# TREADING LIGHTLY ON THE EARTH
## Metaphorical frames in the discourse of ecotourism

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## 1. Introduction

Due to the ever-increasing awareness of current environmental issues such as global warming, climate change or the consumption of the Earth's natural resources, sustainability, ecology and green travels have become buzzwords when it comes to how we choose our holidays. Ecotourism, seen as a "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (International Ecotourism Society, 2002)[1] expresses this sensitiveness to ecological aspects that are "reflected in new discourses and a new lexicon" (Mühlhausler, Peace 2001, p. 378).

Research on ecotourism has focussed on the critical use of 'ecotourism' as a "semantically bleached" term (Mühlhaüsler 2000) to promote a new but also self-contradictory form of tourism. It has also demonstrated that environmentalism is the dominant discourse and that the military and anthropomorphic metaphors are pervasive.

This present paper gives a further contribution to the study of ecotourist metaphors by investigating the lexical area of English and Italian ecotourist holiday vocabulary and presents a corpus-based contrastive analysis of its metaphorical patterns which help to understand the ideological framing of this discourse. As Fairclough aptly maintains (1989, p. 119):

> any aspects of experience can be represented in terms of any number of metaphors, and it is the relationship between alternative metaphors that is of particular interest here, for different metaphors have different ideological attachments.

This study adopts the view that our conceptual system is metaphorically structured (Lakoff, Johnson 2003) and that "the very process of examining conventional metaphors often alerts us to hidden meanings, such as evaluative orientation or ideological position" (Moon et al 2006, p. 26). It focuses on how metaphorical language is realized at a phraseological level, or put it differently, on those lexico-semantic and grammatical formulations which arguably disclose the underlying discourse of ecotourism ideology, policy and principles. Another motive for addressing the use of metaphor is proposed by Deignan and Potter (2004, p. 1232), who state that:

> because conceptual metaphor theory claims to describe central processes and structures of human thought, it is not language-specific and should have explanatory power for languages other than English; it is therefore of potential use in cross-linguistic research.

After the outline of the theory driving this work, section 3 will include a rundown of the methodology and the data used. Section 4 introduces the analysis and reports our findings. Some remarks in closing are given in section 5.

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[1] www.ecotourism.org (5.2010).

## 2. Theoretical background

Metaphors, including metonymy and simile, are considered a valuable clue to the cross-cultural identification of ideologies in that they "trigger a kind of analogical thinking which proceeds by such associative chains as are typical of a given culture" (Bollettieri Bosinelli 1988, p. 14). It is by now commonly agreed that metaphors are pervasive in language and go far beyond the rhetorical or decorative features of language by playing a crucial role in cognition and evaluation. This is one of the main contributions of Cognitive Linguistics according to which we have systems of conceptual structures or 'frames' or 'scripts' which shape our thinking and are thus used to understand the world (Lakoff, Johnson 2003).

This wide interpretation also entails that "metaphor can provide a conceptual structure for a systematized ideology that is expressed in many texts" (Chilton, Schäffner 2002, p. 29). In particular, certain lexical items can trigger metaphorical frame representations viewed – in Gumperz's words (2001, pp. 217-219) – as representing

> presuppositions associated with ideologies and principles of communicative conduct that in a way bracket the talk, and that thereby affect the way in which we assess or interpret what transpires in the course of an encounter.

For cognitive linguists, metaphor is defined as a structural mapping from a source domain onto a target domain. The source domain represents a situation we are familiar with and that is used to understand the more abstract target domain. On the basis of their function, metaphors may be of different type: orientational, ontological and structural. If the first type enables us to organize "a whole system of concept with respect to one another" (Lakoff, Johnson 2003, p. 14) (e.g. Happiness is up; Sadness is down), the ontological metaphors deal with our way of identifying or referring to events and emotions in terms of 'entities' or 'substances' (e.g. The mind is a machine) (Lakoff, Johnson 2003, p. 25). Finally, structural metaphors are the most complex in that they require us to transfer one basic domain of experience to another basic domain (e.g. Argument is war). By picking out the metaphors 'we live by', either consciously or unconsciously, our reality is simultaneously chosen and created.

