

LOCAL LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN THE AGE OF GLOBALISATION: THE EXAMPLE OF CREMONESE DIALECT*

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Abstract. *During the 19th and 20th centuries, European countries based their language policies on the principle *lingua instrumentum regni* (“language is the instrument of political control”), born with the French Revolution. As a direct consequence, the numerous local languages and dialects spoken in Europe have considerably lost ground in favour of national languages. However, in the last few decades the approach to linguistic diversity has changed contextually to the strengthening of the globalised dimension of society, so that nowadays states recognise regional and minority languages in addition to the national ones. But dialects are not legally recognised nor are regarded as languages. I deal with the Cremonese dialect, analyse briefly linguistic studies and literature, and conclude by advancing a proposal for its safeguard. As any other idiom, Cremonese dialect should be preserved for reasons of linguistic rights and cultural diversity.*

Keywords: *local languages, globalisation, language policy, Cremonese dialect, relationship national language-dialects, linguistic rights, cultural differences.*

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אַ שפּראַך איז אַ דיאַלעקט מיט אַן אַרמיי און פֿלאָט

(“A language is a dialect with an army and a navy”)

Max Weinreich¹

Introduction

Until the fall of the Berlin Wall, the approach to language policies in Western Europe had been dominated by the idea (deriving from the French Revolution) that the culture of a state is the culture of all the inhabitants of the state and that the (one) culture must be spread by one language; this situation can be summed up by the motto *lingua instrumentum regni*, “language is the instrument of political control.”² Then we have assisted to the partial overcoming of the traditional concept of nation-state, whose direct consequence has been a greater attention paid to minority languages, as testified by the drawing up of the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* and the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, two documents demonstrating that linguistic diversity is perceived as an important value.³

However, the topic of the numerous dialects spoken in Europe remains mostly overlooked. In this regard, Italy presents an interesting situation, being characterized by a very wide dialectal variety. I focus on the Cremonese dialect, analysing briefly the linguistic studies related to it and its literature, and I offer a proposal for its safeguarding, supporting the idea that dialects should be preserved as well as languages.

1. Languages and Dialects

Max Weinreich’s aforementioned motto is maybe a little provocative, however it underlines that the difference between languages and dialects is not linguistic, being based on the (perceived) power of a language within society: actually languages and dialects are not different at the level of internal linguistics. As affirmed by Claude Hagège,⁴ languages do not differ in what they can express, but only in the way they have to express: “*Les langues diffèrent non par ce qu’elles **peuvent** ou non exprimer, mais par ce qu’elles **obligent** ou non à dire.*” (italics and bold by the author).

1 Weinreich, M. Der yivo un di problemen fun undzer tsayt. *YIVO Bleter*. 1945, 25(1): 3–18, p. 13 [interactive]. [accessed on 28-03-2012]. <<http://hebrewbooks.org/pdfpager.aspx?req=43629&pgnum=1>>.

2 Dell’Aquila, V.; Iannàcaro, G. *La pianificazione linguistica. Lingue, società e istituzioni*. Roma: Carocci, 2004, p. 29–37.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 44–51.

4 Hagège, C. *L’homme de paroles. Contribution linguistique aux sciences humaines*. New edition. Paris: Fayard, 1996, p. 53.

Anyone thinking of language impoverishment usually refers to the growing importance of English all over the world and its spread at the expense of the other languages, a fact falling within the current process of linguistic homogenisation due to globalisation. But language impoverishment is not just a contemporary phenomenon, since it has been caused firstly by the processes of nation-building following the French Revolution. As Stig Hjarvard⁵ asserts, “linguistic homogenisation is not only a consequence of global imperial domination; the process of *nation-building* has also contributed. Frequently, the creation of nation-states has involved the adoption of a single national language, whereupon education and cultural expressions in other dialects and languages within the national frontiers have ceased. Not infrequently, use of subordinate languages and dialects has been forbidden or subject to political sanctions.” This point of view is presented e.g. by Robert Phillipson,⁶ who writes that “linguistic imperialism was manifestly a feature of the way nation-states privileged one language, and often sought actively to eradicate others, forcing their speakers to shift to the dominant language.” Also economic and political interests helped create this situation, because “among the principal perpetrators of this linguistic (and cultural) genocide are formal education and mass media, and behind them are economic and political actors on a macro-level”.⁷

