RAGUSA E MONTALBANO: VOCI DEL TERRITORIO IN TRADUZIONE AUDIOVISIVA

Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi
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A cura di
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In the footsteps of Montalbano: branding tourist destinations in Sicily

by Vincenzo Asero and Douglas Mark Ponton**

Introduction

In the European context, the roots of modern tourism can be found in the aristocratic practise of the grand tour of Europe, undertaken by young gentlemen from the 17th century onward (Bassnett 2010: 273). In the age of Enlightenment, the purposes of this were to broaden the mind through contact with other cultures, and thus prepare the young for the diplomatic service or similar careers (Imre 2009: 57). Heritage tourism, nowadays, may focus attention on questions of individual and collective identity (Palmer 2005; Basu 2007; Hanna et al 2015), but in the modern period, tourism generally offers consumers an ersatz version of that potentially transformative contact expressed in Imre's phrase, 'the proximity of otherness and the recognition of shared humanity' (Imre 2009: 69).

Even today, to travel may still signify the encounter with an imagined 'other' – another country, another people, another way of life. As Edward Said, in his best-known work *Orientalism* (Said 1977), made clear however, it is often the case that the other is viewed through the lens of stereotypical vision, preventing a real encounter from taking place. For Said, the other can only ever be described, and hence grasped, in terms reducible to some version of the traveller's own self-perception.

The aim of our chapter is to see how, within the context of an overarching 'Montalbano' frame, the websites of various tour promoters frame

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Sicily as a tourist destination (Flowerdew 2004; Santos 2004; Pan et al 2011), via representation devices such as metaphor and evaluation; and how the use of such devices contrasts with the same features in sites offering more traditional tourist products. In the case of Montalbano tourism, where the country has already been mediated, and consumed, in a costly, glossy fiction, it is a question whether the tourists who choose to come to Sicily for this reason are really interested in encountering the real Sicily and its inhabitants (accepting that such things exist), or whether they are in search of something else – a filtered version of the landscape, pregnant with memories of the scenery and townscapes they have seen in the television format. This paradox is reflected in some of the descriptive texts we have collected for this chapter.

One of the consolidated motivational springs of all forms of tourism is the desire for *authenticity* (MacCannell 1999: 10; Thurlow and Jaworski 2011). Tourists may have positive experiences of a foreign culture; in the case of Italy, this may be stimulated by contact with Italian cuisine and cultural products in the fields of music or film. Therefore, a trip to Italy fulfils the desire to have a close contact, a real experience of the land, its people and culture. In MacCannell's words:

> All tourists desire this deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel (ibid: 14)

The authenticity of tourism experiences has received widespread attention (Brown 1996; Cohen 1988; McIntosh and Prentice 1999), and some problematic aspects have been identified. While, on the one hand, tourism promotes authentic experiences, on the other it needs to modify local cultural assets to market them as consumable products that suit the tastes of tourists. This commodification process, therefore, may lead to a loss of authenticity of the local culture and, paradoxically, destroy the authenticity of the tourist experience.

In movie tourism, by contrast, though the same basic principles may be involved, the contact on offer is with something fictitious, with the 'realities' of the topos as it is represented in the fiction in which it appears. Television shows such as Inspector Montalbano are, as Imre says, part of a phenomenon in which tourism becomes integrated with a range of modern possibilities in the field of mass media and consumption:

> The more organized tourism becomes, the more it is turned into simulation through Internet sites, catalogues, travel magazines, and television shows, where the latter are not simply simulations of reality but of already simulated environments, which then become the "originals" for the tourist (Imre 2009: 53)

The motivation for the tourist attracted by a Montalbano tour, then, relates more to the desire to explore a virtual reality than to the transformational potentialities of genuine travel. Thus, tour operators put together packages that offer such consumers authentic experiences such as the 'Montalbano Shooting Locations Tour', which promises excursions such as:

> In the afternoon, we continue to Punta Secca to see the exterior of Montalbano's house (Sicily TravelNet)

Punta Secca is located in an area, the south-east coast of Sicily, rich in the kind of attractions normally paraded before tourists (sun, sea, local festivals, gastronomic traditions, etc). Here, however, these are ignored in favour of something much more prosaic – the outside of a house – whose sole claim to this kind of attention is its appearance on the set of a popular TV show.

We suggest, in this paper, that Montalbano tours entail different marketing strategies from those found in more traditional types of tourist product, and that the language used to attract potential consumers displays correspondingly different characteristics, from the perspective of framing constructed through linguistic style.

