

**PANTIES, HEARTS AND FOXTROTS: TRANSLATIONS OF POPULAR
SONGS WITHIN THE CROATIAN RECORD INDUSTRY IN THE
INTERWAR PERIOD**

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Abstract

This article brings insight into the production of popular music in the early domestic record industry in Croatia, focusing on the period between the two world wars and on the treatment of foreign songs in local musicians' translation and adaptation. The translators of foreign songs which were produced by the Edison Bell Penkala record company belonged to the Zagreb cabaret scene and their performances of the songs reflected both the western trends as well as their professional image and cultural background. The occurrence of »panties«, »hearts« and »foxtrots« on early Croatian

records point to types of treatment of popular music templates offering different levels of domestication and foreignization within the local popular music production.

Keywords: early record industry; interwar period; popular music translations; cabaret; interwar social dances

Ključne riječi: rana diskografska industrija; međuratno razdoblje; prijevodi popularne glazbe; kabare; međuratni društveni plesovi

Foreign Popular Music in the Early Croatian Record Industry

Domestic record production in Zagreb and the whole of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia rested in the interwar period on the Edison Bell Penkala factory (1927-1936), a local branch of the Edison Bell Corporation and a successor factory, Elektroton (1937-1945).¹

¹ The presented material is a part of the ongoing research project »The Record Industry in Croatia from 1927 to the end of the 1950s«, funded by the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ).

Even though some of the foreign record labels were active in Croatia and Yugoslavia since the early twentieth century (see Gronow and Pennanen in this issue), the emergence of a Zagreb-based factory brought about a distinct focus on local music and musicians as well as the local market. Still, a significant part of the factory's output was devoted to foreign songs, either in translation or in the original language.

Judging from eleven collected sale catalogues, about half of Edison Bell Penkala's production consisted of foreign music, most of which was popular music scattered between different categories such as »dance music«, »foreign music«, »cabaret«, »latest hits«, »songs from sound films« and others.² First of all, part of the foreign music production relied on reissues of the recording matrices from London-based Edison Bell. Such records included a variety of music styles, from military bands, through jazz and salon orchestras to solo instrumental pieces or songs accompanied by instruments which were possibly considered modern or exotic, such as ukulele, saxophone, accordion and xylophone. Many records within this category were instrumental, but some included singing, mostly in English, as well as Italian, German and Dutch. Secondly, aside from reissues, part of the production consisted of Romanian and Hungarian records created by Edison Bell Penkala primarily for the respective markets which, judging from their inclusion in the Yugoslavian market catalogues, were also sold locally.³

The third type of foreign songs were songs performed by local musicians and recorded locally. Aside from classical music repertoire, they mostly belonged to the popular music domain, and were vocal-instrumental songs accompanied by jazz ensembles. The most common singers of such repertoire were affiliated with the Zagreb or Belgrade National theatres and the cabaret scene. The accompanying bands belonged to the developing interwar Zagreb jazz and dance scene, including Rikard Šimaček's, Franjo Vimer's and Schild-Vlahović's orchestra. There is also a great number of records with cabaret repertoire, which might have relied on newly composed songs, but certainly included foreign song translations as well.⁴ For the sung repertoire, there were two modes of publication: the songs

² As a part of the ongoing project, the information on the exact number and percentage of popular music records is still inconclusive. Within the scope of this article, I will focus on the popular music records collected thus far which, presumably, were primarily disseminated either through recording technology (previously recorded songs and dances, music from sound movies), or vernacular theatre productions (cabaret repertoire).

³ *Edison Bell Penkala: Nastavak glavnog kataloga domaćih i stranih ploča, 1935.*

³ Part of the record production is categorised in catalogues as »Turkish music«, but it refers in fact to the *čalgija*-type ensembles recorded in Macedonia.

