

Semiotics of Fashion

Bianca Terracciano

Summary. This contribution aims at systematising the various works in the field of Italian fashion semiotics, proceeding by topicalisation, from the general to the particular, starting from the moment in which it is defined as a language by Umberto Eco, passing through its eminently sensible repercussion on the body with Paolo Fabbri, and arriving at styles, trends, connections with other disciplines, objects and places, thanks to some of the prominent exponents of the Italian scientific community. During the review of these various perspectives, some parallelisms will be made with the contemporary world to trace their influence on the analysis of the most recent phenomena in the fashion system.

Keywords. Fashion, body, objects, places, trends

Zusammenfassung. Dieser Beitrag zielt darauf ab, die verschiedenen Arbeiten im Bereich der italienischen Modesemiotik systematisch zu erfassen. Dabei erfolgt eine strukturierte Gliederung von allgemeinen Aspekten bis hin zu spezifischen Themen. Beginnend mit der Konzeption der Mode als Sprache durch Umberto Eco, wird die Bedeutung der Mode auf den Körper und die Sinneswahrnehmung durch Paolo Fabbri betrachtet. Anschließend werden Stile, Trends, Verbindungen zu anderen Disziplinen, Objekten und Orten im Kontext des Modesystems unter Einbeziehung einiger herausragender Vertreter der italienischen wissenschaftlichen Gemeinschaft untersucht. Im Rahmen dieser Betrachtungen werden auch Parallelen zum zeitgenössischen Kontext gezogen, um den Einfluss auf die Analyse neuerer Phänomene im Bereich der Mode aufzuzeigen.

Schlüsselwörter. Mode, Körper, Objekte, Orte, Trends

1. Fashion as semiotics' field of choice

Fashion semiotics focuses on the signified, produced and generated by the relationships between the objects that belong to its system. It is a theoret-

ical field of research that provides an object of knowledge to be constructed, analysed, and understood through a set of methodological tools, which make it possible to go beyond, without stopping at a mere phenomenological description, since semiotics requires, by constitution, to go deeper. Analysing fashion in semiotic terms does not mean giving a detailed account of how the garment is made or what poses the models assume. It is much more than that.

In Italy, perhaps because of structural peculiarities of national bias, almost all semioticians have encountered fashion during their analyses.¹ Some scholars have written extensively about it and have included it among their primary research interests, also because, as Roland Barthes has always stated, fashion is certainly one of the most fertile areas for the application of semiotics because it is homologous to the discipline in terms of structure: both are made up of paradigmatic [or ... or] and syntagmatic [and ... and] relations between objects and states, between actions and volitions. An outfit, a total look, is nothing but a sum of elements chosen to produce meanings, to make an abstraction concrete. These elements must be harmonious, and their arrangement must be implemented neatly, following certain codes and rules. On the practical and functional side, one cannot wear two pairs of shoes at the same time, nor a coat and a cloak at the same time. Even, according to the changing seasons and the various spirits of the time, certain colour combinations or specific garments can be banned because they are “out of fashion”.

The low number of structured courses in Italian universities has probably slowed down the frequency of publications in this field compared to other research fields. However, Italian fashion semiotics has maintained a constant liveliness in one way or another and has distinguished itself for its many branches.

This contribution aims at systematising the various works in the field of Italian fashion semiotics, proceeding by topicalisation, from the general to the particular, starting from the moment in which it was defined as a language by Umberto Eco, passing through its eminently sensible repercussion on the body with Paolo Fabbri, and arriving at styles, trends, connections with other disciplines, objects and spaces, thanks to some of the prominent exponents of the Italian scientific community. During the review of these various perspectives, I will make some parallelisms with the contemporary world to trace their influence on the analysis of the most recent phenomena in the fashion system.

2. Fashion is communication

Once one begins to explore the field of fashion semiotics, the world is no longer the same.

It is no coincidence that Umberto Eco writes that semioticians, or lovers of the subject, can hardly pick up clothes and accessories randomly,

without having the distinct feeling of making an ideological choice: or at least, of drafting a message, an open letter to passers-by, and to those they will meet during the day (Eco 1972: 7, my translation).

Even if Eco refers to a tie, his point is clear: “clothing is communication”, but it must be considered “in the context of an associated life” (Eco 1972: 8). As Algirdas Greimas and Jacques Fontanille would say, in the context of a “form of life”.

If everything is communication, then clothing can function as a signal. Eco proposes a very up-to-date example, especially in the contemporary world, of fashion shaming, i.e. considering the garment as the cause of the effect, which unfortunately is not always pleasant.

She has a miniskirt: she is a flighty girl. In Catania.
 She wears a miniskirt: she is a modern girl. In Milan.
 She has a miniskirt, in Paris: she is a girl.
 In Hamburg, has a miniskirt at Eros: perhaps he is a boy
 (Eco 1972: 22, my translation).

The miniskirt is not only a fashion object, but it can communicate a given semantic value proportional to the culture and the point of view from which it can be observed; conveying belonging, way of being, and age. This overall view, *tout court*, is the prerogative of semiotic ambition, or rather of its being able to explain not a single phenomenon but its entire system. Roland Barthes, to whom Eco refers for a more in-depth study of the semiotics of fashion, also uses the miniskirt to highlight how garments can tell a story and therefore should not be catalogued only under the uncovered/covered body category.

Eco is aware that Barthes sets limits to the analysis of fashion by restricting the corpus to the verbal text, and he predicts, although far from the inception of Instagram, the need to analyse it as a “properly articulated visual language”.

There are objects intended for physical and communicative functions, but when they lose their functionality they become signs, and this occurs in the fashion system, where codes and conventions apply. Fashion is built on a “solid grammar”, enforced by the so called “fashion police”, although there are also weak codes alongside this robustness because they change and disappear quickly. This is what Barthes defined as a *process* of signification that corresponds, as Gianfranco Marrone also points out, to the transformative moment which produces fashion, bringing the world towards (syncretic) language and vice versa (Marrone 2001: 24). The grammar of fashion may admit controlled variations in the range of seasonal trends, or the dress code is so structured that it must be respected under threat of stringent sanctions. For example, in 2021, Kim Jong-un banned skinny jeans, piercings and unconventional haircuts in North Korea to defend the nation from the spreading Westernism. These fashion items and practices

are considered acts that communicate a non-verbal reactionary way of thinking, and their use is punishable by 15 years imprisonment in a labor camp or even death.

Here it emerges how fashion can be the elective field of semiotic theory because clothing is a language that, like the verbal one, transmits meanings through signifiers, which also serve to convey ideologies and value systems. Ideologies and values, as well as symbols, fluctuate depending on their context, therefore Eco encourages to analyse the weak dress codes at the time of their manifestation during their discourse. Society also talks through the garment; one must learn to listen.

2. From French to Italian Fashion Semiotics

Although the semiotics of fashion has been codified “recently” within French structuralism, first by Algirdas Julien Greimas’s doctoral thesis (1948) and then by Roland Barthes’s *Le système de la mode* (1967), much has been written about fashion in various disciplinary fields where it has been explored from its birth and diffusion to its plurality.

