Using Stuart Hall's encoding/decoding model followed by inductive thematic coding, the analysis asked how far audience comments registered, or ignored, the dance's educational origin and its subsequent commodification. Dominant readings that flattened the dance into comedic or aesthetic content were the most common response overall. Oppositional readings criticizing the commodification of children's movement, by contrast, surfaced only in videos featuring the original student performers and were absent altogether from adult public-figure versions. Together these patterns suggest an escalating commodification trajectory and unsettle the dance's framing as an established tradition, pointing instead toward a case of invented tradition.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Short-video social media platforms have reconfigured the pathways through which dance and performance traditions travel, compressing the distance between a local, often pedagogically framed performance and a global entertainment audience. Unlike broadcast media, which historically mediated such encounters through curated documentaries or televised cultural programming, platforms such as TikTok allow a single video to reach millions of viewers within days, frequently detached from the institutional context of a classroom, school festival, or community celebration in which the performance originated. TikTok itself has become a legitimate object of scholarly inquiry across communication and media studies precisely because its recommendation-driven “For You Page” produces distinctive, largely algorithm-governed patterns of circulation and reinterpretation that differ from earlier, network-driven social media environments [1]. This raises a question of direct relevance to performing arts and education scholarship: what happens to a dance's pedagogical function and cultural meaning when it is swept into this circulation, and how do audiences respond to that shift?

Tari Semut ("Ant Dance") offers a timely case for examining this question. Movement games in which young children imitate the cooperative, orderly behavior of insect colonies are a familiar device in Indonesian early-childhood and elementary performing arts pedagogy, cooperative-movement play of this kind is consistent with the documented benefits of cooperative learning structures for teamwork and engagement in physical education settings more broadly [2]. However, no source specific to this particular choreography confirms that it was designed with that explicit intent, a point taken up directly in the Limitations. The specific rendition of Tari Semut that circulated virally in mid-2026 originated in precisely this kind of pedagogical setting: banner text visible in the earliest circulating footage identifies the performance as part of a school's "Gelar Hasil Ekstrakurikuler" (extracurricular showcase), staged at SD Negeri 3 Munggu, BaliPublic reporting on the trend gives a more precise account of its circulation than could previously be confirmed: a 10-second video posted by the account accumulated roughly 6.7 million likes, 344,100 reposts, 5.4 million shares, and 68,300 comments within days [3] after which idol-group members, television presenters, and other public figures replicated the choreography for their own audiences [4]. One further correction to the record is worth noting here: the accompanying audio, popularly known as “Sakedungkeding,” is reported not to derive from a commercially released song, as earlier accounts of the trend assumed, but from a Thai lullaby recorded informally by a parent and subsequently altered with AI-based audio-editing software before recirculating on TikTok, this detail is included here because it bears directly on how “authentic” or “traditional” audiences are likely to perceive the accompanying sound to be [5]. What began as a school extracurricular exercise, staged for an audience of parents and teachers, was thus rapidly repositioned as mainstream entertainment content performed and consumed by an audience with no necessary connection to its educational origin, or, as this study's findings suggest, even a shared understanding of what that origin was.

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This trajectory reflects a broader and increasingly well-documented pattern in digital media scholarship: the commodification of children's performance for online audiences. Research on "kidfluencers" has shown that children's spontaneous or guided behavior is frequently reframed, whether by parents, platforms, or audiences themselves, into content valued for its entertainment and engagement potential rather than its original developmental purpose [6]. This reframing is often achieved through what has been termed "calibrated amateurism", a performance style that retains the surface appearance of spontaneity and authenticity while being shaped, consciously or not, by the demands of platform visibility [6], [7]; whether comparable dynamics extend to a dance genre publicly framed as traditional and pedagogically rooted, as distinct from individual child social media personalities, has not yet been examined.

The transformation of Tari Semut can also be situated within recent theorizing on digital folklore, which argues that platform algorithms are not neutral conduits but active participants in how tradition is sustained, altered, and transmitted in contemporary vernacular culture [8]. Read through this lens, Tari Semut's viral trajectory is not simply a matter of a video "going viral" by chance; it reflects a renegotiation of the dance's social function as it moves from a school-based mode of transmission to one governed by platform recommendation systems and audience engagement metrics. Notably, this renegotiation extends to the dance's very status as "tradition": as this study's findings will show, audience uncertainty about the dance's origins invites analysis through the concept of invented tradition, in which a practice is retroactively framed as culturally established partly through the legitimizing effect of its own circulation, rather than through a documented history preceding it [9].