Thus, conventionalised metaphors are particularly revealing in the process of uncovering discourses around a subject (Baker 2006, p. 167) and may work "to convey a latent ideology (Goatly 2007, p. 28).

Charteris-Black (2004) goes even further by stressing how metaphor selection reveals ideological intent and highlighting the speaker's intention to favour some specific metaphors in order to achieve precise communicative goals.

Against this backdrop, this work looks at what conventional metaphors are used as carrier of diverse ideological framing of this type of discourse and starts from previous research (Spinzi 2010) where metaphorical conceptualizations were found to be crucial in the construction of two overt ideological items such as 'environment' and 'nature' and their equivalents in the Italian language.

## 3. Data and Methodology

When embarking upon a study of metaphors the main problem concerns their localization. This complex issue has been addressed through the use of different

methodologies, ranging from manual to automatic (e.g. Charteris-Black 2004). Despite the insightful contributions from empirical approaches (Deignan 2005), the fact that metaphorical mappings are not associated with specific lexical items still constitutes a major obstacle for corpus-based studies. Neverthless, research in this field has shown that the investigation of collocation is a good starting point to retrieve metaphors around the search word (see Baker 2006).

Drawing on corpus-based techniques, our own methodology is rooted in the target-domain oriented studies (Stefanowitsch 2006) although only those mappings that are considerably related to a given target domain may be identified. In the wake of Hunston (2004), our analysis begins with a passage from a promotional text, chosen randomly from the 'description' section of the website. The text serves as the basis for further corpus-assisted investigation with the corpus working as an 'echo-chamber' (Miller 2007).

The analysis is quantitative when assessing the significance of some words on the basis of frequency criteria or when looking at collocational profiles statistically produced by the software. It is qualitative in that collocation is the main analytical tool since it is a suitable vehicle for the "semantic analysis of a word" (Sinclair 1991, pp. 115-116) and the related concepts of semantic preference.

The data were gathered from an ad hoc raw small multilingual comparable corpus of British English, American English and Italian eco-tourist websites. The texts were downloaded from the official sites of ecotourism, which represent non-profit associations committed to the promotion of responsible travelling practices (www.ecotourism.org; www.ecoturismo-italia.it). These sites provide links to local websites and their selection was driven by the main purpose of designing a corpus which served the specifically function of being representative of the specialised domain of ecotourism neglecting 'exported ecotourism' for cultural reasons. The number of running words amounts to a total of 91,858 tokens for the Italian sub-corpus and 65,648 tokens in the British sub-corpus. The software used to interrogate the data is Wordsmith Tools 5.0 (Scott 2007).

## 4. The analysis

*Nel regno di Eolo*

*Sospese tra una terra aspra ed essenziale, di vulcani e fichi d'India, sole ed eriche, ed un mare generoso, le isole Eolie sono il luogo per un viaggio **alla ricerca** di ciò che alberga nel cuore di quei pescatori e quei marinai che da tempo immemore hanno scelto un'esistenza semplice e ancorata alle antiche tradizioni.*

*La proposta di questo soggiorno è un viaggio **"incursione"**, **un'occasione di incontro** con l'ambiente naturale e con la gente, un'esperienza da vivere come viaggiatori, piuttosto che da turisti. Per questo abbiamo scelto di **camminare a piedi**: il nostro viaggio, infatti, non vuole essere un soggiorno prettamente balneare, ma vuole **esplorare** le isole, **scoprirne** la cultura e comprenderne le tradizioni Un piccolo viaggio caratterizzato da escursioni facili ed adatte a tutti per conoscere un popolo affascinante, le sue abitudini, il suo pensiero e i suoi misteri.*

The lexical items highlighted here describe the typology of the eco-holiday, frequently associated with the 'search' of something which leads to the 'exploration' of natural areas or the encounter with nature to 'discover' or to 'taste' abstract 'commodities'. When you start a corpus-based investigation you never know what you will find as comparable corpora may be the source of a

potential "serendipity process" (John 1988). Thus, the initial results led to a number of cross-analyses of collocates and other lexical items were also investigated. In this paper we will discuss our findings with reference to the representation of the lemma *viaggio/travel* frequently associated with the activity of walking and the main ideological category involved e.g. *ambiente/environment* (Spinzi 2010). Besides numerical considerations, illustrated by the wordlist in appendix 1, the main rationale for opting to study *viaggio camminare* (*holiday/walk*) is that we are interested in the metaphorical construction of this holiday as already said.

