Spanish-English contact in the Falkland Islands: an ethnographic approach to loanwords & place names

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The illustration on the cover shows the author and her then 1-year-old baby doing fieldwork in Pebble Island, part of the Falkland Islands countryside. The aircraft behind them is operated by the Falkland Islands Government Air Service. It is one of the 5 Britten-Norman Islanders light utility aircrafts used to connect the archipelago's sparse population. The picture synthesises the joint venture of mother and son in travelling to the archipelago to do fieldwork together.

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Voor Dante, que creció acompasado con esta tesis.

Foreword

This academic trip started in a bar -where transcendent things often happen- during a conversation with my dear friend George Stewart, who had been to the Falklands several times. “Falkland Islanders use Spanish words”, he said, and provided the exemplar case of ‘camp’. I was intrigued. That chat was enough to light a Ph.D. bonfire. Some days later, still in bewilderment, I shared my revelation with my dad who clear-headedly explained that long ago Uruguayans had been there as a workforce for many decades. No surprise to him. I knew he was an exception, and that those who were not aware of the events would be just as mind blown as I was. American Spanish in contact with a British English variety in the Southern Hemisphere was quite a thing. Some years later, on the verge of starting my Ph.D., Professor Adolfo Elizaincín received me in his office. I told him about the Spanish-English contact in the Falkland Islands as a possible research topic. He did not hesitate to say it was a fascinating case to study. Even though other professors underestimated the potential and scope of the topic, I trusted my gut -especially after having received Adolfo’s blessing. I went on to do a serious exploratory literature search, to find out there was almost no sociolinguistic information on the Falklands -in contrast to the rivers of ink spilt about the recent armed conflict. I must admit that I was both worried and excited about ‘finding no findings’. It then became obvious that somebody had to do it first. Well, somebody with a baby. Consequently, this thesis was not written at an office desk but while breastfeeding, commuting, in coffee shops and sitting in playgrounds. Notes were taken mainly on my phone, as revelations tend to happen whenever one is *not* seated and ready to work in front of a computer. I wrote in South America, in Europe and in between them during flights. I wrote on buses, ships, aeroplanes, trains and whenever and wherever my bundle of energy and joy fell asleep. Doing fieldwork with my baby will probably remain one of my biggest life accomplishments. And it happened with the support, and zero questioning from friends, advisors, universities and funding institutions.

Variously and strangely, much as human beings live, by ranging hither and thither, by falling in love, and mating together. It is true that they are much less bound by ceremony and convention than we are. Royal words mate with commoners. English words marry French words, German words, Indian words, Negro words, if they have a fancy. Indeed, the less we enquire into the past of our dear Mother English the better it will be for that lady's reputation. For she has gone a-roving, a-roving fair maid.

Virginia Woolf, 29 April 1937 (transcript of the BBC *Words Fail Me* series broadcast).

Contents

Acknowledgements

I have been thinking about the acknowledgements section of my thesis since the beginning of my Ph.D. journey, as kindness has accompanied me throughout the process. Even though a doctorate is said to be a lonely trip, scientific findings are seldom the result of one person only.

This thesis required, first and foremost, the collaboration of the Falklands inhabitants. Their precious help was mandatory in order to have a solid understanding of the contact phenomenon under study. My deepest thanks go to all informants, with whom I had long conversations that quenched my thirst of curiosity. I also want to express my thanks to the Falkland Islands Museum and National Trust staff for organising my talks and facilitating relevant documents from their archive; Tansy Bishop from the Jane Cameron National Archives; Ross Chaloner, the Falkland Islands Land Surveyor; Sally Heathman for arranging the logistics of fieldwork as well as interviews with locals around the archipelago; Keith Heathman for being the best guide/driver one can imagine to do off-road expeditions in the Falklands camp, Sally Blake and Joan Spruce for diligently guiding me to useful texts; Riky Evans for sharing with me Colgate's wonderful book; James Peck, and his son Joshua, for sharing their knowledge and friendship, Gail Steen for making me aware of her daughter Kimberly's precious work on horse tack lexicon, Derek Lee for sharing the Penguin News with me at the beginning of this journey, and Malvina House Hotel's chefs for cooking improvised vegan dishes!

I am indebted to my supervisors who did not hesitate to show their trust in me from the very beginning. Thanks to Adolfo Elizaincín, I discovered that my thoughts and observations on language contact phenomena are valuable. Niels Schiller always had great advice in structuring my thoughts and aiming at the big picture and Paz González would never hesitate to share her valuable experience, views and knowledge on the nitty-gritty of the academic craft. My most sincere thanks to all three of you! I also very much appreciated the feedback of the Ph.D. committee who were both kind and rigorous in their comments. In addition, I am grateful to my boss at the Centre for Foreign Languages in Montevideo, Laura Masello, for encouraging my kangaroo-mom scientific approach; and to the administrative staff of both Universidad de la República and Universiteit Leiden for their patience in dealing with the cotutelle agreement, especially to Iris Rahusen-van Ooijen. Throughout my research, I have also been lucky to profit from the feedback and discussions with respectful experts like Federico Lorenz, Jim McAdam, Marcelo Kohen and Iman M. Nick, amongst others (mainly many anonymous reviewers). I am also thankful to Peter Siemund and his research team for an enriching meeting in Hamburg. I must also thank Carolina da Silva for seeing potential in my research and pitching my project to the British Embassy of Uruguay, the Falkland Islands Government, the Shackleton Fund and the Foreign

Commonwealth Office. Without their aid, fieldwork would not have been possible. Furthermore, the three-year scholarship awarded by the Postgraduate Academic Commission of Universidad de la República was of substantial help. Moreover, the Sectorial Commission for Scientific Research of the same University also collaborated financially on this project. I am very grateful to all these institutions.

I would also like to thank my dad, Ney Rodríguez, for his extraordinary help regarding the understanding of Uruguay's country-life jargon and in the identification of rural Spanish words (for city-dwellers such as I, these varieties can sound like a different language). Special thanks also go to Fernando de Mello for his constant encouragement and pep talks; Andrea de los Santos for holding my back in hard times; Lucía López Risso for her invaluable virtual assistance; and Patrice Riemens and Vesna Manojlovic for hosting me in the Netherlands.

I am also thankful to my chosen family, my friends: George and Raquel Stewart who are to blame for my interest in the Falklands, Lucía Bovio who helped me obtain books from the U.S., Matías López Rosenfeld who scanned books for me from Buenos Aires during the COVID lockdown, Daina Green who was always happy and ready to proofread my writing, Paula Gualano who helped me with graphic design matters, Carla Custodio who would praise my efforts and achievements like no one else, and to the love and support of my best friends (they know who they are!).

Errors, omissions and infelicities are all my own. Last but not least, the most heartfelt thank you goes to my son, Dante. Mainly for his sweet company, but also for putting up with more than a dozen flights, off-road bouncy trips in Land Rover, sleeping on library desks, and having her mom stare at blue light for thousands of hours to become what he calls 'a book doctor'.

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Chapter 1

1. General introduction

Language contact has had an impact on, presumably, all the world's languages. It is well known that the contact of languages may result in linguistic changes at all levels: phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, prosodic and lexical, depending on the intensity of the contact and the degree of relatedness of the languages involved (Norde et al., 2010). However, the lexical level is generally assumed to be the level that is most easily influenced (Thomason, 2001) and the different language contact histories may lead to differences in the composition of the lexicon, and consequently the semantics, of present-day languages. For instance, numerous Spanish words have expanded internationally due to the widespread dissemination of the ideas, products, or objects they denote (see Cioranescu, 1987; Friederici, 1960; Palmer, 1939; Rodríguez González, 1996; Serjeantson, 1935; Shaw Fairman, 1987-1988; Van Dam, 1944). When it comes to Spanish loanwords in English, there are studies of Peninsular Spanish words in British English (e.g., Muñoz and Salazar, 2016), and American Spanish into American English, (e.g., Otheguy, 2009; Varra, 2018) but there are no loanword studies of a variety of South American Spanish in a Southern Hemisphere English variety, and this is precisely the case of Falkland Islands English (henceforth FIE), in which the only evidence of language contact is the one with American Spanish.

This dissertation provides a thorough description of the lexical outcomes of the contact between the arguably young American Spanish and the youngest variety of Southern Hemisphere Englishes, thus closing a gap in the literature on Spanish and English as contact languages. The study is confined to the lexical sphere since unlike other contact situations between these languages the contact has only reached early stages (mainly jargonisation and borrowing)[1], while Spanish-English contact in places like Gibraltar and the U.S. has resulted in the emergence of new English varieties[2] (see Suárez-Gómez, 2012 for a detailed revision of both situations).

Both Spanish and English have played an important part when it comes to the field of contact linguistics. As a result of their colonial histories and

[1] FIE is a case where new-dialect formation was not triggered even though the conditions were ideal: dialect contact, insularity, sociodemographic stability and a time depth of more than a century and a half (Schreier, 2008, p. 54).
[2] Yanito emerged in Gibraltar and Chicano English in the U.S.

twentieth-century developments, they have become the two most widely spoken post-colonial languages worldwide today (Perez et al., 2022).

The case of Spanish stands out because of its contact with Amerindian languages, and it has been argued that its study is of utmost importance,

> not because there is something special about Spanish or any of the indigenous languages influenced by Spanish, but rather because of the almost global extension of the Spanish speaking areas past and present. The wide areal distribution of Spanish as a contact language offers a next to unique, laboratory-like opportunity to observe perhaps hundreds of near parallel cases of contact between Spanish and an indigenous language. The genetic, typological and areal background of these indigenous languages is far from being homogeneous. The only constant element is the donor language Spanish. A large-scale investigation into hispanicisation world-wide could thus become a major testing ground not only for universalist hypotheses, but also for more individualised concepts of language contact processes. (Stolz and Stolz, 2001)

Similarly, the spread and diffusion of English around the world also offers a peculiar, laboratory-like chance to study contact phenomena. Just like in the case of Spanish, the transplantation of English across the globe saw extreme diversification and the rise of 'new' varieties (Schreier, 2008). The 'export' of English offers fascinating perspectives for contact linguistics since the embedding of English into a multitude of contact settings (with countless co-existing language systems) entailed an unprecedented amount of contact-induced language changes (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988)[3]. Within these settings, insular ones lend themselves to *ab ovo* reconstructing the social history of a community, socio-historical information can be complemented and tested with diachronic and/or contemporary language data, permitting researchers to document and isolate the sociolinguistic mechanisms that operate(d), moreover, the socio-cultural characteristics of insular speech communities are shaped by geophysical seclusion from other settlements and speaker groups, and consequently: from other language varieties[4] (Schreier, 2008). Such is the case of the group of islands located in the South Atlantic Ocean, where 'new' varieties of English and Spanish would meet about two centuries ago.

