

# EAST-WEST TRANSFERS IN POPULAR MUSIC (THREE CASE STUDIES FROM THE YUGOSLAV DISCO REPERTOIRE)

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**Abstract:** *Mostly interpreted and judged using binary patterns, popular music in the former socialist countries was simplistically labelled either as politically conformist, if aligned to the cultural political doctrines, or received as transgressive, when adopting imported models from the “West”. This interpretation grounds on a basic ideological assumption which considers the “East” as official and regressive and the “West” as unofficial and progressive, and makes it therefore rather difficult to reflect on one of the main issues of popular music history, namely the roles of emulation or imitation and originality. By considering the importance of transfer processes between “East” and “West”, this paper deals with three case studies from the former Yugoslav disco repertoire. By combining theories of intertextuality developed in the field of literary studies by Gérard Genette and its reception in popular music studies through Serge Lacasse with Isabelle Marc’s seminal article on musical transfer in popular music, we show some processes of adaptation and transformation of special models of Western music.*

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## RETHINKING THE COLD WAR PARADIGM

The interest in and the academic debate around Eastern European popular music has increased in recent decades, particularly after the fall of the iron curtain. This has led, on the one hand, to the production of several thematic scholarly publications,<sup>1</sup>

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1 See for example the volumes of the series *Jazz under State Socialism* (ed. Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter), <https://www.peterlang.com/series/jazz> (accessed on September 14, 2023); the monographs of David Mac Fadyen on Soviet and Russian Music, <https://www.davidmacfadyen.com/reviews>

and on the other hand, to the publication of books about musical scenes written in Western languages by local insiders.<sup>2</sup> Mostly interpreted and judged by Western scholars adopting the binary pattern of cold war rhetoric, popular music in the former socialist countries was often simplistically labelled either as politically conformist (if aligned with the cultural political doctrines) or transgressive, respectively dissident (when adopting imported models from the “West”).<sup>3</sup> This interpretation not only fails to illuminate all the possible nuances between black and white in the complexity of musical production, reception, and agency, but in its basic ideological assumption (Eastern popular music as official and regressive with popular culture being managed by state institutions and Western popular music as unofficial and progressive), it makes it even more difficult to reflect on some of the main issues of popular music history and theory, namely the roles of intertextuality, emulation, and originality,<sup>4</sup> the importance of cultural transfer,<sup>5</sup> as well as social, cultural, and

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(accessed on January 16, 2024); further: Ewa Mazierska (ed.): *Popular Music in Eastern Europe: Breaking the Cold War Paradigm*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016; Ewa Mazierska and Zsolt Győri (eds.): *Crossing National Borders in Eastern European Popular Music* (= Popular Music History 11/1 [2016]); Ewa Mazierska and Zsolt Győri (eds.): *Eastern European Popular Music in a Transnational Context: Beyond the Borders*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019; Ewa Mazierska and Zsolt Győri (eds.): *Popular Music and the Moving Image in Eastern Europe*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2019; Danijela Š. Beard and Ljerka V. Rasmussen (eds.): *Made in Yugoslavia: Studies in Popular Music*. New York and London: Routledge, 2020; Clemens Günther and Christiane Schäfer (eds.): *Putting the Empire to Music: The Phenomenon of Vocal-Instrumental Ensembles (VIA)* (= Apparatus. Film, Media and Digital Cultures and Eastern Europe 13 [2021]), <https://www.apparatusjournal.net/index.php/apparatus/issue/view/23> (accessed on September 14, 2023); Patryk Galuszka (ed.): *Eastern European Music Industries and Policies after the Fall of Communism: From State Control to Free Market*. London: Routledge, 2021.

- 2 The most famous case is represented by the two books by Artemy Troitsky originally published in English and translated in several Western languages. Artemy Troitsky: *Back in the U.S.S.R.: The True Story of Rock in Russia*. London: Omnibus Press, 1987; Artemy Troitsky: *Tusovka: Who's who in the new Soviet rock culture*. London: Omnibus Press, 1990.
- 3 This interpretation was mainly propagated by the influential books of S. Frederick Starr (*Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union, 1917–1980*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1983), Timothy W. Ryback (*Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), and Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.: *Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1994). For a basic critical confrontation with dualistic patterns of thinking in ethnomusicology and popular music studies see Jocelyne Guibault: “Globalizzazione e localismo”, in: *Enciclopedia della musica: L'unità della musica*, ed. Jean-Jacques Nattiez, Vol. 5. Torino: Einaudi, 2005, pp. 138–156.
- 4 See for example Ralf von Appen and Steffen Peter: “Musik-Recycling. Formen der Intertextualität in populärer Musik am Beispiel von Irving Berlin und KRS-One”, in: *Zwischen Transfer und Transformation: Horizonte der Rezeption von Musik*, ed. Michele Calella and Benedikt Leßmann. Wien: Hollitzer, 2020 (= Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft 51), pp. 193–213.
- 5 See for example Fernand Hörner: “Vom Italowestern zum Hip-Hop: Französisch-italienisch-amerikanischer Musiktransfer und einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen zur Übersetztheit von Kultur”, in: *Lied und populäre Kultur/Song and Popular Culture* 57 (2012), pp. 361–373; Jin-Ah Kim (ed.): *Entgrenzte*

economic negotiations processes.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, in the last few years, numerous researchers have questioned and revised the main historiographic narrative related to the music of those geographic and socio-political contexts: The historian Jonathyne Briggs has convincingly argued how the mechanics of vernacular music and practices of youth cultures in East and West after World War II had a lot of similarities in their methods of functioning, and in attributing signification to the relationships between “high” and “low” culture, even if the political systems held opposing ideologies. In a similar way to the “West”, rock and roll could be imagined in Eastern Europe as part of the society, even as part of the Communist society.<sup>7</sup> Film studies scholar Ewa Mazierska challenged the topoi of cold war interpretation focusing on the important role of transfer culture, of the transnational character and circulation of popular music, and the possibility of non-western influences,<sup>8</sup> showing how “the affective investments into western genres were not exclusively political but involved general aspects of identity formation”<sup>9</sup>, and investigating what was adopted during the transfer and “how it was transformed in the process of cultural translation and reworked at local level”<sup>10</sup>.

Considering the relevance and particularities of transfer processes between East and West, it is appropriate to highlight the independence of Eastern European popular music, as it was a subject for Eastern academic composition<sup>11</sup> and Eastern contemporary jazz,<sup>12</sup> and treat intertextual relationship with music and musical agency from other parts of the world as a matter of academic investigation and not merely as an (imported) ideological and political subtext.<sup>13</sup>

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*Welt? Musik und Kulturtransfer*. Berlin: Ries & Erler, 2014; Isabelle Marc: “Travelling Songs: On Popular Music Transfer and Translation”, in: *IASPM Journal* 5/2 (2015), pp. 3–21.

