PRESUPPOSING AUTHENTICITY THROUGH TYPOGRAPHIC TRAITS IN COMMERCIAL SIGNS

Stefano Presutti[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

This research aims to investigate pragmatic and semantic aspects related to the paraverbal features of written language. In particular, we focus on the relevance of typographic features used in store signs. This is a transdisciplinary study that intersects with different fields of research that include semiotics, pragmatics, diachronic and sociological aspects of language. It also encompasses those disciplines concerned with the visual aesthetic characteristics of image and written language from an economic-commercial perspective, such as studies concerning the process of store naming (i.e., naming of small businesses in the territory).

In the specifics of typographical features, according to a relatively recent interest of such linguists as Stöckl (2005) and Van Leeuwen (2005; 2006), it has been realized that these can be seen no longer just as a dress of the written words, but as a semiotic and linguistic body, as a modality of communication in its own right. Typographic features can convey abstract ideas of sociocultural identities, and they can be associated in the commercial sphere with the name of the product or company they are grapho-visually representing. In our case, typographic traits attributed to specific societies or cultures may grapho-visually represent more or less stereotypical presuppositions of authenticity, implicitly shared by both the issuer and the recipient. In the study of typographic traits used in commercial brands and signs, 'typographic mimicry' describes a phenomenon in which the typographic features of graphic elements of a written text (in most cases the letters of the Latin alphabet) are embellished and modified to emulate aesthetic forms of other different writing systems, scripts or languages already represented by Latin characters, associated with more or less stereotypical ideas of local or national cultures (Coulmas, 2003; 2014; Meletis, 2021; Sutherland, 2015; Shaw, 2009).

This study contributes to research on social meaning related to the use of typographic mimicry in commercial signs (e.g., Dickinson, 2015; Strandberg, 2019; Wachendorff, 2018). Two specific research questions are addressed in this study: Can typographic features be considered an important actor in the process of social construction? Can they be a presupposition trigger (Stalnaker, 2002) of authenticity in written paraverbal communication spread across urban semiotic landscapes? The term 'presupposition trigger' in pragmatics refers to those elements of language within the utterance that activate presuppositions; that is, implicit assumptions in a conversation shared by participants as part of a common ground (cf. Stalnaker, 2002). Semantic and pragmatic presuppositions have an implicit, indirect essence and cause the issuer to save effort in explicating certain parts of the utterance. They can therefore prove to be an excellent strategy of the issuer to introduce a piece of information without drawing attention to it,

[1] University of California, Rome Study Center, and The American University of Rome, Department of Italian Studies.

thus delegating the responsibility of ideological association to the addressee (cf. Lombardi Vallauri, 2019; Stalnaker, 2002). Supporting and complementing findings from previous quantitative research (e.g., Wachendorff, 2018), we hypothesize that typographic traits, particularly through typographic mimicry, contribute to conveying social meaning for commercial purposes, thus enabling receivers to activate presuppositions.

In this research we focus in particular on two phenomena of typographic mimicry in two specific areas historically and symbolically related to local or national authenticity. The first case concerns the imitation of the *Capitalis Romana* (i.e., the traditional font used in the monumental epigraphy of the Roman Empire) in commercial signs present in Testaccio, a central district of Rome; the second case concerns the use of pseudo-Greek in commercial signs in the Plaka district of Athens.

We develop a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2001) in line with previous studies on social semiotic conveying signs that delve into the socio-historical context at the macro level and into the everyday interactions at the micro level (e.g., Blommaert *et al.*, 2014; Leeman *et al.*, 2009; Malinowski, 2008). We conduct a historical, sociological and grapho-visual analysis of the place and target fonts; a qualitative analysis of some signs in the two urban commercial areas; in-depth interviews with owners, vendors or authors of the signs examined. This is a preliminary qualitative study in need of further quantitative study. Nonetheless, it sheds light on the importance of studying typographic traits in social semiotics and pragmatics research.