An interdisciplinary spirit characterises the first Italian anthology entitled *Semiotics of Fashion*, edited in 2005 by Massimo Baldini (ed. 2005a). More than a collection of semiotic contributions, the volume covers various perspectives, especially the sociological one. In addition to international semioticians whose studies on fashion have been foundational, such as Jurij Lotman, Pëtr Bögatirev and Roland Barthes, as well as the Italians who had written most about fashion in those years – Ugo Volli and Patrizia Calefato – Baldini tries to collect a variety of points of view on characteristics, power, and language of fashion.

A year later, in 2006, Gianfranco Marrone curated and partly translated a collection of essays by Roland Barthes (Marrone 2006) focused on the semantic universe of clothing and the various forms of manifestation of its meaning: garments, body, accessories, designers such as Chanel and Courrèges, and forms of life that complete the horizon already traced through the analysis of magazines with the fashion system.

If Eco in 1972 affirmed that clothes “talk” the man, Marrone points out that “clothes are told in many ways”: from literature to television, from advertising to gossip, the garment takes the floor at home, in the street, in the places of consumption. Marrone compares Barthes’s fashion system with that of the new Millennium, where the boundary between the telling and the speaking of clothes is increasingly blurred. Barthes is interested in the written fashion, in the way of motivating its arbitrariness, trying to reconstruct – starting from the printed paper – a social mythology. As it is well known, Barthes focuses exclusively on the verbal text, on articles and descriptions, excluding the image from the corpus of analysis. However, the images role seems to be of fundamental importance in the new Millennium, as Marrone points out, also because of the increased expertise of

the reader of the fashion magazine. Given the progress of research on signification, Marrone highlights another change in the fashion system compared to the era of Barthes, that is, the progressive evolution of trends that do not last just one year but expand over a more extensive time period. Trends are no longer determined by the oligarchy of the fashion group but by the instances of consumers, by the identity demands of forms of life (Marrone 2006: XI).

Starting with Barthes, Marrone also tries to end the long-standing opposition between the sociological study of costume and the semiotic analysis of fashion, clarifying that the disciplinary division serves as a tactical function and derives from an analytical difficulty. At least in the semiotics of fashion, Barthes made a practice of the compilation of the inventory of invariant vestimentary forms to be validated with the commutation test, i.e. the verification of the actual correspondence of changes in signifieds depending on changes in signifiers. The change is achieved through modifications that affect the articulation of meaning, or its redundant expressive elements (Marrone 2006: XIX). The problem is that the expression plane and the content plane are not conforming; therefore, no automatic connection between signifiers and meanings can be established. Thus, it is necessary to work on that semiological system called “myth” by Barthes (1957), on narrated fashion. So, the difference between sociology and semiotics lies in the work on the text, on the various types of discourse that nestle in the fashion system.

Here Greimas helps with the selection of the global semantic field of micro-universes on which to apply the theory of narrativity and from which to identify variants, invariants, idiosyncrasies, and pertinences (Marrone 2006: XX). The recovery and translation in Italian of the main concepts discussed by Greimas in his doctoral thesis *La Mode en 1830* are owed to Isabella Pezzini, who began a more in-depth study of the volume in conjunction with the implementation of the course of Semiotics of Fashion at Sapienza University of Rome, the only professorship in Italy with such specificity (Pezzini 2017, 2020a).

Greimas, even before Barthes, selects from magazines the objects and forms of fashion and their denominations because, being subject to perpetual and rapid changes that are reflected in the correspondent designating terms, they turn out to be an unmatched field of linguistic and semiotic analysis (Greimas 1948: 6). As Isabella Pezzini points out, Greimas is the one who invented the semiotics of fashion and recognised its linguistic innovations. Communicating fashion does not consist of the mere description of objects, but includes establishing the norms of dressing according to the spirit of the times, by formulating rational explanations of style changes that would otherwise be incomprehensible. Being fashionable begins with the verbal text, so much so that locutions like “season must-have” function as qualifying designations that exalt the value of the object from the point of view of a “pure” state of style. Pezzini notes that Greimas does not consider his fashion lexicon a collection of words but an organic totality.

“Greimas sets the semiological direction that will later be the starting point of Barthes’ work” (Pezzini 2020a). Hence, anyone in the world becomes a witness to the permanent evolution of the lexicon of the fashion system, increasingly, at least for non-English and French speakers, dominated by foreignism. If until the 1970s, the dominance of the French language was undisputed, with the establishment of the U.S. as the decision-making pole of trends, the dictionary of fashion has undergone a linguistic change still in progress. Greimas had anticipated this, remarking that in the lexicon of fashion, stable terms are rare, and in general, there remain those that are more generic or concern the essential traits of civilization (hat, shirt, etc.), or the techniques of manufacture (sequins, bouclé), the names of metals, precious stones, and the most common fabrics.

Starting from these premises aiming to continue Pezzini’s studies, I analysed Greimas’s classification of neologisms, trying to build a dictionary of contemporary fashion² (Terracciano 2019: 133). Greimas points out the existence of “passive” and “active neologisms”, considered a cognitive effort to create the lexicon most suitable to *Zeitgeist* and its innovations. Passive neologisms arise because their form changes gradually, without affecting the naming, making only the meaning evolve, as in “leggings”, a term used to refer first to spats and then to soft, tight pants. Even changes in the function of garments and accessories can determine passive neologisms because their status remains stable: this is the case of undergarments that become externalised, such as the slip dress or the bralette. On the other hand, Greimas divides the active neologisms into two categories, namely of “word” and of “meaning”: the first ones represent an innovation also from the phonetic and morphological point of view, the others requalify and re-semanticise with a new meaning an already existing garment or accessory (Terracciano 2019: 134). Arbitrariness characterises neologisms of form, declined into onomatopoeic – “frou-frou”, from the sound of swishing – or borrowed from foreign languages as in anglicisms or arising from the addition of functional prefixes and suffixes that, by analogy, change the sense of pre-existing words. This leads Greimas to the neologisms of signification created through the juxtaposition of nouns or adjectives (“faux fur”) or locutions composed by coordination, dependence, improper derivations or figurative expressions, the latter obtained by stylistic procedures such as synecdoche, metaphors, and metonyms (Terracciano 2019: 141). The discussion on these theoretical conceptualisations has been systematised by Pezzini and me in the first anthology entirely dedicated to the Semiotics of Fashion published in Italy, conceived for students and professionals (Pezzini and Terracciano eds. 2020).

In the study of contemporary fashion, one must consider that if in the epoch of Barthes and Greimas the creation and construction of metalanguage were entrusted mainly to magazines, today the daily annotation regarding outfits has moved to social networks, which now preserve the traces of changes in specialised terminology, denoting, also thanks to hyperbole and redundancy, the continuous quest for new words of greater expres-

sive value and evocative power, which break the barriers of a closed vocabulary, opening the way to terms that are a source of metaphorical correspondence and hypotyposis.

3. Fashion trajectories and marks

Paolo Fabbri defines fashion as something most evident to the eye and most individual to the subject, whether in space or time. For Fabbri, time and space have equal importance in the fashion system because the former regulates its rhythm, while the latter determines the point of view. Although, besides the obvious issue of trends, a problem of code, the immediate level of the “evenemential” should also be analysed (Fabbri 2001). The factual level emphasises the importance of the present of fashion, then punctually aspectualises its transformative efficacy.

According to Fabbri, fashion goes in a spiral because it brings marginality to the core, the eccentric to the norm, operating a centripetal movement. Fabbri certainly had Lotman in mind when formulating this conceptualisation, especially considering what happens at the confines of the semiosphere, porous enough to incorporate innovation from the outside, from alterity, and carry it to its centre, translating it from its identitary nucleus (Lotman 1984).

