

# HOW SICILY MADE ITS SWEET SYMBOLS: GLOCAL IDENTITY AND FOOD

DARIO MANGANO  
*University of Palermo (Italy)*  
*dario.mangano@unipa.it*

*Abstract:* Food is an effective symbol capable of strongly evoking a cultural identity. In the case of Sicily, this role is mainly played by pastry, and in particular by two sweets: *cannolo* (the singular of *cannoli*) and *cassata*. But how does it happen that just these two preparations, rather than others, take on this value? What are their meanings and what determines them? Are *cannolo* and *cassata* the expression of a remote and spontaneous tradition as we generally like to believe? Semiotic analysis not only leads us to understand the complexity of these two pieces of a gastronomy, but also to reflect on the whole notion of symbol, rethinking its limits and possibilities.

*Keywords:* semiotics, food, cannoli, symbol, meaning.

## PROLOGUE

“Leave the gun. And take the cannoli”. It is Richie Castellano as Peter Clemenza who utters these words in one of the most iconic scenes from *The Godfather* (1972), Francis Ford Coppola’s famous Mafia movie. Along with an accomplice, Clemenza has just killed a man on Don Vito Corleone’s orders and is about to leave the car in which the murder took place. It is in that precise moment that he remembers the promise he made to his wife that very morning and orders his henchman to take the small white box in which, in the United States, this Sicilian sweet is usually sold. According to Coppola himself, interviewed on the occasion of the restoration of the film, the reference to cannoli was not present in the original script, but was added shortly before shooting following an intuition of Sarah Vowell, one of the screenwriters. The idea, Vowell explains, was to use food as a powerful reference to the family, to its Sicilian origins, but also to its everyday life, a normality in which

ISSN 2283-7949  
GLOCALISM: JOURNAL OF CULTURE, POLITICS AND INNOVATION  
2020, 3, DOI: 10.12893/gjcp.2020.3.10  
Published online by “Globus et Locus” at <https://glocalismjournal.org>



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guns and affections could coexist with no apparent problems. The cannolo, the director explains, also has an autobiographical value since every Sunday his father used to bring home this sweet. A tradition that might seem like a memory of Sicily, if it weren't for the fact that Francis Ford's grandfather came to America from Basilicata. Anyway, it is not a big issue, as everybody knows, in the myths of origins what really matters is not the origin but the way it manages to shape an identity. In a Mafia movie as in life, what is important is to offer an effective imagery. A capacity that the cannolo demonstrates to possess, to the point of becoming, in *The Godfather* as well as in several other occasions, a true and proper symbol of Sicilian culture.

So here we are in front of an interesting case for anyone concerned with the relationship between food and identity. A gastronomic object originating from a small island in the Mediterranean Sea that manages to cross its borders and spread throughout the world without ever losing its recognizability, the reference to the culture from which it comes and not even its name, however strange it may sound in other languages. All this while being able to adapt itself to the tastes of the people who have made it their own. Something that the usual, naive search on Google confirms, showing thousands cannoli each one different from the other for ingredients and procedures. And even though it is impossible to think that a cannolo prepared in Palermo is even similar to an American or Swedish one, all these versions have something in common. As in the myths studied by Lévi-Strauss, the more evident is the betrayal of each translation the clearer is the presence of a common structure, a profound dimension to which we cannot but attribute this extraordinary effectiveness.

What we are going to do in this paper, then, is to use cannoli to reflect on symbols, on what they are but above all on how they are constructed, thinking about that "symbolic mode" that has always been the cornerstone of any semiotic discourse, but also the starting point of any discourse on cultural identity.



## SYMBOL

The concept of symbol has always been very controversial for the science that studies the processes of signification, at the same time too rich in determinations by the common sense and too inconsistent from a formal point of view. For the common sense, a symbol has the same nature of a sign, that of a signifier that refers to its signified, but – and here comes the aporia – something special happens in the symbol. The meaning is not only evoked, made recognizable and therefore understood by someone, it is presentified to the point that the symbol ends up acquiring some properties of what it addresses. Let's think about a very common symbol like a flag. In itself it is a piece of cloth, a colored rag of no value, suitable for waving on a flag-pole as well as for removing dust from a piece of furniture. And yet this sign that indicates a nation because of certain colors and certain shapes ends up doing much more than calling to mind that country, to the point that burning a flag is often considered a crime. A reaction that confirms that sort of mysticism that accompanies the history of symbols.