⁴ Mrduljaš published lyrics of some of the Zagreb cabaret songs, namely Aca Binički's adaptations of three songs originally by Robert Stolz, Jim Cowler and Harry Waldau. The three songs' titles in Binički's translations are: »Molitva malog dečeca« (also recorded by Edison Bell Penkala, catalogue number Z-1060), »Bio sam kod Fride« (recorded by Edison Bell Penkala, catalogue number Z-1286) and »Krava«.

Igor MRDULJAŠ: *Zagrebački kabaret: Slika jednog rubnog kazališta*, Zagreb: Znanje, 1984, 209-213.

were either performed in the original language, or translated into Croatian. The latter mode of adaptation dominates, as far as it can be discerned from the preserved records and catalogues, as well as digitised recordings. The following analysis of the translated popular songs will point out different types of treatment of both the original text and music, highlighting three different topics: »panties« – representing humorous and lascivious songs, »hearts« – representing romantic songs and »foxtrots« – representing foreign popular dances and their presentation and adaptation to the domestic market.

Popular song translations in Edison Bell Penkala production

A translation of a song, as has been agreed by many translation theorists, is a specific process. Its special status is highlighted in Croatian and related languages by the use of the word *prepjev*, literally 're-singing', standing semantically somewhere between »song translation« and »music cover«. Although the term *prepjev* can be interchangeably used with *prijevod* for translations of poetry which stays on paper, according to Iva Grgić Maroević, *prepjev* imposes itself as the most suitable word for translations of sung poetry.⁵ The practice of translating popular songs is particularly complicated as it can »only be understood within wider patterns of social and semiotic relations«, considering »the nonverbal dimensions, i.e. (...) musical and visual elements« through which the meaning is transmitted as much as through verbal texts.⁶ Taking into account the mediated mode of existence of popular music, Klaus Kaindl argues, its »translation is not primarily based on a written text, but has recourse simultaneously to a range of technologies, media, institutions and public discourses«. ⁷ He therefore proposes Lévi-Strauss's concept of bricolage to explain the translation of popular songs, through which »a number of elements, including music, language, vocal style, instrumentation, but also values, ideology, culture, etc., are appropriated from the source culture and mixed with elements from the target culture«. ⁸

The information on the Edison Bell Penkala record labels very rarely reveal if a song is a translation, let alone the names of the song translators. The fact that a song has been translated can be reconstructed from records on which the original

⁵ Iva GRGIĆ MAROEVIĆ: Šansona u prepjevu. Arsen Dedić i talijanski kantautori, in: Iva Grgić Maroević – Sead Muhamedagić (eds.): *Pjev i prepjev: Prevođenje uglazbljene poezije. Zagrebački prevodilački susret 2007.*, Zagreb: Društvo hrvatskih književnih prevodilaca, 2009, 65.

⁶ Klaus KAINDL: The Plurisemiotics of Pop Song Translation: Words, Music, Voice and Image, in: Dinda L. Gorfée (ed.): *Song and Significance. Virtues and Vices of Vocal Translation*, Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2005, 236.

⁷ K. KAINDL: The Plurisemiotics of Pop Song Translation, 242.

⁸ K. KAINDL: The Plurisemiotics of Pop Song Translation, 242.

authors are indicated, through the search for the song's title in other languages,⁹ or through secondary sources, such as sheet music and period press which occasionally published music.¹⁰ So far, we have come across several names of translators and adaptors of foreign popular music within Edison Bell Penkala's and Elektroton's record releases. It seems that the main translators for Edison Bell Penkala were Aleksandar (Aca) Binički and Vlaho Paljetak, who primarily represented the cabaret repertoire. Elektroton's translators included director and screenwriter Norbert Neugebauer, composer Blanka Chudoba, and conductor Božidar Mohaček Delinski.¹¹ The available collected songs that Binički and Paljetak recorded for Edison Bell Penkala, on which the rest of the paper will focus, bear witness to their connections with the interwar cabaret context and the related type of humour, as well as illustrate the types of popular instrumental ensembles in the interwar Zagreb.