In the following sections, we delve into the theoretical framework of the research, with special attention toward the concepts of authenticity and semiotic landscapes. Next, we describe the methodological framework, the social and historical aspects and the qualitative analysis of fonts and store signs. Finally, the last section discusses the results and draws some conclusions for future research proposals.

2. AUTHENTICITY IN SEMIOTIC LANDSCAPES

Within the theoretical framework of this research, it is useful first to introduce and define the newly rising field of linguistic landscape. The most quoted definition of linguistic landscape belongs to one of the earliest studies in the field by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25): «The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings [that] combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration». To this initial definition we might consider a more recent and comprehensive designation as semiotic landscape (rather than linguistic) provided by Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 2), which includes «any [public] space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making». Thus, this more recent definition broadly encompasses the manifestations of meaning present in a space not necessarily related to written language, thus including for example nonverbal communication, images, architecture, comprising static and non-static elements.

In this context, it is also relevant to introduce the concepts of commodified language and authenticity. According to the concept of language commodification (Heller, 2003), which is strongly present in today's global market, a language does not only represent the way of communicating a certain activity or product; it can itself be seen as a commodity with economic benefits. Nowadays, entrepreneurs and authors of commercial brands and signs are paying more attention to the multiple grapho-visual solutions of written language because these may increase the chances of anticipating cost-benefit considerations (Ben-Rafael, 2009) and aligning with customers' desires. The concept of commodified

authenticity must be differentiated from an idea of so-called real authenticity. The latter relies on a nineteenth-century romantic ideal of nostalgic search for origins to which the nationalist identity development of Western culture is strongly linked, with purely socio-identity purposes and obligatorily connected with stages in earlier eras (Bucholtz, 2003). Bucholtz (2003: 398) defines authentic language as «language produced in authentic contexts by authentic speakers», an idea that is never static but dynamic, strongly linked to a shared identity that includes the values that hold social groups together, and that concerns any type of social communication: oral, gestural, visual, written. Additionally, a more timeless version of authenticity must also be taken into account, which is increasingly considered in the economic-commercial sphere and interconnected with the view of language as a fundamental resource of both identity pride and economic profit (Duchêne *et al.*, 2012). The real and commodified authenticity of a language, conveyed through grapho-visual elements in semiotic landscapes, is the subject of a diverse and growing number of studies. They have focused on authentication processes (Lacoste *et al.*, 2014) related to single words (Strandberg, 2020); sublexical parts, such as graphemes and diacritical marks (Presutti, 2021; 2022; Strandberg, 2020); calligraphy (Zhou *et al.*, 2013), and typography (Järlehed, 2015; Presutti, 2023). Moreover, other studies focused on the authenticity expressed by the use of non-dominant languages or writing systems which can highlight in specific urban locations a grapho-visual otherness with the dominant linguistic and grapho-linguistic systems (Lyons *et al.*, 2015; Moriarty, 2015; Wu *et al.*, 2020).

3. METHOD AND DATA

A critical discourse analysis is adopted in this research (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2001). In our case, we consider not only the linguistic text of the target signs, but also its discursive dialogue with the context in which it is developed and inscribed, as well as the metapragmatic discourse (Silverstein, 1993), highlighting the processes of creation and construction of the target elements.

We report two examples of use of traditional fonts in public-private and exclusively private commercial activities in two distinct urban areas of the Italian and Greek capital cities, Rome and Athens: the commercial establishments of *Mercato Testaccio* (Testaccio market), the market of the Testaccio district in Rome; and five commercial activities in the central Athenian district of Plaka. We focused our attention on these two areas because, as shown by previous studies (e.g., Ranaldi, 2009, 2012; Capodarte, 2009; Karachalis, 2015; Spirou, 2008; Gür, 2012), local citizens and tourists commonly characterize Testaccio and Plaka as bastions of authentic identity, both of which have involved since the 1970s and 1980s in the gentrification and commodification processes that have transformed the historic centers of Rome and Athens.