Film tourism as branding process

Today, tourists are more experienced and more selective in their choice of holidays, while destinations are very competitive and try to increase their market shares using different promotional tools.

As is widely known, the image of a destination plays an important role in affecting tourist destination choice. In this regard, research has demonstrated that the images in films increase awareness of the places represented in them. Kim and Richardson (2003) suggest that films influence the perception of the places they are set in and the process of shaping the images of those places. According to Roesch (2009: 31), films are an 'unofficial place-marketing tool', since they have the ability to promote a location and cause an influx of visitors to screened places, without the targeted intention of institutional structures and professional advertising.

In the tourism market, the increasingly popular phenomenon of so-called 'film-tourism' or 'movie-tourism' is clearly encouraged by the growth of the entertainment industry and generated as a consequence of the appearance of destinations and attractions on TV, video or film (Hudson and Ritchie 2006). Film tourism is a form of tourism which brings visitors to places they have seen on screen in films or TV shows, which may include general areas (a town or province), or precise locations of a film (Roesch 2009). Busby and Klug (2001) define film-induced tourists as people who go in search of places featured on the screen. However, film tourism is not limited to visiting real or reconstructed film sets, but also includes film studio tours and film festivals, and also extends to include audiences of TV travel programmes.

Many studies show that film tourists are well informed about the locations involved in films, while certain authors claim that they tend instead to go to places which they merely believe correspond to those seen in films (Tooke and Baker 1996). Compared to films, of special relevance in creating and reinforcing the desire to visit a certain place is the role of TV series, which tend to have a longer term impact on viewers, creating a relation of empathy between them and the stories, characters and places depicted, especially in the case of a successful series (Beeton 2005). In this respect, it has been observed that the level of media exposure significantly influences both the audience's emotional involvement and on-site screen-tourism experiences (Kim and Wang 2012).

According to Connell (2012), film tourism is a phenomenon that can be identified and studied from different points of view: those of film tourists, consumers who go in search of specific experiences and follow their own motivations. Then there are the perspectives of the places themselves; the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts determined by the phenomenon; the business generated in terms of marketing and destination branding initiatives. On this latter point, it has been noted that films offer the possibility not simply of representing images of a destination on screen, but also an opportunity for the destination itself to create its own brand, through branded entertainment strategies (Horrigan 2009).

Zenker and Braun (2010) claim that place brand is based on the facial, verbal and behavioural expressions found in a place, represented through the culture of local stakeholders and of the place in general. As Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) argue, the place branding process is tied to the creation of a place identity for a locus, insofar as it assists in the comprehension of the culture of that place, giving it new meaning and new symbols. This shows that images play an essential role in place marketing or place selling, the objective of which is to construct an image of a place able to substitute previous vague or negative images (Holcomb 1993). Therefore, as Roesch (2009) notes, the images are an essential component of destination imaging, of which branding is a part, and this process is an integral part of destination marketing.

From a more general perspective, Butler (1999) underlined the power of mass entertainment, including films and videos, in the development of a tourism destination. Media have the ability to disseminate and reinforce the image of a place, to influence the public fashion and taste, and in such a way create a tourist attraction. They therefore play a significant role in influencing travel as well as in defining and socially constructing quality tourism experiences, insofar as they create images of what a destination and its people are supposed to look like (Beeton, Bowen and Santos, 2006). In this context, as Chhabra (2010) argues in the case of heritage tourism, ‘authenticity’ remains an elusive concept with multiple connotations. Therefore, the concept can be used to generate tourist products to be adjusted according to tourists’ motivation and to incorporate into different market segments. In other words, according to the constructivist paradigm, authenticity is modified to suit the needs of different audiences.

The application of this concept can explain why films, as a form of visual language, are able to create a ‘meaning of place’ in terms of the representation of a system of meanings shared by members of the same culture (Hall 1997).

Such meanings and representations may have a specific role in destination marketing, creating the desire in the viewer to experience places. This does not occur by chance, because when we consider the reason for the popularity of certain films and television series, and of tourist flows towards a given destination used as a location, we find that representations, signs and meanings play an important role both in the desire to visit such places and in presenting them to tourists (Beeton 2005).

Features of the tourist brochure genre

Research on tourist guide books has focused on content features of the genre, and it is possible to find analogous features in the web context. For example, Ramm (2000: 154) lists 'background information on the country or region (geography, history, nature, characteristics of people and culture, politics/administration, economy, etc.), information on sights and places, tour descriptions'. Pan, MacLaurin and Crotts (2007, in Francesconi 2012: 52) concentrate these categories, and focus on *attractions, food, accommodation, local people, local transport, weather and overall impressions.* The table at the side shows examples of these latter categories from our corpus of traditional tourist sites about Sicily.