For Fabbri, the paradoxical process of standardisation of difference describes the essence of fashion, which promises to be different and the same simultaneously. One thing is the total look, which imposes a way of dressing, a posture, an attitude; another is what Fabbri defines as the “partialization” of bodies, in other words, the bricolage-style known as “mix & match”. If one analyses fashion from this dual perspective, it is clearly necessary to distinguish forms from substance, which is often forgotten. Fabbri suggests the example of punk, whose forms repudiated the optimistic tendency of the hippies, replacing their polychromy with black, the non-colour of the “no-future”, and its fluid and light fabrics with heavy materials such as metal studs, plastic, leather, culminating in the violation of human flesh through piercings and tattoos. Fabbri notes how much, in contemporaneity, clothing features have been translated straight onto human flesh, sculpted in the gym, by the surgeon or through piercings, body paintings and tattoos. Tattooing fascinates Fabbri because it gives him the opportunity to apply a “marked semiotics” to the *artification* of the body, analysed both on the expression plane and the content plane. The practice of tattooing is a trend that has denied its original meanings of marks of belonging and signs of the criminal world, re-semantising them in a pure expression of identity, in the narration of being (Fabbri 2021). Tattooing makes the body, turned into art, cross over into the signification of fashion: it is enough to observe the evolution of tattoo trends over the last few decades to understand that their trends have been evident, as demonstrated in the Nineties by the graphic and plastic supremacy of tribals and the Celtic armband, followed by the explosion of

pictograms in the old-school style inspired by sailors. Present in the background, as an invariant trait, remain verbal texts (aphorisms, names of loved ones) and Japanese-style tattoos, in which Geishas and carps predominate.

At this stage, one can assert with Fabbri that fashion does not mean just any kind of body, but a model of a body (Fabbri 2001). Fashion can be entirely sensory as it is the bearer of synaesthesia, even if some senses stand out above the others in relation to different eras.

On this subject, I would like to refer to Fabbri's considerations on the discourses of social fashion, enjoyed via the smartphone screen since they are purely visual. Think of Instagram stories, where any object of the fashion system – jeans, t-shirt, bag, shoes – is promoted by an influencer who incorporates it into their everyday life, showing its performance in reality (Terracciano 2017).

Wearing a fashionable object corresponds to manipulating the Addressee-followers in order to make them desire it, to modalise them according to the “wanting to do” mentality. Through Instagram stories, the Addressers-influencers are also in charge of transmitting competencies regarding everyday fashion. By performing simple and common actions they enable Addressee-followers to check how suitable those jeans are for a certain performance, i.e., for traveling, going to a restaurant, etc.

So far, we have dealt with three of the four phases of Greimas's canonical narrative scheme; only the sanction is missing. We therefore have to take into account two sides of the same coin: on the one hand, the Addresser-influencer rewards the good follower with a discount code or with a direct interaction via Instagram, or through the link accessed via “swipe up”, which is the interpellation of the gesture that transports the follower into the purchasing space; on the other hand, it is precisely in this concluding moment that the actantial roles are reversed, elevating the Addressee to the position of judge (Terracciano 2020b).

When the actantial conversion takes place, followers weigh up what the influencers propose to finalise their purchase choice. They cannot touch the fashion object and so rely on another body to internalise it simultaneously with its vision, picturing a “mental” image of that garment on their bodies in daily life. Followers have three senses at their disposal, touch, hearing and sight, although it is only through the latter that they can exercise haptic perception since they cannot directly experience textures and volumes. Getting into the influencer's moment of life means projecting oneself into them, here and now, triggering a *débrayage* of the sensory domain starting from vision itself, which, as Jacques Fontanille states, “shares a conspicuous number of properties with the other senses”, and operates in “a mode called haptics, through which one ‘touches’ the surface and the shape of the object with the gaze” (Fontanille 2003: 165–166, my translation).

Instagram stories represent a mediation of visual, affective, and experiential nature, where the optical rises to the haptic, determining a seeing that feels, touches, knows and also fosters an understanding of the double bond between influencer and follower, expressed by a relationship of mime-

sis, i.e. where two subjects mirror each other, unfolding the freedom to self-identify, embodying and make sensible the invariants of fashion (Derrida 1975: 48).

Lights, colours, angles and gestures become the basis for the eidetic and actantial conversion triggered by the Instagram story: the influencer's body coincides with that of the follower, while the vision becomes tactile.

Thanks to the haptic, epidermal vision, and its proprioception, the expression plane and the content plane are brought together, in a relationship that underlies the proper process of signification of the text-story, through which meaning can be effectively conveyed (Fontanille 2003: 208).

4. The body-garment-culture relation

The body model signified by fashion is obtained through tailoring, design, features of the fabric (weight and sheen), structural and/or decorative elements (e.g. basque, belt, collar, etc.). Lines, cuts, seams and shapes make the body move in a precise way, assume a specific posture because, as Umberto Eco explains:

By imposing an exterior demeanor, clothes are semiotic artifices or rather devices for communication. This was already known, but the parallel with the syntactic structures of the language that, according to many, influence the way to articulate the thinking was not yet attempted. The syntactic structures of clothing language also affect the way people see the world, and in a much more physical way than the *consecutio temporum* or the existence of the Subjunctive (Eco 1983: 264).

Garments induce one to keep a demeanour and to worry about what may happen to the body and the garment depending on gestures and situations, developing, as it happens to Eco while wearing a pair of jeans, a kind of “heteroconsciousness”, or, better said, an epidermic self-consciousness because clothing, as a signifier, orients behaviours and relationships (Eco 1983: 262–263). A garment is indeed a fashion object, but it is endowed with a unique status because of its aesthetic valorisation, so it should be considered an affordance with synaesthetic qualities and an embedded value system. The garment englobes a sum of styles, of those who design it and those who wear it, social and cultural identities as well as anatomical references, and its functions are determined precisely from these elements and its morphology. A garment establishes the narrative path of the subjects since it manipulates them according to a “having-to-do”, in other words, how they wear it, implying an acquired competence, a knowing-what-to do, which leads to action, to the most suitable occasion of use relative to the “doing-to-be”. Between the garment (the modalising subject) and the wearer (the modalised subject) a contract is established that presupposes a persuasive and interpretative doing, both translated through the body and its relationship with the contexts of use.

Is it the garment that gives meaning to the body from the point of view of a social signified of the costume?

Yes, because clothing is an affordance of the body and vice versa, but the inclusion of aesthetic enhancements becomes necessary because, as mentioned, the function of covering the body is not the only one contemplated. The dress becomes a sort of artificial skin in which the human body rises to a parameter of invariance, a limitation of variation.

In this regard, Maria Pia Pozzato theorises a dual role of the relative constancy of the body schema: clothes support and obey the body and its functional needs, but at the same time, they modify and distort it, creating a second cultured and idealised version (Pozzato 2001: 86).

Body shapes structure the garment in the sense that they lend it points of support and limits or are constrained or freed by the clothing itself. Parts of the body can be negated or emphasised, following symmetries for the harmony of the figure or, by additions, they can be asymmetrical. Thus, the body becomes a discourse of plastic formants (eidetic, topological, chromatic elements), which express the logic of the styles of a given epoch and are oriented by figurative formants that enable the recognition of figures of the world in the visual text, to be also investigated in the correspondence with the content plane.