After conducting in-depth research on the main features of target fonts, and on social, architectural, and urban history of the two areas, oral semi-structured and recorded interviews were carried out. Excerpts of the interviewees' responses are shown in the appendix[2]. These mainly concerned the historical, social, and economic motivations that led to the creation of the graphic sign and to the use of the traditional font, as well as the possible semiotic links associated with the identity of the place, the community, and the owners of the activity. Regarding *Mercato Testaccio*, in January 2022 we interviewed the architect who created the new market, the graphic designer who produced the uniformed signs of individual stores and the market, and the president of the association of vendors;

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[2] Grammatical errors by interviewees are not attributable to the author of the article.

for Plaka's commercial activities, in August 2022 we interviewed the owner or the salesperson of five stores (cf. Table 1).

Table 1. *Interview details*

City district	Store name	Business type	Interviewee(s)
Testaccio (Rome, Italy)	TESTACCIO MARKET	Gastronomy, clothing, accessories, etc.	1A. Architect
			2A. President of market vendors association
			3A. Graphic designer
Plaka	ROMIOS TOURIST SHOP	Souvenir	1B. Owner
(Athens, Greece)	ACROPOL	Gastronomy	2B. Salesperson
	DAFNI	Accessories	3B. Salesperson
	GREEKKEY	Accessories	4B. Owner
	MUSEUM OF JEWELS	Accessories	5B. Owner

4. ROMAN TRADITIONAL FONTS IN STORE SIGNS OF TESTACCIO MARKET

In the first case analyzed, it is useful to provide, albeit briefly, the complex and layered relationship between the city of Rome and traditional typographic features of the Latin alphabet. This city is the cradle of Latin (i.e., the language from which the Romance languages originate and the basis of the supranational language of science and technology; cf. Drucker, 1995) and of the Latin alphabetical characters, which are still used to graphically represent many of the world's languages. Particularly, the epigraphic typography of the Latin alphabetical writing is inextricably linked to the architectural and urban development of Rome, and to the practical use of materials and social places that over the centuries originated and developed exclusively in this urban space (cf. Cicalò, 2018; Petrucci, 1986).

The main type used in monumental epigraphy throughout the Roman Empire in the classical age is the *Capitalis Romana*, which developed in Rome from the 4th century BCE until it reached a definitive style in the Augustan age in the 1st century BCE, except for slight variations in the Trajanic and Constantinian ages (Buonopane, 2021). For centuries it was considered throughout Europe as the archetype of the power of the Roman Empire (Cicalò, 2018). Whether political (such as the Roman and Carolingian Empires) or religious (as representation of the power of the Catholic Church), from the classical period through the Middle Ages it was used by all prominent European powers to ideologically connect with the prestige of Roman political power (cf. Petrucci, 1986).

In the Italian Renaissance it was revisited several times through greater geometrization of graphic features. Finally in the 20th century it formed the aesthetic basis of a large number of contemporary fonts still widely used in branding processes today (Figure 1 shows some renowned examples such as Palatino, Optima, Sabon and Trajan).

Figure 1. *Examples of traditional Roman*

ABCDE   ABCDE
Palatino, Hermann Zapf, 1950   Optima, Hermann Zapf, 1958

ABCDE   ABCDE
Sabon, Jan Tschichold, 1967   Trajan, Carol Twombly, 1989

The first of the two most in-depth cases of the use of traditional typefaces in business signs concerns the Testaccio market.