Sicily is represented as possessed of great natural, historical and archaeological attractions; it is a memorable gastronomic centre, with hospitable, fascinating and kindly inhabitants.

In evidence in these extracts is that persuasive style associated with the use of hyperbole (McCarthy and Carter 2004), familiar from the tourist brochure, which frequently rests on the presence of evaluative descriptors that Martin and White (2005: 37) term 'intensified'.

This can be seen in the style of adjectival pre-modification: beaches are 'heavenly' the sun is 'blinding', Sicily itself is 'mesmerisingly beautiful', etc., all coded under their system as *positive appreciation: quality, intens*. (ibid: 56). We also find the writers of these texts engaged in the attempt to find original metaphors or images for describing the places involved: 'a crazy layer-cake' (2) of culinary influences, for example, or the reference to the Sicilians' character as 'sweet as cassata' (4). The decorative stylistic feature of alliteration is another frequent resource, e.g. 'majestic mountains' (1). It may be instructive to explore one of these texts in greater detail, focusing on these features, as well as on the role of colour, which is prominent in the following:

> And God created Sicily. The place where the mountains meet the sea. Sicilia, the island in the sun, is home to heavenly beaches, majestic mountains and Europe's greatest natural wonder, Mount Etna. Sicily's coasts are gold with orange and lemon orchards. Each scenic region offers something different. In northeastern Sicily's Nebrodi Mountains you'll find unexpectedly lush forests. In the central regions you'll encounter rugged land and rolling hills. Dignified vineyards, ancient olive groves, hardy almond orchards and endless wheat fields complete the picture. Summer is amber land under a sky of blue. Winter finds palm trees dusted with snow in a surreal symphony. Spring is a rainbow of wild flowers set against greenest fields (Best of Sicily)

Category	Text	Site
1. Attractions	Heavenly beaches, majestic mountains and Europe's greatest natural wonder, Mount Etna	Best of Sicily
2. Food	A crazy layer-cake of culinary influences, shellfish and citrus, tuna and swordfish, pistachios, hazelnuts and almonds, ricotta and wild herbs	Lonely Planet
3. Accommodation	the hearty welcome and home cooking of a Sicilian family farm	Rick Steve's Europe
4. Local people	At first, Sicilians can seem sullen, inscrutable and fatalistic. But persevere and you'll find that chill can melt into something as sweet as cassata.	CNN International
5. Local transport	A three-quarter mile path of stairs leads visitors up to the town center from parking lots	Sicily visitor
6. Weather	below the blinding sun	Visit Sicily
7.Overall impressions	Decades after my first visit, I still find Sicily one of the world's most mesmerisingly beautiful places.	Lonely Planet

Table One - Visit Sicily corpus: content

Alliteration: mountains meet / majestic mountains / rugged, rolling / surreal symphony

Images, metaphor: amber land under a sky of blue, palm trees dusted with snow in a surreal symphony, a rainbow of wild flowers

(Evaluative) adjectives: heavenly / majestic / lush / rugged / rolling / dignified / ancient / hardy / endless / surreal

Colours: gold / orange / lemon / amber / blue / green

As far as the referential/informative function of the text is concerned (Jakobson 1960, Santilli 1983), the reader learns that Sicily has beaches, sunshine, olive, almond and citrus orchards, vineyards, palm trees and mountains, as well as a famous volcano.

However, what we are presented with is not simply a list of attractions, but rather a rich melange of stylistic descriptors that betrays the persuasive function of the text. From a pragmatic perspective, the text aims to produce the perlocutionary effect (Searle 1969; Austin 1975), in the reader, of making them take the step from potential to actual consumer of a trip to Sicily (see Dann 1996; Cappelli 2006). Other places on the global tourist market possess such features as sunshine and beaches, and it is therefore necessary to create an image that entices through its characterisation of the product's uniqueness.