- 6 See for example Thomas Cushman: *Notes from Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995; Alexei Yurchak: *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006; William Jay Risch (ed.): *Youth and Rock in the Soviet Bloc: Youth Cultures, Music, and the State in Russia and Eastern Europe*. Lexington: Lanham, 2015.
- 7 Jonathyne Briggs: “East of (Teenaged) Eden, or, Is Eastern Youth Culture So Different from the West?”, in: *Youth and Rock in the Soviet Bloc*, pp. 267–284, here p. 281.
- 8 Mazierska and Györi: *Crossing National Borders*, p. 5.
- 9 Ibidem, p. 6.
- 10 Ibidem.
- 11 See for example Michael L. Klein: *Intertextuality in Western Art Music*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- 12 See for example Leo Feigin (ed.): *Russian Jazz: New Identity*. London et al.: Quartet Books Limited, 1985; William Minor: *Unzipped souls: A Jazz Journey through the Soviet Union*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- 13 For further challenging and refuting of the Cold War paradigm, see also Cathleen M. Giustino, Catherine J. Plum, and Alexander Vari (eds.): *Socialist Escapes: Breaking Away from Ideology and Everyday Routine in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013.

In the specific case of disco music and disco culture, the frame of interpretation could be slightly different, since disco was misunderstood as a non-political genre, only rooted in commerce and hedonistic entertainment,<sup>14</sup> not taking into account the importance of this culture for ethnic and sexual minorities and for the working class.<sup>15</sup> This was one of the reasons, in contrast with rock, punk, jazz, and new wave (all of them considered in a certain sense to be subversive genres), leading to the exclusion of disco music from the canon of the Yugoslav underground culture.<sup>16</sup> Disco culture, operating within grey areas and transcending the polarizing definitions of conformist or progressive, official or subcultural, repression or dissent, is another paradigmatic example of challenging the above mentioned binary matrix used for the interpretation of popular culture under socialism.

In this article, we tie to the scholars negotiating the Cold War Paradigm approach. In dealing with three songs from the former Yugoslav disco repertoire, we want to show how special models of Western music have been adopted and how they have been transformed. In doing so, we refer to the theories of intertextuality developed in the field of literary studies by Gérard Genette and its reception in popular music studies through Serge Lacasse,<sup>17</sup> and to an Isabelle Marc's seminal article on musical transfer in popular music.<sup>18</sup>

## INTERTEXTUALITY AND POPULAR MUSIC

Dualistic ways of thinking have to be challenged not only when dealing with popular culture in former socialist countries. Ethnomusicologist and popular music scholar Jocelyne Guibault criticises binary oppositions such as global/local or homogeneity/diversity in general as rigid and unusable categories.<sup>19</sup> Instead, she

14 See Sarah Thornton: *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, p. 210.

15 See Tim Lawrence: "Disco and the Queering of the Dance Floor", in: *Cultural Studies* 25/2 (2011), pp. 230–243.

16 Marko Zubak: "Yugoslav Disco: The Forgotten Sound of Late Socialism", in: *Global Dance Cultures in the 1970s and 1980s: Disco Heterotopias*, ed. Flora Pitrolo and Marko Zubak. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, pp. 195–221, here p. 196.

17 Gérard Genette: *Palimpsestes: La Littérature au second degré*. Paris: Le Seuil, 1982 (the quotes in this article are from the English translation: *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Serge Lacasse: "Intertextuality and Hypertextuality in Recorded Popular Music", in: *The Musical Work. Reality or Invention?*, ed. Michael Talbot. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000, pp. 35–58; Lori Burns and Serge Lacasse (eds.): *The Pop Palimpsest: Intertextuality in Recorded Popular Music*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018.

18 Marc: "Travelling Songs".

19 In turn, Isabelle Marc quotes Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck, who highlight in their edited book *Migrating Music* (London: Routledge, 2011, p. 5) the function of "[t]ranscultural flows in the

emphasizes their entanglement. Globalisation is seen as a moment of circulation, characterizing music that has transcended borders, in terms of ethnicity, nation states, socio-economic groups, religious denominations, or language groupings.<sup>20</sup> As already noted in the case of popular music, one should always consider the importance and linking strategies of the musical economy, but nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that intertextuality and cultural transfer are omnipresent factors in the history of Western (art) music. Artefacts referring to earlier ones, be it by means of quotation, allusion, etc. can be regarded as a common cultural practice: The widely used music history textbook *A History of Western Music* by J. Peter Burkholder et al. is even constructed around this basic principle.<sup>21</sup> Using the words of musicologist Ulrich Konrad one could interpret the narration of music history as a history of composing texts after texts,<sup>22</sup> asking to what extent the reception of the old represented something new.<sup>23</sup>

A critical approach to issues of reception in music history using theories of intertextuality has become much more influential in recent years.<sup>24</sup> The motives behind intertextuality are diverse: Borrowing and referencing can be due to homage, persiflage, one's own historical reflections, and plagiarism, or as a dissociation statement, or for didactic reasons in order to learn from role models. In academic composition, intertextuality between 'works' could be motivated by overcoming compositional problems, connecting to a certain style and expression, playing with musical memories, or seeking to participate in the expressive content of historical

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realm of popular music" as "forms of homogenization" that "impos[e] an arguably Western, or Anglo-American, canon on the rest of the world". However, these transcultural flows "can also be interpreted as part of a much more complex, rhizomatic flux, that reaches not only from the centre to the margins of Western culture, but in every direction". (Marc: "Travelling Songs", p. 4).

20 Guibault: "Globalizzazione e localismo", p. 151.

21 See for example J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca: *A History of Western Music*, Ninth Edition. New York et al.: Norton, 2014, p. xxxi; Burkholder also deals with this issue as historiographic premise in his review of *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pope, in: *Notes* 63/4 (2007), pp. 844–848; and in his article "Changing the Stories we tell: Repertoires, Narratives, Materials, Goals, and Strategies in Teaching Music History", in: *College Music Symposium* 49/50 (2009/2010), pp. 116–128. Significantly, Burkholder even wrote the foreword for Burns and Lacasse: *The Pop Palimpsest*. Here he traces several parallels between strategies of intertextuality in Western classical tradition and popular music.

22 Ulrich Konrad: "Können Notentexte miteinander in Dialog treten? Überlegungen zu Intertextualität und Musikhistoriographie", in: *Zwischen Transfer und Transformation*, ed. Calella and Lessman, pp. 55–82, here p. 81.

23 See also Appen and Steffen: "Musik-Recycling", p. 194.

24 See for example Michele Calella: "Musikhistorische Rezeptionsforschung jenseits der Rezeptionstheorien", in: *Zwischen Transfer und Transformation*, ed. Calella and Lessman, pp. 11–27; and Konrad: "Können Notentexte miteinander in Dialog treten?"

texts through recourse to them.<sup>25</sup> In the case of popular music, intertextuality is not only linked to problems of an aesthetic nature, but also opens up various questions in terms of copyright, economic impulses, calculation,<sup>26</sup> or even artists' personae as "intertexts" that interact with each other and with individual recordings.<sup>27</sup>

Theories of intertextuality help explore concepts of emulation by creating a framework for examining the relationship between two cultural texts. Genette defines intertextuality as "a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts: that is to say, eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another"<sup>28</sup>. By relying on Genette's definition, Lacasse discusses a subset of intertextuality that more accurately describes the emulation of a song: "hypertextuality". He defines it as "the production of a new text (hypertext) from a previous one (hypotext)"<sup>29</sup>. Not merely classifying these texts, the concept of hypertextuality also crafts a framework for examining the ways in which they are listened to, interpreted, and interacted with. Intertextual theories contribute to the exploration of how each artist, through drastic recontextualizations, can create new meanings as well as subvert the dominant paradigms of an original song. Lacasse concludes that the main difference between hypertextual transformation and imitation consists of the former dealing with hypertexts that derive from a specifically given – or sometimes many – hypotexts, whereas imitative practices are not concerned with a specific hypotext.<sup>30</sup> In the process of emulating, the artist, who was once the listener of the hypotext, becomes the author of the hypertext. From this perspective, we can consider that a secondary text in relation to the original one establishes a hypertextual relation with the hypotext whenever it functions as its complement or is endowed with a narrative function itself, with its purpose being the deepening of the meaning of the hypotext with new information. This transgressive act challenges the power dynamics among author, text, and reader or in other words, the original musician, the original song, and the listener of that song. John Fiske examines the power relations between these three entities:<sup>31</sup> In his first