Nowadays the situation has partially changed under the pressure of globalisation, and states have lost power in favour of supranational and local entities: after the fall of the Berlin Wall, in the ex-USSR countries there has been a revival of nationalism, while in the Western European countries movements for regionalisation have spread. Though such movements have mainly reproduced at the local level the nation-state model, they have still helped focus the attention on multiculturalism and multilingualism.⁸

An important role is played by information technologies, which can potentially lead both to a global linguistic homogenisation and to the safeguard of local linguistic differences. In fact, on the one hand the WWW offers more possibilities than traditional print publications to regional and minority languages (even if the websites dedicated to these languages too often are restricted to some cultural and symbolic aspects⁹); on the other hand, today’s situation favours large languages and first of all English,¹⁰

5 Hjarvard, S. The Globalisation of Language. How the Media Contribute to the Spread of English and the Emergence of Medialects. *Nordicom Review*. 2004, 1–2: 75–97, p. 77 [interactive]. [accessed on 18-04-2012]. <http://www.nordicom.gu.se/common/publ_pdf/157_075-098.pdf>.

6 Phillipson, R. Language Policy and Linguistic Imperialism. In: Phillipson, R. (ed.). *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*. New York; London: Routledge, 2009, p. 54–71, at p. 57.

7 Skutnabb-Kangas, T.; Phillipson, R., cited in Hjarvard, S., *supra* note 5, p. 77.

8 Dell’Aquila, V.; Iannàccaro, G., *supra* note 2, p. 44–47.

9 Wright, S. Regional or Minority Languages on the WWW. *Journal of Language and Politics*. 2006, 5(2): 189–216, p. 213.

10 Paolillo, J. C. How Much Multilingualism? Language Diversity on the Internet. In: Danet, B.; Herring, S. C. (eds.). *The Multilingual Internet. Language, Culture, and Communication Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 408–430, at p. 425.

because “the economics of Internet technology development and use disfavors linguistic diversity.”¹¹

In order to understand the appropriate value of both national and local languages, contemporary society should change the traditional approach to linguistic problems, which for about two centuries has been inspired by the nation-state model (born with the French Revolution), since the founding principles of this model imply the instrumental use of language policy for the legitimisation of the state.

2. Outline of the Italian Linguistic Situation

Italian language policy is regulated by a law dating back to 1999, “Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche” (i.e. “rules on protection of historical linguistic minorities”).¹² It establishes that Italian is the official language of the Republic, recognising at the same time twelve other languages: Albanian, Catalan, Croatian, Franco-Provençal, French, Friulian, Germanic, Greek, Ladin, Occitan, Sardinian, Slovene. But dialects do not have a legal status, nor are they considered as languages.

The relation between dialects and Italian is characterized by a general situation of *dilalia*: Italian is used in the “higher” fields as well as in the “lower” ones, while dialects are used only in the lower fields.¹³ Today Italian dialects are suffering, as shown by Gaetano Berruto,¹⁴ who underlines that the influence of Italian is strong at the lexical and phonological levels, whereas it is weaker at the morpho-syntactical. By discussing the language contact between Italian and dialects, he points out four different phenomena:¹⁵

- 1) “dialectalisation of Italian” (“situations in which the influence of the dialects on the national language among essentially dialect-speaking people leads to the formation of varieties or variants marked by dialect interference”; as a result we have “popular Italian”);
- 2) “italianisation of dialect” (which implies “the formation of dialect varieties or variants marked by Italian interference”);
- 3) “koineisation” (i.e. “the formation of regional or sub-regional dialect varieties”);
- 4) “hybridisation” (when “hybrid lexical forms are constructed from surface materials and the morphological rules of the two systems”).