Bearing in mind these preliminary observations from the reading of the short text, we then moved on to the investigation of the wordlist, because it may be revealing of the presence of discourses, especially those of hegemonic nature (Baker 2006, p. 121). What is noteworthy is that where the Italian corpus prefers *viaggio* the British corpus shows *holiday* as being more frequent than journey and travel. *Walk* is frequent in both sub-corpora. In Italian *natura* and *territorio* are at the top of the list whereas in English we find *environment*.

### 4.1 The case of viaggi* (198 occurrences)

If we disregard those collocates which construct phrases describing the typology of the holiday (e.g *Viaggio naturalistico/ecologico/avventura*), the word form *viaggi\** is used metaphorically in 30% of the occurrences. The major collocations fall into the following sets: *viaggi/o* is primarily associated with 'stepping back in time' (*tempo* / *memoria* / time/ remembrance; *storia* / history), with 'discovery' (*scoperta* / *ricerca* / discovery / research), with 'sensorial activity' (*sapori* / taste), 'immersion' (*immersione* / fusion / immersion / fusion). Hence, three main metaphorical conceptualisations were identified:

1. Travel as CONDUIT to abstract experiences or sensory perception as in the following concordances, which represent 47% of the metaphorical cases:

   1. *Un **viaggio** attraverso la <u>storia, la memoria</u> e le bellezze naturalistiche di luoghi significativi della Sicilia*
   2. *Tra <u>sapori</u> tradizionali e profumate essenze di macchia mediterranea, un **viaggio** sensoriale ed appassionante nella memoria perduta di un'isola dai mille volti.*
   3. *.....un **viaggio** nel cuore e nella memoria delle più importanti attività produttive del paese;*
   4. *....**viaggio** al centro <u>della storia</u>...*
   5. *Da Sassalbo all'Ospedalaccio: un **viaggio** <u>a ritroso attraverso il tempo</u>...*
   6. *...**viaggi** alla riscoperta <u>dell'autentico spirito</u> dell'isola....*
   7. *....un **viaggio** dal <u>sapore antico</u>...*

2. Travel as DISCOVERY which totals 17%:

   8. *...il nostro **viaggio** ci porterà alla <u>scoperta</u> dei mille ambienti dell'isola...*
   9. ***Viaggi** alla <u>riscoperta</u> dell'autentico spirito dell'isola...*

3. Travel as IMMERSION, where a number of movement metaphors liken travel to liquid in some way:

   10. *...un **viaggio** che consente non solo di <u>fondersi</u> con l'ambiente circostante e di approfondire la conoscenza del mare, ma di scoprire anche una dimensione interiore di armonia con la natura...*

> 11. *...il nostro **viaggio** è un <u>tuffo</u> nel passato e una reale scoperta del presente…*

The analysis of the verbal form *viaggiare* shows the same metaphorical conceptualization in terms of exploration and discovery, as shown in the two following concordances:

> 12. *Osservare la natura nei suoi ritmi lenti e incessanti, **viaggiare** a piedi alla scoperta dei luoghi selvaggi e realtà dimenticate…*
> 13. *..è un modo tutto nuovo da esplorare e **viaggiare** a piedi è sicuramente il modo migliore per farlo…*
> 14. ***Viaggiare** camminando significa incontrare la natura e assaporarne l'essenza, risvegliando i nostri sensi.*

What can also be noticed is the association between the lemma and the key activity of walking (citations 12, 13, 14) which makes this experience profoundly embodied. This holiday requires an interaction or a meeting with the natural setting (citation 14) which is both embodiment (going on foot) and negotiation through mind explained by the extremely sensual character of this trip.

The items which were postulated as a prime facie translation of the lemma *viaggiare* (see Tognini Bonelli 2002 for the methodology) are 'travel', 'journey', 'make a trip' and 'tour' (Zanichelli 2005), which are not particularly metaphorically conceptualized in the British sub-corpus. *Travel* only is associated with the concept of sustainability through collocates such as *ethical, responsible, responsibly* and it occurs only once in company with *gentle*. Similarly, *traveller\** is described as being minded, responsible and ethical whereas *tour* and *trip* are mainly used as descriptive items pre-modified by classifiers as in 'boat trip', 'car tour'.