For Pozzato, “fashions fabricate around the shape and dimensions of the body a true visual discursive rhetoric”, and it is precisely through these visual representations of the body-clothing relation that the *Zeitgeist* is communicated (Pozzato 2001: 86–89).

The fashion body is therefore always new, perpetually deformed and a mirror of social identity. In the “eternal return of the new” and in the ever-recurring cycle of trends, there is the limit of fashion’s semiosphere: its forms, its form of social life, incorporate people involving them in a continuous process of birth and death of silhouettes, widths, and volumes, uncovered and covered body parts. To this last semantic category, condensed in the veil, Pozzato has dedicated much attention, correlating it to the regimes of visibility of the body imposed by styles, necessity and culture.

Pozzato compares the veil in the West (bridal gowns, transparencies) and in the Middle East with the coverage regimes of the Modest Fashion, namely that type of clothing that responds to the codes of the Islamic religion, which overcomes the cultural division between being fashionable and respecting the culture of origin (Pozzato 2012, 2020).

Depending on the contexts, garments and parts of the body that are “forbidden” can be covered or revealed, whether for reasons of culture or nature. The nude look of the 1990s, for example, arose in response to the immobilisation of the body by the garments of the 1980s because it sets aside

the stasis/movement opposition, upon which was built the fashion body like a statue, giving way to a different issue, which revolves instead around the categories private/public, intimate/exhibited (Pozzato 2012: 120–121).

The level of veiling pertains to a semiotic dimension of culture that establishes the differences between identity and alterity, merging them into signification. In this regard, Ugo Volli states that

[it] is precisely with respect to the concrete relationship with the body, in different societies, that the significant organization of clothing is articulated (Volli 2020).

Of course, fashion is obliged to make compromises with culture, but it is often the case that the latter is taken as a model of innovation (Calefato 2021). Paolo Sorrentino, for example, offers an empirical demonstration of this by investigating Sardinian costume from a Lotmanian perspective, using an emblematic garment of Sardinian tradition, *sa mastruca*, re-semantised in the current fashion system in the guise of a fur vest (Sorrentino 2020). A similar case, with higher media exposure, can be found in Asian costume, with the now widely used Japanese *kimono*, or with the less common Korean *hanbok*, which is continuously growing in popularity thanks to the spread of the k-pop music genre, which together with the traditional dress becomes an activator of translation of the culture of origin (Terracciano 2021).

5. Styles and trends

Omar Calabrese addresses a matter of methodology from the term *stilisti* [fashion designer], which means designers of style because their works are intended as an autonomous but also dependent object of art. This implies that the stylist offers an actualised tool that must be realised by the people who wear the garment and the accessory, interpreting their style. Calabrese would probably be surprised to see that lately, in Italian, the word *stilisti* has been replaced by *designer* or *creative director*, where the first term describes being a fashion designer, while the second refers to a superintending task that involves drawing a line, a style to be followed. In the latter case, “the style of the *stilisti*” emphasised by Calabrese makes even more sense because the creative director must not only suggest a direction to the final consumer but also to all the departments of the Maison. So, the style is a vision; it can direct taste and create possible worlds of aesthetic experience.

Calabrese proposes to consider both how designers organise their work and the lifestyle suggested to potential clients – on the one hand, artistic styles, on the other, forms of life. In the first case, it could be possible to refer to the macro-categorisation classic vs baroque proposed by Heinrich Wölfflin about the history of art and also used by Jean-Marie Floch (1995) in his analysis of the distinctive elements of Chanel. In Italy this could be classified in brands having a classicist inspiration such as Armani and Max Mara versus the ones propending for baroque as seen in Dolce & Gabbana, Gucci, Moschino, Versace, with whom Calabrese worked on two publications (Calabrese and Versace eds. 1991, 1993).

The opposition is not so sharply defined, because the style of stylists changes according to fashion and their creative streak: Gucci by Tom Ford was the acme of the classic style in the Nineties, but Alessandro Michele is the ultimate contemporary baroque. Calabrese argues that there is always something more in the sum of the various distinctive elements of a brand, triggering a “cocktail effect” whose ingredients are recognisable only in theory, in the recipe, but the flavour comes from their combination. The power of creolisation depicts the value of mixing styles and genres, of various universes of discourse, in an era in which radical innovation is increasingly impossible, and therefore one must cite and re-semantise in order to create something new (Calabrese 1992: 204).

Ugo Volli, in this regard, explains the pluralism of discourses and images with the passage from fashion to styles, understood as a claim to identity, which he attributes to postmodernism (Volli 1998: 9–11).

For Massimo Baldini the diffusion of styles begins from the centre to the periphery with the trickle-down effect theorised by Simmel and Veblen, but then the movement reverses and becomes both centrifugal and centripetal (Baldini ed. 2005b: 10). Although, in the latter case the centre is determined by influential people – in the early 2000s by entertainment celebrities, while in 2021 even by ordinary people with a large audience called influencers, model medial bodies who have the power to influence the collective imagination, especially concerning hair fashion, considered an invariant and distinctive feature of the star system members.

As Patrizia Calefato notices, trickle-down reverses into a bubble-up effect. This has been demonstrated by fashion objects such as the miniskirt and jeans. Ugo Volli’s study of jeans is fundamental to understand this transition, since they are considered a pure signifier that adapts to the context or the wearers (Volli 1991). Everyone can wear jeans in any circumstance, it is sufficient to build the outfit system of which they are a part according to the context. Starting from these premises, Calefato proposes one of her best-known theoretical conceptualisations, namely mass fashion, which is characterised by the manifestation of “a complexity of tensions, signifieds and values – not only related to the clothing dimension” (Calefato 1996: 7). In such complexity, the forms of life and, therefore, the styles that characterise them are substantiated.

Consequently, the trickle-down effect is subverted by the influence of subcultures, by the change of trends, as Ted Polhemus (1994) stated, from the sidewalk to the catwalk, even if the opposite remains a constant. According to Gianfranco Marrone, in the 2000s there is no longer just one style to choose from, but one can operate a bricolage, a patchwork of identities through style surfing (Marrone 2006: XI). Here, trends originate not from the world of production but from the one of consumption, and then they are re-semantised by designers. Therefore, Marrone clarifies, the analysis of the fashion system nowadays must take into account the texts that explain and institutionalise it and the concrete dressing practices. For Marrone, the method that should be adopted is sociosemiotics, capable of typologising

the practices and experiences of individuals or of the forms of life to which they belong, correlating them with the aesthetic and sensible dimension. The originality of semiotics as a science of signification resides in its ability to apply original analytical tools to socio-cultural discourses and texts, which are complementary to those of other social sciences (Marrone 2006: XII). Please note that Marrone does not intend to declare Barthes's *modus operandi* obsolete, but to expand the range of the semiotic objects, as he considers fashion

the comprehensive meaning effect of these complex operations of inter-semiotic and intra-discursive translation through which a continuous resemantization of the garment is operated for purposes that are both aesthetic and social, literary and symbolic (Marrone 2006: XIII).