25 Konrad: "Können Notentexte miteinander in Dialog treten?", p. 64.

26 Simon Obert: "'Bittersüße' Zuschreibungen: Autorschaft in populärer Musik zwischen Copyright, ökonomischem Kalkül und ästhetischer Tradition", in: *Wessen Klänge? Über Autorschaft in neuer Musik*, ed. Hermann Danuser and Matthias Kassel. Mainz: Schott, 2017 (= Veröffentlichungen der Paul Sacher Stiftung 2), pp. 135–145, here p. 142.

27 Serge Lacasse: "Toward a Model of Transphonography", in: *The Pop Palimpsest*, ed. Burns and Lacasse, pp. 9–60, here p. 19.

28 Genette: *Palimpsests*, p. 1. *Palimpsests*, p. 1.

29 Lacasse: "Intertextuality and Hypertextuality", p. 40.

30 Ibidem, pp. 43–44.

31 John Fiske: "Television: Polysemy and Popularity", in: *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 3/4 (1986), pp. 391–408, here p. 392.

step, he determines two concrete characteristics about the ambiguities of popular cultural texts: such texts usually represent the dominant ideologies and material social position of society; additionally, they contain a level of ambiguity in which beings lying outside of the dominant social position are able to ascribe interpretations that represent their subjectivity. Subsequently, Fiske argues that the struggle between the dominant paradigm of the text and alternative interpretations reflect the power structures of our society: a society's diverse subcultures are defined only by their relations that are possibly oppositional to the centres of domination, subsequently the multiple meanings of a text that is popular in that specific society can be defined only by their relationship that is possibly oppositional to the dominant ideology as it is structured into that text. The text's structure of meanings can be a miniaturization of the structure of subcultures in society: This means that both exist in a network of power relations, wherein the textual struggle for meaning can be described as the precise equivalent of the social struggle for power. Fiske uses the example of the author-reader relationship to illustrate his idea. While the author, in our case the songwriter, works to create clear meanings in their text and impose them upon their reader, the reader, in our case the creator of a hypertext, can overlay its own meanings, and subvert the dominant paradigm of the (song) text or the song's overall structure. Consequently, the power relationship between text and reader equals the relationship between the dominant and subordinate classes in society. In both instances, authority attempts to enforce itself, but is met with a range of diversely fruitful strategies of resistance or modification that change, challenge, subvert, or reject the authoritatively suggested meanings. Although many scholars critique Fiske for overstressing the reader's agency and the potential for resistance in consumer culture,<sup>32</sup> his notions are acutely relevant to the imitation of songs. The act of emulation with distance, unlike mere covers, tributes, or stylistic interpretations, can consequently be viewed as an approach of resistance against the dominant paradigm of the original song as the one-time listener becomes the author who actively projects new meanings.

Meanwhile, Marc develops a special approach in dealing with issues of intertextuality relating to popular music building on the metaphor of travelling,<sup>33</sup> a meta-

32 See for example Nicholas Garnham: "Political Economy and Cultural Studies: Reconciliation or Divorce", in: *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12 (March 1995), pp. 62–71; Marjorie Ferguson and Peter Golding (eds.): *Cultural Studies in Question*. London: Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997.

33 Marc: "Travelling Songs". The metaphor of the travel and of travelling for the understanding and interpretation of reception and transformation processes in popular music is also crucial in Ewa Mazierska (ed.): *Relocating Popular Music*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015; and in Jace Clayton: *Uproot: Travels in 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Music and Digital Culture*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2016. For the interpretative metaphor of the travel in ethnomusicology see also Bruno Nettl: *The*

phor which also fits for the interpretation of intertextuality in disco music, since this genre “acquired different forms, meanings and functions as it was adopted and re-imagined outside of its Anglophone manifestations”<sup>34</sup>. Marc identifies four main forms of transcultural flow in the context of popular music that are suitable for the translation of the materiality of one specific song and a change from the song’s original meaning. According to Marc these layers include:

a) the cultural reception of an imported song in its original version; b) a musical reprise with completely new lyrics and which bears almost no cultural traces of the original; c) the translation or adaptation of lyrics that, although currently a limited practice, was very popular a few decades ago, and d) the emulation of imported musical styles or genres to different degrees, according to varying musical and cultural strategies.<sup>35</sup>

Marc notes that travelling songs cannot be described as globally uniform; in contrast, they are modified by different contexts of production and reception. By referring to the construct of the “great Anglo-American model” in the context of popular music, Marc sees potential to not only challenge but replace this concept by “that of a rhizomatic, ever-evolving logic of transfers”<sup>36</sup>. Even though Marc doesn’t mention the term “intertextuality”, the process of shaping a text’s meaning by another text is discussed.

We are especially interested in understanding the ‘ontology’ of these intertextual relationships, the dialectic of one’s own and foreign values, and the dynamics of the transformation processes. In the following section, we ask whether in the case of disco and in the case of Yugoslavia, which actually had a more open or better commercially directed roadmap, considering for example the pluralism of its record industry in comparison to those of the other countries of Eastern Europe, special models of Western music have travelled and have been transformed, adapting to a certain ‘zeitgeist’.

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*Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005, p. 113 and Adela Peeva’s 2003 documentary movie *Whose is this song* (<http://www.adelamedia.net/movies/whose-is-this-song.php>, accessed on January 18, 2024).

34 Flora Pitrolo and Marko Zubak: “Introduction: Disco Heterotopias-Other Places, Other Spaces, Other Lives”, in: *Global Dance Cultures in the 1970s and 1980s*, ed. Pitrolo and Zubak, pp. 1–28, here p. 1.

35 Marc: “Travelling Songs”, p. 8.

36 *Ibidem*, p. 13.



## THREE TRAVELLING SONGS IN YUGOSLAV DISCO CULTURE

Music production (independently from its stylistic fields<sup>37</sup> and geographic and cultural areas) is frequently inspired by or borrows from leading musical phenomena of the so called ‘zeitgeist’: In the three examples we discuss in this chapter, this could be the “disco-ish”, a terminology introduced by Marko Zubak as a common denominator to characterise disco music in former Yugoslavia and meaning “crossover tunes that were obviously influenced by strands of Western disco music but often only half-adopted them, blending the disco sound with the musician’s own stylistic background”<sup>38</sup>.