Comparable tensions have been documented for other traditional dance forms encountering TikTok's circulation logic elsewhere. Research on the viral spread of Irish dance shows that algorithmic circulation can simultaneously popularize a tradition and provoke contested renegotiations of who has standing to represent it and on what terms [10], while broader work on TikTok dance trends has shown how the platform's affordances for remixing and re-uploading content can strip choreography of its original authorship and context as it spreads [11], [12]. Within Indonesia specifically, prior research has examined how instructors of traditional dance actively adapt their teaching and performance style to TikTok's aesthetic conventions in order to reach younger audiences [13]. However, this line of inquiry has approached the phenomenon from the perspective of producers and instructors. How audiences themselves respond to, and make sense of, a pedagogical children's dance repositioned as viral entertainment and whether their responses register or overlook the commodification this repositioning entails remains unexamined, both for Tari Semut and for comparable cases more broadly.

This gap invites an approach centered on audience reception rather than production. Stuart Hall's proposition that audiences do not passively absorb an encoded message but decode it from within their own cultural frameworks, arriving at dominant, negotiated, or oppositional readings [14], remains a productive lens for analyzing what audiences articulate in TikTok comment sections. This framework continues to be extended into digital and platform contexts to explain how algorithmic mediation shapes ideological readings [15] and

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how audiences actively construct cultural meaning around unfamiliar or repositioned content [16]. Read alongside [17] concept of glocalization, which holds that circulation across contexts does not simply erase local meaning but generates new, negotiated hybrid meanings, these frameworks together suggest that Tari Semut's meaning as it circulates on TikTok is neither fixed at the moment of its original school performance nor straightforwardly erased by virality, but continuously renegotiated through audience response.

This study addresses these gaps through an exploratory qualitative analysis of TikTok video content and top-level comments associated with Tari Semut, rather than a full netnographic design; the distinction, and why it matters, is explained in Section 2. Specifically, this research asks how audience comments reflect or fail to reflect an awareness of Tari Semut's pedagogical origins and contested status as “tradition,” and to what extent these comments register concern for, or instead reinforce, the commodification of children's performance as the dance is repositioned from a school event into algorithmically driven entertainment. Following this line of inquiry also requires being precise about the processes involved, since circulation, decontextualization, remixing, adaptation, commercialization, and commodification are related but analytically distinct: circulation is the bare fact of a video reaching new audiences; decontextualization is the loss of the framing information (school, date, purpose) that accompanied the original performance; remixing and adaptation are the audiovisual acts of reproducing or altering the choreography; and commercialization and commodification concern whether, and how, the dance comes to be valued primarily for its entertainment or engagement value rather than its original purpose. This study's argument, developed across Sections 3 and 4, is that these processes did not necessarily occur in a single, uniform sequence for Tari Semut; each stage is instead evaluated separately against the video and comment evidence available, rather than assumed to follow automatically from the one before it. In doing so, the study extends existing scholarship on TikTok dance virality and the digital transformation of tradition to a case involving children's performing arts education, an intersection that current literature on both kidfluencer commodification and traditional dance virality has yet to bring together.

2. METHOD

This study is best described as an exploratory qualitative analysis of TikTok video content and audience comments, drawing on netnographic sensibilities [18], [19] without meeting the fuller evidentiary bar netnography conventionally implies. Classical netnography typically involves prolonged immersion in a platform or community, ongoing observation of interactions over time, field notes, and sustained researcher reflexivity within the observed community [20]; the present study, by contrast, draws a bounded sample of six videos and their top comments from a single circulation period and does not involve prolonged platform immersion, participation in the TikTok community, or longitudinal observation of the trend's evolution. Relabeling the study in this way, rather than retaining the stronger “netnographic” label used in an earlier version of this manuscript, is intended to keep the method claim aligned with what the data collection procedure actually supports. This approach remains suited to the research question because it allows systematic,

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contextually grounded analysis of digital traces, videos, captions, and audience comments as they occur in situ on a platform, rather than through researcher-elicited interviews or surveys [18]. Because this research is concerned with how audiences spontaneously make sense of a viral phenomenon, unprompted textual traces of engagement are treated as the primary data rather than data generated for research purposes.