11 Paolillo, J. C., *supra* note 10, p. 426.

12 Law 482/99 [interactive]. Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche [accessed on 18-06-2012]. <<http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/99482l.htm>>.

13 See e.g. Dell’Aquila, V.; Iannàccaro, G., *supra* note 2, p. 171 and 180–182.

14 Berruto, G. Dialect/Standard Convergence, Mixing, and Models of Language Contact: the Case of Italy. In: Auer, P.; Kerswill, P.; Hinskens, F. (eds.). *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 81–95.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 83–89.

Although over the decades dialects have been reducing their usages, so that by the point of view of linguistic vitality many Italian dialects are nowadays endangered,¹⁶ there have been signals which are to a certain extent encouraging. Between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s the number of people who admitted to alternate Italian and dialect increased,¹⁷ and dialects have held the new function of expressive resource, not only in the Internet and in new media, but also in music, comics and advertising.¹⁸ In general the decrease of dialect has slowed down, especially inside the family, and it has been reassessed by young people: the reason is that dialects are no more socially sanctioned than before.¹⁹

Today's linguistic situation is the result of the way in which language issues were faced in the 19th and 20th centuries. In Italy the interest in dialects was raised in the 19th century: contextually to the development of the national consciousness, in several Italian cities dialectal dictionaries were published, but the basic objective was to make Italian words understandable and not to safeguard dialects. An emblematic example of the aversion to dialects is the book by the Piedmontese nobleman Ferdinando Dal Pozzo (1768-1843), containing an appendix entitled “Piano di un’associazione per tutta Italia avente per oggetto la diffusione della pura lingua italiana, e la contemporanea soppressione de’ dialetti che si parlano ne’ varj paesi della penisola” (i.e. “Plan of an association throughout Italy, aimed at spreading the pure Italian language, and the simultaneous suppression of the dialects spoken in the various towns of the peninsula”).²⁰ He hoped that Italy would have got at least linguistic unification, since in his opinion the political one was extremely difficult to carry out.²¹ In order to achieve this purpose, a “Central Association” should have been founded, together with corresponding companies rooted in the territory so as to replace dialects with the only Italian language,²² although the main effort should have been made by governments, able to easily eradicate dialects by influencing education (public and private), worship, corporations, administration, and by favouring those who speak a “high” variant of language.²³

16 Carli, A. Per un aggiornamento del concetto di *vitalità linguistica*. In: *Demetrio Skubic octogenario*, 2. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta Univerze, 2009, p. 27–39 or *Linguistica*. 2009, 49: 27–39, at p. 29 [interactive]. [accessed on 31-08-2012]. <<http://www.ff.uni-lj.si/fakulteta/ZalozbaInKnjigarna/Zaloznistvo/KatalogPublikacij/Linguistica/linguistica2009.pdf>>.

17 Trifone, P.; Picchiorri, E. *Lingua e dialetto in mezzo secolo di indagini statistiche*. In: Marcato, G. (ed.). *L'Italia dei dialetti. Atti del convegno, Sappad/Plod (Belluno), 27 giugno-1 luglio 2007*. Padova: Unipress, 2008, p. 17–28, at p. 18.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

20 Dal Pozzo, F. *Della felicità che gl'italiani possono e debbono dal governo austriaco procacciarsi*. Paris: A. B. Cherbuliez librajo, 1833, p. 171–181 [interactive]. [accessed on 18-04-2012]. <<http://books.google.it/books?id=OqMeVZw-LhMC&pg=PP7&dq=%E2%80%A2%09Ferdinando+Dal+Pozzo.+1833.+Della+felicita%C3%A0+che+gl%E2%80%99italiani+possono+e+debbono+dal+governo+austriaco+procacciarsi&hl=it&sa=X&ei=lbWOT-rqFI3jtQbR75GcCQ&ved=0CD0Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false>>.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 172f.