In a recently published book on disco culture and globalization, Flora Pitrolo and Zubak theorized the relevance of “crate digging” as a possible knowledge instrument, and as a scholarly methodology in dealing with disco culture and other musical phenomena.<sup>39</sup> Crate digging is a complex agency: it is a term used by DJs and music collectors to refer to the act of checking record stores, flea markets, or thrift shops for second hand music on vinyl.<sup>40</sup> As a matter of fact we started listening to a set of records found in flea markets. In narrowing the sample regarding its diversity, we decided in a second step to each choose a song by a male and female star as well as a song interpreted by a band. We deliberately decided to exclude *Arian* (PGP RTB – 2120453), one of the most famous disco productions from the former Yugoslavia,<sup>41</sup> from the selection, because his album, although released in Yugoslavia, was recorded in the United States with local studio musicians.<sup>42</sup> The same reasoning led us to exclude another seminal disco production from former Yugoslavia, Boban Petrović’s *Žur* (ZKP RTVL – LD 0722).<sup>43</sup>

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37 On the stylistic field’s concept see Magdalena Fürnkranz and Harald Huber: *Aufführungsrituale der Musik: Zur Konstituierung kultureller Vielfalt am Beispiel Österreich*. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2021, pp. 26–30.

38 Zubak: “Yugoslav Disco”, p. 196.

39 Pitrolo and Zubak: “Introduction”, pp. 12–18.

40 See Gábor Vályi: *Digging in the Crates: Practices of Identity and Belonging in a Translocal Record Collecting Scene*. PhD diss., Goldsmiths, University of London, 2010, online under: <https://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/3421/> (accessed on November 23, 2023).

41 See <https://www.discogs.com/master/1195549-Arian-Arian> (accessed on January 12, 2024).

42 See also Marko Zubak: “‘Absolutely Yours’: Yugoslav Disco Under Late Socialism”, in: *Made in Yugoslavia*, ed. Beard and Rasmussen, pp. 89–98, here p. 91.

43 See <https://www.discogs.com/master/607204-Boban-Petrovi%C4%87-%C5%BDur> (accessed on January 12, 2024). See also Marko Zubak: “Socialist Night Fever: Yugoslav Disco on Film and Television”, in: *Popular Music and the Moving Image in Eastern Europe*, ed. Mazierska and Györi, pp. 139–154, here p. 149.

A key point in the narrative of Yugoslav disco is the summer of 1978, when the German group Boney M. toured through the country, and when John Badham's movie *Saturday Night Fever* had its Yugoslav premier.<sup>44</sup> The music scene reacted to these two events with the creation of spaces for this kind of music, namely discotheques, and above all with intertextual musical work, with their music becoming hypotexts.

The first example of intertextual work we present and investigate is the tune "Jugoslavija"<sup>45</sup> by the Belgrade based Kim Band, a song included into the album *Ne, zaista žurim*. The band led by Macedonian trombone player Kire Mitrev<sup>46</sup>, recorded and mixed the LP in the studios of Radio Beograda between autumn 1979 and winter 1980 and published it on the Radio Label in 1981 (PGP RTB – 2320096).<sup>47</sup>

After a short (14") brass intro over a four on the beat rhythmic pattern, the tune opens with a riff similar to the intro of the song "Stayin' Alive" from *Saturday Night Fever's* opening credits.<sup>48</sup> The way the riff is played is much more subtle, complex and developed than in the hypotext, bringing innovative potential into the hypertext, since Kim Band consisted of trained jazz musicians.<sup>49</sup> The loop could be a reference to the prominent ostinato riff in "Stayin' Alive", and possibly also the use of falsetto in singing the repetition of the word "Jugoslavija" (for example at around 0:34) could be seen as an allusion to the typical Bee Gees' singing technique. Even if the riff returns several times in "Jugoslavija" (from about 0:14, 1:20, 1:30, 2:23, 2:50, 3:23, 3:30, 3:55, 4:05), the opening intertextual allusion to "Stayin' Alive" is very short. With the beginning of the lyrics "Jugoslavija" (at around 0:30), the music shifts, both in terms of melody and harmony, to another hypotext, namely to "Aquarius" from the musical and movie *Hair*.<sup>50</sup> Thus, "Jugoslavija" intertextually alludes to two very famous examples of the time.<sup>51</sup> The time between the releases of the three songs supports this hypothesis, since

44 See Zubak: "Absolutely Yours", p. 91 and Zubak: "Yugoslav Disco", p. 204. The Yugoslav Label PGB RTB licensed the soundtrack in 1978, <https://www.discogs.com/release/979328-VariouS-Saturday-Night-Fever-The-Original-Movie-Sound-Track> (accessed on January 18, 2024); see also Zubak: "Socialist Night Fever", p. 141.

45 Kim Band: "Jugoslavija", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jfiQ8nH4hJ0> (accessed on October 18, 2023).

46 See Kire Mitrev: Artist Website, <http://kiremitrev.com/curriculum-vitae-english/> (accessed on November 23, 2023).

47 KIM Band: *Ne, zaista žurim* Cover, <https://www.discogs.com/master/1141105-KIM-Band-Ne-Zaista-%C5%BDurim> (accessed on November 23, 2023).

48 Bee Gees: "Stayin' Alive" (Official Music Video), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fNFzfWLM72c> (accessed on January 18, 2024).

49 Mitrev for example had a grant for studying at Boston's Berklee School of Music in 1980 and the funky jazzy big band sound is clearly audible in the arrangement of the tune.

50 "Aquarius", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISYwosO04fg> (accessed on January 18, 2024).

51 Remarkably, another tune from the soundtrack of the film *Saturday Night Fever* uses a similar riff. The song in question is Walter Murphy's "A Fifth of Beethoven" from 1976, which nota bene

the two movies had been launched in 1978 and 1979 in Yugoslav cinemas, just two years before the release of the LP. The closeness to the model of *Hair* seems also to have been supported by the paratextual dimension of the LP cover of *Ne, zaista žurim*, where the musicians adopt poses and multicoloured outfits similar to the actors and their clothing in some scenes of the Miloš Forman's movie:



Example 1: KIM Band: *Ne, zaista žurim* Cover<sup>52</sup>

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was released a year before “Stayin’ Alive” (1977). Listen for example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7SzwugqiXc> (accessed on February 16, 2024) at 0:11. This example shows that intertextuality certainly even took place within the same cultural and national context.

52 Source: <https://www.discogs.com/master/1141105-KIM-Band-Ne-Zaista-%C5%BDurim> (accessed on February 16, 2024).

The clothing and hairstyles are multifaceted and point to a certain diversity that prevails in the band. The women wear boots and coats to suit the weather conditions, while the men wear jackets and coats. The women's hairstyles correspond to the classic blow-dry hairstyles of the time, but are not perfectly arranged due to the movement and the outside setting of the photo shoot, rather than in a studio. This may well be intentional and symbolize a form of movement, flow or willingness to change as opposed to the rigid conventions of socialism. Even though the album cover gives the impression that the band is a motley bunch, hierarchical structures are recognisable with the band leader being positioned in the middle, surrounded by his fellow band members. The rather colourful and cheerful arrangement, which can certainly be framed as a Western form of staging, is subverted by the background, which is presumably an open warehouse. The steel of the ceiling and the construction vehicles in the background refer to Yugoslavia as an industrial location, one of the pillars of socialist states. This interplay with Western and socialist values gives the album cover a certain twist that can be interpreted as subversive.



Example 2: Film Still: *Hair* (1979), directed by Miloš Forman (ca. 4:50)<sup>53</sup>

53 Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cb8luHdpR84> (accessed on February 16, 2024).