In other words, there is no longer the pyramidal oligarchy of the Barthesian era, and the styles of the urban tribes are worthy of belonging to the Fashion System on a par with those designed on paper patterns, thus becoming, more than a philosophy of life with an immanent dimension, a cultural code. Therefore, trends must be investigated by tracing the form of life from which they originate, namely a semiotic organisation characteristic of individual and collective identities, endowed with both a plane of expression and a plane of content, functioning autonomously in the semiosphere (Fontanille 2015).

At this point, what is left to establish are the criteria of being fashionable. Giulia Ceriani as a semiotician of trends has been working on systematising criteria that can extensively define being and not being fashionable (Ceriani 1995: 231). The diffusion of fashion trends is based on two criteria: contamination and intersubjectivity (*ivi*: 232). The adherence to fashion, then, pertains to a choice that is inscribed in the acceptance of a particular value system and the recognition of some silhouettes rather than others as meaningful. As Ceriani points out, bodies, lines and shapes do indeed express the relevant configuration in a specific time, but this is not a discourse that can be reduced to attributing to fashion a merely synchronic and, above all, univocal balance. In the fashion system, model bodies exist simultaneously, but they are categorised as salient according to their figurative traits and cultural significance by the enunciators who decide to adhere to the proposed values. In this regard, the forms of manipulation enacted during the communication of trends and collections are crucial. Ceriani formulates the example of the brand, which must construct a discursive universe whose manifestations are coordinated by expressing a vertical and horizontal coherence if it must make itself recognisable through a series of characterising traits that form a replicable and shareable norm. In the horizontal coherence, the meaningfulness of a brand is organised on a plastic and somatic plane, therefore of the fashion value on a visual level. In magazines, for example, the relevant configurations of fashion are proposed through body types, thematic roles, settings. By analysing some

covers of *Vogue*, chosen transversally from various transnational editions, Ceriani concludes that fashion value is invested starting from figural traits, which describe proxemic, directional, dynamic and consistency relations, from which the *saisie esthétique* and passions are generated.

From the figural, Ceriani moves to the figurative manifestation of trends and their sensible impact, which she classifies into macro-categories such as fluidity, visualisation, access, sharing, and mixing (Ceriani 2020: 112). The trend resides in fashion because the latter is

a metonymic laboratory of anticipation, where the discourse of the world is concentrated and finds its provisional and frivolous form, for this very reason the more needed (*ivi*: 111).

Fashion and trend are expressed in different dimensions: objective (e-commerce), subjective (supermodels, celebrities, influencers), discursive (spaces, advertising campaigns), and corporeal (fashion showed on social media and in the streets). If the trend is a vector, fashion acts as its catalyst, transforming it into sensitive issues. This can be attributed to fashion's power of iconisation, which simplifies the interpretation and communication of the change, making it shareable and accessible but also expandable in other areas and in other market branches (*ivi*: 116). Ceriani, beginning with fashion, outlines the significant instances of the present: dehumanisation, the illusion of eternity, the LGBT+ legitimisation, the decadence of bourgeois stylistic features, and the affirmation of streetwear.

It is precisely from streetwear that trends in every segment of fashion, from *haute couture* to fast fashion, derive (Terracciano 2018). The lemma "streetwear" is not present in all English and Italian dictionaries because it is a phenomenon in progress, in continuous transformation, so much so that it does not involve a rigid label, or at least its regimentation within boundaries is determined *a priori* by species, genres, categories and classes. The Oxford Dictionary circumscribes its relevance in relation to youth subcultures, showing an anachronistic conception of the phenomenon since streetwear is a style that has pervaded and infected high fashion; just think of the overturning of the Gucci, Balenciaga, Valentino collections, in which there have been subversion of the dominant aesthetic, introducing characterising traits borrowed from the street and pop culture.

Regarding the cultural side, one of the reasons for the success of streetwear lies in the association with skateboarding, an adolescent subculture rooted in the U.S. since the Fifties, endowed with recognisable ideological characteristics, based on the struggle of youth against social homologation, even if at the same time strongly influenced by popular culture, an idiosyncrasy explainable with the request for social support to dominant hegemonies, unresponsive to the needs of young people, who decide to rebel in order to receive the required and necessary attention. Rebellion is meant as an act of opposition, violent or otherwise, against the state or the law, and, by extension, an expression of dissent. The rebellion implement-

ed through streetwear should be given the function of an adjective, so that it can describe a form of life and fashion, which incorporates some invariant traits and motifs such as tattoos, piercings, oversized volumes, provocative images, etc.

Streetwear is communicated by creating “hype”, a word that describes a transmedia advertising operation, generally extravagant, sensational and excessive (<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/streetwear>), whose pervasive and intensive media coverage has the purpose of attracting the public’s attention at all costs, even if the object of the promotion is not worthy of it. Going back to the Greek origin of the word, the prefix “hyper” indicates an excess, the surpassing of the norm, explicating a relationship of direct derivation with the hyperbole, the rhetorical figure of exaggeration, which conceals its promotional nature, hiding in the frayed edges of a complex form of life and in the visual and verbal texts of social networks. Similarly to the Dadaist work analysed by Walter Benjamin (1955), the hype has to shock its potential consumers, who are submerged by endlessly daily product launches. Because of the advertising overload, consumers’ attention must be shaken by surrealism and provocation, now intensified by a reassuring stereotyped event, made viral by exploiting that flow of interactions based on the union of collective experiences and personal identities, translated into pop culture as a common language. The strength of streetwear brands, bearers of hype, is expressed in the strict observation of the canonical scheme of online communication, which involves the use of memes³, quotes and intertextual references, especially to pop culture, and an immanent ironic side, which aims at eluding the arbitrariness and superficiality of the content. The pervasiveness of hype lies in its ability to camouflage itself with spontaneous social media texts, flowing into what I have defined as marketing camouflage, i.e. the concealment of advertising in the loops of daily interactions between users, influencers – opinion leaders of the digital sphere, with the ability to evangelise audiences on consumption – and specialised magazines (Terracciano 2017: 127). The social media texts explicitly created to spread hype are characterised by a formulaic structure, devoted to the direct interpellation of the follower, to the generation of comments and shares, to the fixed presence of linguistic fetishes, i.e. terms that embody the thematic universe of brands and streetwear, identifying their country of origin. In the latter case, the keywords of the proliferation of hype are exclusively in English – streetwear is a globalised phenomenon, probably one of the few multicultural trends – and they strictly concern the buying act, as shown by the invariant utterance “would you cop or drop?”, where the two verbal forms are used in their slang version strongly sharpening the sphere of the conquest of the object of value, thanks to the idea of the catch after an amazing chase. This is inherent in one of the meanings of “cop”, whose counterpart “drop” carries the negative seed of loss. As a result of the previous question, the potential buyer is modalised in terms of “wanting to do”, since the manipulation of the Addresser-hype involves a negative sanction related to voluntarily missing a good opportunity, letting

it fall into oblivion. On the other hand, “drop” also describes a positive side of the coin, because it is used as a synonym for “launch”, an informal version of the Anglophone “release”, to indicate the arrival on the market of new products or music, distributed with the intent to impress the public.

As also stated by Ugo Volli, nowadays, there is a “fashion form” that permeates the economic and social system, whose first law is the aestheticisation of everyday life, visible and visualisable on social media (Volli 1988: 6). However, compared to what Volli observed, namely that the foundation of the fashion form is consumption and the rapid obsolescence of its objects, today there is a turnaround, distinctive of Millennials and Generation Z, concerning sustainable reuse and recycling, from which the attention to vintage also derives (Panosetti and Pozzato eds. 2013).