After the unification of Italy, two opposing schools of thought were involved in the discussion about the relationship between Italian and dialects: some were so strongly against dialects that they wanted to eradicate them, while others believed that Italian and dialects could coexist, since dialects were the depositaries of the local ethos, able to enrich the national culture.²⁴ The orientation of Italian language policy was aimed at spreading the pure Florentine spoken language, but it was carried out only partially, both because its implementation was difficult (given the situation of Italian school and society) and because this idea was not shared by all the people.²⁵ Tullio De Mauro writes that the reasons which have led to Italianisation are domestic migrations (different speakers of different languages used Italian to better understand each other), television and schooling.²⁶ In particular, he points out the indifference (and sometimes the opposition) of school and universities to dialects, criticising this view and showing that actually Italian language and dialects do not exclude each other.²⁷ This view is confirmed by the case of Norway, where for a long time schools have not taught one oral standard, since pupils have used the language spoken at home, teachers respecting this dialectal variety.²⁸

The rooted prejudice that the knowledge of a dialect vitiates the mastery of Italian has no scientific basis. I would mention the recent work by Mari D'Agostino,²⁹ who points out that, according to a research conducted by the *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement* in 31 countries between 1990 and 1992 for measuring the literacy level, in Italy children (from 9 to 14 years old) speaking both Italian and their own dialect obtained the best results. This evidence coincides with the belief of Graziadio Isaia Ascoli,³⁰ who underlined (a few years after the unification of Italy) how much erroneous was the belief that to teach children the dialect as L1 and Italian as L2 is detrimental, while actually bilingualism is a privileged condition.

One could say that Italian language, born as the “common” language of Italian people, has been perceived for a long time as the “unique” language in Italy.

3. Studies on Cremonese Dialect and Literature

Cremonese dialect belongs to Gallo-Italian dialects, spoken in the Western and Central parts of Northern Italy; as well as the vast majority of Italian dialects, it does not derive from Italian language, but from Latin.³¹ It has to be understood primarily as the dialect of the city of Cremona and it should not be confused with the dialects of the

24 De Mauro, T. *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita*. Roma: Laterza, 1983, p. 88–89.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 46–50.

26 De Mauro, T. Italiano o dialetto: non è un aut aut. *Micromega*. 1996(5): 101–110, p. 105f.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 106–110.

28 Dell'Aquila, V.; Iannàccaro, G., *supra* note 2, p. 124–126.

29 D'Agostino, M. *Sociolinguistica dell'Italia contemporanea*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007, p. 212.

30 Ascoli, G. I. Proemio. *Archivio glottologico italiano*. 1873, 1: v–xli, p. xxviii.

31 See e.g. Dell'Aquila, V.; Iannàccaro, G., *supra* note 2, p. 13.

same province, characterized by significant differences.³² The Cremonese dialect has an interesting and remarkable history both in linguistic studies and literary works, as evident by the following outlines.

The first two persons who realized (meagre) collections of dialectal words were Andrea Vercelli and Vincenzo Lancetti, in the first part of the 19th century,³³ but the first dictionary was published in 1847 by Angelo Peri,³⁴ and in 1880 Carlo Fumagalli published an abridged and revised version of Peri's dictionary.³⁵ The interest on Cremonese dialect revived in the 1960s: in 1962 there was the foundation of the *Comitato promotore di studi e ricerche di dialettologia, storia e folklore cremonese*, a committee devoted to the promotion of the studies in the fields of dialectology, history and folklore, presided by the philologist Angelo Monteverdi (who was also president of the prestigious *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*),³⁶ which gave a solid scientific profile to dialectal research. Orthographical problems were faced by Romano Oneda,³⁷ who proposed new criteria; as far as vowels, I would mention the fact that previously they were inspired by French orthography: /u/, /y/ and /ø/ were written respectively *ou*, *u* and *eu*, while now *u*, *ü* and *ö*. These remarks were followed in the edition of the *Dizionario*³⁸ (the preface of which was by Luigi Heilmann³⁹) and by the etymological dictionary published some years later.⁴⁰