In part, this is constructed grammatically via the use of the definite article (Birner and Ward 2012): Sicily is the place where the mountains meet the sea; it is the island in the sun. There will be many other parts of the world where these statements could be applied: the latter proposition is equally true of any island in the Mediterranean, for example. Hyperbole is visible in some of the adjectives, some of which are conventional, even clichéd – what exactly is a 'heavenly' beach or a 'majestic' mountain, for example? Others are more individualised: an original notion is that of 'dignified' vineyards, for example. Vineyards are part of the 'natural attractions' frame that also includes sun, sea, coasts, beaches, mountains, volcano, hills, forests, almond, orange and lemon orchards, wheat fields and palm trees. Together with the 'ancient' olive groves, there is a veiled allusion to the Bacchic, Greco-Roman traditions linked to the production and consumption of wine (Lipka 2009), which has the potential for provoking undignified behaviour; however, these associations are undercut by this particular adjective. The role of the vineyards is thereby reduced to that of another scenic object, whose attractiveness consists more in what they offer as landscape features than as the sources from which the inebriating effects of wine might flow.

The semiotic associations of colours have received attention in recent years (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996, 2002), and the text in question offers some relevant examples. Of orange and yellow, Kandinsky, quoting Delacroix, says that they have associations of 'joy and plenty' (Kandinsky 2008: 63), while blue is endowed with 'the power of profound meaning', and is 'the typical heavenly colour' (ibid: 83). Green is 'the most restful colour that exists' (ibid: 84).

Framing, meanwhile, depends on the notion of interplay between the text creator and the ideal reader (Allen 1992: 86; Pagano 1994: 253; Coulthard 1994: 4-5). In other words, if we assume that the two are linked by the pragmatic relation between them indicated above (i.e that the writer intends to achieve the perlocutionary effect of persuading the reader to buy a trip to Sicily), we can see, from the text, how the writer conceives of the likely constitution of these potential buyers. What we have, in this sample text, is the use of a 'natural paradise' frame for Sicily, an earthly Eden; this is established in the opening, the quasi-biblical: 'And God created Sicily'. It is carried forward through the elemental choices of colour, and the exclusive focus on natural features. Blue is the colour of infinity, and the wheat fields, significantly, are depicted as 'endless'. A text such as this is not untypical of the tourist brochure genre (Cooper 1994; Francesconi 2007, 2011). The emphasis, in such descriptions, is not on factual accuracy, but rather on creating an original and attractive picture that has a specific, persuasive, function. The effect is akin to the appeal of the heavily filtered photographs of stunning natural features that frequently accompany such texts. There are no references to nightlife, nor to the characteristics of the inhabitants, who are not mentioned at all. The ideal reader in this case, therefore, is one who is interested in some kind of 'return' to a natural paradise, deeply attracted by natural features, far more so than s/he is concerned with socialisation or encounters with the local people.

What follows is a comparative analysis of the presence of these textual factors throughout the two corpora, of traditional sites and those dealing specifically with Montalbano.

Methodology

To study contrasting generic features in the language of traditional tourist sites and those offering Montalbano tourism, two corpora of websites were compiled. The first deals with traditional tours, obtained by googling ‘Visit Sicily’, taking the first ten results as a representative sample. The second group offers services catering for tourists interested in Montalbano, obtained via a google search for ‘Montalbano tours’. The sites were then read through, and the features identified above as typical of the ‘traditional tourist brochure’ genre, i.e. alliteration, evaluative language, hyperbole and metaphor, were recorded and compared across the corpora. In such a small-scale study as this, it is naturally not claimed that these are the only – or even the most significant – linguistic features of tourist discourse. However, for the purposes of the study they were found suitable in that they do illustrate differences which we feel to be of interest, both from a stylistic and a pragmatic perspective.

In focusing on evaluative language in the sites, we were interested in adjectival pre-modification (Bednarek 2014: 211), especially of positive kind, as in the examples below:

> magnificent beaches to ancient monuments and fine baroque towns, from secluded beaches on quiet islands to bustling resorts (Sicily Visitor)

From the perspective of the text designer, such evaluation clearly represents an attempt to engage with the ideal reader, presenting them with reasons for wanting to visit the places in question. We notice a diversity of appeal, to potential tourists who like to ‘get away from it all’ (‘secluded’ beaches), and to those who enjoy being among crowds (‘bustling’ resorts). In terms of Martin and White’s (2005) taxonomy, we are interested in what they call ‘appreciation’, or evaluation of natural or human artefacts, since these are centrally involved in descriptions of tourist sites. To simplify the analytical procedure, more complex forms of evaluation such as the following example, construed via a noun phrase, have been omitted:

> It’s more than an island! (Best of Sicily)

Also omitted are instances of implicit evaluation, and evaluation that regards something other than Sicily, its natural features, landscapes, inhabitants, etc. Thus, in analysis of the Montalbano sites, we omit positive evaluations of the books/films/actors or anything else relating to the fiction, etc., but accept those relating to positive features of the setting:

> transform the books into a hugely successful TV series (Thinking Traveller) NO
> visit of the beautiful Piazza Duomo of Ragusa Ibla (Sicily Excursions) YES

For hyperbole, we adopted McCarthy and Carter's (2004: 150) definition, as follows:

> It is a regular feature of informal talk that speakers exaggerate narrative, descriptive and argumentative features and make assertions that are overstated, literally impossible, inconceivable or counterfactual

Hyperbole differs from, for example, intensified positive evaluation because of this last criterion; we are dealing with propositions characterising situations that are impossible, on a literal level. For example:

> villages unchanged with the passage of time..more than just an island paradise (Sicily Visitor)

The first of these would only be true with some qualification to denote a non-literal meaning (*apparently/that seem unchanged*, etc.), while for the second, to call any terrestrial place a 'paradise' is already hyperbolic, and here still more is claimed.

The role of metaphor in discourse with persuasive intent has been widely recognised (Lamar Reinsch Jr. 1971; Partington 1998; Halmari and Virtanen 2005). It is not surprising, then, to find that metaphors are a familiar feature of tourist brochure discourse (Gold and Gold 1995; Dunn 2005; Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger 2010). Our perspective on metaphors sees them as resources operating within the realm of what Halliday calls the 'interpersonal metafunction' of language; that is to say, like the other textual resources highlighted here, they are not simply decorative devices, but rather assist the author in producing the specific perlocutionary effect of convincing readers to buy the advertised products (Goatly 1997: 148).

Data: comparing the corpora
Results are shown in table one and two, below.

Site name	Words	Alliteration	Metaphor	Evaluation	Hyperbole
Sicily Visitor	1056	10	11	41	2
Visiting Sicily	451	5	1	12	0
Valley of Temples	186	1	0	0	0
Best of Sicily	1762	37	8	34	18
Rick Steves' Europe	99	6	1	8	2
Thinking Traveller	676	6	2	24	1
Visit Sicily	311	3	4	7	3
Huff Post Travel	1131	23	1	30	0
Lonely Planet	2315	42	12	54	11
CNN International	1441	34	4	19	1
Total	9428	167	44	229	38

Table one - Traditional Tourist Offers: Visit Sicily

Site name	Words	Alliteration	Metaphor	Evaluation	Hyperbole
Montalbano tour	449	5	5	2	0
Sicily TravelNet	528	6	3	6	0
Sicily Life	560	7	0	5	0
Sicily Excursions	200	0	1	2	0
Iopi Tour	747	2	0	12	0
Slow Italy	1079	9	4	10	0
Viator	399	7	0	19	0
Thinking Traveller	822	10	1	11	0
Visit Vigata	147	3	0	4	0
Barbara Sudano	106	0	0	0	0
Total	5037	49	14	71	0

Table two - Montalbano Tours Offers

Numbers are higher in the traditional sites which, however, have a higher word count than for the Montalbano sites (table three), so we prepared an additional table adjusting for this (table four).