From a formal point of view, the phenomenal evidence of the use of symbols is not easy to explain because, after all, it is not possible to foresee for the symbol a model different from that of sign. Like the latter, also the former is constituted by two faces or two planes in reciprocal presupposition. What, if anything, changes is the relation that binds them, which instead of being arbitrary as happens in common language, in the case of symbol becomes motivated. But this motivation, in most cases, would not be of a logical-empirical nature – the flag is not a symbol because of certain sensitive qualities or a peculiar way of linking expression and content – but of a metaphysical one – the flag, as well as the cross or a coat of arms, recalls that meaning for reasons that are not, so to speak, internal to it as a sign (“the symbol is a ray that comes from the depths of being and thought” wrote a theorist of romanticism such as Georg Friedrich Hegel, cited in Volli 2004).

It would be impossible here to go into detail about all the hypotheses that have been advanced on the functioning of the



symbol, from Jung to Hjelmslev passing through Peirce, Douglas, Cassirer, Lacan, Todorov, Goethe, Freud, Ricœur, Derrida and the list could go on and on. Eco, who summarizes these approaches, says of the symbolic mode that “there is actualization of the symbolic mode when, through a process of invention, a textual element which could be interpreted as a mere imprint, or a replica, or a stylization is produced. But it can also be identified, by a sudden process of recognition, as the projection, by ration *difficilis*, of a content nebula” (Eco 1981: 162). Invention and recognition... in other words, the symbol would be a normal sign to which in a given historical moment is applied a further sense that acts backwards, making people forget its arbitrary origin in favor of a “natural” one. A theory that has the merit of explaining why symbols occasionally lose this added sense, as happens for example to sacred images, especially when they are taken out of churches and hung on the walls of museums (Volli 2004).

A gastronomic example may be that of pizza and pasta that, at a certain moment, acquired the role of symbols of Italian gastronomy to the point of being perceived as fetishes of taste (which is both gastronomic thought and aesthetic sensibility) of this country. Everybody forgot not only how recent was their invention but also that they were just two of the several possible elements of an enormously more complex system. According to Eco, the symbol would therefore be “everything and nothing” and he adds “Insomma non si sa cosa sia”, that has been translated in English simply with “What a shame” while in a more literal translation should sound as “In short, we do not know what it is” (Eco 1981: 131), hence the tendency of semiotics to leave the word to the common language, in the (implicit) belief that, after all, it does not indicate anything that the theory does not come to other ways. A symbolic use of the word symbol in a way, only declined in the negative: the (symbolic) nature of the symbol would always be that of being nothing more than a sign which is recognized a certain value within a cultural organization.

It is at this point that the entirely empirical concept of “symbolic efficacy” becomes important with its stubborn concreteness. Lévi-Strauss (1958) coined the expression to describe



a precise phenomenon, the one he had observed in the Amerindian tribe of the Kuna, in which a shaman was able to alleviate the pain of a woman giving birth simply through his singing. It was the language, according to the anthropologist, to have such a thaumaturgic property, since the ritual articulated the narration of a supernatural journey in which adverse forces of pain were defeated. In short, we were witnessing a psychological manipulation similar to that theorized by Freud, finding a ground of comparison between two cultural systems enormously different. The only detail that Lévi-Strauss himself does not mention is that the woman did not know the meaning of those words at all, since such knowledge was precisely the prerogative of the shaman (Severi 2005; Marrone 2005). In short, the symbol acts effectively even when it is not understood. The most reasonable explanation of such an efficacy, outside that of magical thinking of course, would be that of the so-called “placebo effect” resulting from the belief that the placebo is actually a powerful remedy (Vulli 2004). However, the fact is that the parturient does not know what the shaman is saying and therefore, apart from believing in the fact that he is setting things right with the evil spirits that cause her pain, she cannot articulate any specific thoughts about what he is saying. What remains then is the chant, and therefore its rhythm, the sound of the voice, the warbles that the priest emits, but also the objects that he carries with him or the gestures he makes. Things that we can consider as the signifier of the language in question, which evidently acts apart from any conscious attribution of meaning (Marrone 2005). In the idea of symbol that derives from the phenomenon of symbolic efficacy, in short, the importance of the material component of the sign is being emphasized. This point, with respect to food symbols we are dealing with seems of particular interest. The time has come to see what a cannolo looks like.