Table. Examples of orthography

Dizionario	Peri	IPA	English translation
<i>culùur</i> (p. 70)	<i>coulour</i> (p. 146f.)	/ku'lu:r/	colour
<i>fiùur</i> (p. 108)	<i>fiour</i> (p. 220)	/fju:r/	flower
<i>fòm</i> (p. 109f.)	<i>feumm</i> (p. 211)	/føm/	smoke
<i>giüstàa</i> (p. 128)	<i>giustaa</i> (p. 259f.)	/dʒy'sta:/	to repair
<i>lòi</i> (p. 171)	<i>leùj</i> (p. 309)	/løj/	July
<i>ünich</i> (p. 374)	<i>unich</i> (p. 650)	/ʹynik/	unique

- 32 Taglietti, G. *Esplorazione nell'area dei dialetti della provincia di Cremona*. Cremona: Amministrazione Provinciale, 1988.
- 33 Lancetti, V.; Vercelli, A. *Il dizionario del dialetto cremonese di Vincenzo Lancetti e il torso del gran turco di A. Vercelli*, edited by Faré, P. A. Cremona: s.n., 1968.
- 34 Peri, A. *Vocabolario cremonese italiano*. Cremona: Tipografia Feraboli, 1847.
- 35 Fumagalli, C. *Il nuovo Peri. Vocabolario manuale cremonese-italiano compilato specialmente ad uso delle scuole e del popolo*. Cremona: Tipografia degl'interessi cremonesi, 1880.
- 36 Taglietti, G., *supra* note 32, p. 71.
- 37 See e.g. Oneda, R. Note sul sistema di trascrizione. In: *Strenna dell'ADAFa per l'anno 1963*. Cremona: Tipografia Artigiana, 1963, p. 21–25.
- 38 Comitato promotore di studi e ricerche di dialettologia, storia e folklore cremonese. *Dizionario del dialetto cremonese*. Preface by Heilmann, L.; dialectological introduction and linguistic revision by Oneda, R. Cremona: Libreria del Convegno, 1976.
- 39 See Astori, D. Heilmann e Cremona. Un ricordo a cent'anni dalla nascita. *Atti del sodalizio glottologico milanese*. 2011, 6 N.S.: 280–283.
- 40 Taglietti, G.; Taglietti, A. *Dizionario etimologico del dialetto cremonese*. Cremona: Libreria del Convegno, 1994.

In regard to grammar, Giorgio Rossini's⁴¹ book deals with those morphological and syntactical aspects characterizing the Cremonese dialect in relation both to Italian and to neighbouring dialects, analysing in depth the use of pronouns and verbs. It is a bit different from the book by Riccardo Magri,⁴² which is divided into three volumes: in the first one he explains the criteria of the graphematic system established in the 1960s, dwells on morphology and offers a basic knowledge of syntax, the second one is a dictionary Italian-Cremonese and the third one a dictionary Cremonese-Italian.