Paljetak was one of the main stars of Edison Bell Penkala who moved to Zagreb in 1918 where he worked as a theatre prompter and performed in cabarets. He was one of the most popular performers in Zagreb interwar cabarets, a character to whom the cabaret »owed much of its appeal«,¹² and who recorded about 30 records for Edison Bell Penkala.¹³ Aside from his original songs, most of Paljetak's production relied on foreign song translations and foreign songs in the original language. An exceptional example is Paljetak's rendering of the song »Cara piccina« by Libero Bovio and Gaetano Lama which Paljetak recorded twice for Edison Bell Penkala, in original Italian (catalogue number Z-1114) and in Croatian (Z-

⁹ For the purpose of this article, the databases of the digitised 78 rpm records which were consulted in the search for the original authors of early Croatian records are the database of the National and University Library in Zagreb: <<http://mz.nsk.hr/zbirka78/>>, Discography of American Historical Recordings: <<https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/>>, as well as YouTube and Discogs, where private record collectors diligently attribute their own digitised recordings to their original authors.

¹⁰ The period press, however, could have published its own translations of foreign songs, different from the versions released on records. Such is the case of the translation of »Capinera« produced by Edison Bell Penkala (Z-1411 and ZV-1053) and published in the Christmas album of *Kulisa* magazine in 1928 with different lyrics and musical arrangement. There are, on the other hand, direct connections between several sheet music publishers, such as »Albini« and »Akord«, who collaborated with the record companies and whose foreign song translations match the ones on the records.

***: *Božićni album »Kulise«*, Zagreb: Tisak jugoslovenske štampe, 1928, 18-19.

¹¹ The names of the translators are extracted from the sheet music published by »Albini«, a firm that accompanied the most popular songs from Elektroton's records by providing sheet music. Albini's editions which reveal the names of the mentioned translators are kept at the Library of the Academy of Music in Zagreb.

¹² I. MRDULJAŠ: *Zagrebački kabaret: Slika jednog rubnog kazališta*, 137.

¹³ After Paljetak's death in 1944, Mrduljaš reported that his actor colleagues prepared a wake where they performed his original songs and »Fala« was allegedly played from a record. It is, however, unclear from which record »Fala« could have been played as it seems that, unlike many of Paljetak's other original compositions, »Fala« had not been recorded by either Edison Bell Penkala or Elektroton. The first recording of the song might have been by Jugoton in 1949 (catalogue number J-6047), five years after Paljetak's death.

1056).¹⁴ Aleksandar Binički was a tenor, an actor and director, who was born in Belgrade where he also worked at the National theatre before leaving to study in Munich. During his employment at the Zagreb National theatre between the years 1911 and 1950, he also worked as a cabaret actor, as well as organizer and a proprietor of several cabaret theatres. A logical assumption, given their creative versatility, would be that most of the popular foreign song translations that Binički and Paljetak recorded for Edison Bell Penkala were their own, but there is rarely any confirmation, and the secondary sources can sometimes add to the confusion about the authorship of the songs.¹⁵ However, given that in the realm of popular music the interpreter is the focus of attention and that listeners most often associate the song with its interpreter,¹⁶ the main arguments in this paper will continue to treat the interpreters of the translated songs as their translators, relying on the idea that they would have been perceived as such by the audience of their time.

In the Edison Bell Penkala productions, there are various types of treatment of foreign songs and different approaches to both domestication and foreignization of popular music. In the first type of translation, the song's character and meaning is retained, agreeing with the original song lyrics. The predominating song types are either comical lascivious songs or romantic love songs. The examples of comical and lascivious songs are Aleksandar Binički's rendering of Ralph Benatzky's »Die Hosen der Jungfrau von Orleans«/»The Maid of Orleans' Panties« (»Gaćice djevice orleanske« Z-1226) and Fritz Rotter's and Jim Cowler's »Heut' war ich bei der Frieda«/»Today I was with Frieda« (»Ja bio sam kod Friede« Z-1286) or Vlaho Paljetak's translation of »In einer kleiner Konditorei«/»In a sweet little Confectionery« by Fred Raymond and Ernst Neubach (»Slatki mali konditoraj« SZ-1601). These songs were cabaret couplets, which were »based on the principle of the unexpected and the comical«¹⁷ and they were in line with the cabaret's theatrical license to speak openly about socially and sexually controversial subjects. The named songs provide examples of high fidelity¹⁸ of translation which respects the original text. Whereas the cabaret couplets retained their meaning and atmosphere