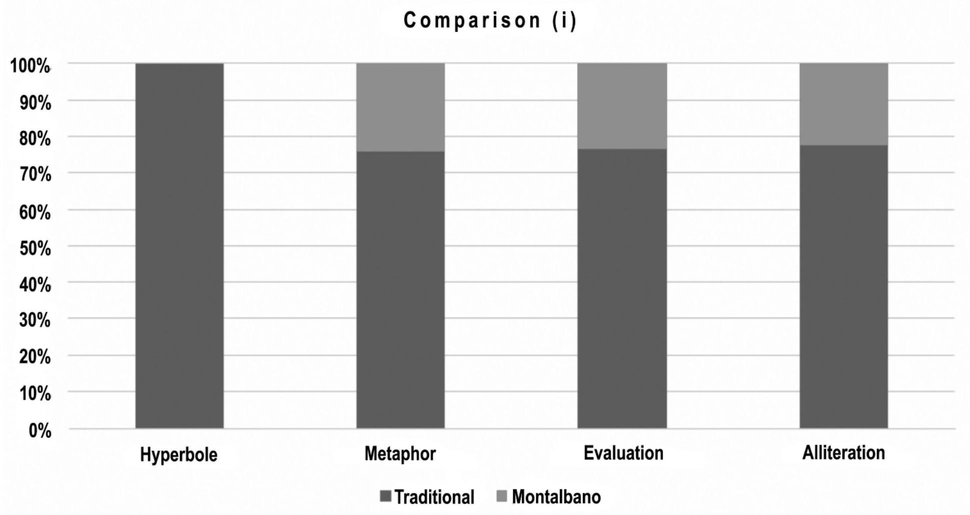

Table three - The corpora compared

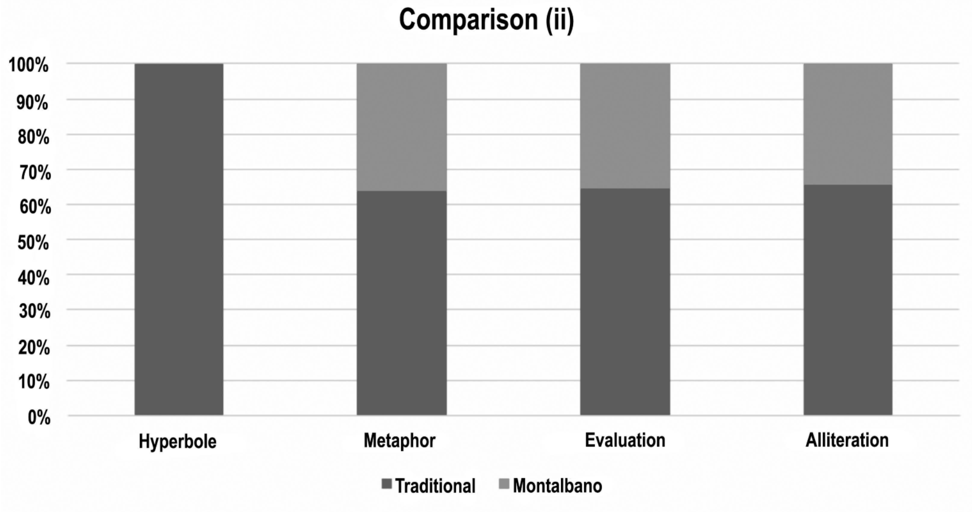

Table four - The corpora compared with proportional adjustment

Discussion

Even if we focus on table four, proportionally adjusted to take into account the fact that there are more words on the traditional sites, the results are striking. The Montalbano sites use no hyperbole, while the other parameters – metaphor, evaluation and alliteration – are more present in the traditional sites compared to those of Montalbano tours, in a proportion of approximately two to one.

Typical of the latter group's more prosaic style is the following:

> A tour of the main locations seen in the Inspector Montalbano crime series based on the novels by the Sicilian author, Andrea Camilleri (Barbara Sudano)

Or this, from the daily itinerary of one of the tours (Iopi Tour):

> You will continue your day with a tour to Sampieri, where you can admire 'l'antica fornace del picciotto' (in the fiction is called Mannara, where some crime scenes have been recorded). (Iopi Tour)

The site's readers, potential consumers of the products on offer, are provided with details of what they can expect to do on the tour, in plain English, i.e. without alliteration, metaphor, evaluation or hyperbole. If there is any attempt to 'sell' the product, this is done in the interpersonal space shared between writer and reader, i.e. the writer knows that the latter will find significance in the fact that Sampieri has a role in their favourite fiction. The same applies to the following:

> Breakfast in hotel, meeting with our guide to visit Ragusa Ibla, constructed on an isolated spur. Ragusa Ibla is known as Vigata city in the Camilleri's Fiction. (Iopi Tour)

The pragmatically salient fact about Ragusa Ibla relates to its role in the fiction, and this is considered sufficient information about the place, despite the fact that Ragusa Ibla would have objective claims on the interest of any tourist in South-Eastern Sicily. Compare the tone, for example, with that of the following description of Ragusa Ibla, from one of the traditional sites:

> Among the most prosperous cities in Southern Italy, the city of Ragusa has been re-

> discovered in recent years as an exceptional tourist destination, thanks to its baroque charm nestled in the old part of town (Visit Sicily)

In evidence here is a more florid style, featuring evaluation (*prosperous, exceptional, baroque charm*), a hint of alliteration (frequent use of the /s/ sound), and metaphor, with the baroque buildings pictured as 'nestling' like chicks, perhaps, in the old part of town.