## THE CANNOLO

A Cannolo is a cylinder made of a very crispy wafer (a fried dough made with flour, lard, red wine and very little sugar), filled with a cream obtained by crushing the soft ricotta cheese





Fig. 1. *Sicialin cannolo*.

(usually sheep cheese) and mixing it with sugar and dark chocolate. Eventually, at least in Palermo, a candied orange peel is added (fig. 1). In other areas of Sicily, cannoli can be garnished with almonds or pistachios, but also with candied cherries or chocolate flakes

Nobody knows exactly when or where cannoli were born. The history of gastronomy is always very difficult to reconstruct because there is often a lack of reliable sources about this subject since for centuries food has been considered a futile one, unworthy of being considered by scholars. “Do you think a philosopher would be likely to care much about the so-called pleasures, such as eating and drinking?” says Plato’s Socrates in the *Phaedo*. If it is not possible to reconstruct a single, “true” History, there are many stories about this sweet, as if one of its peculiarity would be exactly to produce them. One of the few certainties is that for a long time the cannolo has been a sweet prepared during Carnival time. Sicilian confectionery, wide and varied like no other in Italy, is in fact often connected to specific events, often religious ones, to the point that every feast has its sweets. And even though nowadays most of the preparations are made all year round (not without some interesting exceptions, see Mangano 2020), the link with a specific event remains.

Another element which seems to be taken for granted is the origin of the name which refers to the *canna*, the herbaceous plant having a long hollow and robust stem that for centuries

has been used as a support on which rolling the dough before dipping it hot oil or lard. Cannolo in Sicilian dialect, however, is also the name given to the pipe from which water comes out in troughs and fountains, a connection which seems to be at the origin of one of the stories I mentioned, the one which sees this sweet as the result of a joke: the invention of a pipe from which it flows out ricotta cheese instead of water. But the aspect around which more stories have inevitably blossomed is the phallic shape of the cannolo, which is perfectly compatible with Carnival in which the rule is to put aside the rules (to reaffirm them with greater intensity after the feast's end obviously). This aspect is also connected to one of the presumed places of origin of this sweet, the city of Caltanissetta, that for a long time hosted many cloistered monasteries where, it seems, nuns started to prepare cannoli. Nothing unusual, as until the beginning of the nineteenth century in the whole Island pastry making was almost totally a prerogative of nuns, who used to keep themselves busy making sweets, this way also contributing to the economy of monasteries. The peculiarity of Caltanissetta has to do with the Arab origin of the city, the ancient *Qal' at annisā*, that translated in English sounds like: "castle of women", a reference to the Saracen emirs who used to keep several harems there. It would be right inside these places of pleasure that somebody started to prepare cannoli with such an evocative shape. A sweet that subsequently moved into the convents together, it seems, with the wives of the emirs (Denti di Pirajno 1970; Gallo 2019). From here the presumed and fascinating Arab origin of the cannolo, an attribution which often returns in Sicilian pastry, as we will see later.

We could continue for long jumping from story to story, from legend to legend, perhaps looking for some kind of evidence, trying to contextualize and insert each event in a precise sequence, but as semiologists it is not historical truth that we are interested in. What seems more important to us, besides observing this capacity of cannoli to generate stories, is to understand what causes them. It seems quite evident that it is the expressive articulation of the cannolo that favors not only the more or less prurient stories, but also the capacity of this sweet to adapt to very different gastronomic traditions. Let's forget



for a moment the cylindrical shape and simply think about the fact that cannoli are made of two different parts which are assembled together, shell and cream. If whipped cream or another kind of cream is substituted to sheep ricotta cheese, the recognizability of the whole sweet is not compromised. Of course, for a Sicilian it will not be a “real” cannolo, but for those who do not have the same competence it could perfectly be mistaken as such.