Still, the semantic consumption caused by hype is close to implosion due to the overcrowding of content and texts circulating in social media, with an expiration date of merely 24 hours. Not surprisingly, Volli analyses the fashion form by referring to Dawkins’s “memes” an expressive form now incorporated into fashion discourse (Terracciano 2017). Fashion is a norm before being a fact, so it imposes a “having to be”, having to be visible and visualisable by taking the form of a series of variations and combinations of simple memes, such as jeans (Volli 1988: 91).

6. Objects: hair, hats, glasses

A recurring isotopy of Italian fashion semiotics can be identified in hair, on which, for example, Massimo Baldini has published four volumes, both anthologies and essays (Baldini ed. 2003, ed. 2005b, ed. 2006; Baldini and Baldini eds. 2004). Hair is an important element of non-verbal language, both because of its visibility – it is on the top of the head – and because it can be manipulated according to personal feelings and the image that one wants to project to the outside world. According to Baldini, hair is a short form of knowledge like poetry, therefore enjoyable at once like social media texts. Furthermore, Baldini follows Ugo Volli’s jeans analysis and defines hair as a pure signifier because of its permeability to modification, which makes it possible, by introducing one or a few variations, to explore various styles.

Eco would also argue that hair, like clothing, “talks”, communicates a certain vision of the world, a particular way of being. Hair fashion is ever-changing, therefore it should always be related to the context, considering the *intentio auctoris* [the intentions of the empirical author] and the *intentio operis* [the meaning of a hairstyle according to its system of signification], to which Baldini adds the hairdresser’s ability to interpret the *intentio clientis* [the intention of the client], the content to convey (Baldini ed. 2003: 17). For Volli, hair communication is essential and unconscious at the same time, it is made of mechanical gestures and appearances taken for granted. Hair is the most salient element on the perceptive level of the figure and represents one of the most evident biological and cultural clues about a

person (Volli 1998: 149-150). Volli refers to the hair of the whole body, considered a manipulable, active, and dynamic primary substance of the body. Hair is cut, tied, styled, all in order to talk about people, to represent their way of being in a given moment. Hair communicates in static ways, indicating identity, or dynamic ways, as in the case of the long bob that fluctuates with the movements of the body, or hair swept back after a plunge into the water. Hair also frames the face, modifying its volume, thinning it or amplifying it, impacting the overall appearance.

Another act of hair communication is the control, voluntary or involuntary, of the hairstyle that can be natural or culturalised. It's not just about the opposition between hair colour by birth and by dyeing, but also about externally imposed ways of wearing hair, as is the case in North Korea where men and women can choose from about fifteen regime-approved haircuts and hairstyles.

Baldini classifies hair fashion starting from three revolutions that occurred in the transition from oral to digital culture. The first is the disappearance of taboos, that is, "not having to do" related to hair. The second revolution coincides with the advent of secularisation, therefore with hairstyles that go beyond religious prescriptions, while the third concerns westernisation and globalisation; haircuts transversal to cultures that speak a planetary language, which, however, risks de-semantising the cultural affiliation (Volli 1998).

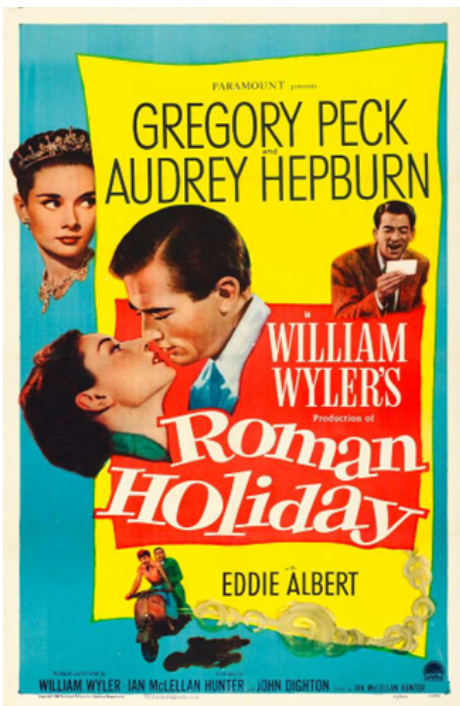


Fig. 3. *Roman Holiday*, 1953, poster, Creative Commons license.

Patrizia Calefato also reflects on hairstyles, correlating them to thematic roles: the braids of the good little girl, those of the hippie, the ones of the progressivist with the insertion of beads and cotton threads (Calefato 2004). Coco Chanel's bob, emblem of the liberation of the body from cumbersome lengths and societal impositions, followed by that of Audrey Hepburn's, a symbol of elegance in *Roman Holiday* (1953, Fig. 3), or the rebellious and masculine bob of the Beatles. Then there is the sexy bob of Valentina by Crepax, to which I would like to add the one that appeared in the second half of the 2000s, which is synonymous with female power. Calefato also places the accent on the absence of hair, on the negation of hairstyling, that is, on baldness, biological, or on the religious, ideological, or fashionable total shaving. Bald-

ness is also related to the hairstyles that hide it and make it secret, as the comb-over or the male ponytail. *En vogue* in the 1990s, the latter is linked to Machismo in the same way as baldness. Calefato closes her list with the beard, permanently in the perspective of body hair, subject to social status or fashion, but still an indication of a thematic role.

From hair to hats, to affirm the validity of theories they are verified by analysing objects. Paolo Fabbri (2020) demonstrates this fact with an in-depth analysis of the hat, which he defines as a “sign zero”, divided into three distinct areas: rhetorical and physiognomic; carnivals and saturnalia, ethics, and etiquette. Fabbri suggests a model applicable to every object of the fashion system, confirming the liveliness and applicability of the semiotic method, including its ductility to the profitable interaction with other disciplines. Gianfranco Marrone (2020) also proceeds in the same way: starting from glasses, an object that, between technology and style, can assume different configurations, he proposes a *modus operandi* and a methodological framework in which the theories of Barthes, Floch and Greimas, passions and proxemics, find their place. The latter also, thanks to the contribution of Marrone and Isabella Pezzini, has once again attracted interest due to social distancing and the adoption of COVID-19 protective devices, of which glasses or eye protection shields are an integral part.

7. Practices and places of consumption

As Isabella Pezzini observes, fashion is a paradoxical object, mainly because of its peculiar temporality from which one of the rhythms of everyday life originates (Pezzini 2013). Fashion is characterised by perpetual motion, but there are places where it stops, for a short time or long enough to be considered Foucaultian “heterochronies”. This depends on how it is exhibited and consumed, i.e., whether we find it in a store or in a museum. Pezzini, in the broader context of several years of research on the semiotics of space, the city and places of consumption, has analysed fashion stores (literary and physical), thematic exhibitions (Pucci) and museums (Gucci, Ferragamo, Capucci), setting the basis for one of the liveliest branches of Italian semiotics. The point argued by Pezzini is that in artistic and commercial exhibition spaces the meaning of fashion is constructed and propagated. Pezzini analyses, for example, the department store starting from literature (Émile Zola’s *Au bonheur des dames* (1883) and *Germinal* (1885)), where the detailed and reiterated descriptions of commodities recall Benjamin’s concept of sex appeal (Pezzini 2020b). The seductive power of goods is comparable to that of the body, which is stunned by the labyrinthine spatiality of the department store, in which shapes, colors and textures intertwine, turning the visit into a mystical, almost transcendental experience. Furthermore, starting from the famous movie *A Breakfast at Tiffany’s* by Blake Edwards (1961), Pezzini describes how significant a consumer experience can be, even if humble, and the impact of stores on the identity of the city, the street, and the itineraries (Pezzini 2006).