[3] Borrowing has been particularly prolific between English and Spanish (see Muñoz-Bolsols and Salazar, 2016).

[4] The living conditions of insular territories favour the development of local norms and the emergence of distinctive 'new' varieties, which is evidenced by the fact that dozens of post-colonial varieties have developed on islands in all of the major oceans (such as FIE, and Tristán da Cunha in the South Atlantic, Bonin/Ogasawara English in the Pacific, numerous English-based Creoles in the Caribbean, etc.) (Schreier, 2008).

1.1 The archipelago and its language situation

The Falkland Islands are administered as an overseas British territory. The archipelago is composed of 778 islands and islets and is located in the South Atlantic Ocean, about 400 kilometres from the Argentinian coast, 1,400 kilometres north of the Antarctic Circle, 1,900 kilometres from Uruguay, and more than 12,000 kilometres from the United Kingdom. They are located between Latitude 51° and 53°S and Longitude 57° and 62°W. There are two main islands, West Falkland and East Falkland. Of the rest, less than a dozen are inhabited. Stanley on East Falkland is its capital, hosting three-quarters of the total population which amounted to 3,354 in 2016[5]. The rest live in small settlements (of two or three to up to thirty people) in what is known as 'camp'[6] (from Spanish *campo*). There are also military personnel and civilians connected to the British armed forces, however, how many live there is classified information. The great majority live in Mount Pleasant, where the military base and the international airport are located, about 90 kilometres west of Stanley. Yet, Mount Pleasant military personnel and civilians are not considered part of the Islands' population, as most of them stay for short periods of time. Topographically the Islands are generally hilly, the climate is characterised by a narrow temperature range, which varies from 24°C (76°F) in January to -5°C (22°F) in July, with a mean annual temperature of approximately 5.6°C (42°F)[7].

FIE is one of the three varieties of the South Atlantic Ocean, together with those of St. Helena and Tristan da Cunha (see Schreier et al., 2010; and Buschfeld, et al. 2014), and ranks amongst the "lesser-known varieties of English" (cf. Schreier et al., 2010). Since the English occupation in 1833, the Falkland Islands[8] have been continuously inhabited by English speakers, making this variety the youngest of the 'Inner Circle'[9] (Kachru, 1985) and one of the few native varieties of English in the Southern Hemisphere. Both Trudgill (1986) and Wells (1982) have commented on the similarity of the English spoken in the Falkland Islands with those of the rest of the Southern

[5] The last census for which a report is available was done in 2016.
[6] 'Camp' in the Falklands is used in the same way as Sp. *campo* and Eng. *countryside*.
[7] Taken from https://www.falklands.gov.fk/our-home/location/
[8] The Islands are also known as *Islas Malvinas* in Spanish. However, in this dissertation the English place name is preferred since it is what the speech community under study calls the archipelago.
[9] Braj Kachru initiated and promoted the field of World Englishes and developed the idea of the three concentric circles of such language. The inner circle represents the nations in which English is a native language for most of its inhabitants, e. g. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, England, the U.S. The outer circle includes countries where English is not the native language but has an important role such as India, Bangladesh, and Kenya. And the expanding circle encompasses countries where English does not have a historical or governmental role but is very widespread as a foreign language. Today, this involves most of the other countries in the world.

Hemisphere. Nonetheless, Sudbury (2000) demonstrated that this variety is divergent in certain aspects. Amongst the differences, she points out that the history of the Islands' settlements is atypical compared to the colonization of much of the English-speaking world since the only linguistic varieties that came into contact were those spoken by the settlers themselves, arguing that the Islands' situation provides a rare example of relatively 'pure' linguistic contact, without the influence of other languages (Sudbury, 2005)[10]. She probably referred to the influence of native languages (inexistent as the Islands were deserted before the European occupations), since contact with another language did take place. During the 19th century, gauchos[11] from the River Plate region set sail from the port of Montevideo to work in the archipelago in the livestock industry, giving way to Spanish-English contact. For Joan Spruce (2011) - a local historian and fifth-generation Islander[12] - the largest group of words characteristic of the Falklands is probably the one taken from the Spanish spoken by the gauchos and specifies that they brought with them the terminology and knowledge of how to make and use horse gear, which served both for transporting and driving animals, also giving name to streams, valleys and establishments[13]. However, in the late 19th century, cattle ranching was replaced by sheep, making the gaucho experience unnecessary. Such events appear to have diminished the vitality of Spanish loanwords. According to Sudbury (2000), the influence of Spanish has been purely lexical and quite insignificant. But even though many of the words borrowed from Spanish may have fallen into disuse, the Spanish linguistic contribution has not been trivial at all, as this thesis aims to prove. Today, Spanish-speaking immigrants (mainly Chileans) are an important part of the population of the Islands, and 11% of the Islanders use Spanish in their homes (according to the 2016 Census Report). Nevertheless, English is the first local and only official language.

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[10] Trudgill (2004) lists rural FIE (together with Newfoundland English, and Cape Breton English) as one of the few known exceptions of colonial Englishes developed eminently as a result of dialect mixing.

[11] The gauchos were countryside men experienced in livestock tasks. They used to be mestizos who in the 18th and 19th centuries inhabited Argentina, Uruguay and Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil). They were transhumant riders, very skilled in livestock work. Today, in Uruguay and Argentina, countrymen experienced in traditional cattle works are called 'gaucho'.

[12] Native Falkland Islanders are generally and locally addressed as Islanders.

[13] A substantial part of the toponymy of the Islands has a full or hybrid (Spanish-English) form based on Spanish.

Figure 1.1: An early map of the Falklands

1.2 Perspectives

Within the scope of socio-historical linguistics, this dissertation investigates language contact phenomena. The studies presented in it examine language contact from multiple perspectives, i.e.: contact onomastics, linguistic change and language attitudes. When studying the influence of one language on another, it is essential to observe it in its social setting and from a historical perspective. Following such a premise, this dissertation is written in the tradition of socio-historical linguistics aiming at the reconstruction of the history of a certain language in its socio-cultural context (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 2012), aided by an ethnographic approach through participant observation and unstructured conversations with the speech community, gathering different quantitative and qualitative data. The general objective of this dissertation is to better understand the Spanish-English contact in the Falkland Islands, i.e., the scenarios in which it originated, the influence of Spanish on English from 1833 to date, and the Islanders' perceptions of the results of such phenomenon. The aim of this three-fold analysis is to provide readers with an overview of FIE that is as complete as possible, that gives much-needed information on a barely documented contact scenario of English and Spanish and its outcomes in terms of place names

and loanwords. Several sources are integrated into a socio-historical framework, including both synchronic and diachronic materials.

This thesis also discusses the relevance of these types of studies for various adjacent disciplines of linguistics. Moreover, it seeks to link the Islands' present and past through an in-depth analysis of language contact in order to look into the complex interplay of language-external (e.g., migration patterns) and internal developments, i.e., to discuss the full complexity of contact-induced language change, and by doing so, to offer some hypotheses on the relevance of Falklands English for current theories on lexical borrowing, as well as on the formation of postcolonial Englishes (as discussed in Schneider, 2007).

1.2.1 Outline

The structure of this thesis is as follows. The next chapter, Chapter 2 "A socio-historical overview of FIE in contact with Spanish" describes the social and historical context in which English and Spanish meet on the Islands from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day. The chapter aims to answer questions such as: To what extent is FIE the sole result of contact amongst English varieties? In which socio-historical context did/do speakers of Spanish and English converge? What kind of linguistic contact takes/took place in the Falklands between Spanish and English? The chapter summarises the historical and social evolution of the Falkland Islands population, subdividing its history into four sections (18th century: The many settlement attempts; 19th century: It all comes down to livestock; 20th century: Times of ups and downs; 21st century: Sovereignty assertion and the new Spanish wave). Moreover, this chapter provides steppingstones for the studies that follow as it introduces general principles of contact linguistics and identifies some major processes that underlie language contact. The aim is to set the groundwork in order to better understand language contact phenomena within a socio-historical framework of FIE, and to formulate some first hypotheses as to how the contact between Spanish and English may have originated and developed, which I then go on to explore in the following chapters.

The rest of the dissertation flows amongst and interweaves the three underlying sub-themes of this project, i.e., toponomastics, loanwords and language attitudes. The following chapters present an understanding of the phenomenon of place names of Spanish origin and their coexistence with English names, in relation to the past, and the present; understanding them as dynamic linguistic artefacts. Specifically, Chapter 3 "Spanish Place Names of the Falkland Islands: A Novel Classification System" addresses questions such as: Which Spanish place names are used in the Falklands? Which Spanish place names are used to name the Falklands from abroad? Where do they originate? What differentiates the two Spanish inventories? Chapter 4 "Competing place names: Malvinas vs. Falklands: When a sovereignty conflict

becomes a name conflict"[14] focuses on the following problems: What type of renaming process do Argentinian place names entail? Are there political intentions behind their use? What happens to the toponym *Puerto Argentino*, created during Galtieri's dictatorship? What are campers' and Stanley dwellers' attitudes towards Spanish place names such as Malvinas? Does the conflict with Argentina play a part when it comes to Islanders' attitudes towards Spanish place names? Chapter 5 "An ethnolinguistic approach to contact onomastics: Falkland Islanders' attitudes to gaucho place names" pays attention to locals' perspectives and sentiments towards Spanish place names with entries in British maps, addressing questions like: What might have originated these place names? What narrative do locals address to their existence? To which narrative do locals ascribe their existence? How do Islanders feel about them? How do these place names function within FIE speakers and the local community?