The data source is TikTok content associated with the Tari Semut trend, identified through the "Sakedungkeding" audio track and associated hashtags. To capture the range of contexts in which the dance circulated, videos were purposively sampled into two categories: [1] videos depicting the dance in its original pedagogical setting, such as the school event itself, and [21] adaptation videos in which adult creators, public figures, or entertainers replicate the choreography outside an educational context. This categorization allows the analysis to trace whether audience response differs according to a video's proximity to, or distance from, the dance's pedagogical origin, following prior TikTok content analyses that similarly categorize videos before coding audience engagement [22]. From each category, the most-viewed and most-commented videos within the trend's initial period of virality were selected, consistent with guidance favoring data-rich, high-engagement sites over exhaustive but shallow collection [20]. This yields, in total, six videos and 18 coded top-level comments; these figures are stated explicitly here, rather than only in the Results, because the scale of the dataset should be visible to the reader before the findings are presented, not discovered afterward in the Limitations.

What is independently known about the choreography's origin is more limited than the video evidence alone can settle. The banner text visible in the original footage and subsequent media reporting establish the performing school (SD Negeri 3 Munggu, Bali), the approximate date of first upload (early July 2026), and the identity of the account responsible for initial circulation[23], [5]. No statement from the class teacher, the choreographer, or the school administration was located confirming the specific pedagogical objective behind this performance, the date the choreography was first taught (as distinct from the date it was filmed for the viral video), or whether the school consented to the video's broader redistribution beyond its immediate audience of parents and guests. These absences are treated as open questions rather than settled facts throughout the analysis, and are returned to directly in the Limitations.

For each sampled video, the most-liked comments were collected and analyzed using a two-stage procedure adapted from prior encoding/decoding studies of TikTok audience response [24]. In the first, deductive stage, comments were classified according to [15] three interpretive positions: dominant, negotiated, and oppositional, based on whether they reflected uncritical embrace of the trend, an ambivalent or qualified response, or explicit criticism of its commodifying effects. In the second, inductive stage, comments within each position were further coded using thematic analysis [25] to identify recurring patterns in how audiences articulated awareness (or lack thereof) of the dance's pedagogical origin, expressed concern for children's participation, or framed the trend in terms of nostalgia, cultural pride, or entertainment value.

The inductive stage followed Braun and Clarke's six phases in sequence: [1] familiarization, through repeated reading of all 18 comments alongside their source videos;

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[21] initial coding, generating short descriptive labels for each comment independent of its Hall-position classification; [26] theme development, grouping codes into candidate themes within each of the two video categories before comparing across categories; [23] theme review, checking each candidate theme against the full comment set for coherence and against the video evidence for consistency; [5] theme definition and naming, producing the four themes reported in Section 3; and [23] reporting, integrating the thematic account with the deductive Hall-position counts reported in Table 1. Themes were generated first within each of the two video categories and then compared across categories, rather than pooled from the outset, so that the category-level asymmetry reported in Section 3.5 could be identified rather than averaged away. Coding was conducted manually in a structured spreadsheet rather than with dedicated qualitative-analysis software, a choice appropriate to a dataset of this modest size but one that limits the audit-trail features (automated code-frequency counts, query tools) that CAQDAS platforms provide. Because coding was performed by a single analyst, no inter-rater reliability statistic is reported; in partial compensation, coding decisions were logged in a running analytic memo alongside the original comment text, and negative cases, comments that did not fit an emerging theme cleanly, were retained and discussed in the memo rather than dropped, most notably the two punitive-inversion comments discussed in Section 3.3. No second analyst reviewed the coding (peer debriefing), and this absence is acknowledged as a limitation rather than presented as a completed validity check.

A brief reflexivity note is warranted given the single-analyst design: the coding analyst is a researcher based in an Indonesian performing-arts education program with working familiarity with Indonesian-language TikTok discourse and comedic registers, which aids interpretation of colloquial and dialect-inflected comments but also means that judgments about what counts as “critical” versus “playful” commentary reflect one person's reading of that discourse rather than a consensus reading.