As far as literature, its history goes back through the centuries, up to the 13th century, when three noticeable poets lived: Uguccione da Lodi, who wrote a religious poem employing a meter similar to that of French *chansons de geste*, Girardo Patecchio and Ugo da Persico. Their poetry was in vernacular and drew inspiration from a certain Provençal tradition and from the apocalyptic scriptural tradition.⁴³

To the 18th century dates back the oldest surviving comedy, *La sposa Berta* (i.e. "The Bride Called Berta"), involving common people and regarding a thwarted marriage. It is written both in the dialect of the city and in the one of the countryside, and one character employs a mixed language consisting of Italian and macaronic Latin.⁴⁴

An overview on the remarkable poetic production from its birth (in the 1860s) to the 1960s is given by Mario Muner.⁴⁵ Apart from the more recent poets, particularly relevant is the production of three poets who lived between the 19th and the 20th century: Melchiorre Bellini (1841-1917), Giovanni Lonati (1852-1920) and Alfredo Pernice (1871-1944). Bellini's poetry,⁴⁶ at first inspired by patriotism, was later characterized by lyrical moments of natural flavour, by humour and hedonism; he distinguished himself as a sensitive poet, who mocked powerful people and felt pity for the weak. Lonati⁴⁷ was not interested in the historical and cultural issues of a period, but he took inspiration from everyday life in order to investigate the meaning of life, choosing common people and daily facts as primary subjects. Pernice⁴⁸ focused on everyday city life, on women in various stages of life and on the phenomenology of love; his attention to the countryside and nature led Gian Luca Barbieri⁴⁹ to speak about "a sort of philosophical ecology." Also the critical production regarding literature is noticeable: there are critical editions of Bellini and Pernice, and also stylistic studies about the comic and tragic in dialectal poetry⁵⁰ and the metaphor in dialectal expressions.⁵¹

41 Rossini, G. *Capitoli di morfologia e sintassi del dialetto cremonese*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1975.

42 Magri, R. *Dialetto cremonese di città e dei paesi*, 1-3. Cremona: Turrus, 1995.

43 Dotti, U. *Storia della letteratura italiana*. Roma: Carocci, 2007, p. 31-32.

44 Nolli, A. M. *La sposa Berta*. Critical edition and commentary by Barbieri, G. L. Cremona: Linograf, 1999.

45 Muner, M. *Cento e un anno di poesia Cremonese (1866-1967)*. Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1969.

46 Bellini, M. *Poesie in dialetto cremonese (1865-1914)*. Critical edition by Taglietti, G., preface by Heilmann, L. Cremona: Libreria del Convegno, 1987.

47 Lonati, G. *Gazaboi. Poesie in dialetto cremonese*. 7th edition. Cremona: Cremonabooks, 2004.

48 Pernice, A. *Poesie in dialetto cremonese*. Critical edition by Barbieri, G. L. Cremona: Linograf, 1996.

49 *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

50 Barbieri, G. L. Il comico e il tragico nella poesia in dialetto. In: *Strenna dell'ADAFa per l'anno 1993*. Cremona: Turrus, 1992, p. 141-152.

51 Davini Petracco, B. S. La metafora dialettale. In: *Strenna dell'ADAFa per l'anno 2006*. Cremona: ADAFA, 2007, p. 61-82.

Other two literary genres fall within the field of the most typical popular literature: proverbs and tales. In relation to the first ones, I would mention the collections by Paolo Brianzi⁵² and Luciano Dacquati,⁵³ which count respectively more than 1400 and more than 3000 proverbs. In regard to the second ones, the saga of the “sly doggie” should be noticed: the study by Agostino Melega⁵⁴ takes into account not only the Cremonese tale, but also the variants of neighbouring areas and, through the exegetical analysis, highlights its historical roots, related to the fable tradition of the Nordic fox.

The attention on Cremonese dialect has taken advantage of the work carried out by various people over the years. The association *Gruppo dialettale cremonese El Zàch*, founded in 1973,⁵⁵ is aimed at preserving and spreading the Cremonese dialect, takes an active part in publishing books (anthologies, monographs and a periodical), plays songs in dialect and provides consulting. Another Cremonese cultural association, *ADAFa (Amici dell’Arte – Famiglia Artistica)*, gives place to dialectal studies in the series of its publications. In parallel, local newspapers have paid attention to dialects, keeping alive on them the interest of a large audience.