The rest of the thesis reports on two studies on loanwords. Chapter 6 "The Spanish component of Falkland Islands English: A micro-corpus approach to the study of loanwords" consists of a corpus-based study of Spanish loanwords in FIE. It addresses questions such as: How can Spanish loanwords in FIE be studied in the absence of a traditional corpus? Which elements of FIE can be the product of contact with Spanish? Do Spanish loanwords have entries in dictionaries? Are they confined to one semantic field? The second study on loanwords is Chapter 7, "Los préstamos lingüísticos como registro de la historia: indigenismos en el inglés de las Islas Malvinas/Falkland", which presents and analyses the Amerindian words that made it to FIE together with Spanish vocabulary. It also addresses the relevance of simultaneously studying historic and linguistic evidence given its potential to reconstruct past scenarios.

Finally, Chapter 8 provides a summary of the main findings, mentions the limitations of the study, discusses the theoretical and methodological implications, and makes suggestions for future research.

The repetition of certain aspects, such as the sociohistorical background and methodological approach across chapters, is the consequence of a cumulative thesis. The positive side is that each chapter is comprehensible on its own.

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[14] There are countless investigations and publications on the conflict and the 1982 war between Argentina and Great Britain. For instance: Guber, R., (2004). *De chicos a veteranos. Memorias argentinas de la guerra de Malvinas*. Antropofagia; Lorenz, F., (2017). *La llamada. Historia de un rumor de la posguerra de Malvinas*. EDUNT; Soprano, G., (2019). Violencia política y terrorismo de Estado en la Argentina de la década de 1970. Perspectivas y experiencias de los "combatientes"; desde una historia social y cultural de la guerra. Autoctonía. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales e Historia, 3* (1); Baker, K., (1993). *The Turbulent Years. My Life in Politics*. Faber and Faber; Benn, T., (1992). *The End of an Era. Diaries 1980-90*. Edited by R. Winstone. Hutchinson; Borsani, D., (2015). *La special relationship anglo-americana e la guerra delle Falkland: (1982)*. Le Lettere; Boyce, D.G., (2003). *The Falklands War*. Palgrave.

1.3 A Mixed-methods approach

Recent developments in contact linguistics suggest a considerable overlap of disciplines. Furthermore, given the lack of a unified method for studying language contact phenomena the studies of this dissertation rest within a cross-disciplinary framework in which diverse disciplines and subdisciplines overlap, i.e., contact linguistics, toponomastics, contact onomasiology, historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, language attitudes, conflict linguistics and linguistic ethnography[15]. Quantitative and qualitative linguistic data[16] from corpora, interviews and scientific and non-scientific[17] literature is investigated under the assumption that historical words provide a window on the concepts and materiality of a historical society (Schmidt-Wiegand, 1975). The creation, storage, maintenance, disclosure, archiving and sustainable preservation of research data complies with the FAIR principles of data management: Findable, Accessible, Interoperable and Re-usable.

The answers to the many questions posited above are explored throughout the three stages of this project. The first part of this investigation resorts to corpus linguistics. Research on lesser-known language varieties is rarely able to draw on large and well-balanced corpora (Meyerhoff, 2012). Hence, it is not much of a surprise that locally written material is scarce[18] and no large searchable (online) corpus or a database for the investigated variety is available. Therefore, I decided to study several written sources about the Falkland Islands in which vocabulary of Spanish origin is mentioned, more specifically Beccaceci (2017), Blake et al. (2011), Lorenz (2014), Migone (1996), Roberts (2002), Spruce (1992), Steen (2000), Strange (1973), and Vidal (1982). Only Vidal (1982) and Roberts (2002) had the explicit purpose of addressing the issue of Spanish loanwords. The rest of the works mention loanwords but without this being the primary objective of their work. The result of this stage is a list of 168 entries (I am not aware of a more

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[15] Due to the cross-disciplinary nature of this thesis, each chapter will consist of a theoretical review of the matter in question.

[16] All data is backed up in SURFdrive, a personal cloud storage service for the Dutch education and research community used to store, synchronise and share files. Data, however, has not been made openly available due to the confidentiality promised to participants (it should be noted that opinions are sometimes related to politics).

[17] Meaning academic/non-academic.

[18] Previously noted by Massolo (1990), who stated that "The war fought over the Falkland Islands between Argentina and Britain briefly captured world attention in 1982 and generated masses of books in English, Spanish, and other languages. With very few exceptions, academics, journalists, and propagandists focusing on international relations have perpetuated stereotypes of the conflict's antecedents. Few have shown any interest in local matters, which, despite their apparent parochialism, help explain the situation in the region today. An important but neglected aspect to consider is the world view of the islanders as expressed through their customs (p. 284).

exhaustive list on Spanish loanwords in that variety). Concomitantly, literature on the toponymy of the Islands (e.g., Munro, 1998), as well as maps were surveyed looking for Spanish and bilingual place names (English-Spanish). Maps of all types and periods were studied, and those created in the Falklands were compared to those of the Argentinian authorities.

In the second stage of this project, I resorted to an ethnographic approach to data collection, i.e., participant observation and interviewing 40 speakers in their cultural setting[19]. In the linguistic ethnography approach, the researcher gets involved with the community in order to better understand the language under study. Linguistic ethnography combines theoretical and methodological approaches from both linguistics and ethnography to look into social matters that involve language (Tusting, 2019). Ethnography provides reflexivity about the role of the researcher; attention to people's emic perspectives; sensitivity to in-depth understandings of particular settings; openness to complexity, as well as contradiction and re-interpretation over time (Rampton et al., 2004).

Data were collected *in situ*, and processed through field notes and personal reflections, which materialise in a better understanding of the phenomena. The tools consisted of field notes, a field diary, a recorder, and a camera. All my reflections and observations were recorded with at least one of them. For interviews, guidelines were developed for each individual informant. For example, guidelines for rural workers assessed their knowledge about the history of gauchos in the Islands, as well as their knowledge of toponyms and names of horse tack of Spanish origin; while the guidelines to interview politicians had the focal point on issues such as language attitudes towards Argentinian toponyms. In this study, attitudes are understood as a way of thinking or feeling about someone or something, as a mental construct (Garret, 2010). However, informants were not directly asked about their opinions, instead, these came up naturally in an unstructured manner.

There were two visits to the Falklands: in 2019 and 2020. Meetings and interviews were arranged with English and a few Spanish speakers from different parts of the Islands (permanent residents as well as immigrants) and of different ages; especially old informants to contemplate the phenomenon of apparent time[20] (Chambers, 2002; Eckert, 1997). The informants were students, government officials, MLAs (members of the legislative assembly), Islanders whose ancestors can be traced back to more than nine

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[19] Finding the funding to visit the Islands was a task that at times seemed impossible, until in 2019 I received financial aid from the Falklands government, the Foreign Commonwealth Office, the Shackelton Fund, and the British Embassy in Uruguay.

[20] A methodological construct from sociolinguistics which allows the study of language change by comparing the speech of individuals of different ages, assuming that older generations will represent an earlier form of the language. Famous studies that resorted to such a construct include Labov's Martha's Vineyard study (1994) as well as Chambers' study on Canadian /wh/.

generations[21], rural workers, archivists, museologists, independent researchers, members of the Falkland Islands Association, artists, Spanish and English teachers, hostages of the 1982 conflict, pre- and post-conflict immigrants, and teachers. The meetings took place at the home / workplace of the informants or at a meeting point such as restaurants or the hotel where I stayed. All interviews were done by me and were recorded with a three-microphone Olympus device which guarantees sufficient quality for phonetic analysis[22]. During fieldwork, I visited the capital (Stanley), and the countryside (the camp), both East Falkland and West Falkland. Moreover, for the socio-demographic framework, I visited the Jane Cameron Archives to study sources about 19th-century immigration rates as well as the Historic Dockyard Museum Archive.

The third stage was interspersed with the fieldwork trips and consisted of the analysis and reflection based on the data obtained. The data collected in the first fieldwork trip served as a foundation for the next visit, re-signifying what had been done to consider potential reformulations of the approach in the following trip (Guber, 2011). Both in the fieldwork as well as in the writing of the dissertation, the fundamental ethical precautions of scholarly research were considered. All participants were asked to sign informed consents[23]. Confidentiality was guaranteed to all participants (no informant is named), in conformity with all relevant ethical standards and regulations, including the GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation of Leiden University). An Information Sheet was left behind so that informants had the opportunity to contact a responsible research official in case they deemed it necessary.

Informants became active participants and not mere sources of information. With every conversation, they helped re-signify what had been done allowing me to consider potential reformulations. Face to face meetings and group discussions took place in order to understand the present and past linguistic reality. While in fieldwork two talks were given in the Historic Dockyard Museum of Stanley. They were followed by an interactive discussion with attendees, which permitted collecting more qualitative data as well as bonding with the community. These instances provided Islanders with a space to share and display their knowledge as well as time to reflect on language phenomena. Furthermore, a Facebook page on the topic of Falkland Islands English was created to share some data with the local community and to gain insights from Islanders through social media. Within the ethnographic approach taken, I privileged the trust with the speech community under study,

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[21] It is particularly important to consider this population given the change of practices in rural areas and the high number of immigrants on the Islands.

[22] A phonetic analysis was not part of my research objectives but recording in high quality is important in case I decide to do so in the future.

[23] The Acceptance Letters of the Scientific Research Ethics Commission of the Faculty of Humanities in Universidad de la República and the Ethics committee for the faculties of Humanities and Archaeology in Leiden University were obtained prior to the first fieldwork.

on the assumption that in comparison to meeting informants once with the only intention of gathering data, staying in touch with the community and keeping them posted on the different stages of the project was not only fair for them but also convenient for my research as locals helped me throughout my discovery and reflection processes.

1.4 Relevance

Being a language of colonialism and expansion, English led to the emergence of 'new' varieties that originated due to linguistic contact. Their development provides a showcase scenario for research on contact linguistics, challenging us to rethink social, political, ethnic, economic and linguistic facets of the relationship between language and space (Schreier, 2008; Schmidt and Auer, 2010). As I have already mentioned, the 'export' of English becomes fascinating for contact linguists, since the embedding of English into a multitude of contact settings constitutes a remarkable amount of contact-induced language change (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988) which should eventually help formulate a language contact theory. Furthermore, countless contact situations all over the world remain to be examined. One of those scenarios is the one of the Falklands, where language contact has only been mentioned marginally and its outcomes downplayed (see Sudbury, 2005). The present study is the first to look into the linguistic history of the Falkland Islands from a language contact perspective, an ever-relevant topic in linguistics (Norde et al., 2010). Even though the contact of English varieties in the Falklands has received attention, no study has been done on contact between languages. Furthermore, this is also the first study contemplating language attitudes on the Islands, making this research innovative also in that respect. It is worth noting that this study pivots around the Falkland Islands speech community. Hence, one of its outreach aims is also to provide the locals with a thorough analysis of their history and culture, an examination that would not have been possible without their active participation and collaboration. Lastly, it intends to contribute to the international sociolinguistic history, since the past and present of this neglected post-colonial variety of English is coined by many cultures, peoples and nations. It also expects to collaborate in better understanding contact phenomena, providing the scholarly community with a case study, in the ideal microcosm provided by islands.