¹⁴ See Naila CERIBAŠIĆ: Music as Recording, Music in Culture, and the Study of Early Recording Industry in Ethnomusicology: A take on Edison Bell Penkala, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 52 (2021) 2, 323-354.

¹⁵ For example, the Croatian Biographical Lexicon states that Binički »composed several popular songs recorded by Vlaho Paljetak«. Vesna CVJETKOVIĆ-KURELEC: Binički, Aleksandar, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, online, 1983, <<https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=1980>> (access 10 January 2022).

¹⁶ Thomas TURINO: Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music, *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (1999) 2, 238.

¹⁷ Kristina LUČIĆ ANDRIJANIĆ: *Kozmopolitizam, regionalizam i popularna glazba u Hrvatskoj 1918.-1941*, Master's Thesis, Academy of Music, University of Zagreb, 2011, 76.

¹⁸ Johan FRANZON: Musical Comedy Translation: Fidelity and Format in the Scandinavian *My Fair Lady*, in: Dinda L. Gorrée (ed.): *Song and Significance. Virtues and Vices of Vocal Translation*, Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi, 2005, 266.

in the process of translation, the songs with a serious and romantic textual content could have received two different types of treatment, fidelity or parody.

The examples of romantic type of popular songs which retain their fidelity are »Schöner Gigolo, armer Gigolo«/»Handsome Gigolo, Poor Gigolo« by Leonello Casucci and Julius Brammer (»Lijepi žigolo« SZ-1601), »Ich hab' mein Herz in Heidelberg verloren«/»I lost my Heart in Heidelberg« by Fred Raymond (»U Heidelbergu srce ja izgubih« SZ-1302) or »Capinera« by Americo Giuliani (»Capinera« Z-1411 and ZV-1053), all three in Vlaho Paljetak's translation. The translations of these three songs in Edison Bell Penkala productions respect the original romantic content with subtle undertones of social issues. Still, it should be taken into consideration that the translation »takes place in the process of mediation of which the translator and his product are a part«.¹⁹ As part of that mediation, the song can be used to foreground the cultural and professional background of the interpreter, which can also be accomplished by musical parameters, as will be explained on the example of »Capinera« in the next section.

Within the category of a »parody«, the same popular music favourites as described above could have been textually treated differently. Such are the cases of Vlaho Paljetak's »Redukcija«, a parody of Vincent Yeoman's »Hallelujah« (SZ-1363) as well as Branko Vojvodić's parodies of Fred Raymond's »Heidelberg« (SZ-1568 and SZ-1009) and Mabel Wayne's »Ramona« (SZ-1568). In the first example, »Redukcija«, Paljetak completely changed the lyrics of the originally religious popular song to thematize the emerging global economic crises in a humorous way.²⁰ The second two examples treat the text through a double parodic process: first, instead of translating it into standard Croatian, it uses the *kajkavian* dialect, and second, the protagonist is given a distinctly rural identity, which is enhanced by the use of the dialect (see Halužan in this issue). Vojvodić's parody of »Heidelberg«, which centres on an honest and naïve peasant, distorts the romantic narrative, treating the idea of »losing one's heart« with irony, suggesting that if he travelled to Heidelberg, he would lose neither his heart nor his decency. These parodies agree with both Paljetak's and Vojvodić's cabaret personae.²¹ Although parodies were the main components of cabaret theaters generally, and the musical templates were taken from foreign productions, the »context and meanings which are produced in the process are significantly different by the very fact of geographical otherness«, a most emphatic example of which is the *kajkavian* dialect.²²

¹⁹ K. KAINDL: The Plurisemiotics of Pop Song Translation, 242.