4. A Proposal for the Preservation of Cremonese Dialect

Cremonese dialect can coexist together with the national language within the context of *dilalia* characterizing most of Italian linguistic situation; its preservation falls within the perspective of linguistic ecology, which is perceived as more and more important.⁵⁶

On the basis of the model by Federico Gobbo,⁵⁷ who suggests for the EU an ecological trilingualism articulated on three levels and inspired by Indian linguistic situation (close to the EU’s in relation to speakers and linguistic diversity), I would propose the following model, which is referred to Cremona, but may fit for other Italian and European contexts. It implies:

- 1) a *vehicular language* (to be defined) at the supranational level;
- 2) a *national language* (Italian) at the national level;
- 3) a *local language* (Cremonese dialect) together with a *national language* (Italian) at the local level.

52 Brianzi, P. *Proverbi cremonesi di campagna e di città*. 2nd edition. Cremona: Comitato promotore di studi e ricerche di dialettologia storia e folklore cremonese, 1981.

53 Dacquati, L. *La Sapiènsa de Cremùna. Oltre 3000 proverbi raccolti e commentati per conoscere meglio la civiltà della nostra gente*. Cremona: La Provincia, quotidiano di Cremona e Crema, 2010.

54 Melega, A. Le radici storiche della fiaba della ‘furba cagnolina’. In: *Strenna dell’ADAFa per l’anno 2000*. Cremona: ADAFA, 1999, p. 95–106.

55 Taglietti, G., *supra* note 32, p. 72.

56 See e.g. Iannàccaro, G. Ecologia linguistica: ha senso parlarne? In: *Atti della giornata di studi del 25 novembre 2008 a Firenze dedicata al tema: “2008: Anno Internazionale delle Lingue Diritti Umani e Diritti Linguistici”*. Pisa: Edistudio, 2010, p. 23–38 or *Multilinguismo e società*. 2010, p. 23–38.

57 Gobbo, F. *Fondamenti di interlinguistica ed esperantologia. Pianificazione linguistica e lingue pianificate*. Milano: Cortina, 2009, p. 59.

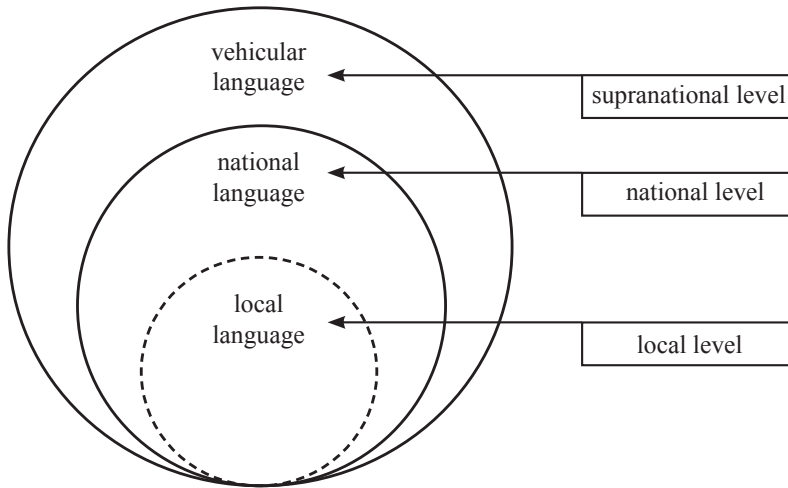


Figure. Representation of the model

The preservation of the Cremonese dialect would benefit from the carrying out of a dialectal corpus including all publications and materials related to it. This aim should be achieved through collaboration among speakers, dialect experts and academics, and it would require planning consisting of three steps.

Step 1. To collect and set in order everything that has been produced in the linguistic field as well as in the literary one, taking into account written, oral and video sources.