Example 3: Film Still: *Hair* (1979), directed by Miloš Forman (ca. 2:55)<sup>54</sup>

In the two stills from *Hair*, we see a vivid hustle and bustle of different characters who are dressed colourfully and have different hairstyles. Nevertheless, the film displays anger, worry, and rectitude, related to demands for changing gender roles and identities, and class struggles that are tied to battles amongst cultural hegemonies. The lines of difference range significantly from rich and poor, and traditional and modern, as well as social perceptions of gender differences. With these lines of difference noted, issues of ethnicity and race challenge the duality of traditional and modern, that lead to some sort of rural-urban divide. In contrast to late socialism's industry, the movie *Hair* deals with nature and negates productiveness. Set in the spirit of the hippie counterculture of the Vietnam era, the film introduces various race and class issues of the 1960s and therefore avoids any kind of hierarchy, in contrast to Kim Band's album cover.

54 Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cb8luHdpR84> (accessed on February 16, 2024).

Even the textual dimension of “Jugoslavija”<sup>55</sup>, apart from the same chorus structure in the handling of the repeatedly sung word “Jugoslavija” (the same way the word “Aquarius” is repeated), creates a hypertextual link to *Hair*. Yugoslavia in the late 1970s, the time when the song was produced, was, in the minds of the song’s authors, a land of peace and harmony, a land of openness and collectivity, as stated in the opening of the text (“Jugoslavija/Zemljo moja, zemlja tvoja”). The peculiarities caused by the constellation of “Aquarius”<sup>56</sup> – similar to “Jugoslavija”, the best possible constellation – are parallel, leading to peace, colours, brightness, love, harmony, understanding, etc. By linking the hypotext to the layers of meaning, we can recognise a clear relationship between the utopian dimensions that predominate in both songs.

Turning back to the fundamental issue of transfer between West and East, the travelling of this song is more than representative: Not only was a Czechoslovakian director (Miloš Forman) responsible for the movie in 1979, but a Czechoslovakian band, the Matadors (credited in Germany as “The Broadway Matadors”) were engaged as the backing band for the West German version of the musical in 1968–1969. These recordings were soon thereafter edited and marketed in Yugoslavia in the 1970s.<sup>57</sup>

The second example we discuss, “Normalna Stvar” by Mirzino Jato, is more difficult to read in the frame of negotiating emulation or innovation, since this song seems to be more a kind of translation. The Sarajevo vocal trio Mirzino Jato, the most successful disco band in the former Yugoslavia, tried to translate and set the idea of the German band Boney M. within a new context. Mirza Alijagić, the male frontman of the group, was an opera-trained singer who could vocally emulate the typical bass timbre of the German model. The band adopted a similar habitus to the German model including a male front man and female background singers,<sup>58</sup> a

55 “Jugoslavija/Zemlja moja, zemlja tvoja/Mirno jutro jarkih boja/Jugoslavija/Pesma moja, pesma tvoja/Mora, reka, gora moja!/Moja!/Tvoja!/Moja!” (“Yugoslavia/My country, your country/Peaceful morning of bright colours!/Yugoslavia/My song, your song/The seas, the rivers, the mountains/Mine!/Yours!/Mine!”). Transcription and translation: Olja Januš.

56 “When the moon is in the Seventh House/And Jupiter aligns with Mars/Then peace will guide the planets/And love will steer the stars/This is the dawning of the Age of Aquarius/Harmony and understanding/Sympathy and trust abounding/No more falsehoods or derisions/Golden living dreams of visions/Mystic crystal revelation/And the mind’s true liberation/Aquarius”.

57 The Broadway Matadors *Hair*: “Good Morning Starshine”, <https://www.discogs.com/release/2379229-The-Broadway-Matadors-Su-Kramer-Reddy-Hair-Good-Morning-Starshine> (accessed on January 18, 2024); The Broadway Matadors *Hair*: “Aquarius”, <https://www.discogs.com/release/2377875-The-Broadway-Matadors-Shirley-Thompson-Su-Kramer-Hair-Aquarius> (accessed on January 18, 2024).

58 But differently from Boney M., Mirzino Jato consisted of two singers, namely Zumreta Midžić and Gordana Ivand, instead of three background singers.

raspy lead singer, and misogynist album covers. And most important of all, unlike Boney M., Mirzino Jato sang for real. This desire for translation obviously finds an echo in the musical production. Their most famous song “Absolutno tvoji”, published in 1979 as a 7" vinyl (PGP RTB – S51854) and on the LP *Šećer I Med* (PGB RTB – LP 55-5383),<sup>59</sup> “was the result of a conscious attempt to translate Boney M’s sound”<sup>60</sup>, but at the same time, as in the example already discussed, the attempt to emulate resulted in some sort of individualisation and innovation. The song “Normalna Stvar”<sup>61</sup> is not a cover, but took aspects from the German model to create something new. Mirzino Jato didn’t in fact create “Normalna Stvar” from one single song, but took hypotextual models from Boney M.’s different stylistic features. The drum intro and riff are strongly reminiscent of “Rasputin”, as well as the way the male soloist interacts with the female backing singers. Nevertheless, the concept of travel is not only going in one direction, considering the way the “fictional” group Boney M. dealt in the aforementioned song with stereotypes from Russian music, such as contrapuntal interaction of the voices and exotic instrumental timbres.<sup>62</sup> At the same time different innovations take place: the textual dimension (lyrics) seems more important than in Boney M.’s music, with catchy lyrics written by the prolific Yugoslav pop lyricist Marina Tucakovic.<sup>63</sup>

59 Mirzino Jato: *Normalna Stvar*, <https://www.discogs.com/master/820178-Mirzino-Jato-Normalna-Stvar> (accessed on January 14, 2024); Mirzino Jato: *Šećer I Med* (PGB RTB – LP 55-5383), <https://www.discogs.com/master/706469-Mirzino-Jato-%C5%A0e%C4%87er-I-Med> (accessed on January 22, 2024).

60 Zubak: “Yugoslav Disco”, p. 205.

61 Mirzino Jato: “Normalna Stvar”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8iS3friN4A&t=3s> (accessed on January 22, 2024).

62 See Jeffrey Marsh Wright II: *“Russia’s Greatest Love Machine”: Disco, Exoticism, Subversion*. Master thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007, p. 28: “In ‘Rasputin,’ [producer] Farian eschewed his conventional formula of Caribbean reggae, dance, and Afro-diasporic associations, and instead constructed a set of cultural references that, to the Western ear of his current audience, were Russian. Sonic, visual, and textual markers impart the associations and fit into the cultural and political Western landscape of the late 1970s in a powerful way. In particular, the modal inflections, open contrapuntal interaction of the voices, exotic instrumental timbres, and rich visual images come together to create a musical product that is imbued with a sense of distance and ‘otherness’”. Furthermore, “Rasputin” clearly borrows (quotes) from a Turkish song from the 1950s: see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFwCw1mZd1g> (accessed on February 16, 2024).