Since the lemmas analysed do not share the meanings expressed by the Italian lemma, the next step involved the analysis of holiday/s as hypothesised equivalent of *viaggi/o*.

*Holiday\** occurs 299 and 28% of the citations convey a metaphorical meaning. The most frequent collocate is *difference* which is a component of the phraseological pattern *this holiday makes a difference*. The difference is that this holiday aims to have no negative impacts on the environment as it is incongruently stated in the following concordances:

> 1. *Whilst on this **holiday** you will be <u>walking at your own pace</u> in your own group.*
> 2. *This is the ideal **holiday** for those who wish to <u>proceed at their own pace</u>.*
> 3. *These **walking holidays** are a great way to explore the beautiful Northumberland countryside and coastline, enabling you to take in the surroundings without damaging the environment.*

As shown by these first two concordances, in the British sub-corpus the phenomenon of embodiment is also present entailing the sensation of being weightless.

The movement is constructed as something which must have a sense of control to prevent disaster to the environment and walking, which is the second most frequent close friend of the node, is the best way to do it. Variation is given by other phraseologies such as treading lightly, proceed at your own pace. Closely related to the notion of walking holidays is thus that of 'lightness' and of 'slowing down'. This meaning is conveyed by 5% of the examples of the search word holiday and confirmed by the analysis of the concordances of pace as can be seen

in the following citation: "Starting off in the village of Arisaig, you will feel the pace of life slow down as you stroll along the waterfront".

It is worth saying that the item *vacanz\** was also investigated in the Italian sub-corpus before confirming that the two items which lend themselves to be metaphorically conceptualised are *viaggi/o* and *holiday*, which may be seen as equivalent on the basis of the collocates they share. The only concordance showing the same metaphorical meaning of contact/relationship/fusion is *vacanza a stretto contatto con la natura*.

### 4.2 The case of camminare/walk

The item *cammino* does not show any metaphorical meaning but it is used either to indicate a distance or a path to walk on. On the contrary, the lemma *camminare* gives rise to metaphorical meanings in more than half of its instances.

*Camminare* is primarily associated with emotional or sensorial experiences evoking a synaesthesia of sounds and colours. It is a learning experience which aims to slow down the rhythms of hectic life, and where eco-tourists, mainly represented as walkers, are called to live an inner experience.

The main collocates are abstract nouns (*gusto, spirito, passo lento, silenzio, storia, legenda*) which are linked to senses, above all hearing, or to subjects such as legend and history which increase the emotional cumulative effect. 'Walking' is seen as both a physical and mental exercise and the result is a fusion between the slow movements of the body and those of the natural setting:

1. ***Camminare*** *con l'asino è un esperienza che porta il viaggiatore a intuire le emozionalità del proprio cuore.*
2. *Non correre! Scopri la pace interiore della lentezza consapevole, impara a camminare con* ***passo*** *lento, guardati intorno, c'è sempre un fiore nuovo, un insetto, un colore che ti stupiranno.*
3. ***Camminare*** *affianco di un asino è una sensazione che riporta indietro, a quei tempi lenti di quando i viandanti portavano il passo appresso allo scandire delle giornate.*
4. *Dal* ***camminare*** *escursionistico a quello naturalistico, per scoprire i segreti dei Parchi e delle Riserve Naturali, interrogare il paesaggio mediterraneo sulle sue rarità.*
5. *Dal* ***camminare*** *geo – attraverso itinerari che parlano di geomorfologia e geologia – a quello filosofico – che sviscera il senso di ogni passo.*
6. *ma anche agli Estensi, a Napoleone ai Savoia, fino al* ***camminare*** *del silenzio, in cui a parlare sono i tramonti, le voci della notte*
7. *perché il ritmo del* ***camminare*** *esalta una terra come questa*
8. *Scopri la pace interiore della lentezza consapevole, impara a* ***camminare*** *con passo lento, guardati intorno, c'è sempre un fiore nuovo, un insetto che ti stupiranno*
9. *C'è solo la bellezza e il* ***camminare*** *una settimana immersi nella bellezza non si può raccontare*

The spiritual connotation given by the collocates of the node is also extended to the word form *camminat\**, which is associated to activities such as observation and meditation. Eco-tourists want to go beyond the traditional 'gaze' in that they want to experience actively, to take part and learn about the environment.