Although geographically part of the historic center, Testaccio has always been considered the 'historic periphery' of Rome due to its role as a popular and working-class neighborhood (Ranaldi, 2009; 2012). Testaccio was conceived as the main industrial district and developed in the first decades of the Italian state between the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Capodarte, 2009), purposely distant from the palaces of institutional power and the other central areas of the wealthier classes. The community identity of Testaccio has always been cohesive given its social homogeneity as a «working class ghetto» (Capodarte, 2009). Due to the fact that the district is primarily residential, its semiotic landscape is characterized by fewer graphic-visual signs than other areas in the historic center, which are instead rich in small stores, artisan workshops, and places of tourist-commercial attraction. In the rare presence of squares in the district's residential areas, one of the core centers for the maintenance and diffusion of Testaccio identity has been the local market (Ranaldi, 2009). Originally founded in 1926 in the main square of the district (i.e., *piazza Testaccio*), through a project financing entrusted to private entities, the municipality of Rome built a modern structure in another part of the district in 2012, just opposite the iconic *Ex-Mattatoio* (former slaughterhouse), a renovated multi-event center that bears an inscription in traditional typeface on its facade, as well as in its internal and external structures (cf. Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Traditional fonts present in inscriptions in the main entrance of Ex-Mattatoio, inside, and in the sign of a local traditions association placed on the perimeter of the structure, Rome (photos by the author, 2022). The original inscription in the top left-hand side states <STABILIMENTO DI MATTAZIONE> (Abbatoir establishment)*
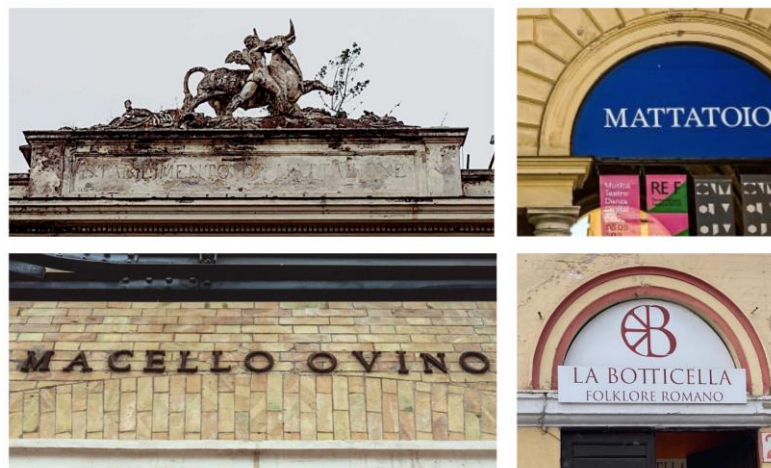
According to the architect of the work, the new market was born from the idea to create 'a market as a square': He wanted not only to innovate the commercial part of the old market, but also to provide the neighborhood with a space for sociality (cf. Appendix). The new market is discreetly inserted in the district, respecting and adapting itself to the pre-existing architectural, urban and socio-identity plan. Therefore, the plan and the materials used refer to those already present in the area, such as the terracotta used for the jars in the ancient Roman market present there, the iron used inside the slaughterhouse, the rectangular floor plan and the limited height that echoes the urban plan in which the residential working-class neighborhood was developed (cf. Appendix).

The typographic choice of both the signs of the market and of the single stores, which constitute a novelty with respect to the old market, are the traditional fonts Optima and Palatino (cf. Figure 3); the managing graphic designer and the president of the market vendors association explained that this was accepted by all the shopkeepers at the market's inauguration, and that they were chosen to describe the authenticity of Testaccio and its link with the prestigious past of Ancient Rome (cf. Appendix), as was the case with the choice of materials and plan for the structure (cf. Appendix). The typefaces serve to grapho-visually highlight an idea of Roman authenticity shared both by residents (who feel they are «the most Roman of all» as 2A repeatedly stated; cf. Appendix) and possibly by other Roman citizens and tourists who can recognize this implicit communication.

Figure 3. *Image 1: Market sign with Optima font. Image 2: Some individual internal business signs with Palatino font (photos by the author, 2022)*

5. PSEUDO-GREEK FONTS IN STORE SIGNS OF PLAKA

Whereas in the case of Testaccio we are dealing with proper fonts of the Latin alphabet, in the case of Plaka we are facing a *faux font* (Sutherland, 2015): the pseudo-Greek. Recently, this font is being used in commercial signs that evoke Greek language, culture, and identity, and it is mainly characterized by letterforms with 45-degree angles that resemble the middle part of the Greek letter Sigma to recall the Greek alphabet (e.g., in Figure 4).