63 “Kraj rijeke Lim rodio se sin/Osrednje lijep i osrednje fin/Pijani kum, ko to da zna/Dade mu tad ime Čabrija/U školi je on bio loš/U ljubavi i gori još/Čabrija hej, savjet je naš/Ime promijeni, baksuzno je baš/Danas je normalno to/Što na primjer, ne zoveš se Džo/Normalna stvar, normalna stvar/Strana imena moderna su sad/Vrvi od njih i selo i grad/Strana imena moderna su sad/Normalna stvar, normalna stvar/Kad mogu svi, što ne bi i ti/Uspjeh je tvoji garantovan s tim/Kad mogu svi, što ne bi i ti/Riješio sam ja – reče Čabrija/Puk’o mi je film i svega sam sit/Zašto da svijet spopada smijeh/Mjesto kuma ja, ja da plaćam ceh/U školi sam beskrajno loš/U ljubavi i gori sam još/Iskren je, znam, savjet vam vaš/Promijenit’ ću ime, baksuzno je baš/Danas je normalno to/Što

Meanwhile, “Normalna Stvar” results in a kind of satirical folk tale set in the Socialist presence, as a reflection on tradition and modernity. Using idioms of local folk music and playing with folkloristic stereotypes also shimmer ironically through the song. This is audible from the beginning of the song on, employing an intro and further intermezzi with violin and modality. The drum break (at the beginning, but also from 2:23), however, is similar to the intro of “Rasputin”<sup>64</sup>. Besides, the Boney M. song’s intro includes a synthetic violin melodic line (starting from 0:42). Strong intertextual relation can be found in the coordination of solo singing and the background vocals. In the song “Ma Baker”<sup>65</sup> – incidentally, explicitly constructed by using the Tunisian song “Sidi Mansour”<sup>66</sup> as hypotext – we find similar turns regarding phrasing and the interplay of lead and back vocals. It can therefore be said that stylistic levels from Boney M. are used in a targeted manner. Consequently, the translation works by using stylistic elements that are building up a new context.

Also in this second case study, the iconography of the single’s cover refers to the hypotext. The pose and the outfit (white togas) of the three musicians from Sarajevo echo the staging of the Boney M. members on the cover of the 1978 single *Mary’s Boy Child/Oh My Lord/Dancing in The Streets* (Hansa International – 100075):

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se ne bi’ ja prozvao Džo/O, Čabrija” (‘A son was born near the river Lim/Moderately beautiful and moderately nice/Drunk godfather, who would have known/He named him Čabrija/He was bad at school/In love even worse/Čabrija hey, it’s our advice/Change the name, it’s really bad (jinx)/Today this is normal/Why, for example, your name is not Joe?/Normal thing, normal thing/Foreign names are fashionable now/Both the village and the city are teeming with them/Foreign names are fashionable now/Normal thing, normal thing/When everyone can do it, why wouldn’t you?/Success is yours guaranteed with it/When everyone can do it, why wouldn’t you?/I have decided – said Čabrija/I’m furious and fed up with everything/Why should the world burst out laughing/Instead of godfather, I should pay for the guild/I am extremely bad at school/In love even worse/It is honest, I know, your advice/I’m going to change my name, it’s really bad (jinx)/Today this is normal/Why wouldn’t I call myself Joe/O, Čabrija’). Transcription and translation: Olja Janiuš.

- 64 Boney M.: “Rasputin”, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nl\\_Eo2QzqU4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nl_Eo2QzqU4) (accessed on January 22, 2024).
- 65 Boney M.: “Ma Baker”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f3XcNskAxp0> (accessed on January 22, 2024).
- 66 “Sidi Mansour”, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ISg\\_Q7Ueg8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ISg_Q7Ueg8) (accessed on February 16, 2024).





Example 4: Mirzino Jato: *Normalna Stvar* Cover<sup>67</sup>

67 Source: <https://www.discogs.com/de/release/6867296-Mirzino-Jato-Normalna-Stvar> (accessed on February 16, 2024).



Example 5: Boney M.: “Mary’s Boy Child/Oh My Lord” Cover<sup>68</sup>

In an angelic setting, Mirzina Jato embodies the classic gender stereotyping in pop music genres. The man, as bandleader, stands in the middle, surrounded by the female backing singers. It may seem like just another 1970s disco cover; one whose blatant sexism is undeniable. The album cover can be described as a political statement about the hedonism of disco culture. The female singers represent slaves to overwhelming lust, passion, women that are objectified in mainstream music.<sup>69</sup> The authors want to add, that on the cover of Mirzino Jato’s LP *Šećer I Med* (1979), the three female singers are blurred and therefore visibly eliminated from the band’s

68 Source: <https://www.discogs.com/master/103266-Boney-M-Marys-Boy-Child-Oh-My-Lord/image/SW1hZ2U6NDY1MjYwNTc=> (accessed on February 16, 2024).

69 See also Adriana Sabo’s article in this volume.

artistic output.<sup>70</sup> Putting the male star in the middle, respectively foreground, of the cover, the image generates a dimension of significance, completely different from the cover of Kim Band, where the idea of collectivity and the utopia of equality and unity in and through socialism stood in the centre. In the second case study, we observe – in analogy with the iconography of Boney M. – a constellation of machoism, with the male star in the middle and the female backing vocalists as decorative elements, with disco’s cultural influence reshaping dominant modes of masculinity and representing an uncertain response to the demands of the second wave feminism movement that challenged masculine ideals. The question if the cover of the second LP by Kim Band *Za Kim Zvona Zvone*<sup>71</sup> intertextually alludes to Mirzina Jato (maybe in spite of the great success of the Sarajevo band) – whereby the colourful and dynamic reference to the disco production is missing – or to Boney M. should remain unanswered, but it could be an interesting hypothesis on which to think further.

As our last case study, we present another intertextual relation, this time identifying the hypotext in the typical Georgio Moroder style which one can hear in Donna Summer’s “I feel love” from 1977.<sup>72</sup> One year after Donna Summer’s huge success, Yugoslav pop singer Neda Ukraden recorded the song “Ljubav Me Čudno Dira” (PGP RTB – ALS 52784, 1978).<sup>73</sup> As in the other example discussed, the song departs from a hypotext, but develops itself into an autonomous (and in a certain sense unexpected) tune, by mashing up an estrada-like song and the “I feel love” synth sample. And even in this case, the artist’s pose on the cover of the record refers, more precisely forms a dialogue, with the cover of the hypotext, showing both stars in more or less the same pose and displaying a similar gaze:

70 Mirzino Jato: *Šćer I Med* album cover, <https://www.discogs.com/master/706469-Mirzino-Jato-%C5%A0e%C4%87er-I-Med> (accessed on January 22, 2024).

71 Kim Band: *Za Kim Zvona Zvone* cover, <https://www.discogs.com/release/1223902-KIM-Za-Kim-Zvona-Zvone> (accessed on January 22, 2024).

72 Donna Summer: “I Feel Love”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHfrdQ8h2Pw> (accessed on January 24, 2024).

73 Neda Ukraden: “Ljubav Me Čudno Dira”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6SALw0YU5mY> (accessed on January 24, 2024).



Example 6: Neda Ukraden: “Pisma Ljubavi/Ljubav Me Čudno Dira” Cover<sup>74</sup>

74 Source: <https://www.discogs.com/de/release/11922404-Neda-Ukraden-Pisma-Ljubavi-Ljubav-Me-%C4%8Cudno-Dira> (accessed on February 16, 2024).