### 4.3 The case of territory/environment

Previous research (Spinzi 2010) has shown that in the data investigated the Italian word *territorio* shares most of the collocates of the word *environment* rather than

of the item *ambiente*. The main interest in this paper is the metaphorical investigation of these two functional equivalents.

A vertical scan of the concordances of *territorio* uncovers its semantic preferences which go from items related to the heritage of a country (*culturali, tradizioni*) to positively connoted abstract nouns (*valorizzazione, conoscenza, sviluppo*) to names of places (*aree, natura*). Guided by the criterion of frequency, we see *cultura, tradizioni, natura* and *storia* as very frequently associated with *territorio* which encompasses all the cultural human products as we read in the following examples:

1. *Tali escursioni sono organizzate secondo week-end tematici in calendario programmato di itinerari che consentano una lettura a 360° del nostro **territorio** della sua natura e della sua storia.*
2. *All'arrivo un referente locale darà il benvenuto al gruppo introducendolo nel vissuto del **territorio**.*

The use of *vissuto* (its past) personifies the territory. Noteworthy is the stress on relationship. The territory constructed as a container replete with traces of the 'past' (stress on the past rather than on the future; see Manca 2008) invites a shared discovery (*scoperta partecipata del territorio*) or to a different 'reading'. Examples (3) and (4) demonstrate this metaphorical representation of the territory as a 'living text':

3. *Il Parco rivolge le proprie proposte ad un pubblico di lettori-viaggiatori, a cui far conoscere il **territorio** attraverso una lettura differente, interdisciplinare, attenta all'ambiente.*
4. *Il contatto personale con il visitatore è centrale, e le guide sono tutte altamente competenti e preparate per comunicare la loro conoscenza del **territorio**.*

*Territorio* shares some collocates with *ambiente* (e.g. *contatto*) (see Spinzi 2010) but it also encodes other aspects related to the cultural and historical heritage of a nation. Travellers are invited to spend their time with other people sharing the pleasures and cultural aspects of the *territorio*. As a result, the whole community is rigidly tied together with socio-economic and cultural images, feelings, stories, myths, values and tradition.

In the British sub-corpus the item *environment* is emphatically construed as a victim due to the its main negatively connoted collocate that is damage. This association highlights the negative axiology underlying the semantics of abuse. This unfavourable pragmatic meaning sets up a contrast with the highly positive evaluative lexis describing the environment (*quiet, beautiful, unspoilt, stunning*). The ideological intent may be seen as that of triggering emotional reactions in the addressees such as guilt and the subsequent moral obligation to be eco-friendly.

The semantics of interaction as fusion features environment, too, and it is visible from the pattern: (build) *blend/s in(to) the natural environment*. Variation includes another formulation, *being at one with*, and nominalised forms such as *interrelationship* and *intricacies*. The British representation of this holiday goes beyond the mere emphasis of the continuity between the human products and the 'natural' as better shown in the following citation:

1. *The large windows and use of wood throughout the Loch Ness bed & breakfast accommodation help to enhance the feeling of light and space and give a sense of being at one with the **natural environment**.*

## 5. Concluding remarks

The dominant areas of metaphor suggest that this type of holiday is conceptualised in terms of weightlessness, discovery and relation. The metaphorical expressions seem to be largely conventionalized across cultures with some exceptions. Unlike the British sub-corpus, the Italian data describe this trip in terms of conduit to the traditions, history, habits of a living territory compared to a text to be read rather than explored. Physical and mental/sensorial activities are profoundly involved and interconnected.

Embodied experience or experience of being relies on all senses. In order to understand the experience we must extend the notion of the tourist gaze to include other embodied aspects, touch, movement, hearing, taste both in real and imaginary terms.

The findings are in line with Turner's suggestion (2002, p. 1) of 'somatic society', in which "the body is now part of a self-project within which individuals express their own personal emotional needs through constructing their own bodies".