Given that the dataset involves content featuring children, ethical handling followed the public-domain/private-data distinction developed for social media research [6]. The videos and comments analyzed here were all publicly posted and remained publicly accessible at the time of analysis, and no attempt was made to access private accounts, direct messages, or non-public engagement data. Within that public-data frame, no individual child's identity is discussed beyond what has already been established in public news coverage, screen names of private commenters are not reproduced verbatim in reporting, and the analysis is directed at patterns of audience commentary rather than evaluation of the child performers themselves. It should be acknowledged plainly that the children shown in the original video, and their parents or school, were not contacted for consent to this secondary academic analysis of publicly circulating content; this reflects common practice for public-data social media research [27] but is nonetheless a limitation specific to research involving minors, discussed further in Section 3.5.

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3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Distribution of Reading Positions Across the Adaptation Trajectory

Table 1. Audience Reading Positions by Video Category
(N = 18 coded comments across 6 videos)

Category	Video	Dominant	Negotiated	Oppositional
1. Pedagogical original (school event)	D (SDN 3 Munggu)	3	0	1
2. Media recontextualization (TV)	A, F	3	3	2
2. Peer/youth adaptation	C	0	2	0
2. Adult/public-figure adaptation	B (Lala Widy)	3	0	0
2. Producer/audio adaptation	E	1	0	0
Total		10	5	3

Dominant readings account for the largest share of coded comments (10 of 18), consistent with the general tendency of viral short-video content to be consumed primarily as entertainment rather than as a text requiring critical engagement. However, the distribution is not uniform across categories: oppositional readings appear only in the pedagogical-original video and its direct media recontextualizations (categories 1 and the TV segments), while the adult/public-figure adaptation (Video B) produced exclusively dominant readings, with none of its four visible comments registering any critical or negotiated engagement with the dance's origin or meaning. This asymmetry forms the central finding of this study and is examined in the following subsections.

3.2 Dominant Reading: Reduction to Aesthetic and Pest Comparison

The most frequent thematic pattern across categories 1 and 2 is the reduction of the dance to a visual joke about physical resemblance to insects or pests, exemplified by comments such as "Lucuuu spray pen with hit" (comparing the choreography to an insecticide advertisement) and "Is the last dance cockroach or not??" (mistaking the ant-themed choreography for a cockroach-themed one). This pattern recurs even in comments on the pedagogical-original video (D), where child performers are shown in a formal school ceremony context, indicating that proximity to the pedagogical setting alone does not guarantee a reading attentive to the dance's original instructional purpose.

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Figure 1. Tari Semut on Tiktok



Figure 2. Tari Semut Trending on Tiktok.

This finding is consistent with the broader pattern documented in TikTok dance scholarship, in which a platform's affordances for rapid, decontextualized circulation tend to strip choreography of the meaning attached to its origin [11]; [12]. It also illustrates [8] proposition that algorithmically governed platforms actively participate in how tradition is transmitted and altered, rather than serving as a neutral conduit: the ant-themed choreography, once viewed through TikTok's comedic and meme-driven vernacular, is read primarily through that vernacular's own conventions (insect jokes, mistaken-identity humor) rather than through the pedagogical frame in which it was staged.

3.3 Negotiated Readings: Contested Authenticity and the Pedagogical-to-Punitive Inversion

Negotiated readings cluster around two distinct sub-themes. The first concerns explicit uncertainty about the dance's status as “traditional,” visible in comments questioning where the dance is from and whether it has an established history. Rather than accepting the dance's framing as an established cultural form, these comments actively question it. This finding complicates the assumption, common in early framings of this research, that Tari Semut represents a long-standing traditional form now undergoing digital transformation. The video evidence itself supports this complication: Video D's banner identifies the performance as part of a school event tied to a specific school's calendar, consistent with

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public reporting that traces the performance to a single school, SD Negeri 3 Munggu in Bali [23], suggesting a locally originated or relatively recent choreography rather than an established folk dance. Read together, the audience uncertainty and the contextual evidence suggest that Tari Semut may be better understood through [9]'s concept of invented tradition, a practice retroactively framed as “traditional” partly through the legitimizing effect of its own media circulation rather than as a pre-existing tradition subsequently commodified by virality.