Chapter 2

2. A socio-historical overview of Falkland Islands English in contact with Spanish

A version of this chapter is submitted for publication as:

Rodríguez, Y. & Elizaincín, A. (submitted) A socio-historical overview of Falkland Islands English in contact with Spanish.

Abstract

In the 18th century, Bougainville took livestock animals to the Falklands (Strange, 1973). Almost a century later, Lafone, a businessman, and the British Crown exploited the resource of the resulting spread of cattle and horses with the help of Spanish-speaking people from the River Plate region (Beccaceci, 2017). Such enterprises set up the beginning of a language contact arena between English and Spanish. Falkland Islands vernacular is regarded as the result of dialect contact only, which entails an exception compared to the other colonial Englishes (Trudgill, 2004). However, a somehow neglected or unknown aspect of its history is its contact with Spanish. This chapter aims to amend its contact history and demonstrate that contact with Spanish has played its part in the shaping of the archipelago's official language. I resort to a range of sources, i.e., archival research, literature reviews, and fieldwork.

2.1 Introduction

Every attempt to reconstruct an earlier contact scenario depends on what we know about the community's social history, and that of the Falklands is a hectic one. Many nations set their eyes on the archipelago: Dutch, French, Portuguese, British, Spanish, Argentinian. Today's state of affairs is quite cosmopolitan in terms of worldwide presence since people from over 60 nations live on the Islands. At present, residents of the archipelago speak Falkland Islands English (henceforth FIE), which developed from the 19th century onwards mainly as a result of migration mainly from the Southwest of England and Scotland (Sudbury, 2001)[24], resulting in a highly levelled variety typologically similar to Southern varieties of English in England (Kortmann, et. al., 2020). However, even though dialect contact has played a major role in the evolution of the variety, language contact has also contributed to its rise. More precisely, the contact with Spanish left its footprint in a legion of Hispanic place names (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5) as well as in many loanwords which now represent part of the most characteristic Falkland Islands vocabulary (see Blake et al., 2011). Sudbury (2000) has written a detailed revision of the colonisation history concerning dialect contact. However, no settlement history has been written with a focus on Spanish-English language contact. The object of this work is constrained to visiting the socio-historical conditions of language contact and its consequences, in the Falklands. My comments and observations have nothing to do with national interests.

The main socio-historical aspect that favoured the contact between English and Spanish is the frequent transit of supplies and people to and from the South American mainland. Livestock farming was for a long time the economic engine of the Islands. The cattle business was primarily run by gauchos from South America, who made their way mainly from Montevideo. Gauchos' skills were ideal for livestock tasks related to beef cattle, and also for the use of the horse as a means of transport and to herd the beasts. However, gauchos would disappear when the Islands were handed over to the sheep farming industry. Techniques for dealing with ovine cattle are different from cattle related ones, plus the British were very knowledgeable on sheep farming.

Interestingly, in the Islands, 'gaucho' is thought of as a profession, and in some immigration records I have attested English names and British nationals under the profession of gaucho. Many of these gauchos (probably also English speakers) arrived with the Lafone brothers, who recruited gauchos to take them to their settlement on the Islands: Hope Place, also known by the Spanish name 'saladero', with which it appears today on Falkland Islands local maps. The latter example is just one of the many place names of Spanish origin through which their earlier presence is still

[24] Sudbury (2001) admits that it is impossible to give precise dialect origins for the early Falkland Islands settlers.

remembered on the Islands (Boumphrey, 1967). As well, Spanish names were applied to horse tack, and different types of horses, amongst other semantic fields (see Chapter 6). We will see throughout this chapter, that these Spanish loanwords very probably arise as a result of contact between English speakers, Spanish speakers, and bilinguals, some of whom were seasonal workers.

A typical example of Falklands Spanish loanwords is the word used in the Islands to refer to the rural area, which is known as 'camp' (evidently derived from Spanish *campo*) rather than terms such as 'countryside' or other possible variations[25]. Other authors have mentioned this phenomenon. Peter Trudgill, for instance, admits that "FIE has some words from Spanish" (Trudgill, 2004, p. 5) and Falkland Islands local historian and fifth-generation Islander Joan Spruce assures that from the gauchos who came to the Islands to work, they inherited "words connected with their daily lives and work or the animals and horse gear they worked with" (1992, p. 30). Nonetheless, given that livestock practices disappeared decades ago, it is logical to expect many Spanish loanwords to have begun to lose vitality. Spruce (2011) explains that she began compiling a list of the Falklands' lexicon (many of which are Spanish loanwords) because some words became less and less heard, and others were no longer used. But although many of the borrowed words may have fallen out of use, the Spanish contribution has not been insignificant. However, no socio-historical analysis has been done about the events that led to these linguistic outcomes.

To fully understand language change, it becomes essential to turn to external history. We set out to investigate the changes the community underwent which might have redirected the evolution of FIE. The main aim of this chapter is to look into the social and historical context of the variety, to describe FIE contact history as concisely and precisely as possible. To be able to discuss the complexity of contact-induced language change, we need to link present and past (i.e., evaluating historical and contemporary evidence), and investigate the complex interplay of both internal and external developments (migration patterns, economic changes, relevant events, demographic evolution, etc.).

By integrating all types of social and linguistic evidence available (archives, interviews, literature review, visitors' accounts and lexicon data), this work presents the contact situations in which Spanish collaborated in shaping the linguistic scenario of the Islands, from the very first settlement days to the present. The chapter is organised into four parts. We will start with an introductory section to outline FIE characteristics, the relevance of social history reconstruction, and the first outcomes of language contact. The second and third parts of the chapter interweave the following subjects: how English and Spanish have come into contact in the Falklands' history and some

[25] The calque 'camp' (from Spanish *campo*) is also present in Anglo-Paraguayan English with the meanings of 'field' and 'countryside' (Perez-Inofuentes, 2015).

sociolinguistic implications of such contact. Finally, a few considerations regarding the characteristics and outcomes of the contact and its significance within the history of FIE and six relevant conclusions are presented.

2.1.1 Falkland Islands English overview

FIE ranks amongst the "lesser-known varieties of English" (cf. Schreier et al., 2010). It is one of the three South Atlantic English varieties, together with those of St. Helena and Tristan da Cunha (see Schreier et al., 2010; Buschfeld et al. 2014). It is also one of the few varieties of English native to the Southern Hemisphere and has characteristics common to the varieties of Australia and New Zealand (Sudbury, 2001). Trudgill (1986) and Wells (1982) have commented on the resemblance of FIE to those of the rest of the Southern Hemisphere, but Sudbury showed that although the variety of the Falklands presents several features in common with the rest, it is divergent in certain aspects (see Sudbury, 2000, 2001).

FIE is also classified as one of the youngest nativised varieties of post-colonial English since it formed around the mid-nineteenth century only, so it is about the same 'age' as New Zealand English (Schreier et al., 2010), making it one of the most recent varieties of the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985). According to Trudgill (2004), the core linguistic characteristics of the Inner-Circle colonial varieties (e.g., Australian, South African and New Zealand Englishes) arose out of processes of dialect contact, dialect mixture, and new-dialect formation. He states that the most important ingredients in the mixture that was to lead the development of these new forms of English were the dialects and accents of the language brought with them by native speakers of English. In Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, as well as in the Falklands, the contact was almost entirely between varieties of English from the British Isles.

The varieties of English that gave rise to FIE are those originally from the South and Southwest of England, and those from the Northwest of Scotland (Britain and Sudbury, 2010). Even though the English of the Falklands has moved away from these varieties, it still retains grammatical remains of them (Britain and Sudbury, 2013), mainly from the Southern varieties[26]. Sudbury's (2000) study threw light onto the contact mechanisms and processes of new-dialect formation such as levelling, regularization and reallocation that operated when FIE formed (the latter are natural processes that occur where two or more variants in a dialect mix survive the levelling process). She provided an exhaustive description of FIE phonetics and phonology and pointed out its morphosyntactic similarities with other varieties. Moreover, she

[26] Here are two examples: Islanders sometimes use 'youse' as a second person plural pronoun (as in southern England varieties), and there is a relatively high use of 'got to' (instead of 'have to','have got to' or 'must') to express obligation (a characteristic of the dialects of South West England).

stated that unlike other populations of the Inner circle, Falkland Islands settlers had no contact with a non-Anglophone indigenous population and that it is consequently the sole result of English dialect contact (Britain and Sudbury, 2010). Other linguists also assert that "FIE arguably comes as close as possible to a scenario of 'pure' dialect contact as we can possibly get" (Schreier et al., 2010). Sudbury claims that as "settlers originated from the UK (aside from a handful of individuals mainly from northern Europe), the Falklands' situation provides a rare example of relatively 'pure' dialect contact, without the influence of other languages" (2005, p. 403).

The Falklands variety is said to lack the local vocabulary common to other extra-territorial Englishes (see Schreier et al., 2006). However, there is indeed a Falklands lexicon in most part exclusive to the Islands from which 20% are Spanish borrowings (cf. Blake et al., 2011). Furthermore, according to Spruce, the largest group of words characteristic of the Falklands is probably that borrowed from the Spanish of the gauchos working in the livestock industry and explains: "They brought with them the terminology, and the knowledge of how to make and use gear for horses, which were both transport and pack animals on the huge farms; they gave their names for streams, valleys and camps" (2011, p. 1). Until recently, both country life vocabulary, as well as the toponymic footprint of the contact, have been neglected in the scientific literature.