While little has changed in terms of the 'discovery' of the natural setting, the major shift from other forms of tourism lies in the way companies promote ecotourism: they portray themselves as environment/nature's caretakers, that is, environmentally friendly and offer a typology of holiday which requires a 'slowing down' in harmony with the rhythms of the natural surroundings. The British sub-corpus in particular, ideologically represents the environment as in need for protection and since it is a commodity which cannot be replaced, eco-tourism may start working as a panacea.

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## *Appendix 1*

British wordlist

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | THE | 4826 | 5,5227 |
| 2 | AND | 3684 | 4,2158 |
| 3 | TO | 2262 | 2,5885 |
| 4 | OF | 2146 | 2,4558 |
| 5 | A | 1961 | 2,2441 |
| 6 | # | 1811 | 2,0724 |
| 7 | IN | 1307 | 1,4957 |
| 8 | WE | 1138 | 1,3023 |
| 9 | IS | 1076 | 1,2313 |
| 10 | FOR | 921 | 1,054 |
| 11 | WITH | 881 | 1,0082 |
| 12 | ARE | 832 | 0,9521 |
| 13 | YOU | 799 | 0,9143 |
| 14 | ON | 752 | 0,8606 |
| 15 | OUR | 698 | 0,7988 |
| 16 | FROM | 643 | 0,7358 |
| 17 | BY | 542 | 0,6202 |
| 18 | LOCAL | 511 | 0,5848 |
| 19 | HAVE | 476 | 0,5447 |
| 20 | THIS | 465 | 0,5321 |
| 21 | AS | 439 | 0,5024 |
| 22 | OR | 404 | 0,4623 |
| 23 | AT | 402 | 0,46 |
| 24 | YOUR | 395 | 0,452 |
| 25 | CAN | 378 | 0,4326 |
| 26 | BE | 373 | 0,4268 |
| 27 | ALL | 302 | 0,3456 |
| 28 | AN | 302 | 0,3456 |
| 29 | IT | 300 | 0,3433 |
| 30 | THAT | 299 | 0,3422 |
| 31 | THERE | 275 | 0,3147 |
| 32 | WILL | 264 | 0,3021 |
| 33 | WHICH | 242 | 0,2769 |
| 34 | MILES | 235 | 0,2689 |
| 35 | ALSO | 230 | 0,2632 |
| 36 | HAS | 221 | 0,2529 |
| 37 | HOLIDAY | 215 | 0,246 |
| 38 | WALKING | 212 | 0,2426 |
| 39 | USE | 207 | 0,2369 |
| 40 | AREA | 200 | 0,2289 |
| 41 | S | 188 | 0,2151 |
| 42 | ACCOMMODATION | 186 | 0,2129 |
| 43 | UP | 176 | 0,2014 |
| 44 | PARK | 175 | 0,2003 |
| 45 | NATIONAL | 169 | 0,1934 |
| 46 | NOT | 168 | 0,1923 |
| 47 | GUESTS | 164 | 0,1877 |
| 48 | ONE | 159 | 0,182 |
| 49 | WALK | 156 | 0,1785 |
| 50 | DAY | 155 | 0,1774 |
| 51 | WATER | 149 | 0,1705 |
| 52 | MORE | 148 | 0,1694 |
| 53 | THROUGH | 147 | 0,1682 |