The second sub-theme, found exclusively in comments on the youth-adaptation video (C), is a striking inversion of the dance's pedagogical function: two comments independently describe having been made to dance as school punishment. Where ant-imitation choreography is conventionally used in early-childhood education to model cooperation and diligence through play, its viral notoriety appears to have enabled a secondary institutional use as a disciplinary tool in secondary schools. Although this pattern rests on only two data points and should be treated as a tentative observation rather than a confirmed trend, it was retained as a negative case rather than folded into a broader theme, and it directly illustrates the commodification dynamic anticipated in the study's framing: the dance's institutional meaning has been not merely diluted but inverted, from a marker of guided, cooperative play to a marker of punishment.

3.4 Oppositional Readings: Explicit Critique of Child Commodification

Although a minority (3 of 18 coded comments), oppositional readings are notable for directly naming the ethical tension at the center of this study. One comment, posted beneath the pedagogical-original video, explicitly frames adult audience laughter as a moral failing given the children's evident sincerity in performing. This comment demonstrates that at least some audience members spontaneously arrive at a reading consistent with scholarly concerns about the “kidfluencer” phenomenon, in which children's ordinary or guided behavior is reframed by audiences as entertainment content valued for its viral appeal rather than its original developmental purpose [8]. A second comment criticizing television broadcasters for amplifying the trend, notably the single highest-engagement comment in the entire dataset, extends this critique from individual viewers to media institutions, suggesting that audience scepticism is directed not only at the commodification of the child performers themselves but at the institutional apparatus that amplifies and monetizes their virality.

3.5 Escalating Commodification Across the Adaptation Trajectory

The most consequential pattern to emerge from this dataset is the near-total absence of critical or negotiated readings in the adult/public-figure adaptation (Video B), contrasted with their consistent, if minority, presence in videos featuring the original child performers. All four visible comments on Video B engage with the performer's physical appearance and delivery rather than the dance's meaning or origin, with one comment ("iki uduk semut tapi angkrang") recasting the ant motif itself as a sexualized pun. Considered alongside the video's own visual content, a change from school-uniform costuming and a communal stage to a form-fitting costume and hotel-lobby setting suggests a trajectory of escalating decontextualization: as the dance moves further from its pedagogical origin and performer

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demographic, audience engagement becomes not merely less critical but actively reoriented toward registers (comedic, aesthetic, sexualized) that leave no discursive space for questions of origin or appropriateness to surface at all.

This trajectory offers a productive point of comparison with [2], analysis of Irish dance virality on TikTok, in which a dance's viral circulation provoked visible, sustained public contestation over authenticity and representation. In the present case, contestation is visible only at the point closest to the dance's original context and diminishes, rather than intensifies, as the dance moves further from it. Read through [17] concept of glocalization, this suggests a boundary condition: circulation does not uniformly generate negotiated hybrid meaning, but can instead produce a steady erosion of the original context's interpretive claims as a cultural form moves through successive, more commercially oriented adaptations. This finding also extends [13] account of Indonesian traditional dance instructors deliberately adapting their pedagogy for TikTok's aesthetic conventions: where that study examined intentional, producer-driven adaptation, the present findings suggest that audience reception of unintentional, virally driven adaptation follows a markedly different and less self-aware trajectory.

Limitations

Beyond the dataset's modest scale, already stated at the outset of Section 2 (18 coded comments across six purposively sampled videos, collected during the trend's early circulation period, coded by a single analyst without formal inter-rater reliability testing), several further limitations bear directly on how these findings should be read. The comments retrieved for each video were TikTok's algorithmically ranked “top” comments rather than a random or chronological sample; because TikTok's comment ranking is known to vary by viewer and to privilege high-engagement content [27], a different sampling window or viewer account could plausibly surface a different comment mix, and the dominant-reading skew reported here should be read with that caveat. Related to this, the ranking algorithm, comment deletion or moderation by creators, and the platform's general instability in comment ordering over time mean the 18 comments analyzed are a snapshot rather than a stable population. The study cannot verify commenters' claims about their own experience (for instance, the punitive-inversion comments in Section 3.3 are taken as reported, not independently confirmed), has no evidence of the trend's monetization pathways, and did not independently verify the dance's history beyond the public reporting cited in Sections 1 and 2. No interviews were conducted with the school, the class teacher, the child performers, their families, or the adult creators who produced adaptation videos; the analysis is accordingly a reading of audience response, not a triangulated account of production intent. The two video categories were not evenly sampled (three videos in the adaptation category against one clearly pedagogical-original video), audience demographic information is unavailable for any commenter, and the Indonesian- and Balinese-inflected comments analyzed here involved translation choices that may not capture every register or connotation in the original text. Finally, because TikTok comments are public but posted by individuals, including apparent minors, who did not consent to academic analysis of their words, the traceability of quoted comments back to identifiable accounts is treated as a standing ethical