According to Sudbury, the influence of Spanish on the developing Falklands dialect has been minimal and restricted to a few place names and horse-riding terminology (2000, pp. 190–1), however, 'minimal' is a bit imprecise when it comes to language contact outcomes (around 400 lexical tokens originated in Spanish were found in this research (see Chapter 6). What is more, Schreier et al. (2006), state that "lexically, the Falklands dialect also lacks the local vocabulary common to other extra-territorial Englishes" (p. 2136). Although they mention, however, that some Falkland place names and horse-riding terminology derive from Spanish, they fail to see them as part of the linguistic idiosyncrasy of Islanders, i.e., how locals embrace them as part of their heritage and use them often. They argue that the lack of lexical diversity of the archipelago could be attributed to the absence of language contact in the Islands, turning a blind eye to the fact that the Spanish words were themselves the result of language contact, and that the Falklands variety does have a local, distinct vocabulary.

Even though the Islands did not have a native population, there was contact with the language of mainland gauchos: Spanish. What Sudbury (2005) calls "pure dialect contact" was not strictly the case, since to the contact between varieties of English (dialect contact) we must add contact with Spanish (language contact). Following Spruce, it is clear that within this mixture of British accents, we must also consider

> the influence of those who had worked in Patagonia and brought back their own version of the Spanish they had learned, and the seasonal workers from Chile, such as those that came to the meat works at Goose

> Green[27] in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Direct shipping links to Uruguay and Chile also added to the smattering of South American Spanish (2011, p. 1).

In other words, English speakers learning Spanish and Spanish speakers, English.

Under the assumption that "the integration of social and linguistic factors is the ultimate challenge of any attempt at modelling or theorising the outcome of linguistic contact processes (Schreier 2008, p. 12)", a first sketch of the socio-historical events in which English and Spanish interacted in the archipelago is proposed.

2.2 The relevance of social history reconstruction for dialect formation

New dialects may emerge when languages come into contact. This process is interwoven with and dependent on the diachronic and synchronic interplay of linguistic, sociolinguistic, socio-psychological and demographic factors. Each contact situation has its own story to tell, but we know that the way these factors interrelate is what ultimately accounts for the linguistic outcomes of the contact. Reconstructing the social history is essential to gain insights into the social, economic and socio-demographic development of the community, the locus in which the variety evolved. Insular settings like that of the Falklands lend themselves to an *ab ovo* reconstruction of the social history of a community, offering ideal conditions for analysing the sociohistorical setting in which a contact variety emerges and develops. This enables historical linguists to speculate on language genesis and evolution (Schreier, 2008). Additionally, donor identification is highly relevant for a reconstruction of the original input scenario. However, these data emerge from the former, by finding out where settlers and workers came from, and knowing how long they stayed on the Islands as well as where they settled and established their villages. In sum, we should always keep in mind the interplay of social and linguistic factors, focusing not only on individual inputs but also on the social roles of the settlers themselves.

The only means of addressing these complex issues is by identifying as much earlier evidence as possible to gain glimpses of the past. The following questions are paramount for this purpose: What were the origins of the settlers and when did they arrive? How stable was the population? What were the patterns of in-, out- and cross-migration? Where did the colonists settle on the

[27] Goose Green is a settlement in Lafonia on East Falkland. With a population of about 40 people, it is the third largest settlement of the Falkland Islands, after Stanley and Mount Pleasant.

Islands and how did they interact? What was their function in the community, and how did their position influence the formation of a local dialect? What was the settlers' speech like and how competent were the other language speakers in English? Until when did languages other than English survive? Is FIE primarily a product of dialect or language contact? Or both? The following sections discuss them in turn, sometimes finding answers and sometimes failing to do so.

We now move on to outline the first linguistic mechanisms involved in new-dialect formation, focusing on FIE and continuing with an in-depth look at the various scenarios of language contact in the Falklands (i.e., the processes that give rise to the borrowing of words), which should eventually help us understand the social factors that underlie and influence the mechanisms of contact linguistics.

2.3 Outcomes of the first stages of language contact

One of the expected consequences of language contact is complete language shift, as has happened recently with numerous indigenous communities all over South America, for example, Kunza in the Atacama Desert (replaced by Spanish), Skepi in Essequibo (replaced by Dutch); Pankararú in the East of Brazil (replaced by Portuguese). Other outcomes are jargons and borrowing of words, which arise in the early stages of the contact. They are followed by pidginisation, creolisation, and mixed languages. This section is a brief description of the processes involved in the very first stages of language contact since those occurred in the Falklands (for an exhaustive discussion of this complex phenomenon see Holm, 2000, 2004; Thomason, 2001; Winford, 2003). In this work, I will only provide examples from the Falklands contact scenario.

Communication between speakers of structurally distinct linguistic systems may last for only a short period of time or persist for the long run. In the Falklands, as we will see in the following sections, there seems to have been a short period of heavy contact, followed by a co-existence *de facto* English and Spanish in a manner that does not configure language contact given that English has become the de facto language in the last century. Hence, only the first stages of linguistic contact were reached, i.e., jargonisation and borrowing.

When two different language speaking communities come into contact, a functionally restricted jargon tends to arise to cover very basic communication needs. Jargons are the least structured stage of pidgin development, with a limited range of functions used in the most restricted of social situations (Sebba, 1997, p. 102). Moreover, they are developed *ad hoc* by adults for a specific purpose clear to all the participants, being shaped on the spot and dying out when there is no more need for using them (Schreier, 2008). However, it can develop into a pidgin and, later -if circumstances allow-

into a creole. The colonisers' language typically takes the role of the lexifier. Moreover, the social prestige and power of the communities affect the amount, frequency and direction of lexical transfer (Winford, 2003), and their contribution to the jargon reflects the social relationships of the groups in contact. Hence, the status of individual groups can become evident at this early stage, in that the impact of the languages present, i.e., their contribution (mostly of lexical items) to the jargon, reflects the social relationships of the groups in contact. When speakers are in super-/substratal relationships, the borrowing tends to go from the superstratal to the substratal language but is different in situations when the social hierarchy is more balanced. Both societal and individual viewpoints should be considered to better understand language contact phenomena (Elizaincín, 1992). In the 19th-century Falklands, Spanish could have been a South American labourer substrate and English the superstrate. While for an English speaker, Spanish could be the superstrate given that the South American workforce was probably highly esteemed in those times, hence, bearing prestige. However, contacts are generally massive social encounters, through migrations, conquests, etc. So, the newcomer's language tends to be seen as the superstrate and the local one as the substrate. In any case, as indicated by Van Coetsem (1988) (and elaborated in Winford, 2005), I adhere to the distinction between two transfer types, i.e.: borrowing under RL agentivity, and imposition under SL agentivity. In other words, one agent may employ either kind of agentivity, alternating between the different transfer types, in the same contact situation.

Even though Spanish is not an indigenous language in this scenario, it works similarly to one. There is strong resemblance in local flora, fauna and geographical features with those of the South American mainland. Hence, gauchos were well acquainted with the scenario. Since gauchos were the experts in livestock practice, they had the role of teaching their expertise to the newcomers. This contact situation resembles those in which a language is transplanted and comes into contact with a local one, in these cases "lexical items selected from indigenous languages stem from a small number of specific semantic domains and are taken over at characteristic evolutionary phases, namely, in turn, toponyms, terms for flora and fauna, and words for culturally distinctive items and customs" (Schneider, 2007, p. 79). Structural borrowing occurs when there is heavy contact and is particularly common in communities where there is sustained bi- or multilingualism. In the case of FIE, given the apparent low-intensity contact, only lexical borrowing has occurred.

2.4 The language contact history

In this section, an account of the historical contact of Spanish and English in the Falklands is provided, by looking into the settlement history of the Islands until today. For readability purposes this section has been separated into four

parts: 2.4.1, refers to the first settlements in the 18th century, 2.4.2 to the 19th-century settlement, 2.4.3 to the 20th century and 2.4.4 to the current situation. There are no formal immigration records to the Falklands, however, some documents have survived, and the Jane Cameron National Archives[28] have made them public online. The analysis of those documents, together with literature on the Islands' history, has allowed us to attempt to throw some light on the language contact scenarios, which is indispensable to understand the Spanish linguistic component in FIE.

The settlement history of the Falklands underwent several phases. The first centuries following the Island's discovery were unimportant in terms of language contact; residence was transitory, and the few settlements which were established did not last long enough for a new language variety to arise. Upon colonisation in 1833, we can start to identify permanent, semi-permanent and non-permanent populations. It is only then that language contact begins to take place. Despite this, we will begin in the 18th century, since the socio-historical events that took place then conditioned 19th-century circumstances.

2.4.1 18th century: The many settlement attempts

Despite being documented since the early 16th century, the Falkland Islands have been permanently inhabited since 1833 when they were occupied by the British. Before then, brief British, French, Spanish and Argentinian settlements had been established. The first was francophone: Louis-Antoine de Bougainville arrived on the Islands on February 3rd, 1764 and set up a small settlement in Fort St. Louis northeast of East Falkland claiming the Islands for French King Louis XV. A year later, Captain John Byron of Tamar lands at Port Egmont on Saunders Island in West Falkland and claims the Islands for King George III. In 1766 Captain John McBride of Jason established a naval garrison. The two colonies remained unaware of each other until December of that year when McBride discovered the French settlement at Fort St. Louis.

In 1767 the French Crown recognised the sovereignty of the Spanish Empire (based on the Tordesillas treaty[29] of 1494) and handed over the Bougainville colony to the Spanish authorities in Buenos Aires. By 1774 the British would also leave the Islands adducing economic reasons (Britain was redeploying forces to better face the approaching American War of Independence), but without giving up their sovereignty claim and leaving behind a plaque stating it.

During the Spanish administration, one of the Spanish ships moored in Montevideo supplied the Falklands every summer (Beccaceci, 2017)[30], and

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[28] Available at https://www.nationalarchives.gov.fk.
[29] Pact by which Spain and Portugal share the 'new world'.
[30] In 1807, inhabitants of *Puerto Soledad* would be reduced to near starvation after Britain captured Montevideo and interrupted their supply chain

its commanding officer acted as the commanding governor of the settlement in Port Louis (David, 2005) which had been renamed *Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* by the Spaniards. Both the French and the Spanish brought cattle to the Islands. According to Strange (1973) -who has made a detailed study of livestock history in the Falklands-, Bougainville had brought to the Islands a herd of about seven calves and two bulls, along with a few pigs and sheep, three horses, and a goat. During the Spanish occupation, more cattle were brought to the Islands, and by 1785 the Spanish Governor Ramón Clairac claimed that the animals reached 7,774 heads (Strange, 1973). Nevertheless, when the independence processes of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate began, the Islands would remain at the mercy of hunting sailors who took advantage of their natural wealth, while the wild cattle kept augmenting in number.