| 54 | IF | 146 | 0,1671 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 55 | THEIR | 142 | 0,1625 |
| 56 | WHERE | 142 | 0,1625 |
| 57 | PATH | 141 | 0,1614 |
| 58 | WAY | 140 | 0,1602 |
| 59 | WALKS | 135 | 0,1545 |
| 60 | ROOM | 134 | 0,1533 |
| 61 | FOOD | 133 | 0,1522 |
| 62 | AVAILABLE | 132 | 0,1511 |
| 63 | BUT | 132 | 0,1511 |
| 64 | PROVIDE | 131 | 0,1499 |
| 65 | FRIENDLY | 130 | 0,1488 |
| 66 | WELL | 129 | 0,1476 |
| 67 | VERY | 128 | 0,1465 |
| 68 | WILDLIFE | 127 | 0,1453 |
| 69 | HOW | 125 | 0,143 |
| 70 | TAKE | 124 | 0,1419 |
| 71 | PEOPLE | 121 | 0,1385 |
| 72 | OVER | 120 | 0,1373 |
| 73 | OFFER | 119 | 0,1362 |
| 74 | DO | 118 | 0,135 |
| 75 | ITS | 117 | 0,1339 |
| 76 | SOME | 117 | 0,1339 |
| 77 | OUT | 113 | 0,1293 |
| 78 | DAYS | 109 | 0,1247 |
| 79 | SMALL | 109 | 0,1247 |
| 80 | BED | 108 | 0,1236 |
| 81 | INTO | 108 | 0,1236 |
| 82 | MOST | 108 | 0,1236 |
| 83 | BEEN | 107 | 0,1224 |
| 84 | HERE | 107 | 0,1224 |
| 85 | ONLY | 105 | 0,1202 |
| 86 | SELF | 105 | 0,1202 |
| 87 | SEE | 103 | 0,1179 |
| 88 | GOOD | 102 | 0,1167 |
| 89 | US | 102 | 0,1167 |
| 90 | ALONG | 100 | 0,1144 |
| 91 | FAMILY | 100 | 0,1144 |
| 92 | FARM | 100 | 0,1144 |
| 93 | ROOMS | 99 | 0,1133 |
| 94 | ENJOY | 98 | 0,1121 |
| 95 | ENVIRONMENT | 98 | 0,1121 |
| 96 | POSSIBLE | 98 | 0,1121 |
| 97 | ENERGY | 97 | 0,111 |
| 98 | WHO | 97 | 0,111 |
| 99 | WAS | 96 | 0,1099 |
| 100 | ABOUT | 95 | 0,1087 |

Italian wordlist

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | DI | 3921 | 3,8851 | 22 | 100 |
| 2 | E | 3461 | 3,4293 | 22 | 100 |
| 3 | # | 3018 | 2,9904 | 22 | 100 |
| 4 | IL | 1907 | 1,8895 | 22 | 100 |
| 5 | LA | 1864 | 1,8469 | 22 | 100 |
| 6 | DEL | 1592 | 1,5774 | 22 | 100 |
| 7 | A | 1586 | 1,5715 | 22 | 100 |
| 8 | IN | 1466 | 1,4526 | 22 | 100 |
| 9 | PER | 1340 | 1,3277 | 22 | 100 |
| 10 | CHE | 1015 | 1,0057 | 22 | 100 |
| 11 | LE | 923 | 0,9145 | 22 | 100 |
| 12 | DELLA | 909 | 0,9007 | 22 | 100 |
| 13 | I | 901 | 0,8928 | 22 | 100 |
| 14 | CON | 885 | 0,8769 | 22 | 100 |
| 15 | UN | 873 | 0,865 | 22 | 100 |
| 16 | AL | 794 | 0,7867 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 17 | SI | 772 | 0,7649 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 18 | DA | 733 | 0,7263 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 19 | UNA | 714 | 0,7075 | 22 | 100 |
| 20 | PARCO | 637 | 0,6312 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 21 | DELLE | 561 | 0,5559 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 22 | DEI | 546 | 0,541 | 22 | 100 |
| 23 | È | 522 | 0,5172 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 24 | NEL | 458 | 0,4538 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 25 | ORE | 388 | 0,3844 | 17 | 77,273 |
| 26 | ALLA | 372 | 0,3686 | 20 | 90,909 |
| 27 | SONO | 330 | 0,327 | 22 | 100 |
| 28 | L | 327 | 0,324 | 17 | 77,273 |
| 29 | ED | 295 | 0,2923 | 22 | 100 |
| 30 | TRA | 289 | 0,2864 | 20 | 90,909 |
| 31 | GIORNO | 284 | 0,2814 | 11 | 50 |
| 32 | PIÙ | 283 | 0,2804 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 33 | O | 279 | 0,2764 | 20 | 90,909 |
| 34 | NON | 273 | 0,2705 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 35 | GLI | 264 | 0,2616 | 22 | 100 |
| 36 | DAL | 263 | 0,2606 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 37 | NELLA | 253 | 0,2507 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 38 | DELL | 251 | 0,2487 | 9 | 40,909 |
| 39 | AD | 238 | 0,2358 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 40 | M | 235 | 0,2328 | 12 | 54,545 |
| 41 | PARTENZA | 230 | 0,2279 | 13 | 59,091 |
| 42 | ALLE | 220 | 0,218 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 43 | PRESSO | 217 | 0,215 | 15 | 68,182 |
| 44 | ITINERARIO | 215 | 0,213 | 11 | 50 |
| 45 | DOVE | 209 | 0,2071 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 46 | CI | 208 | 0,2061 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 47 | NAZIONALE | 207 | 0,2051 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 48 | MARE | 198 | 0,1962 | 14 | 63,636 |
| 49 | VIAGGIO | 198 | 0,1962 | 13 | 59,091 |
| 50 | ANCHE | 189 | 0,1873 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 51 | VISITA | 180 | 0,1784 | 15 | 68,182 |
| 52 | AI | 173 | 0,1714 | 21 | 95,455 |
| 53 | COME | 172 | 0,1704 | 20 | 90,909 |
| 54 | TEL | 172 | 0,1704 | 4 | 18,182 |
| 55 | MA | 158 | 0,1566 | 20 | 90,909 |