²⁰ Igor MLADINIĆ: Problematika i značenje zvučnih zapisa na zastarjelim medijima između arhiva, knjižnica i muzeja: studija slučaja jedne gramofonske ploče, in: Mirna Willer (ed.): *Arhivi, knjižnice, muzeji: mogućnosti suradnje u okruženju globalne informacijske infrastrukture. Zbornik radova 23. AKM seminara u Poreču od 27. do 29. studenoga 2019.*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzejsko društvo, 2020, 153-173.

²¹ I. MRDULJAŠ: *Zagrebački kabaret: Slika jednog rubnog kazališta*, 125.

²² Krunoslav LUČIĆ: Glazba kao oblik popularne fikcije: Aspekti vokalno-instrumentalne popularne glazbe u Zagrebu između dvaju svjetskih ratova, *Arti musices*, 38 (2007) 1, 136.

Finally, there are a number of comical songs in Edison Bell Penkala's production which hint in their title at a possible foreign origin, but for which I was unable to find an authorial template. Such examples are, among the ones entered in our project's database,²³ Vlaho Paljetak's »Mimi« (Z-1053), »Caramela« (Z-1055), »Naneta« (Z-1294), »Hajdmo na Kubu«/»Let's go to Cuba« (Z-1114), and »Cecilija« (Z-1411). The possibility that these songs are translations is hinted at by the usage of foreign personal names or toponyms in their titles, which connect them to other popular culture phenomena of the time. For example, the song »Naneta« might indicate connection with the very popular musical comedy »No, no, Nanette« from 1925, which was made into a movie in 1930 and 1940. However, the musical template used in Paljetak's songs does not coincide with any of the Vincent Youmans' songs from the musical.²⁴ Likewise, there are a number of popular songs titled »Cecilia« from the 1920s and 1930s, but none of the songs I was able to find seem to be a musical inspiration for Paljetak's version. It is also indicative that the reissued and reinterpreted version of »Hajdmo na Kubu« by a contemporary band »Kraljevi ulice« recognizes Vlaho Paljetak as the author of the lyrics, while classifying music as »traditional«. These and other similar songs might have been borrowed from songs with different titles, or they might have been composed by Paljetak himself, who gave them titles alluding to popular songs, movies and fashionable female names of the time, foreignizing them and making them purposefully cosmopolitan.²⁵ What is characteristic for the latter three songs (»Naneta«, »Cecilija« and »Hajdmo na Kubu«) is that, although they might be dubious regarding their authorship, they certainly underline Paljetak's humorous contribution to early domestic record production, ranging in their treatment of text from double entendre²⁶ through more direct sexual word plays²⁷ to the gibberish and purposeful misuse of foreign words.²⁸

Translating the music arrangement

As was indicated before, the cultural and contextual background of the interpreter of a popular song translation can be reflected through the usage of musical

²³ <<https://repositorij.dief.eu/a/?pc=i&id=108929>>, (access 15 January 2022).

²⁴ This conclusion is based on the soundtrack from the original 1925 musical recorded in 1971 and available on YouTube.

²⁵ Kristina Lučić Andrijačić discovered that in the interwar period »authors often used English as a cosmopolitan component in the title or lyrics of a composition«. K. LUČIĆ ANDRIJANIĆ: Kozmopolitizam, regionalizam i popularna glazba u Hrvatskoj 1918.-1941, 82.