Step 2. To study thoroughly grammar and vocabulary: to focus on the morphosyntactic aspects typical of the dialect and on those terms and expressions which tend to disappear, since they belong to the cultural background of those crafts and activities that today are rare. This should lead to the edition of an even more complete dictionary (Cremonese-Italian and Italian-Cremonese) and of a comprehensive grammar. At the same time, literary works should be published in a coherent way.

Step 3. To favour the availability of both linguistic studies and literary production to speakers and people interested in dialect, also thanks to the informatic tools: versions of grammars, dictionaries and literary works (poems, dramatic pieces, tales, popular songs, proverbs) should be uploaded to the Internet.

Conclusions

The idea that a language has to be preserved only if having a legal status or an official value should be overcome, together with the concept *lingua instrumentum regni*: as a consequence, dialects should be safeguarded as much as possible. On the one hand, they should be preserved according to linguistic rights. “Linguistic human rights can be regarded as having *both* dimensions, one primarily *individual*, another primarily *collective*. The first involve *continuity* from one generation to the next over time. It

is therefore a linguistic human right to acquire the cultural heritage of the preceding generations, initially in primary socialization in the family and close community. The second involves *cooperation* between individuals, binding together a group, a people, a population of a country, through sharing the languages and cultures of all”.⁵⁸ On the other hand, any dialect has an immeasurable cultural value, not just because dialectal literature contains a cultural identity that no translation can adequately render, but above all because every language has his own *Weltanschauung*, which can be appreciated in the light of the “Whorfianism of the third kind,” the theory referring to Benjamin Lee Whorf “as a neo-Herderian champion [...] of a multilingual, multicultural, world in which “little people” and “little languages” would not only be respected but valued”,⁵⁹ and asserting that each language system follows and shows the interests of the speakers, so that the most relevant cultural concepts are reflected in the lexicon of the language.⁶⁰ “Like Herder he [i.e. ‘Whorf’] believes that the world’s little languages and peoples are a treasure trove of wisdom and refinement. Only if this human treasure is valued and shared can biases be set aside and a genuine (rather than a self-serving imperialistic) universal perspective be attained”.⁶¹

Not infrequently common opinion associates dialects to parochialism, to the rejection of the external world and of the otherness, but in the contemporary times, a period in which society increasingly flattens any differences, dialects represent a defence for cultural diversity (and consequently for the exchange of ideas), because cultures are closely related to languages. And from linguistic poverty can just derive poverty of thought.

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VIETINĖS KALBOS IR KULTŪRŲ SKIRTUMAI GLOBALIZACIJOS AMŽIUJE: KREMONOS DIALEKTO PAVYZDYS

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Santrauka. XIX ir XX amžiuose Europos šalių kalbų politika kilo iš *lingua instrumentum regni* („kalba – politinės kontrolės instrumentas“) principo, kuriuo vadovautasi Prancūzijos revoliucijos laikotarpiu. Dėl šios priežasties daugybės vietinių kalbų ir dialektų, paplitusių Europoje, pozicijos labai sumenko ir užleido vietą nacionalinėms kalboms. Tačiau pastaraisiais dešimtmečiais, susidarius naujam kontekstui ir formuojant stiprią globalią visuomenės dimensiją, požiūris į lingvistinę įvairovę pasikeitė, valstybės dabar jau pripažįsta šalia valstybinės kalbos gyvuojančias regionines ir mažumų kalbas. Tačiau dialektų teisiškai

vis dar nepripažįstama ir jie nelaikomi kalbomis. Aš rašau apie Kremonos dialektą, trumpai analizuoju lingvistinius tyrimus ir literatūrą ir pabaigoje pateikiu rekomendacijas, kaip išsaugoti dialektą. Kaip ir kiekvienas kitas savitumas, Kremonos dialektas turi lingvistinę ir kultūrinę teisę būti išsaugotas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: vietinės kalbos, globalizacija, kalbų politika, Kremonos dialektas, valstybinės kalbos ir dialekto ryšiai, lingvistinė teisė, kultūrų įvairovė.

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