| 56 | K | 157 | 0,1556 | 3 | 13,636 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 57 | NATURA | 157 | 0,1556 | 20 | 90,909 |
| 58 | NEI | 157 | 0,1556 | 20 | 90,909 |
| 59 | QUESTO | 153 | 0,1516 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 60 | INFORMAZIONI | 152 | 0,1506 | 11 | 50 |
| 61 | FINO | 149 | 0,1476 | 15 | 68,182 |
| 62 | LUNGO | 148 | 0,1466 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 63 | CENTRO | 144 | 0,1427 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 64 | CUI | 144 | 0,1427 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 65 | SAN | 143 | 0,1417 | 13 | 59,091 |
| 66 | SU | 143 | 0,1417 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 67 | DALLA | 142 | 0,1407 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 68 | PERCORSO | 140 | 0,1387 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 69 | SULLA | 140 | 0,1387 | 17 | 77,273 |
| 70 | PRIMA | 134 | 0,1328 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 71 | SUL | 130 | 0,1288 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 72 | CENA | 128 | 0,1268 | 8 | 36,364 |
| 73 | PI | 128 | 0,1268 | 5 | 22,727 |
| 74 | HA | 127 | 0,1258 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 75 | VIA | 127 | 0,1258 | 14 | 63,636 |
| 76 | MONTE | 126 | 0,1248 | 11 | 50 |
| 77 | RITORNO | 126 | 0,1248 | 7 | 31,818 |
| 78 | PRANZO | 124 | 0,1229 | 9 | 40,909 |
| 79 | CAMPO | 120 | 0,1189 | 14 | 63,636 |
| 80 | LO | 119 | 0,1179 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 81 | VERSO | 119 | 0,1179 | 15 | 68,182 |
| 82 | KM | 116 | 0,1149 | 13 | 59,091 |
| 83 | RITROVO | 116 | 0,1149 | 4 | 18,182 |
| 84 | PERNOTTAMENTO | 114 | 0,113 | 9 | 40,909 |
| 85 | TERRITORIO | 112 | 0,111 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 86 | ESCURSIONE | 111 | 0,11 | 10 | 45,455 |
| 87 | MARINA | 111 | 0,11 | 10 | 45,455 |
| 88 | LUNGHEZZA | 109 | 0,108 | 6 | 27,273 |
| 89 | DEGLI | 106 | 0,105 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 90 | NELLE | 106 | 0,105 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 91 | ATTRAVERSO | 104 | 0,103 | 13 | 59,091 |
| 92 | MARGIDORE | 104 | 0,103 | 2 | 9,0909 |
| 93 | DAI | 103 | 0,1021 | 18 | 81,818 |
| 94 | KAYAK | 103 | 0,1021 | 5 | 22,727 |
| 95 | DALLE | 102 | 0,1011 | 19 | 86,364 |
| 96 | GUIDA | 102 | 0,1011 | 16 | 72,727 |
| 97 | DOPO | 101 | 0,1001 | 15 | 68,182 |
| 98 | GIORNI | 101 | 0,1001 | 15 | 68,182 |
| 99 | GRUPPO | 99 | 0,0981 | 12 | 54,545 |
| 100 | PROGRAMMA | 97 | 0,0961 | 13 | 59,091 |