Example 7: Donna Summer: *I Remember Yesterday* Cover<sup>75</sup>

75 Source: <https://www.discogs.com/de/master/26565-Donna-Summer-I-Remember-Yesterday> (accessed on February 16, 2024).

While Donna Summer's pose provokes gender stereotypes by wearing colourful make-up and having her hair styled in a certain disco-type look, we can assume that she lies on a bed wearing some sort of negligée, remembering yesterday as reference to the album's title. The back of the album cover<sup>76</sup> depicts Summer wearing a long dress, revealing its bottom part to be the supposed bed linen of the front cover. Her sexualized pose with bare legs spread and red boots corresponds to stereotypes of Black women in pop music. We do not find this interplay with codes and symbols in Neda Ukraden's styling. Although the pose and the gaze on the front cover are similar, Ukraden's make-up looks more like an homage to Marlene Dietrich:



Example 10: Marlene Dietrich in 1933, photographed by Paul Cwojdzinski<sup>77</sup>

76 Donna Summer: *I Remember Yesterday*, Cover backside, <https://www.discogs.com/master/26565-Donna-Summer-I-Remember-Yesterday/image/SW1hZ2U6NTU4MTA3Nw==> (accessed on January 24, 2024).

77 Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 102-14627/CC-BY-SA 3.0, CC BY-SA 3.0 DE>, via *Wikimedia Commons*, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv\\_Bild\\_102-14627,\\_Marlene\\_Dietrich.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_102-14627,_Marlene_Dietrich.jpg) (accessed on October 15, 2024).

It is not the provocative pose, but the mischievous smile that is subverted by the black and red colouring of the cover. The singer represents the female dandy, sporting a tomboy-look, rather than that of the seductive disco diva.

It should further be mentioned – considering the intertextual affinity between the two songs and the ever-present intertextual relationships in popular music – that “I feel love” arises from intertextual work itself.<sup>78</sup> Showing how Giorgio Moroder used an unauthorised rhythmic effect developed by the German composer Eberhard Schoener on the Moog Synthesizer (the so-called Black & Decker effect)<sup>79</sup> as the ground loop of the song, Kiene Brillenburg Wurth introduces the concept of “distributed creativity” as an alternative model to the traditional idea of authorship. In the case of “I feel love”, she highlights the “shift from personal to distributed creativity”<sup>80</sup>, and a paradigmatic shift from invention to transformation (interpreting mutation processes as models of creation).<sup>81</sup> “Ljubav Me Čudno Dira” is part of this network of intertextualities.

In her disco tune, Donna Summer performs the experience of love on a level that transcends the lyrics.<sup>82</sup> She repeats the same few lines (“It’s so good”; “I’m in love”) over and over, singing them with spiritual conviction, while the use of a Moog synthesizer gives the song some sort of futuristic feel. In contrast to Summer’s sensual song, Neda Ukraden narrates a tragic love story in the so-called estrada tradition. The narrator misses her supposed male partner, is searching for him and longs for him even at night, when the city comes alive, a clear reference to disco culture. This mixture of disco sound and the lyrics, which are more reminiscent of a love song, marks the special relationship between the hypo- and the hypertext.<sup>83</sup>

78 Kiene Brillenburg Wurth: “‘I Feel Love’. Music Mutation in the electronic age”, in: *Material Cultures of Music Notation: New Perspectives on Musical Inscription*, ed. Floris Schuiling and Emily Payne. London: Routledge, 2022, pp. 195–207.

79 See <http://www.mig-music.de/releases/schoener-eberhard-5/> (accessed on January 14, 2024).

80 Brillenburg Wurth: “‘I Feel Love’”, p. 195.

81 Ibidem, p. 196.

82 “Ooh, it’s so good, it’s so good/It’s so good, it’s so good, it’s so good/Ooh, heaven knows, heaven knows/Heaven knows, heaven knows, heaven knows/Ooh, I feel love, I feel love/I feel love, I feel love, I feel love/I feel love/I feel love/Ooh, fallin’ free, fallin’ free/Fallin’ free, fallin’ free, fallin’ free/Ooh, you and me, you and me/You and me, you and me, you and me/Ooh, I feel love, I feel love/I feel love, I feel love, I feel love/I feel love/I feel love/I feel love/I feel love.../You might also like/Ooh, I’ll get you, I’ll get you/I’ll get you, I’ll get you, I’ll get you/Ooh, what you do, what you do/What you do, what you do, what you do/Ooh, I feel love, I feel love/I feel love, I feel love, I feel love/I feel love.../”

83 “Čim otvorim oči/Prije no što lice umijem ja/I prije no što ustanu svi/Ja pomislim gdje si ti/Dok šetam po gradu/I izloge posmatram ja/Zaželim da ti silno čujem glas/I da ti se javim u isti čas/Nije fer, nije fer, nije fer/Nije fer, nije fer, nije fer/Što me ljubav čudno dira/Što mi ljubav ne da mira/Nije fer/Čim otvorim vrata/I umorna uđem u svoj stan/Ja ti se javim u isti čas/Da budem s tobom i ovaj dan/A noć kad se spusti/I nekuda žurno izlaze svi/I kad oživi cio grad/O tebi sanjam,

## 'FADING OUT'

In the last chapter, we showed through three case studies that intertextual (inter-phonographical) relations take place on several levels. Accordingly, this marks the aspect of innovation, also taking place in the above examples on several levels using different strategies. Referring to Burkholder, it is fascinating “to trace what one song draws from another and how each person – artist or producer, musician or consumer – uses old threads to weave new meanings”<sup>84</sup>. We conclude our chapter with a summary of what kind of takeovers and transformations and what new levels of meaning could be read and interpreted in the case studies presented in the previous section, and put them again in the context of the chosen methodological frameworks.

Turning back to the methodological premises presented in the first and second section, we may now assume that our examples have dealt with issues of reception, but certainly not with plagiarism. At the same time, we could not find any political issues relating to a cold war dynamic. Alluding to Western models is not a matter of dissent, but something more complex. Besides the gender politics, traditional gender stereotypes that were perpetuated but also subverted in the analysed examples, it was Kim Band’s “Jugoslavija” that challenged national politics. The song describes Yugoslavia as a peaceful country for everyone, with metaphors celebrating the country’s rich nature by combining it with disco music. “Jugoslavija” intertextually alludes to “Stayin’ Alive” and “Aquarius” by adding a certain national twist in its lyrics and therefore characterizing Yugoslavia’s individuality in the disco era.

Working with the theoretical suggestions taken from the texts of Lacasse and Marc, we could recognise phonographic and extraphonographic relationships between hypo- and hypertexts: we identified phonographic relations in the sense of relations between recordings (in our cases it concerned mostly hyperphonographical relations, referring to “a phonogram that derives from a previous phonogram (hypophonogram) following a process of formal and/or thematic transformation”<sup>85</sup>);

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čak i tad/Nije fer, nije fer, nije fer” (‘As soon as I open my eyes/Before I wash my face/And before everyone gets up/I think where are you?/While walking around the town/And I look at the shop windows/I really want to hear your voice/And to call you at the same time/It’s not fair, it’s not fair, it’s not fair/It’s not fair, it’s not fair, it’s not fair, it’s not fair/That love touches me strangely/That love does not give me peace/It’s not fair/As soon as I open the door/And tired I enter my apartment/I will call you at the same time/To be with you this day as well/And when the night descends/And everyone is hurrying out somewhere/And when the whole city comes alive/I dream about you, even then/It’s not fair, it’s not fair, it’s not fair’). Transcription and translation: Olja Janiuš.