²⁶ »Tvoj slatki bijeli vrat, balkonček prvi kat« (»Naneta«)

²⁷ »Kad smo došli mi na Kubu, ja naštimah svoju trubu, počeh vješto da joj trubim... ja joj kažem gospodična, vi kulturi niste vična, zar ne volite banane?« (»Hajdmo na Kubu«)

²⁸ »Ona mrmlja tad svoju barcarollu, kao da jede gorgonzolu... on izvede tad sjajno, bajno djelo, silni salto mortadello« (»Cecilija«)

parameters. Such an example is Vlaho Paljetak's adaptation of the song »Capinera«. This song is an Italian canzona written by Americo/Amerigo Giuliani (1888-1922) who is the author of both music and lyrics. As far as I could ascertain, it was first recorded and published in 1919/20 by Columbia records where it was performed by Gaetano Luzzaro.²⁹ The title refers to a blackcap bird and it is a metaphor for a homeless girl who is »adopted« by the protagonist of the song. Paljetak recorded this song for Edison Bell Penkala twice, retaining its original narrative. The recording released on the record VZ-1053, bearing the matrix number VZ 3 is probably older, judging from the fact that it appeared in the first EBP catalogue from November 1927.³⁰ The second recording (catalogue number Z-1411, matrix number Z 703), uses the same lyrics, but different arrangement, performance tempi and character. The first version is slower, accompanied only by a guitar, whereas in the second, aside from Paljetak and his guitar, the Schild-Vlahović jazz orchestra plays instrumental interludes and accompanies the refrain. Also, both Croatian versions differ in their musical arrangement from the earlier existing foreign versions.

For example, Luzzaro's interpretation published by Columbia is accompanied by a large orchestral ensemble with symphonic sound and an operatic arrangement. The main feature of the instrumental section in Columbia example is a motif played by a flute which imitates the singing of the *capinera* bird. The second version of the same song, published by Victor and performed by Silvio Gridelli in 1921, begins with the same motif on flute and the accompanying orchestra is employed in a way that highlights the soloist parts in wind instruments.³¹ Its arrangement also never uses the full ensemble but is set through a pairing of the instrumental parts, contouring a delicate and soft atmosphere which is in accord with Gridelli's vocal interpretation.

The difference between the two foreign versions of the song and Paljetak's interpretation with the Schild-Vlahović orchestra is striking. The added instrumental introduction and interludes in Schild-Vlahović's rendering do not use the flute motif or any of the instrumental parts from the above mentioned versions. In all of the other versions, the flute motif had been treated as an integral part of the song, as a *leitmotif* for *capinera*, and I will mention that this was also the case with the reinterpretation of »Capinera« in the 1960s,³² as well as in the printed version of the song published in the »Kulisa« album.³³ The instrumentation of Paljetak's and Schild-Vlahović's version uses only string instruments (two violins and a

²⁹ <<https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/2000111238/85723-Capinera>> (access 15 December 2021).

³⁰ ***: *Edison Bell Penkala: Glavni katalog domaćih i stranih ploča*, Zagreb: Edison Bell Penkala Ltd., 1927, 49.

³¹ <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZmiNNMjwGo>> (access 15 December 2021).

³² In the period of the revival of *canzona* in the 1960s, the song was performed and recorded by Giorgio Consolini and Claudio Villa.

³³ ***: *Božićni album »Kulise«*, 18-19.

violoncello) and a guitar. The motivic material in the instrumental parts of Schild-Vlahović and Paljetak's recording is joyful, rhythmic, and danceable, in complete contrast to the character of Luzzaro's and Gridelli's versions, and it was obviously newly-created for this Zagreb version of »Capinera«. Although the accompanying ensemble is smaller than in Luzzaro's and Gridelli's versions, the instrumental interludes use the full ensemble which gives an impression of a big and festive sound, unlike the intimate and delicate orchestration of the earlier versions. The tempo of Paljetak's version of the song with the Schild-Vlahović orchestra is also faster than in all of the previous versions. The peculiarity of Paljetak's »Capinera« with the Schild-Vlahović's accompaniment comes out of the style of playing which agrees with the cabaret and café tradition to which both Paljetak and the ensemble belonged, and it gives a different atmosphere to this essentially tragic song. The style and the orchestral setup reflect »the image of the singer who has to fulfil certain expectations of his audience« which is one of the reasons, according to Kaindl, why the popular song translations differ from the original.³⁴