This shows that the most sudden and recurrent urban transformations concern commercial and cultural places of consumption, which are affected by the inexorability of fashions, styles, and forms of life, dragged into an increasingly rapid temporality by online shopping practices and the “glocalized” needs of consumers. In order to keep up with the new diktats of consumption imposed by the Web and social media, the physical places of shopping must be equipped with a distinctive quid, a surplus of meaning – and of offering – that continues to justify their presence. It is necessary to differentiate experiences, enrich them and give value to the effort of time and energy required to move in the real world, offline. Therefore, the city is not only the background for shopping practices, but also redesigns them from the inside, infusing them with its *genius loci* to provide them with unique traits that can only be experienced in that location, re-semantising them through the interaction between places and subjects.

On the academic side, the group of researchers directed by Pezzini has largely contributed to demonstrating that places of consumption are perceived in the same way as monuments by both tourists and city inhabitants, promoting the convergence between consumption and preservation of cultural heritage, as more and more brands take on the task of renovation. They may even occupy, changing their intended use, spaces of historical and artistic relevance (cf. Barone and Torrini 2020; Cervelli and Torrini 2006; Terracciano 2016, 2020a; Pezzini and Finocchi eds. 2020). Throughout time, valid frameworks of analysis have been developed, such as the now widely tested model of spatiality developed by Pierluigi Cervelli and Claudia Torrini (2006), to which I added some contemporary-related adjustments in my research on the Rinascente/Tritone department store in Rome (Terracciano 2020a).

Gianpaolo Proni has also worked on the temporality of shopping practices, especially regarding young people’s preference for low-cost fast fashion, leading to fast, syncopated, and frequent purchases (Proni 2006). A further issue addressed by Proni in his study of the city from the perspective of shopping itineraries and practices is the structure of the economic and value exchange in the urban and consumption space. In this framework, the shop window becomes the figure of exchange, the activator of the desire for conjunction (Proni 2007). Eleonora Chiaia also reflects on the regimes of visibility of the shop window, starting from the studies of Eric Landowski (1989), considering the garment on display as the representation of “daily” fashion and its different narrations (Chiaia 2020).

8. Conclusions

Fashion is signification, discourse, sign, code and value; fashion is semiotics.

Fashion spaces and objects are the result of social and cultural traits, of the commitment of different professionals, of bringing value systems into the discourse that can and must influence the future. The more respect and

care are given to the materials employed, the conditions of the labour force, the impact on the environment, and the health of the world's population, the more their tangible and intangible value increases.

In each outfit, the body incorporates a constellation of meanings, determined through a dialogue between alterities generated by the gap between innovation and tradition, from which sensations and passions arise.

Sensations and passions are codified by the fashion discourse (social and traditional) in increasingly complex narrations, gradually flowing into the audiovisual sphere since 2010, the year of the establishment of the fashion film genre, whose semiotic typification is owed to Lucio Spaziante (2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated the race of fashion towards the future. The rush into the future is demonstrated by the digital fashion weeks that have followed one another since July 2020, which have traced a new typology of communication of the fashion system's collections. In addition to the now established media forms, such as the aforementioned fashion movies, there have been fashion shows with limited access and the distancing of the audience, that were streamed on social networks and websites, or even the filmic representations of the experience of model bodies during the times for which the garments of the collection have been designed, and the artistic performance-narratives of the world's major brands. Short expressive forms, enjoyable in a single solution that confirm the role of fashion as a catalyst for innovation, which, in addition to being the ideal field of application for semiotics, is also the most fertile ground for testing communicative innovations.

Notes

- 1 For this reason, I had to select scholars by the criteria of number and consistency of publications over time.
- 2 @fashionsemiotics on Instagram, publication forthcoming.
- 3 On the semiotics of meme, see Marino 2020.

Bibliography

- Baldini, Massimo (ed.) (2003). *Capelli: moda, seduzione, simbologia*. Rome: Ed. Peliti.
- Baldini, Massimo (ed.) (2005a). *Semiotica della moda*. Rome: Armando Editore.
- Baldini, Massimo (ed.) (2005b). *I filosofi, le bionde e le rosse*. Rome: Armando Editore.
- Baldini, Massimo (ed.) (2006). *L'arte della coiffure: i parrucchieri, la moda e i pittori*. Rome: Armando Editore.
- Baldini, Massimo and Costanza Baldini (eds.) (2004). *Il linguaggio dei capelli*. Rome: Armando Editore.

- Barone, Tiziana and Claudia Torrini (2020). Branding & the city. Il caso Fendi Roma. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 249–274.
- Barthes, Roland (1957). *Mythologies*. Paris: Seuil.
- Barthes, Roland (1967). *Système de la Mode*. Paris: Seuil.
- Barthes, Roland (2006). *Il senso della moda. Forme e significati dell'abbigliamento*. Gianfranco Marrone (ed.). Turin: Einaudi.
- Benjamin, Walter (1955). *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Calabrese, Omar (1992). Lo stile degli stilisti. In: Patrizia Calefato (ed.). *Moda e mondanità*. Bari: Palomar, 195–204.
- Calabrese, Omar and Gianni Versace (eds.) (1991). *Vanitas: lo stile dei sensi*. Milan: Leonardo.
- Calabrese, Omar and Gianni Versace (eds.) (1993). *Versace: Signatures*. Milan: Leonardo.
- Calefato, Patrizia (1996). *Mass moda*. Genova: Costa&Nolan.
- Calefato, Patrizia (2004). Trecce, treccine, codini maschili, calvizie e barbe. In: Massimo Baldini and Costanza Baldini (eds.). *Il linguaggio dei capelli*. Rome: Armando Editore, 236–249.
- Calefato Patrizia (2021). *Fashion as Cultural Translation: Signs, Images, Narratives*. United Kingdom: Anthem Press.
- Ceriani, Giulia (1995). Moda e gravidanza: i travestimenti della Gestalt. In: Giulia Ceriani and Roberto Grandi (eds.). *Moda: regole e rappresentazioni*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- Ceriani, Giulia (2020). Visione e anticipazione. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 111–120.
- Cervelli, Pierluigi and Claudia Torrini (2006). L'analisi semiotica nel progetto di un nuovo spazio espositivo. In: Isabella Pezzini and Pierluigi Cervelli (eds.). *Scene del consumo: dallo shopping al museo*. Rome: Meltemi, 147–194.
- Chiais, Eleonora (2020). Transparente, semitransparente, opaco: tipología de los escapates de moda. *DeSignis* 32, 63–72.
- Derrida, Jacques (1975). Economimesis. In: Sylviane Aganciski (ed.). *Mimesis: des articulations*. Paris: Flammarion, 56–93.
- Eco, Umberto (1972). L'abito parla il monaco. In: Francesco Alberoni, Gillo Dorfles, Umberto Eco, Marino Livolsi, Giorgio Lomazzi and Renato Sigurtà. *Psicologia del vestire*. Milan: Bompiani, 5–25.
- Eco, Umberto (1983). *Sette anni di desiderio*. Milan: Bompiani.
- Fabbri, Paolo (2001). Paolo Fabbri: Semiologia della moda. Intervista con Lello Voce. *Kult magazine*. Milan. URL: https://www.paolofabbri.it/interviste/semiologia_moda/ [retrieved December 3, 2022].
- Fabbri, Paolo (2020). Tanto di Cappello (s.m., sostantivo maschile). In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 121–132.
- Fabbri, Paolo (2021). Artificare il tatuaggio: un dermatoscopio semiotico. In: Gianfranco Marrone (ed.). *Biglietti d'invito per una semiotica marcata*. Milan: Bompiani, 95–114.