Let’s think about the peculiarities of cannolo among other sweets. It is a single portion dessert, but different from a cake, from a pudding and, in general, from any preparation which must be apportioned before being consumed. Note that a cannolo cannot be simply cut because of the crunchy consistency of the shell, which is made to break in an irregular way rather than to be divided with precision. The crunchiness is also at the origin of the indication (imperative in Sicily) to fill the cannolo just before eating it, in order to prevent cream humor from compromising the consistency of the wafer. From a strictly gustatory point of view, cannolo has an original peculiarity: even though the taste of the shell and that of the cream may vary according to the ingredients and the techniques used for the preparation, the contrast between a soft filling opposed to the crunchy shell remains. It is clear that taste is never only a question of “taste”, that is to say, it is not only a question of those sensations that make us recognize a mouthful of fish as a sea bass. There is a further level of physical sensations that Marrone (2016) calls “tasty” (in opposition to “flavourous”), which includes, among other things, the tactile sensations that our oral cavity allows us to perceive. The material contrast, so important in the cannoli, works precisely at this very deep level where it is easier for the cannoli spread around the world to resemble each other, producing the same “meaning effect”.

From a semiotic point of view, the cannolo thus becomes a generative machine, able to produce meaning both at the level of the stories about itself and, more profoundly, in the way it stimulates senses. This is probably the reason for its ability in crossing cultures, being translated from time to time into completely different gastronomic languages without ever losing its





connotation (Sedda 2003). It is precisely such expressive logic that the concept of symbolic efficacy highlights so clearly.

However, there is another product which has been able to go beyond the borders of Sicily, although in a rather different way. A cake to which Sicilians attribute a considerable identity value but which also strongly affects the imagination of non-Sicilians: the cassata.

### SICILIAN CASSATA

Before describing this other dessert, it is appropriate to return for a moment to the notion of symbol. Lévi-Strauss (1985) points out another aspect that seems to be of some importance in our case, namely that symbols “are not contained in a common pool from which one could draw, at will, just any term and associate it or oppose it to just any other. Meaning is transferred not from term to term but from code to code”. In other words, in order to understand how these particular signs work, it would be necessary to evaluate them also in a syntagmatic dimension, looking at the relations that a cultural product draws both with non-symbols and with other symbols (Fabbri 2019). A line of thought perfectly consistent with that of a semiologist of cultures such as Jurij Lotman who places symbols within the semiosphere. With this term, coined in the wake of Vernadsky’s biosphere, the Russian semiotician indicates not only all the texts and languages produced by human beings but also the mechanism by which they are generated (Lotman 1985). A capacity for reproduction and variation that is also characteristic of food, which not only can be thought of as a semiotic system because of the cultural value it assumes, but also because of its own internal articulatory peculiarities and external effectiveness. A semiotic consistency that suggests to think about a gastrosphere as a subset of the wider semiosphere (Mangano 2020; Giannitrapani, Puca 2020). Just think, for example, to the way in which food has always influenced the relationship between





Fig. 2. *Sicilian cassata.*



Fig. 3. *The Carretto Siciliano with its colorful decorative motifs in which geometries and figurative forms contrast.*

man and the natural environment, but also, to the political function that food has constantly assumed throughout history (Montanari 2020). It is in this perspective that we should also include Sicilian cassata in our reflection.

We know with good precision when cassata was born and who made it first. Or rather, we know to whom attribute the version that today is considered traditional and that, as often happens with gastronomy, is not at all as old as we would expect (Sedda 2020). It was the “knight” (cavaliere) Salvatore Gulì, “Cavaliere e Confetturiere della Real Casa” (Basile, Musco Dominici 2004) around 1870 who created in Palermo what he explicitly called “Cassata Siciliana” to distinguish it from other cassatas that were much older and more “traditional” (fig. 2).

The main ingredient of this sumptuous cake is ricotta cream just like in cannolo, but in this case it is completely contained inside a low cylinder with slanted edges. An angle that looks like the quotation of a cannolo's side. The casing is essentially made with thin slices of sponge cake and, as for the green dowels, with colored almond paste. The whole is covered with a thick sugar icing and decorated with abundant and variegated candied fruit. The resulting whole is characterized by a high level of sweetness which makes the portions of this cake usually rather small. As it can be understood, the Guli's cassata, as the people of Palermo used to call it up to Fifties, is a cold prepared, simply cake assembled starting from semi-finished products featuring a pretty long conservation. At such a point that it is considered improper to taste the cassata before 24 hours have passed since its creation, because ricotta cheese needs time to properly impregnate the sponge cake. Cassata's visual aspect is also very characteristic, with the bright colors of candied fruit and the different shapes contrasting with the regular white and green checkered border, to the point that it could be perfectly compared to the Baroque style, so common in the Island, or even to the aesthetics of the Carretto Siciliano (fig. 3), another recognized symbol.