Aside from the »image of the singer« and audience expectations, what should be taken into consideration in the case of music arrangements and orchestration is the most popular types of instrumental ensembles in the interwar Zagreb. Those were the smaller-sized salon orchestras and early jazz orchestras which commonly accompanied dance events. The salon orchestras were comprised of strings and a piano, whereas jazz orchestras included a wind section (saxophone, trumpet, trombone) and a drum set.³⁵ The Schild-Vlahović orchestra was one of the interwar salon dance orchestras that performed in cafés, restaurants, radio programmes and cabaret theatres, occasionally appearing on the record labels as a »jazz-orchestra«, since the distinction between the two types of ensembles was not exclusive. Aside from that type of ensemble, other orchestras present on Edison Bell Penkala's records were also military wind bands, which did not normally accompany cabaret repertoire. That is why, for example, Paljetak's recording of Fred Raymond's »I lost my heart in Heidelberg« (SZ-1302), is accompanied again by a salon orchestra, unnamed in this case, with strings and a piano, unlike most of the previously recorded foreign versions, which use a symphonic orchestra highlighting trumpets.³⁶ Therefore, in this case too, the pairing of Paljetak with a typical cabaret-style ensemble had to do with sonic association towards the common context of the interpreter's musical performance.

³⁴ K. KAINDL: *The Plurisemiotics of Pop Song Translation*, 237.

³⁵ Kristina LUČIĆ: *Popularna glazba u Zagrebu između dvaju svjetskih ratova*, *Narodna umjetnost*, 41 (2004) 2, 127.

³⁶ Such examples are record made by Victor, sung by George Gut <https://adp.library.ucsb.edu/index.php/matrix/detail/800011007/BVE-36760-Ich_hab_mein_Herz_in_Heidelberg_verloren>, and a Polish Syrena record where the song is performed by the Henryk Gold Orchestra <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1xMIL_GoHL0> (access 10 January 2022).

The contours of the popular dance culture outlined through the record industry

The Edison Bell Penkala sale catalogue from 1927 announces: »Great novelty! Specialty of Edison Bell! Dance music with the singing of domestic artists«. ³⁷ As with the translations of popular songs, the record industry participated in the mediation of modern popular dances from western countries to other parts of the world. ³⁸ The Edison Bell Penkala company actively participated in these developments on the local interwar dance scene. In 1928, ³⁹ 1929 and 1930, the company organized dance contests. The contests held in Hotel Esplanade in Zagreb included »music accompaniment from an electric gramophone«. ⁴⁰ The Edison Bell Penkala records were apparently also used in dance schools, as indicated in the 1927 sales catalogue. ⁴¹ Also, the records themselves connected music with dancing, as some of the popular songs (either in original languages or in translations) carried information about the dance type in the subtitle, for example foxtrot, slow fox, tango, English Waltz, etc. It was obviously important for people to know which dance steps should be danced to which songs and this knowledge was a matter of social prestige, as can be understood from the columns in *Kulisa* by a certain »Zv. Č.«, who regularly informed or scolded Zagreb dancers about the »proper« ways of dancing. ⁴²

The described instructional discourses about social dancing suggest that a certain music repertoire doesn't necessarily have a designated dance step and that indication of a dance step on a record is not a matter of a neutral and straightforward connection. For example, Margita Dubajić's recording of the songs »Ça c'est Paris« (Z-1016) is subtitled as »one-step«, while other published versions of the songs associate it with foxtrot, two-step or Spanish one-step (paso doble). ⁴³ The »one-step« and »two-step« are essentially forms of foxtrot, representing the simplest basic dance steps, which could have been danced to any music in a two-part measure. The choice of the dance indicated on a record label might have stemmed from the social practices of associated cultural contexts. For example, we could assume that »one-step« was chosen for the Zagreb record as a simpler vari-

³⁷ ***: *Edison Bell Penkala: Glavni katalog domaćih i stranih ploča*, 11.

³⁸ See: Bart BARENDREGT – Peter KEPPY – Henk SCHULTE NORDHOLT: *Oriental Foxtrots and Phonographic Noise, 1910s-1940s*, in: Idem: *Popular Music in Southeast Asia. Banal Beats, Muted Histories*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017, 17-38.