Figure 4. *An example of pseudo-Greek*
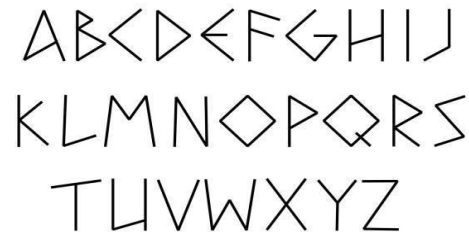
The five commercial signs examined are part of the semiotic landscape of Plaka, one of the central districts of the Greek capital Athens, and one of the most popular places for international tourism (Gür, 2012). Located on the northern side of the Acropolis hill, it constitutes one of the most symbolically relevant places in the capital and in Greece (Gür, 2012). Plaka has been uninterruptedly inhabited since the preclassical age, and still consists of an aesthetic, architectural and urbanistic mixture that highlights all the past historical eras which, among them, are very different: specifically, the classical age; the Ottoman domination; the neoclassical façades typical of the nineteenth-century nationalist ideology; a Greek island style present in a particular area of the district (i.e., Anafiotika) due to a migration from an island in the Cyclades to the capital. Finally, the aesthetic and grapho-visual effects of today's processes of 'disneyzation' and commodified authenticity are widespread in Plaka (Spirou, 2008). Given the location immediately underlying one of the city's main monuments (i.e., Acropolis), the first tourist stores began to appear as early as the 1960s (Karachalis, 2015). Plaka is considered a traditional village in the heart of the country's capital, in which the impetuous increase in the processes of tourism and gentrification for the high-income classes struggles to coexist with the neighborhood's residential soul, retail stores, and its high religious as well as artistic-cultural value (cf. Spirou, 2008).

In this area, pseudo-Greek is frequently present in graphic elements related to commercial activities or products, mimicking the Greek characters of public topography and most often representing the English language (e.g., Figure 5). We interviewed five traders from three jewelry stores, a restaurant and a souvenir store (cf. Table 1; some store signs are shown in Figure 6, and some excerpts of the respondents' answers are reported in the Appendix).

Figure 5. *Some commercial graphic elements using pseudo-Greek in Plaka, Athens (photos by the author, 2022)*

Although all the owners are Greek, they did not choose the national language and script, but preferred to use the Latin alphabet with pseudo-Greek characters to represent English text. According to the owner of *Romios* souvenir store, many people stop to see the store sign even if it is not too easy to read (cf. Appendix). He decided to restore his father's previous 1980 sign, using pseudo-Greek and adding both the national and European flag for being spotted easily by the tourists (cf. Image 2 in Figure 6 and Appendix). For other interviewees, this pseudo-font is easy to remember (3B and 4B, personal interview; cf. Appendix); it is grapho-visually striking despite the fact that it may not be easy to read and is a style suitable for an international area such as Plaka has now become (cf. Appendix). As can be seen in Figure 6 (Images 3 and 4) regarding the restaurant store signs, the pseudo-Greek used in the second sign (i.e., Image 4) in <ACROPOL> and <RESTAURANT CAFE> implicitly reminds the recipient of the authenticity of the product sold. It thus omits writing again <Greek Traditional Cuisine> (as in Image 3) to describe the business, assigning to the typographic features the role of presupposition trigger of an idea of commodified authenticity, possibly shared by issuer and potential customers alike.

Figure 6. *Three of five store signs analyzed in the semiotic landscape of Plaka*, *Athens (photos by the author, 2022): <GREEKKEY> jewelry (Image 1); <ROMIOS TOURIST SHOP> (Image 2); <ACROPOL> restaurant (Images 3 and 4)*

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The qualitative data analyzed, although limited in scope, show how typographic traits can constitute an important agent in the construction of social space and can exercise the role of presupposition trigger of socio-identity and cultural meanings.

In our specific case, traditional and pseudo-traditional fonts are chosen by owners and graphic designers of commercial signs in historical districts of Rome and Athens in order

to convey a more or less stereotyped idea of commodified authenticity with different scalar nuances: local type in Testaccio, issued by Roman users to Roman and non-Roman customers; national type in Plaka, issued by Greek users for almost exclusively non-Greek recipients.