Now we may think that all these choices of the pastry chef are dictated by chance, or by a naive and unreflected creative impulse, but it would not be correct. Guli rethinks the Sicilian cassata starting from a much older and simpler cake, the "cassata al forno" (baked cassata) (fig. 4), which is still filled with ricotta cream but made with shortcrust pastry and without any decoration. To this base, which he deeply revised, Guli added one of his specialties, candied fruit, which he produced in large quantities. No one knows whether the idea of the Guli's Cassata came from the need to dispose of the stock of this last ingredient, what is certain is that the project that gave life to it – because this can be considered to all effects a project of food design *ante litteram* (Mangano 2014) – was moved by a commercial rationality: that of an iconic cake, with a characteristic flavor, able to keep for a long time and therefore to be shipped in





Fig. 4. *Cassata al forno* (baked cassata).

Italy and abroad. Everything far before Amazon was born. An intention that is confirmed by the participation of this cake in various international competitions throughout Europe. Again then, no Arab descent, although some trace the name cassata back to the word *qas'at*, a round bowl in which ricotta cheese was said to be processed. However, not only at the time of the Arab domination in Sicily (from 827 to 1091 a.C.) the sponge cake did not exist (it was invented by the Genoese confectioner Giovanni Battista Cabona between 1747 and 1749 a.C.), but there is also another etymology that seems more relevant, one that refers to the Latin word *caseatus*, meaning “stuffed with cheese”. A definition that perfectly fits “cassata al forno” (baked cassata).

But the story does not end here, because the Sicilian cassata, besides spreading Sicilian brand image in northern Italy and abroad, as its creator wanted, immediately found a stable place even within Sicilian culture. If cannolo had been for a long time the sweet of Carnival, cassata became the sweet of Easter, one of the most important feasts of Christianity. If these two feasts can be considered opposite the same happens also with their sweets. Cannolo is a single-portion sweet, whereas cassata is a cake, which therefore presupposes sharing. The latter offers an intense and uniform pleasure because of its great sweetness, whereas the first one offers a greater variability because of the contrast between the shell and the filling, as well as the possibility to articulate it both during the preparation (by

Tab. 1. *System of differences between Sicilian cassata and the cannolo.*

	<i>Cassata</i>	<i>Cannolo</i>
<i>Plane of Content</i>	Easter Short and intense pleasure Social (cake) Feminine	Carnival Variable and prolonged pleasure Individual (single portion) Masculine
<i>Plane of Expression</i>	Cake Circle (wide and short) Extreme sweetness “Rested” Soft	Monoportion Cylinder (narrow and long) Sweet-savory contrast Fresh Crunchy

changing the diameter and the length of the cylinder) and during the consumption (by composing the mouthful in a different way). Cassata, round, sweet, and generous, is the dessert associated with femininity (Dammone 2014), as the gender of the name also indicates, while cannolo, cylindrical, crunchy, and individual, is masculine. Between the Sicilian cassata and the cannolo, emerges what we can consider as a system of differences, a set of opposing qualities relating both to what we might indicate as the plane of Expression and to the plane of Content, as shown in tab. 1.

## FROM SYMBOL TO HALF-SYMBOL

It is evident at this point that not only the meanings of the cannolo are related to those of the cassata, but also that the mode of signification that characterizes both owes something to this particular relationship. We are in the presence of what in semiotics is called a semisymbolic relationship, a mode of signification that, unlike the symbol that is based on a correspondence between autonomous elements of the plane of Expression

and Content, relates two categories, or two pairs of terms (always on the same planes). The most famous example of semysymbol is that of the gestures of the head corresponding to affirmation and negation that in many Western societies are related to the two different directions of space, vertical and horizontal, as Jakobson (1971) noticed. Among the types of signs classically understood, the semisymbol looks like a very special theoretical object (Marsciani 2012). To understand why, we need to get back to linguistics.

For the linguist Hjelmslev (1943), the difference between sign and symbol lies in the features of the two planes that are related. In the sign they are not to be considered conform, because the articulation of each one allows further decompositions in figures and therefore commutation operations. In the symbol instead these planes are conforming, and therefore not further decomposable, so that no commutation is possible and the two planes flatten one on the other (in mathematical terms we talk about an isomorphism). Any change made in one of them makes the symbol fail. The half-symbol is then characterized by a conformity of the planes due to the internal motivation which makes it possible to decompose them into figures and therefore to give rise to a proof of commutation. A conceptualization from which descends a particular importance for the characteristics of expressive organizations (Lancioni 2008).