³⁹ I am thankful to Dr Ivana Vesić for the information about the Edison Bell Penkala contests in 1928 in various towns of Yugoslavia.

⁴⁰ ***: *Nagradni plesni natječaj, Kulisa*, V (1930) 2, 15.

⁴¹ ***: *Edison Bell Penkala: Glavni katalog domaćih i stranih ploča*, 10.

⁴² Zv. Č.: *Utjecaj plesnih škola na čovjeka, Kulisa*, 3 (1929) 6, 12.

⁴³ The song is associated with foxtrot and two-step on two different Victor records from 1927, and with Spanish one-step on His Master's Voice and Edison Bell Records.

ant of foxtrot, encouraging dancers of different abilities and knowledge, whereas the dance moves of Spanish one step (paso doble) might have been unfamiliar to the local dancers. At the same time, the indicated dances certainly connected the records with the dance fashion of western countries, representing the same tendency towards cosmopolitanism as expressed in the foreign titles of Vlaho Paljetak's songs. They were proof that the »periphery« kept up with the dance trends of the »centre«.

Conclusion

Three different topics within the popular song translations illustrate three different types of transition between domestication and foreignization. The topic of »panties«, or humorous and lascivious cabaret couplets was usually treated with fidelity, retaining the song's original meaning. Such songs were already a form of satire and they were in line with the rest of the repertoire of cabaret interpreters. The topic of »hearts«, romantic content, might have been treated either with fidelity, or through parodying, which subverted and ridiculed the original content of the song. Aside from the treatment of the lyrics, the changes in the musical parameters of a translated song reveal the locally dominant instrumental ensemble types as well as underline characteristic collaborations stemming from specific performance contexts. Finally, the occurrence of »one-step« and »foxtrot« on record labels point to the transfer of the popular western dances into a local context, which might have slightly varied in different localized editions of the same song. The selection and translation of foreign repertoire shows not only the top-down breach of the Western repertoire of popular music, but also the bottom-up creation of domestic popular music that emulated Croatian, and especially Zagreb musical life of the interwar period.

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*Sažetak*GAĆICE, SRCA I FOKSTROTI – PRIJEVODI POPULARNIH PJESAMA
U HRVATSKOJ DISKOGRFSKOJ INDUSTRIJI
U MEĐURATNOM RAZDOBLJU

Članak donosi uvid u popularnoglazbenu produkciju u ranoj hrvatskoj diskografskoj industriji, fokusirajući se na prijevode stranih popularnih pjesama unutar te produkcije u međuratnom razdoblju. Unutar izdanja zagrebačke diskografske tvrtke Edison Bell Penkala, kao interpreti stranih popularnih pjesama dominiraju kabaretski izvođači, koji se pojavljuju kao daroviti *bricoleuri* prijevoda popularnih pjesama, kombinirajući različite elemente stranih pjesama i plesova, dijelom ih udomaćujući, a dijelom koristeći za kozmopolizaciju domaće glazbene produkcije. Tri različite teme unutar prijevoda popularnih pjesama ilustriraju tri različite vrste tretmana stranih predložaka. Tema »gaćica« ili duhovitih i lascivnih kabaretskih pjesama obično je obrađena vjerno, zadržavajući izvorno značenje pjesme. Tema »srca« ili romantičnog sadržaja mogla je biti obrađena ili vjerno ili parodiranjem. Osim prijevodnih promjena teksta, promjene u glazbenim parametrima prevedene pjesme otkrivaju lokalno dominantne tipove instrumentalnih sastava, kao i karakteristične izvedbene kontekste popularnoglazbenog repertoara. Konačno, pojava naziva *foxtrot* na naljepnicama ploča ukazuje na prijenos popularnih zapadnih društvenih plesova u lokalni kontekst, koji je, koristeći se suptilnim varijantama unutar plesnog repertoara, pokazivao načine pregovaranja tog prijenosa.