- Floch, Jean-Marie (1995). *Identités visuelles*. Paris: PUF.
- Fontanille, Jacques (2003). *Soma et sema. Figures du corp*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- Fontanille, Jacques (2015). *Formes de vie*. Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège.
- Greimas, Algirdas Julien (1948). *La mode en 1830. Langage et société: écrits de jeunesse*. Thomas F. Broden (ed.). Paris: PUF 2000.
- Landowski, Eric (1989). *La société réfléchie. Essais de socio-sémiotique*. Paris: Seuil.
- Lotman, Jurij Mihajlovič (1984). *O semisfere, Sign Systems Studies (Trudy po znakovym sistemam)* vol. 17, 5–23. Italian translation by Simonetta Salvestroni: *La semi-sfera. L'asimmetria e il dialogo nelle strutture pensanti*. Milan: La Nave di Teseo 2022.
- Marino, Gabriele (2020). La formula della viralità. In: Cinzia Bianchi and Giovanna Cosenza (eds.). *Semiotica e digital marketing. Semiotics and digital marketing*, monographic issue of *Lexia* 32–33, 109–142.
- Marrone, Gianfranco (2001). *Corpi sociali. Processi comunicativi e semiotica del testo*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Marrone, Gianfranco (2006). Introduzione. In: Roland Barthes. *Il senso della moda. Forme e significati dell'abbigliamento*. Gianfranco Marrone (ed.). Turin: Einaudi, VII–XXVI.
- Marrone, Gianfranco (2020). Tecnologie e valori dello sguardo: occhiali e discorsività. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 139–174.
- Panosetti, Daniela and Maria Pia Pozzato (eds.) (2013). *Passione vintage. Il gusto per il passato nei consumi, nei film e nelle serie televisive*. Rome: Carocci.
- Pezzini, Isabella (2006). A lezione da Tiffany. Speech for the conference *Questioni di etichetta. Dare forma alla moda*. IUAV-Design e Moda, Treviso. 31.5.2006–1.6.2006. URL: <http://isabellapezzini.it/images/stories/A%20lezione%20da%20Tiffany.pdf>, www.isabellapezzini.it [retrieved April 25, 2022].
- Pezzini, Isabella (2013). Os museus de moda: variações sobre o tema. *dObra[s]* 6, 135–139.
- Pezzini, Isabella (2017). Da Greimas a Barthes, dal lessico al sistema. Alle origini della semiologia, la moda. In: Emanuele Fadda and Walter Bruno (eds.). *Roland Barthes Club Band*. Macerata: Quodlibet, 145–157.
- Pezzini, Isabella (2020a). Greimas e l'invenzione semiotica della moda. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 53–74.
- Pezzini, Isabella (2020b). Lo spazio in *Au Bonheur des dames* di Émile Zola. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 211–222.
- Pezzini, Isabella and Riccardo Finocchi (eds.) (2020). *Dallo spazio alla città. Letture e fondamenti di semiotica urbana*. Milan: Mimesis.
- Pezzini, Isabella and Bianca Terracciano (eds.) (2020). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi.
- Polhemus, Ted (1994). *Street Style*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Pozzato, Maria Pia (2001). Verso una morfogenetica della moda. In: Pierluigi Basso Fossali (ed.). *I modi dell'Immagine*. Bologna: Esculapio, 81–92.

- Pozzato, Maria Pia (2012). *Foto di matrimonio e altri saggi*. Milan: Bompiani.
- Pozzato, Maria Pia (2020). Dal velo tradizionale alla modest fashion islamica. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 175–196.
- Proni, Giampaolo (2006). Il fashion shopping urbano: problemi e prospettive di ricerca. *E/C*. URL: http://www.ec-aiss.it/index_d.php?recordID=278 [retrieved March 20, 2022].
- Proni, Giampaolo (2007). Fast Fashion, Fast Shopping: a semiotic approach to practices of consumption of young consumers. *Ocula*. URL: <https://www.ocula.it/files/OCULA-8-PRONI-Fast-fashion-fast-shopping-a-semiotic-approach.pdf> [retrieved May 5, 2022].
- Sorrentino, Paolo (2020). Il senso del vestito. “Sa mastruca” come simbolo della cultura. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 197–210.
- Spaziante, Lucio (2020). Fashion Film: un formato audiovisivo tra pubblicità, videoclip e videoarte. In: Martina Federico and Ruggero Ragonese (eds.). *Pubblicità e cinema. Testi e contesti tra semiotica e marketing*. Rome: Carocci, 140–162.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2016). Il Tridente della moda tra fast fashion e haute couture. In: Isabella Pezzini (ed.) *Roma in divenire tra identità e conflitti*. Rome: Nuova Cultura, 270–312.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2017). *Social Moda. Nel segno di influenze, pratiche, discorsi*. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2018). Immagini dell'hype: il caso streetwear. In: Giovanni Fiorentino, Chiara Moroni and Roberta Valtorta (eds.). *La fotografia social. Teorie, pratiche, estetiche ed esperienze dell'immagine digitale*, monographic issue of *Mediascapes Journal* 12.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2019). *Il discorso di moda. Le riviste femminili dal 1960*. Rome: Nuova Cultura.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2020a). Per una tipologia dei luoghi del consumo nell'era dell'e-commerce: Rinascente/Tritone a Roma. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 223–248.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2020b). Moda en Instagram. Historias y discursos. *DeSignis* 32, 91–101.
- Terracciano, Bianca (2021). Incarnare una cultura per tradurla e innovarla: i BTS tra identità e alterità. *dObras* 31, 303–328.
- Volli, Ugo (1988). *Contro la moda*. Milan: Feltrinelli.
- Volli, Ugo (1991). *Jeans*. Milan: Lupetti.
- Volli, Ugo (1998). *Block modes*. Milan: Lupetti.
- Volli, Ugo (2020). Moda e abbigliamento. In: Isabella Pezzini and Bianca Terracciano (eds.). *La moda tra senso e cambiamento. Teorie, oggetti, spazi*. Milan: Meltemi, 75–110.
- Zola, Émile (1883). *Au Bonheur des Dames*. Paris: Fasquelle.
- Zola, Émile (1885). *Germinal*. Paris: Fasquelle.

Filmography

Roman Holiday (USA 1953, director: William Wyler).

Breakfast at Tiffany's (USA 1961, director: Blake Edwards).

Image source

Fig. 3. *Roman Holiday*, 1953, poster, Creative Commons license.

Bianca Terracciano

Researcher in Semiotics

Sapienza University of Roma

Department of Communication and Social Research (CORIS)

Via Salaria, 113

I-00198 Roma RM

Italy

E-Mail: bianca.terracciano@uniroma1.it