This is exactly what occurs in our case. We have two semi-otic objects – cannolo and cassata – which have relationships with each other that can be structured starting from a set of categories that concern both the expressive level and therefore their material characteristics – and those of the content – and therefore what we might think of as their meanings. This kind of relationship is evident in the context of Sicilian gastronomy, where these two objects are presented as alternatives, deploying, even if in an implicit way, what binds them. Sicilian pastry presents itself as a semiotic micro-universe endowed with its own autonomy thus, but also with its own internal cohesion and a certain amount coherence. A “semiotic solidity” that makes it effective also towards the outside, and able to impose itself as a system. If it is true that abroad the cannolo has become more popular than the cassata, it is also true that when reference is



made to Sicilian pastry these two sweets are presented together. “Cannoli, together with cassata, are the sweets which – par excellence – qualify the most traditional Sicilian pastry” writes Coria in what is perhaps the most important and documented cookbook of Sicilian cooking (Coria 1981, my translation).

Obviously, symbolic meanings do not have always the same semantic power. Nothing strange in this, the symbolic meanings of a sacred painting are not always recognizable, especially when we see it outside the church for which it was conceived, far from other paintings, but also from the references that the painter may have addressed (a finger pointing to the crucifix, a gaze that turns to another artwork...). Symbols give life to other symbols and are activated by them, to use a Goodman’s term. This philosopher talks about activation to explain how semiotic devices such as a museum help to produce that particular meaning effect that we usually refer to as “art” (Goodman 1968). To return to the example of the flag, when it does evocate Homeland it is often together with national anthems, uniforms, particular ways of greeting, etc. (Volli 2004). The dimension of existence of the symbolic, thus, would not be that of an isolated sign, but that of a *text* in which a sign finds correspondences with other signs making its meanings intelligible. When a flag comes together with anthems, uniforms, etc. it doesn’t mean the Homeland, it is the Homeland. Semi-symbols behave in a very special way in this regard. Thanks to their internal motivation, even when they appear in isolation seem to have a stronger semantic power than symbols, as if they could project an aura of context outside of themselves.

## EPILOGUE

We are at the showdown, Don vito Corleone is dead and Michael, the son played by Al Pacino, is now an old man. One of the last scenes of *The Godfather Part III* (1990) takes place in Palermo, where the boss has arrived to attend the premiere of the opera in which his son Anthony, the white sheep of the family who has chosen not to follow the criminal tradition, sings.



The scene we're interested in takes place at the Teatro Massimo, the city's grand and sumptuous neoclassical opera house. Here, in the foyer, Don Altobello, an old friend of Michael's who has ordered his murder, meets Connie, Michael's sister who, having understood the deception, has decided to kill him. Connie approaches the old mafioso with the excuse of wanting to wish him a happy birthday for his eightieth birthday and offers him a very American white box of Cannoli as a gift. Don Altobello is cunning and suspicious, and asks the woman to taste the dessert first, which she does without hesitation. The following shots show us Don Altobello completely absorbed by the music and not being able to stop eating the cannoli, all under the watchful eye of Connie who turns her small binoculars towards him from time to time. The woman knows very well that the quantity of poison contained in every single cannolo is minimal, and therefore waits for it to reach the concentration sufficient to have its effect, which at a certain point punctually happens, leaving the old criminal lying on the chair.

Again a cannolo in Coppola's work then, but meaningfully with a completely different value from the first movie. At that time, the dessert was an alternative to the weapon, it evoked Sicily, the character's origins, his family; here, instead, it becomes the weapon itself, precisely because of a characteristic it seems to have: being irresistible to the point that it is impossible to stop eating it. Connie knew that she could put in all the cannoli a minimum amount of poison because her victim would never be able to stop eating that irresistible delicacy. It might seem that the cannolo partially changed meaning but it is more accurate to say that other aspects of its meaning were activated: not the family, but its irresistible gluttony, opposite to that of cassata. There is only a way to explain such a transformation of a symbol, and has to do with the fact that in the second movie Sicily doesn't need to be evoked. There is no need to allude, to remember, to presentify it, because the scene takes place in Palermo, and it is the situation, then, that makes it possible to select an aspect of the semiotic content that is functional to what is happening in that very moment. So be aware: symbols sometimes play bad tricks.





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