Typographical mimicry may implicitly have positive connotations of authenticity in the Rome case due to mutual identity recognition of common ground (Stalnaker, 2002) between issuer and recipient. This was highlighted by the positive comments vendors received from customers frequenting the stands in the Testaccio market (2A, personal interview), as well as by the requests from local shop owners who contacted the graphic designer (3A, personal interview) for the same design in their store signs. This is confirmed, as pointed out in another recent study (Presutti, 2023), by its presence in signs belonging to the most varied commercial activities, even in suburban and non-tourist areas of the city, and also in the city's political-administrative brand logo for almost twenty years. Conversely, in the Athenian case, the use of pseudo-Greek can have negative connotations if interpreted by Greek recipients as an offensive stereotyping of such a relevant national character as alphabetic characters (Mackridge, 2009), as pointed out by one of the interviewees (1B, personal interview). Nonetheless, pseudo-Greek is used by Greek owners in Greek territory, in what Stalnaker (2002) defined as 'presuppositional accommodation': the use of pseudo-Greek not because Greek owners believe it is an authentic typeface that grapho-visually represents them, but because they believe that tourists consider it authentic. This is emphasized by the presence in store signs directly addressed to a foreign tourist public even in places where Greek and its alphabet are not the official language. Suffice it to consider, for example, the signs of Greek cuisine restaurants present in Rome today (thus outside the Greek state) that use Latin characters: more than half (i.e., 7 signs out of a total of 13 restaurants) typographically represent letters with pseudo-Greek. In the future, it will be necessary to confirm this observation with quantitative analyses about pseudo-Greek's possible presence or lack thereof in peripheral and less touristy areas of the same city (i.e., Athens).

In sum, interviews emphasize hypotheses about the close connection of typographic features with other paraverbal and nonverbal communicative elements (e.g., materials used, architectural and urban layout, colors, symbols such as coats of arms and flags; cf. Appendix). This intercommunicative dialogue could increase the chances of receivers activating the assumption of real or commodified authenticity. In addition, we can also highlight the importance of context and ideological common ground. In fact, the typographic characters used in commercial signs do not exclusively convey local or national ideologies of social-identity authenticity, because their implicit and shared meaning varies depending on the space and historical period in which the communication is set, the social actors involved and their communicative motivations, the verbal message and the commercial product attached to it. As reported in Figure 7, two other commercial signs of gastronomy stores in different districts of Rome both show how the same presuppositions provided in our analysis in Testaccio and Plaka would not be suitable when either the unconscious use of the font or a perfect sample of 'globalese' (i.e., a commercial register that suggests a «typographic-orthographic cosmopolitanism», Jaworski, 2015: 232) is experienced. Particularly, the foreign owner of the store sign reported in Image 1 stated that he used a traditional font similar to *Capitalis Romana* because everyone around him uses it (personal interview); moreover, in Image 2 the pseudo-Greek used in word <JAPPO> (combined with another *faux font* such as Chop Suey font for <ROMANO>) has no reference to Greek identity because this restaurant offers an unusual mixture of local and Japanese flavors (cf. Japporomano.it).

Figure 7. *Image 1: store sign <ORIENTAL GRILL> in Rome. Image 2: store sign <JAPPO ROMANO> in Rome (photos by the author, 2022)*

In future research, some of the shortcomings of this study should be further explored and refined: a quantitative analysis of all the signs in the two neighborhoods surveyed and in less touristic places could be carried out and compared; a sufficient number of recipients could be interviewed so as to analyze their awareness to this phenomenon; and the co-presence of multiple meanings associated with the same typographic feature could be better explored. Nonetheless, we believe that this research has contributed to highlight the importance of examining the 'unspoken' paraverbal (specifically typographical) communication of written language, which is greatly utilized and layered in the semiotic landscapes of the contemporary global world.