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concern rather than a fully resolved one, addressed in Section 2 through the decision not to reproduce screen names.

Practical Implications

For schools and performing-arts educators, these findings point toward specific, evidence-supported measures rather than a general call for caution. Before any public upload of children's performance footage, schools can seek documented parental consent that specifically addresses redistribution beyond the immediate school audience, consistent with guidance on “mindful sharenting” that treats consent and context-setting as an ongoing practice rather than a one-time form [28]. Captions or on-screen text that state the performance's pedagogical purpose and setting, of the kind already present as banner text in the original Tari Semut video, provide a low-cost way of preserving context even after a video leaves the school's control; the present findings suggest this alone will not prevent decontextualized readings but may still register with some portion of the audience, as it appears to have done for the oppositional comments identified in Section 3.4. Schools might also consider policies that anticipate viral redistribution specifically, monitor for unauthorized commercial reuse of school performance footage, protect children's identifying information in captions and tags, and build basic platform-circulation literacy into how staff, students, and parents are briefed before any public-facing recording. None of this implies that a school can fully control how public content circulates once uploaded; the appropriate framing is risk awareness and harm reduction, not containment[6].

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the qualitative analysis of eighteen coded comments across six TikTok videos, this study found that audience readings of Tari Semut's viral circulation were predominantly dominant (10 of 18 comments), most often reducing the dance to a visual joke about resemblance to insects or pests regardless of whether the video showed the original child performers or an adult adaptation. Negotiated and oppositional readings, while a minority, clustered around two distinct concerns: uncertainty about the dance's status as an established “tradition,” and, in one adaptation, an inversion of its pedagogical function from a cooperative classroom exercise into a disciplinary punishment. Critically, oppositional readings that explicitly named the ethical tension of adults consuming children's sincere performance as entertainment, or that criticized media institutions for amplifying the trend, appeared only in videos featuring the original child performers or their direct media recontextualization. The adult, public-figure adaptation examined in this study produced no comparable critical engagement at all, with audience comments instead reorienting entirely toward the performer's appearance, including a sexualized pun on the dance's central motif. Together, these findings indicate that Tari Semut's commodification did not proceed uniformly but intensified as the dance moved further from its pedagogical origin, with each successive adaptation further narrowing the discursive space available for audiences to register questions of origin, appropriateness, or meaning.

These findings carry implications beyond this single case. For performing arts education, they suggest that pedagogical choreography, once shared publicly, is not insulated from recontextualization and possible inversion of its intended function, a risk with direct

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relevance to how schools and educators document and share children's creative work. For scholarship on digital culture, the findings extend kidfluencer commodification literature, previously concerned primarily with individual child social media personalities, to a case involving an entire performance genre, while also suggesting that [20]'s glocalization framework requires qualification: rather than uniformly generating negotiated hybrid meaning, circulation through successive, more commercially oriented adaptations can instead produce a steady erosion of a cultural form's original interpretive claims. Given the modest scale of the dataset analyzed here, detailed in Section 3.5, these conclusions should be treated as an initial mapping of this pattern rather than a definitive account. Future research would benefit from a larger, stratified comment sample with multiple videos sampled within every category; longitudinal observation of the trend rather than a single circulation window; a second coder to establish inter-rater reliability for the deductive Hall-position classification; direct interviews with the school, teacher, child performers (through appropriate guardian consent and ethics review), and adult adaptation creators, in order to situate audience reception alongside production intent; historical research into the choreography's origin beyond public reporting; analysis of monetization and attribution pathways for adaptation videos; and comparison with other school-originated viral performances to establish whether the escalating-commodification pattern identified here is specific to Tari Semut or a more general feature of pedagogical choreography's viral circulation.

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