We saw, above, that hyperbole can be a feature of traditional tourist discourse. Its total absence from the Montalbano corpus, we suggest, can be accounted for in pragmatic terms, through a consideration of the discourse context. Operators selling a normal tourist product must compete with their peers; they must find discursive strategies to suggest that the 'attractions, food, accommodation, local people, local transport, weather and overall impressions' (Pan, MacLaurin and Crotts, op. cit.) on offer in their product are superior to the same things offered by their competitors. Beaches must either be 'golden' or 'heavenly' (evaluation), or else the brochure may use a cliché such as 'sun-kissed sands'[1], which in this case combines alliteration and metaphor. In a Montalbano tour, this is not necessary: there is only one 'Vigata', and it is not necessary for the tour operator to go to the trouble of creating an advertisement with the same profusion of stylistic features as his counterpart in traditional tourism. In the example, cited above, of 'we continue to Punta Secca to see the exterior of Montalbano's house', it would make no difference, in pragmatic terms, if the feature were described in more exotic terms (e.g., Montalbano's *heavenly house*). Tourists/readers with conventional tastes would see that what is on offer is a trip to see the outside of a house. The name Montalbano may mean nothing to them, and if it does, there is no guarantee that it will increase their interest. For fans of the show, meanwhile, it is not necessary for the feature to be discursively decorated; it is sufficient, for them, that they really will be looking at 'Montalbano's house'. Montalbano aficionados will know exactly where the house is located, which is why the geographical detail of Punta Secca is significant. Thus, we are suggesting, shared knowledge in the dimension of the interpersonal metafunction (Halliday 2004) is responsible for effects at the textual level; linguistic style is seen to be dependent on pragmatic aspects of the specific context. Style, then, is not simply a question of rhetorical decoration, but rather relates to the way the texts perform the functions for which they were designed (Wales 2011: 400).

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[1] See, e.g. The Journey. Online at: http://blog.gogo-vacations.com/featured/three-top-experiences-aruba/, last visit 19/04/2018.

Conclusion

The images and brands of modern tourism offer visions of paradises that, as Crouch (2007: 54) notes, are portrayed as fresh territory, although the plain truth is that holiday trips are frequent experiences for most of us. It is probably true that tourists with what Jaworski and Thurlow (2009: 200) call 'serious intercultural intent' are thin on the ground. The educational scope of tourism is becoming something of a fiction, substituted, in some cases, by hedonistic realities involving 'new layers of the exotic, sexual and sensual temptation' (Crouch 2007: 55). These processes especially concern the Mediterranean, which was once portrayed as the cradle of learning but is now more often associated with nightlife and bodies on beaches. Actual contact with the cultural other has been dissipated by intensive processes of mediation that commodify the experience through travel brochures with their glossy photos, internet sites and various forms of advertising (Imre 2009: 53). Paradoxically, it would seem that, at least to an extent, the tourist has now become insulated from the travel world (Boorstin 1964: 91, in Thurlow and Jaworski 2011: 299-300).

Against this scenario, the tourism market appears more and more characterized by a change in the motivations and behaviour of tourists in their consumption experiences. We are witnessing a shift from mass tourism to individual or smaller-group travel, and from packaged tour programmes to more flexible travel options. Hence, tourists show an increasing interest for 'alternative' forms of tourism that offer the opportunity to discover the identity and culture of the places visited, through direct contact with the local people (Asero 2010). Alternative tourism can be defined as 'a form of tourism that sets out to be consistent with natural, social and community values and permits both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences' (Wearing and Neil 1999, in Newsome et al. 2002). An Italian scholar has defined this behaviour as 'Hermann Hesse Syndrome', to indicate the tendency of tourists to mingle, wherever possible, with the local community, seeking to understand the place visited through the stories and traditions of the host people, and participation in their daily lives (Becheri 1995). This phenomenon is commonly associated with some traits, many of which can be found in Montalbano tour offers. It consists of accommodation in small-scale structures built in traditional local styles, which are frequently family-owned; it implies a low volume of demand, but has highly motivated visitors, who are receptive to local cultures and respectful of them; it emphasizes the uniqueness of a place and the concept of sustainability, both in an environmental and cultural sense, and encourages community participation in planning and managing tourism supply (Asero 2010).

Our study focused on a further stage in the mutation of the classical ideal, or ‘movie tourism’. This is a form of tourism that makes no pretence at the discovery of any form of exogenous reality, no encounter with an other in Said’s sense, but is based, instead, on the desire to explore virtual worlds that have been ‘experienced’ first hand through television or film. As we saw in the data section, what is proposed is not the view of a foreign culture that might appeal to the traditional tourist, but rather the full immersion in a fictional landscape, a ‘real life’ visit to a virtual world; a concept, this, which stretches the idea of authenticity almost to breaking point.