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APPENDIX

Excerpts from the interview with the architect of *Mercato Testaccio* (A1):

(A1) [...] All'inizio è stata una proposta che ho fatto, una ricerca sulla tipologia di mercati: facciamo dei mercati che siano delle piazze, invece dei mercati con il recinto, con i padiglioni. Volevo riproporre la proposta del "mercato come piazza". [...] [Abbiamo fatto] Soprattutto un lavoro di discrezione, perché intervenire in un centro storico bisogna avere discrezione. Abbiamo fatto un'opera che si inserisce come altezza, come profili, come cornici, il più discretamente possibile. La ricerca dei materiali, l'acciaio, la terracotta, che sono materiali [presenti] di fronte all'Ex-Mattatoio e in tutta l'archeologia industriale di quella zona. [...] Il

mercato di Testaccio è la ripetizione dello schema di quadrati della pianta di Testaccio. [...] L'uso del [font] Palatino [nell'insegna del mercato] non stona con l'ambiente, può passare per antica romana.

[Translation: (A1) [...] At first it was a proposal I made, a research on the typology of markets: let's make markets that are squares, instead of markets with a fence, with pavilions. I wanted to reintroduce the proposal of the "market as a square." [...] [We did] Above all a work of discretion, because intervening in a historic center you should have discretion. We made a work that fits in as height, as profiles, as frames, as discreetly as possible. The search for materials, steel, terracotta, which are materials [present] in front of the Ex-Mattatoio and in all the industrial archeology of that area. [...] The Testaccio market is a repetition of the pattern of squares in the Testaccio plan. [...] The use of [font] Palatine [in the market sign] does not clash with the environment, it can pass for ancient Roman.]

Excerpts from the interview with the president of the Testaccio market vendor association (A2):

(A2) Nel gennaio e febbraio 2012 sono state fatte le scritte [insegne]. Di comune accordo con l'architetto e il grafico, abbiamo usato [i font] Palatino e Optima per richiamare la famosa scritta sulla Colonna Traiana, perché siamo romani autentici. Anche chi è venuto dopo [commercianti insediatisi nel mercato dopo l'inaugurazione del 2012] la maggior parte ha accettato e seguito questa idea. [...] Per noi testaccini è molto importante essere riconosciuti come "i più romani di tutti". Questo stile lo vuole ricordare a tutti.

[Translation: (A2) In January and February 2012 the lettering [store signs] was done. By mutual agreement with the architect and graphic designer, we used Palatine and Optima [fonts] to recall the famous inscription on Trajan's Column, because we are authentic Romans. Even those who came later [vendors who settled in the market after the 2012 opening] mostly accepted and followed this idea. [...] For us *Testaccini* [neighborhood residents] it is very important to be recognized as "the most Roman of all". This style wants to remind everyone of that.]

Excerpts from the interview with the owner of *Romios tourist shop* (B1):

(Me)   [...] Was the store sign always this way?

(B1) No. It was the same name: the tourist shop, the classic one from 80s, but it was in wooden made. After the renovation of the shop, everything was broken down so we [he with his father] made a new one. The material changed, plus we add[ed] the Greek flag and the European flag. And the ancient way of writing; one of the classic era. [...]

(Me)   [...] Why did you change the store sign?

(B1) My father was an old man with old ideas. He liked to show up the tourist people the Greek way. [...] He needed something to be spotted easily. Letters are not so easy. But many people stop to see it, for reading it.

(Me)   Is this [pseudo-Greek] font a Greek symbol?

(B1) Yes, of course. I believe it's part of culture, of the tradition. This is the way they used to write. You see it in the museums, in scripts, and the vases. [It is linked with] The stuff that we sell: vases, statues, and stuff like that.

(Me)   Are your customers more Greek or foreigners?

(B1) Tourists. There are Greek people, but most of them are tourists.

Excerpts from the interview with the *Acropol* restaurant vendor (2B):

(Me)   [...] Are the customers local or international?

       (2B) The area over here work with tourist. International area, you know. International style.

(Me)   Are you selling Greek traditional food?

       (2B) Yes. This place has traditional food, but we prefer [writing the menu in] English.

Excerpts from the interview with the owner of *Greekkey* jewelry (4B):

(Me)   Why did you choose this font?

       (4B) I am using the Greek letters [font] because it is very easy for the Americans and foreigners to read it, to remember it. It's easy for people to remember it.

(Me)   And the customers are local or international?

       (4B) International. 90%.