Up to this point, there are no historical records to attest maintained language contact scenarios. Only sporadic bi- and multilingual exchanges seem to have taken place in the archipelago.

2.4.2 19th century: It all comes down to livestock

The Islands were left with neither colonists nor administration in 1811 when the United Provinces of Río de la Plata withdrew all settlers from *Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* (Port Louis) while maintaining its sovereignty rights. After achieving independence, Argentina did not relinquish Spain's claim on the Islands. Between 1826 and 1832, in response to a proposal from the government of the province of Buenos Aires, Luis Vernet settled in the Islands. He arrived with his family, and a group of colonists that included gauchos, slaves, and the British Captain Matthew Brisbane, who sailed the vessel that took them to the Islands (note that sources point out to his ability to speak English, Spanish and German). One of the main purposes of the Vernet mission was to capture wild cattle to the slaughter 20,000 heads a year (Beccaceci, 2017). In exchange for forming a colony within three years, the United Provinces of Río de la Plata granted Vernet all East Falkland.

In 1831, while serving as governor of the *Islas Malvinas*, Vernet arrested three American boats for illegal sealing and confiscated their cargo of skins. In reprisal, Captain Silas Duncan of the American warship Lexington, on the instructions of the American consul in Buenos Aires, sacked Port Louis and declared the Islands free from all government. The Americans arrested Vernet's deputy Matthew Brisbane and took him to Montevideo while storekeeper William Dickson took charge of the colony.

In 1833 Captain Onslow -under the command of the Corvette Clio- claimed the Islands as British, forcing the Argentinian commander Don J. M. Pinedo to withdraw from the archipelago (Boumphrey, 1967). According to

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(https://web.archive.org/web/20071121020118mp_/http://www.falklands.info/history/timeline.html)

Pascoe and Pepper (2008), after Onslow raised the British flag proclaiming British sovereignty and settling in uninterrupted to this day, the 33 Argentinian residents and 26 soldiers who made up the Argentinian garrison were obliged to withdraw, while the rest were given the option to stay. Twelve Argentinians, 4 Charrúa Indians from Uruguay; 2 British, 2 Germans, 1 French, and 1 Jamaican decided to stay, and 7 other civilians arrived later that year (including 4 gauchos) (Pascoe and Pepper, 2008), making up a tiny population of at least 7 nationalities. Also in 1833, a gaucho gang led by Antonio Rivero and armed by American sealers murdered Brisbane, Dickson and 4 other colonists[31].

In January 1834 the resident population was a mere nine people (Sudbury, 2001), including gauchos, as we learn from the following excerpts from Robert FitzRoy's (1839) and Charles Darwin's travel notes of their 1833 and 1834 trips to the Falklands. Their accounts are very illustrative about what life was like in the archipelago back in those times:

> Although the climate is so much colder than that of Buenos Ayres, the gauchos sleep in the open air, when in the interior, under their saddles, just as they do in the latitude of 35°. While idling at the settlement they gamble, quarrel, and fight with long knives, giving each other severe wounds. With their loose ponchos, slouched hats, long hair, dark complexions, and Indian eyes, they are characters fitter for the pencil of an artist than for the quiet hearth of an industrious settler. Besides these gauchos, we saw five Indians, who had been taken by the Buenos Ayrean troops, or their allies, and allowed to leave prison on condition of going with Mr Vernet to the Falklands (FitzRoy, 1839, p. 278).

The gauchos described by FitzRoy were amongst the few who remained on the Islands. Charles Darwin also mentioned gauchos in his records. He was impressed by the expertise of his gaucho assistants, who are believed to be Santiago López and Manuel Coronel (originally from the group that had come with Vernet). Even though we would expect them to speak Spanish as a native language, we do not know which language they used to communicate with the naturalist. Here is an excerpt from Darwin's records, in which he describes gauchos during his exploration of the interior of East Falkland. He talks about 'Rincón del Toro', a Spanish gaucho place name (see Chapters 3 and 5) that would be replaced by the name 'Port Darwin' after the scientist's visit. The referred place is close to the point where they crossed the isthmus on the occasion described below.

> One old bull crossed a boggy stream & took up his stand on the side opposite to us. We in vain tried to drive him away & failing were obliged to make a large circuit. — The Gauchos in revenge were determined to

[31] See Tesler, 1971. Falkland Islanders consider him a murderer while Argentinians a hero. Historians from Argentina do not agree, however, on the intentions of gaucho Rivero for murdering other settlers.

> render him for the future innocuous; it was very interesting to see how art completely mastered huge force. One lazo was thrown over his horns as he rushed at the horse, & another round his hind legs; — in a minute the monster was stretched harmless on the ground. —
>
> During the whole time, we only saw one troop of wild horses & this was to the North of the hills — it is [a] curious thing that these horses although very numerous always remain in the East end of the island. — The Gauchos cannot account for it. — |438| We slept in a valley in the neck of land which joins the Rincon del toro, the great peninsula to the SW point of the island. The valley was pretty well sheltered from the cold wind, but there was very little brushwood for making a fire; the Gauchos soon found what to my surprise made nearly as hot a fire as coals, it was the bones of a bullock, lately killed but all the flesh picked off by the Vultures. They told me that in the wintertime they have often killed an animal, cleaned the flesh from the bones with their knives, & then with these very bones roasted the meat for their dinner. What curious resources will necessity put men to discover! — (Darwin, 1979).

It is also worth noting that FitzRoy seems to have maintained conversations with the gauchos, as he points out how he tried to persuade them to stay in the Falklands. Though it is still unknown in which language they communicated, or even if there was an interpreter facilitating communications:

> During the month we remained at Berkeley Sound, I had much trouble with the crews of whaling or small sealing vessels, as well as with the settlers, who all seemed to fancy that because the British flag was re-hoisted in the Falklands, they were at liberty to do what they pleased with Mr Vernet's private property, as well as with the wild cattle and horses. The gauchos wished to leave the place, and return to the Plata, but as they were the only useful labourers on the islands, in fact, the only people on whom any dependence could be placed for a regular supply of fresh beef, I interested myself as much as possible to induce them to remain, and with partial success, for seven staid out of twelve. (1839, p. 276)

By 1838, the population had increased to 43 people, of whom 14 were sailors working from docked ships and 7 were temporary gauchos (Britain and Sudbury, 2010) from Vernet settlers (Destéfani, 1982). In 1841 Richard Moody was appointed Lt Governor of the Islands. The same year, Captain Allan Gardiner founded the Patagonian Missionary Society to work amongst the Indians of Patagonia, one of the many ties of the Falklands with the continent. In 1842, amongst the 49 non-military residents, there were missionaries en route to Patagonia, sealers, a private group of horticulturalists, fish-curers, temporary government workers, and gauchos (Royle, 1987). While not many of the first gauchos that Vernet brought to work with the wild cattle decided to stay, other businessmen continued to 'import' workers, mainly from Patagonia, and in the case of the Lafone brothers, especially from Uruguay (Lorenz, 2014).

The Liverpudlian Samuel Fisher Lafone, a resident of Montevideo, created the Falkland Islands Company[32] (henceforth FIC) to commercialise the cattle of the Islands. It started with a request to HM Queen Victoria and a business proposal sent to the Falklands from Montevideo. In March 1844 Lafone promised that out of every nine workers, five were to be Shetlanders, one a River Plate gaucho, two from southern Chile, and one Basque to build the houses (Jane Cameron National Archives H5). Two years later, on the 16th of March 1846, an agreement was signed between Lafone and Queen Victoria, which allowed the businessman to "absolute possession of, and dominion over, all wild cattle and wild stock whatsoever" (General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, Volume 3, p. 75, Jane Cameron National Archives), granting him the exploitation of wild cattle on East Falkland and farm the peninsula south of Darwin. He was an absentee landlord, instructing employees from Montevideo. His first order was to establish a settlement and production facilities (which he would call Hope Place after his son) on the southern shore of Brenton Loch. Currently, this spot is locally known as 'saladero' (salting house) (see §5.3.2.1).

For more than a century, the FIC owned almost half of the properties and dominated shipping. Colonial Auditor Robert Boumphrey (1967) notes that in 1847, the large peninsula that forms the southern half of East Falkland, known to Darwin as *Rincon del Toro*, was purchased by Lafone. Along with the land, the businessman acquired the rights to the cattle that flourished there. This peninsula became known to this day as Lafonia, where Lafone established the Hope Place salting house, which eventually led to the rapid decline of wild cattle (Strange, 1973). According to Strange (1973), the gauchos that Lafone brought to the Islands built a peat wall across the isthmus linking the northern section of East Falkland with Lafone's area to the south, preventing livestock from escaping from their land (some of the wall's remains can still be observed). By doing this they managed to hunt cattle to such an extent that in a period of four to five years there were practically no wild cattle left.

In the second half of the 19th century, the population increased significantly, in part due to the British government's policy of encouraging migration. Nineteenth-century settlers came mainly from Scotland (from the Highlands and the West Isles region) and from the Southwest of England (Somerset and Devon), Scotsmen and Scotswomen were considered ideal colonisers due to the similarities in climatic and agricultural conditions between Scotland and the Falklands (Sudbury, 2001 and 2005). Hence, Gaelic was very probably spoken in the Islands. However, its effects on the developing Falklands dialect are minimal, as they seem to have been lost within a generation (Sudbury, 2001).

In these times, there was also a very sharp increase in newcomers from South America, who were employed as gauchos, brought over by the

[32] The Falkland Islands Company was established in 1851 and became the biggest employer and landowner in the Islands.

landowners to herd wild cattle[33] (Royle, 1987). Many of the Scottish settlers were also employed by landowners, like shepherds and labourers, particularly in the FIC (Sudbury, 2001), where they would probably work shoulder to shoulder with Spanish speaking gauchos. Furthermore, the latter would have taught the anglophones the know-how of the gaucho profession. The FIC's archival documents show a mixture of English and Spanish surnames, though they do not specify the workers' nationalities.

The 1851 Falklands Census[34] recorded 21 people as 'Gaucho' by profession, all but 4 listed as Spaniards. The exceptions include two men from Gibraltar, one Scotsman, and a Falkland Islander. The so-called 'spaniards' are natives of different countries but seem to have been labelled this way to indicate their preferred tongue. The census records show that three self-identified as *Orientales* (demonym of República Oriental del Uruguay), four as Montevidians, one as South American, two as Spanish and two as Argentinians. Five of them worked for the FIC by the time of the census.