84 J. Peter Burkholder: “Foreword: The Intertextual Network”, in: *The Pop Palimpsest*, ed. Burns and Lacasse, pp. v–xviii, here p. xviii.

85 Lacasse: “Toward a Model of Transphonography”, p. 18.



but we could also recognise extraphonographic relations between “phonograms and their surrounding material”<sup>86</sup>. It is necessary to distinguish between quotations and allusions, the first being a “piece of a source text that has been pasted into a host text”; the second “an excerpt of a text that refers to a source text more or less explicitly”<sup>87</sup>.

In the three analysed examples, quoting is taking place at an indirect level: the “Saturday Night Fever”-riff, the “I Feel Love”-synthetic groove and different quotes from Boney M.’s repertoire are recognisable, but not declared in the hyper-texts in any way as quotes. They seem to be more part of a common vocabulary, which has been – by using Marc’s terminology – “cannibalized”<sup>88</sup> and used as pre-text for transformation and innovative expression.

These strategies could also be interpreted as what Lacasse identifies as “archiphonography”, namely “the most abstract and implicit of the transcendent categories, the relationship of inclusion linking each text to the various kinds of discourse of which it is a representative”<sup>89</sup>. As a musical discourse, archiphonography could be seen as a stylistic umbrella term, namely as different manifestations of the previously mentioned idea of “disco-ish”.<sup>90</sup> In the case studies, intertextuality in this sense would be generally manifested in the manipulation of conventions and codes of the genre. Their breaking as well as the introduction of new elements (the estrada, the ethnographic, the big band jazz sound) are on the one hand specific innovative moments in the songs, but are on the other hand also targeted and intentional strategies for playing with the conventions of the genre to create new nuances of meanings. In this context, it is also fruitful to challenge the concept of fidelity. Marc observes how “music transfers imply a devouring of the other, the original, that is both violating, even destroying, it and honouring it”<sup>91</sup>. Using the metaphor of cannibalism for musical appropriation and calling this a “cannibalistic approach”, an active act for both respecting and transgressing the models, Marc explains,

why it seems so difficult to perceive isomorphism in global popular music as something more than just a limited, superficial resemblance. Isomorphism means sameness. However, as we have seen, in musical transfers, sameness is just apparent, even in direct imports where the materiality of the song, especially its lyrics and its instrumentation, stays unaltered. At stake here is the concept of fidelity,

86 Ibidem, p. 43.

87 Ibidem, p. 26. See also ibidem, p. 10 and David Metzger: *Quotation and Cultural Meaning in Twentieth-Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 6.

88 Marc: “Travelling Songs”, p. 13.

89 Lacasse: “Toward a Model of Transphonography”, p. 11.

90 See ibidem, pp. 16–17.

91 Marc: “Travelling Songs”, p. 13.

central and much discussed in translation studies, yet questionable and indeed questioned and [...] inadequate in the case of musical transfer.<sup>92</sup>

Marc further points out that

music changes, often dramatically, when transferred from one culture to another, generating specific soundscapes in each culture. Its significance changes because the heteroglot social, historical and aesthetic conditions to which it was originally linked would have changed too.<sup>93</sup>

In the case of emulation, intertextual references can be regarded as an intended focus on reception and follow a certain motivation. They are an offer for decryption that the reader can or cannot utilize depending on their level of knowledge. As part of reception and interpretation, hypotexts are both transformed and alienated. We can assume that most of the disco dancers were familiar with the hypotexts and were therefore able to make certain associations with elements of Western pop culture. But it is precisely this interplay with lyrics that have a completely different meaning, that are embedded in other linguistic contexts, but are accompanied by melodies that are familiar from Western contexts, to perhaps produce a feeling of national unity (while still generating nostalgia in post-socialist contexts),<sup>94</sup> and contribute to the analysed songs' success.

One finds related strategies in addressing other kinds of genres and repertoires. Sabrina Ramet comes to similar conclusions in dealing with Yugoslav rock music, stating that emulation of models is newly contextualized emphasising elements of "yugoslavness". These can vary, being references to folk music, as can the importance of the lyrics and the insertion of unexpected blends.<sup>95</sup>

Accordingly, we demonstrated that the importance of paratextual (paraphonographical) relationships<sup>96</sup> between hypo- and hypertexts deals with the images on the covers and the way the artists are presented on them. As Lacasse notices, "[p]aratextual elements [...] play a crucial role in the mediation of the work to the public"<sup>97</sup>. In our case, paratextual dimensions are visible on the LP cover of Kim Band's *Ne, zaista žurim*, where the musicians adopt poses and outfits similar

92 Ibidem.

93 Ibidem, p. 15.

94 See also Tanja Petrović's article in this volume.

95 Sabrina P. Ramet: "Shake, Rattle, and Self-Management: Rock Music and Politics in Socialist Yugoslavia, and After", in: *Kazaaam! Splat! Ploof! The American Impact on European Popular Culture since 1945*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet and Gordana P. Crnković. Lanham et al.: Rowmann & Littlefield, 2003, pp. 173–197, here pp. 174–175.

96 See Lacasse: "Toward a Model of Transphonography", p. 10–11, here p. 31.

97 Ibidem, p. 32.

to Miloš Forman's *Hair*, in Mirzino Jato's staging of the band using elements of the (misogynist) album covers of Boney M., such as similar outfits, namely white togas or poses, that objectify female singers or the pose of Neda Ukraden on the "Pisma Ljubavi/Ljubav Me Čudno Dira" cover that resembles Donna Summer's pose on the *I Remember Yesterday* cover.

Translation, adaption, importation, fake, reformulation, absorption, imitation, inflection, inspiration, aspiration, assimilation, globalization; all these terms are used by Marc arguing that the idea of the "great Anglo-American model" in the realm of popular music must be challenged and replaced by that of a rhizomatic, ever-evolving logic of transfers.<sup>98</sup> Why should it work differently when considering dialogue between East and West? Only because of the different political contexts? Maybe the emphasis on the ideological perspective (even in the sense of ideological conflict) has always diverted the gaze, because it has seemed the simplest explanation. The fact that the East-West dialog in particular would prove to be a fertile ground for emulation processes has generally been ignored by researchers. Western hypotexts formed a basis, or at least part of a basis, for Eastern hypertexts that were in turn emulated at various levels. Similarly, in the case of disco music, intertextuality is something omnipresent, not only affecting "musicking" processes in former socialist countries. In a recently published anthology dedicated to worldwide disco cultures in the 1970s and 1980s, the authors

shed light on disco's global journey between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s, investigating the whys and hows of its evolution across ideological, social, political, economical and linguistic contexts other to the one in which it originated [..., exploring] how disco acquired different forms, meanings and functions as it was adopted and re-imagined outside of its Anglophone manifestations<sup>99</sup>.

In describing these mutations, the authors use terms like "translations, adaptations, importations, fakes, reformulations, absorptions, imitations, inflections, inspirations, aspirations, assimilations, globalisations"<sup>100</sup> – all concepts which can be subsumed in the theoretical and methodological frames of "Intertextuality and Hypertextuality" and "Travelling Songs" we have adopted and developed as tools for analysing processes of transfer in the presented case studies.

98 Marc: "Travelling Songs", p. 13.

99 Pitrolo and Zubak: "Introduction", p. 1.

100 Ibidem, p. 9.

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