Like other forms of movie tourism, Montalbano tours are able to presuppose, among potential participants, elevated levels of commitment to the philosophy and rationale underlying the products. Therefore, we have suggested, tourist texts for Montalbano adopt markedly different styles, when compared with texts offering more traditional products. We do find certain instances where what we might call a ‘normal’ discursive style for the tourist brochure genre emerges in the Montalbano corpus:

> Opt to enjoy lunch on the beach at your own expense, or take a revitalizing dip in the Mediterranean Sea before travelling onward to the quaint village of Scicli, famed for its beautiful Baroque monuments (Vigata)
>
> Many of the Vigata scenes are filmed in and around Ragusa Ibla’s gorgeous Piazza Duomo, which is overlooked by the impressive Cathedral of San Giorgio, built in 1738 (Thinking Traveller)

The underlined instances of positive evaluation show that, at times, the same discursive techniques are used and therefore, we may presume, the same interpersonal pragmatic appeal is made as that found in the traditional corpus. Indeed, we hypothesise, elsewhere (Ponton and Asero

2015) the existence of a ‘hybrid’ genre (Fairclough 2009; Mäntynen and Shore 2014), positioned between that of traditional tourism and movie tourism. This phenomenon can be accounted for in several ways. It may be that old habits die hard, and the text creators simply produce such hybrid descriptions on automatic pilot. It may be that, by now, Montalbano tours have become a consolidated feature of the panorama of tourist offers. It is therefore necessary for different operators to compete, which they do via such verbal resources. Other implications for tourism destination management, if this is the case, relate to aspects such as visitor expectations, impact on local communities, tourism planning issues, destination imaging and marketing campaigns. A final possibility is that it might indicate the emergence of a new kind of ‘Montalbano tour’, one which tries to unite the best of both worlds. The Montalbano sets are located in a part of the world which, after all, scores highly on traditional tourist scales, and it would therefore make sense that Montalbano fans take advantage of their trips to engage in more traditional tourist pleasures. Thus, text style is seen to be deeply conditioned by pragmatic factors, as well as considerations of the consumer profiles of potential readers.

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Appendix
Corpora used in the study

Traditional tours, obtained by googling 'visit Sicily'

1. Sicily Visitor. http://www.sicily-visitor.com/

2. Visiting Sicily. http://www.visitingsicily.it/

3. Valley of the Temples. http://www.valleyofthetemples.com/

4. Best of Sicily. http://www.bestofsicily.com/index.htm

5. Rick Steves' Europe. https://www.ricksteves.com/tours/italy/sicily

6. The Thinking Traveller.
http://www.thethinkingtraveller.com/thinksicily/guide-to-sicily.aspx

7. Visit Sicily. http://www.visitsicily.travel/en/

8. Huff Post Travel. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paolo-rossi/top-10-places-to-visit-in_b_2859248.html

9. Lonely Planet. http://www.lonelyplanet.com/italy/sicily

10. CNN International Edition.
http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/10/travel/sicily-travel-bourdain/

Montalbano tours, obtained by googling 'Montalbano tours'

1. Montalbano tour. http://www.montalbanotour.com/Montalbano_Sicily_tour.html

2. Sicily TravelNet. http://www.sicilytourguides.net/Montalbano_locations-tour.htm

3. Sicily Life. http://www.sicilylife.com/sicily-tours/montalbano-tour

4. Sicily Excursions. http://www.sicilyexcursions.it/e/57-commissario-montalbano-tour-gioved?l=en

5. Iopi Tour. http://www.iopitour-touroperator.com/en/sicily-islands-tours/item/196-inspector-montalbano-tour-in-eastern-sicily.html

6. Slow Italy. http://slowitaly.yourguidetoitaly.com/2012/07/in-the-footsteps-of-inspector-montalbano-andrea-camilleris-sicily-from-siracusa-to-agrigento/

7. Viator. http://www.viator.com/tours/Taormina/Inspector-Montalbano-Filming-Locations-Tour-from-Taormina/d4237-6552TFCMONTALB

8. The Thinking Traveller. https://www.thethinkingtraveller.com/thinksicily/guide-to-sicily/all-things-sicilian/montalbano.aspx

9. Visit Vigata. https://translate.google.it/translate?hl=en&sl=it&u=https://www.visitvigata.com/tour-di-montalbano/&prev=search

10. Barbara Sudano. http://www.barbarasudano.net/web/en/following-in-inspector-montalbanos-footsteps/