Two entries of the census show how gauchos were beginning to be made redundant:

> Francisco Panchu BRUNAL/BRUNELL from Montevideo, & wife & 2 children, on Mr Lafone's Estate at Hope Place 1851. Ordered to leave FI for Montevideo by FIC on their schooner 23 Jul 1855. Returned per 'Victoria' ex Montevideo 31 Aug 1855. Fired from Hope Place 1858
>
> Native of Montevideo, resident at Stanley, Single - List of Registered Aliens returned 14 Sep 1855. A Fermino ESCALANTE worked for FIC during 1858-1869

(Falkland Islands 1851 census, my emphasis).

The toponym Hope Place is also mentioned many times regarding the residents' location, together with the name Lafone. Fourteen out of the 366 people censured were registered as "arrived per 'Napoleon' 6 Jun 1847 ex Montevideo to work for Lafone". Under this label, we not only find people with the profession of gaucho, but also an Irish blacksmith, four labourers and Lafone's supervisor, an Englishman. According to Beccaceci (2017), at that time ships with gauchos constantly came from the mainland.

In 1860, the British government reclaimed ownership of the archipelago's wild cattle and began charging fines to anyone who injured or captured cattle outside the Lafonia area without the governor's permission. Consequently, cattle were slowly destroyed by the colonists and within a matter of a few

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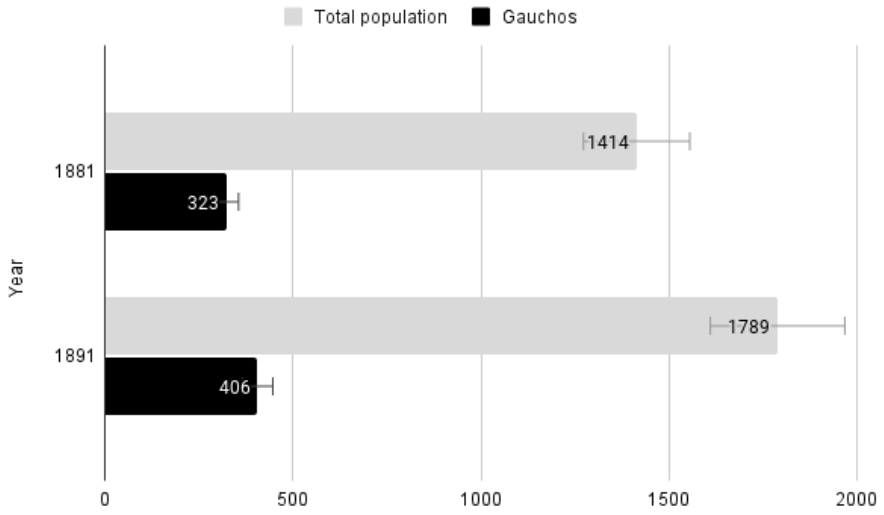
[33] Land on East Falkland was leased from the 1840s, and the settlement of West Falkland only began in the late 1860s (Strange, 1973).

[34] Available at https://nationalarchives.gov.fk/jdownloads/People/Census%20Information%20Early%20Settlers/Census%20-%201851.pdf

years, only about 300 beasts remained on Crown property in East Falkland (Strange, 1973). In 1867, thousands of hectares were assigned to sheep farming, turning the Islands into a pastoral colony of the United Kingdom and bringing immigrants of British origin who were slowly supplanting the River Plate gaucho (Beccaceci, 2017). The occupation of 'gaucho' disappeared from the FIC censuses by 1901. In a short time, cattle ceased to exist on East Falkland, while on West Falkland they disappeared around 1894 (Strange, 1973). According to the corresponding Government censuses, in 1881 and 1891, 23% of the total Falklands population was still registered under the occupation of gaucho (see Figure 2.1). The number of Spanish speakers probably declined by then too. For instance, 19 Uruguayans were registered both in 1881 and 1891, but in the following century, those figures were reduced to a single digit.

Figure 2.1: Gaucho workforce numbers compared to total population.



The 19th century is the most important for the development of the local variety in terms of its idiosyncratic lexicon. The sociodemographic formation of the community by then seems to have affected the linguistic mechanisms that gave rise to FIE. The Island's external history seems to have triggered the linguistic processes that underlie the formation of a distinctive local dialect, which developed its own lexicon for country-related concepts and objects. However, the Spanish stamp would slowly begin to vanish in the second half of the 20th century.

2.4.3 20th century: Times of ups and downs

20th-century FIE seems to have enjoyed the gaucho Spanish lexicon at its prime. A Uruguayan Salesian priest[35] who oversaw the Catholic Church of the Falklands between 1905 and 1937 pointed out that in the archipelago:

> Todos los aperos del caballo, sin excepción[36], así como los colores de su pelo, son designados en castellano y pronunciados por todos los kelpers[37], así como por los dueños y administradores de estancias, en la misma forma que en la Argentina. Los nombres equivalentes en inglés son enteramente desconocidos aquí, donde solo se dice freno, recao, bozal, manea, cojinillo, cincha, sobrecincha, etc.; así como se usan las palabras zaino, manchao, ovejuno, gateao, tostao, etc., para designar a los caballos según el color de su pelo (Migone, 1996, p. 187).[38]

Demographically speaking, the 20th century did not bring much change in the total population, which remained at just over 2000. In 1931, the population hit a peak, with almost 2400 residents. In 1952 there was a big turnover: more than 12% of the residents emigrated from the Islands and another 9% arrived to settle there (see, for example, Sudbury, 2000, p. 26). From the mid-century onwards, particularly after World War Two, the population began to decline. However, Spanish speaking migrants -even though minimal- seem to be present. Solari Yrigoyen attests that during his trip, in the late 50s

> solo un número reducido de habitantes -no llegan a cincuenta- conoce el castellano, entre los que figuran algunos chilenos que viven en el pueblo o en los establecimientos de campo. Estos chilenos se han embarcado en Punta Arena, en donde hay un consulado británico, y hasta donde llega una vez al año el mismo buque que une Puerto Stanley con Montevideo (1959, p. 79).

In the 1970s there was a depression in the global wool market. Since wool was a key Falkland export at the time, there was an economic decline and a fall of over 19% in the population between the censuses of 1946 and 1980.

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[35] Migone taught Spanish to many Islanders (Solari Yrigoyen, 1959).
[36] My emphasis.
[37] *Kelper* is one of the terms used in the Falklands to describe native Islanders.
[38] All horse tack, without exception, as well as their coats are designated in Spanish and pronounced by all the kelpers, as well as by ranch owners and manager, in the same way as in Argentina. The equivalent names in English are entirely unknown here, where only freno (bid), recao (saddle), bozal (head collar), manea (hobbles), cojinillo (sheepskin), cincha (girth), sobrecincha (small girth placed over the cojinillo), etc. as well as the words zaino (very dark reddish black), gateao (dun coloured with a black stripe along the backbone and black mane and tail), tostao (roasted coffee) etc., are used to name the horses according to their coats.

Throughout this century, the United Nations invited England and Argentina to dialogue on the sovereignty of the Islands, but before any agreement was reached, the worst happened. On April 2, 1982, the Falklands War broke out when Argentinian troops landed on the Islands to take possession of the archipelago[39]. The armed conflict ended up with Great Britain retaining control of the territory. Following the British victory came regeneration of the economy, and new immigration waves. The demographic instability which had been present throughout the century was over. The Islands began to enjoy prosperity, causing an increase in population, which began to remain stable, with fewer people coming to the Falklands but also fewer people emigrating. The victory also brought improvements in camp roads, making the use of horses for transportation obsolete, together with the necessary vocabulary to refer to them. Following fieldwork narratives, this could have entailed the second breakpoint in terms of Spanish loanwords vitality: Land Rovers replaced horses.

By the end of the 20th century, many Falkland Islanders chose to return home, contract and seasonal workers from New Zealand, Australia, and all over the world chose the Islands for their promising job opportunities. There was also an increase in immigration from the British dependency of St. Helena as well as from Chile. The latter brought another Spanish speaking immigration wave.

2.4.4 21st century: Sovereignty assertion and the new Spanish wave

Today, the Islands' population is the largest in its history: 3,364. According to the latest census, 43% of the total usual resident population were born in the Falklands. Despite this increase in absolute numbers, the Falklands have not lost diversity. Within the remaining 57% (1,823 people) born in one of 59 different countries, the largest group (48%) comes from the UK, followed by St. Elena's immigrants (17%), and Chile, with 11% (doubling the 5.4% reported in the 2006 census).

Language-wise, English is the first tongue for 85% of the population. Interestingly, 496 people in the Islands speak a language other than English in their homes, Spanish being the most common, with 325 people speaking it at home. Eighty-six per cent of people whose first language is not English stated they speak it 'very well' or 'well', and very few people reported having difficulty speaking English. Low proficiency in English was linked to the length of stay in the Islands as it was most frequent in people who had been in the Falkland Islands for just 2 years or less (70% of people with problems speaking English belong to this group of recent immigrants). During fieldwork, I learnt that the government caters for Spanish speakers who cannot speak

[39] See Strange (1973) for details of the Falklands conflict.

English by assigning interpreters when they must file a request for permanent residence, go to the police, or do some other kind of public paperwork. Amongst temporary residents, the most spoken foreign language is also Spanish at 42%.

When it comes to the role of Spanish in education, I found out from a series of interviews with former headmasters and teachers that after a short absence due to the armed conflict, Spanish was reincorporated into both primary and secondary school curriculums. Today, Islanders consider Spanish essential for their prospective work lives (particularly those interested in working in the tourism and fishing sectors), and there are both public and private options to learn it.

Currently, English spoken in Stanley is more in contact with other languages than English spoken in some of the camp establishments. Spanish continues to be the second most spoken language, although the loanwords from this recent contact seem to be just a few, maybe *cazuela* or *vino*, according to some informants.

While travelling across the Islands, Spanish place names pop up on road signs and local maps. Furthermore, while in fieldwork I could attest to the use of Spanish terminology of horse tack and horse types, though mainly amongst older informants. Both Spanish lexicon and toponyms are related to the former gaucho presence.

Britain and Sudbury (2010) express uncertainty about how greater contact with foreigners and immigrants will affect the variety, that is, whether it will converge or diverge from the varieties of English to which it is typologically similar. The current linguistic scenario is heterogeneous and multicultural. While walking across Stanley or travelling through the camp, one encounters Chilean children, Philippine shopkeepers, French pilots and Zimbabwean residents who fell in love with the Islands after working as deminers. Jobs have also changed. The tourism and fishing industries have taken the economic lead and raising sheep has almost completely replaced the cattle business. Today, Spanish speakers are largely outnumbered by English ones and do not carry out the same jobs as their former fellow mainland Spanish speakers. Hence, it is not surprising that some Hispanisms are heard less and less, and some are no longer in everyday use. Spruce (2011) explains that with today's lifestyle and with a rapidly changing population, these words and expressions unique to the Falklands are very likely to disappear. Furthermore, due to the changes of our era, the industry is mechanised, the field lots have been reduced, Land Rovers -and not horses- are used for transport, all collaborating in making gaucho linguistic heritage redundant in daily life. More recently, COVID-19 has impacted the Falklands' economy and lifestyle, mainly by isolation from the continent. Though it is still too early to know more about any social implications of the phenomenon on Islanders and their language.

2.5 Spanish-English contact footprints in FIE: place names, loanwords and semantic fields

The historical contact resulted in FIE borrowing a considerable number of Spanish terms. These loanwords were mainly, although not exclusively, related to country life and livestock (see Chapter 6). Interestingly, the borrowing process also involved place names and gave rise to a fair number of Spanish toponyms that are still in use today: over 200 fully in Spanish or Spanish-English hybrids (see Chapters 3 and 5). Spanish place names adopted during this contact primarily label inland locations rather than coastal areas. This preference may reflect the speakers' practical need for orientation, delimitation and land management for livestock practice purposes. Spanish place names in the Falkland Islands have not received much attention in onomastic research. Until now they have only been mentioned in gazetteers regarding their Spanish origin. With respect to loanwords, in a corpus analysis 168 Spanish loanwords were registered (see Chapter 6), and the data were classified without a preconceived semantic schema.

2.6 Final considerations

Many contemporary linguists (e.g., Mufwene, 2001; Hickey, 2003; Schreier, 2008) subscribe to the idea that contact varieties are ultimately shaped by their social histories, since

> it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p. 35).

Weinrich's publication of Languages in Contact (1953) has helped the scholarly community to acknowledge that history is essential for understanding linguistic phenomena. No current linguistic phenomenon has come to be because of its mere existence at this moment, but rather, through evolution and change. Having made this crucial statement, I now present some sociolinguistic implications drawn from the socio-historical observations of this work.

a. The development of FIE took place in a context that involved both contact amongst English varieties as well as contact with Spanish.

Linguists agree that pure dialect contact scenarios are the exception rather than the norm, and the Falklands are no exception. In this chapter I have presented evidence of language contact, proposing that FIE is the result of

contact with structurally and typologically almost identical systems (English varieties) as well as with a different language: Spanish. It would be simplistic to argue that FIE originated due to a mixture (or convergence) of English varieties only (cf. Sudbury, 2000). Even though English varieties were the most influential donors, that does not mean that all the other inputs disappeared without a trace. At a lexical level, Spanish (together with some native American words) also contributed to the ultimate shape of FIE.

b. Heavy Spanish-English contact took place simultaneously with FIE formation, i.e., around the mid-nineteenth century.

Mainly due to the leasing of what is known as Lafonia to businessman Lafone from Montevideo, the highest number of Spanish speakers was attested during the 19th century. A century that seems to have been decisive for FIE configuration. The fact that archives show significant numbers of people with the occupation of gauchos should be considered as a possible origin of the many camp-related Spanish loanwords of FIE.

c. Spanish speakers were a constant in Falkland Islands history.

It is no surprise that contact with Spanish speakers has always been present in the archipelago's social history. Its closeness to the continent, including health and food dependency in some matters (especially on Montevideo) makes it impossible to avoid communications with other nations. However, the only period of contact that appears strong enough to leave a language mark on FIE, is the 19th-century one. Neither the 20th nor the 21st-century Spanish speakers seem to have lent FIE identifiable words.

d. There was probably some kind of jargon used in the cattle business during the 19th century.

Given the number of Spanish loanwords present in FIE lexicon (around 20% of the words registered in the local dictionary), a jargon was likely spoken as a result of Spanish and English speakers' interactions. This jargon would have been a simple sound system, one- or two-word utterances, without much grammatical complexity. Given that the contact ceases, the jargon does not undergo expansion to represent the first stage in the life cycle of a pidgin.

e. Not only gauchos but also labourers, women and children seem to have been agents of linguistic contact.

Even though we tend to think of Spanish loanwords in FIE as gaucho words, or gaucho-heritage according to the locals. Other labourers probably collaborated in the transmission of the words, too.

f. The characteristics of the type of language contact which took place in the Falklands remain unclear.

There is plenty of evidence pointing to the presence of both English and Spanish speakers in the archipelago. Unfortunately, it remains to be found, to what extent speakers were bilingual, monolingual or even speakers of English or Spanish as a third language or lingua franca.

In sum, we have reviewed the many contact settings in an attempt to describe the historical language contact of FIE, thus closing a gap in the literature on English as a contact language. I have argued that FIE is both the result of contact amongst English varieties as well as contact with Spanish and that it is a product of both linguistic and social factors. Spanish has undoubtedly collaborated in shaping the archipelago's culture and official language. Many questions remain to be answered. The discussion of the sociolinguistic conditions that gave rise to FIE only constitutes an attempt to lay the basis for further linguistic analysis of this under-researched dialect.

Chapter 3

3. Spanish Place Names of the Falkland Islands: A Novel Classification System

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Abstract

It has been argued that no Spanish toponymic inventory is used in the Falkland Islands (Woodman, 2016). Nonetheless, maps attest to the presence of several Spanish names. The existence of these place names reflects the history of the area. Even though the Falklands currently host an English-speaking community, the Islands have a long history of Spanish-speaking settlers. The former Spanish administration as well as contact with 19th-century Spanish-speaking gauchos left quite a few Hispanic toponyms. Mostly coined after 1833, these toponyms collectively reflect the need for orientation, delimitation, and land management for livestock. However, there is another group of Spanish place names that is not used in the Islands. These toponyms are partly a result of the ongoing Argentinian claim of sovereignty over the Falklands. The objective of this chapter is twofold: to account for the existence of Spanish place names used locally to refer to the Islands, and to present a novel classification system for the Spanish-language toponymic inventories of the Falklands into Gaucho-heritage and Argentinian. For these purposes, both traditional and modern approaches of toponomastic analyses were employed.

3.1 Introduction

The Falkland Islands, or Islas Malvinas for Argentina, is an internally self-governing overseas territory of the United Kingdom. The territory is composed of two main islands: West Falkland and East Falkland. In Argentina, these islands are referred to as *Gran Malvina* 'Great Malvina' and *Isla Soledad* 'soledad Island', respectively. Fewer than a dozen of the islands are inhabited. The Islands are located 344 kilometres from Argentina and 12,173 kilometres from the United Kingdom. Stanley is the capital[40]. With about 2,000 residents, Stanley accounts for nearly three-quarters of the total population. The rest of the Islands inhabitants live in small settlements. The population density of the archipelago amounts to only 0.24 per square kilometre. Since the beginning of the English settlement in 1833, the Islands have been continuously inhabited by an English-speaking community. Today, Falkland Islands English (FIE) is one of the most recently developed World Englishes (Kachru,1985). It arose primarily from contact between English varieties of the south and southwest of England, and the northwest of Scotland (Britain and Sudbury, 2010)[41]. However, Spanish was also present in the emerging phase of this variety.

During the 19th century, Spanish-speaking South Americans came into contact with English-speaking Islanders who relied on the expertise of South American gauchos for cattle raising, then the economic engine of the Islands. This contact resulted in Falkland Islands English (FIE) borrowing a considerable number of Spanish terms. These loanwords were mainly, although not exclusively, related to country life and livestock. Interestingly, the borrowing process involved several place names and gave rise to a fair number of Spanish toponyms that are still in use today. However, Spanish place names in the Falkland Islands have not received much attention in onomastic research. Until now they have only been mentioned in gazetteers (see Munro, 1998). The lack of toponymic research conducted is curious, especially when one considers the political importance of the Islands.

The Falklands has been an enclave of great controversy since the British took control of the archipelago. Importantly, the Argentinian government, which insists the Islands are theirs, never relinquished its sovereignty claim. In 1982, the two countries went to war over the Islands. At the end of the

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[40] Argentina does not regard Stanley as the capital of the Islands. Instead, Argentina considers the capital to be Ushuaia. The Argentinians based this assertion on their claim that the Islands are part of their Tierra del Fuego province (see the website of Instituto Geográfico Nacional). Furthermore, Argentina has been officially calling Stanley *Puerto Argentino* 'Argentinian Port', since a 1982 military decree (Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos de Argentina).

[41] Sudbury (2001) cautions that it is impossible to give precise dialect origins for the early Falkland Islands settlers, but points to two regions as being especially influential in the populating of the Islands: Scotland and the southwest of England.

armed conflict, the British were able to retain control of the disputed area. As mentioned above, the Republic of Argentina continues to refer to the archipelago as Islas Malvinas. The Argentinian National Geographic Institute also includes the archipelago on the Republic's map. Argentinian and British maps feature different place names. Woodman (2016) argues that while dual toponymies are not uncommon across the globe, what is exceptional about the Falkland Islands case is that only an English toponymic inventory is used *in situ*. Woodman claims the Spanish-language names are only used outside the Islands, chiefly in Argentina. However, this assertion is only true to a certain extent. As the current chapter will demonstrate, some Spanish place names do appear in British maps and are used in the Islands. Most of them originated in the gaucho era and are embraced by locals. To acquaint the readership with Falklands history, an introductory section is provided below.

3.2 An overview of Falkland Islands history and its Spanish naming practices

The sociolinguistic history of the Falkland Islands is highly complex, due in part to the many nations that influenced the archipelago (i.e., the Dutch, French, Portuguese, British, Spanish, Argentinians). Today, the archipelago has residents from over 60 nations. At present, the Islanders speak FIE. South American migration has played a major role in the evolution of this English variety. More precisely, contact with Spanish left its footprint on the Islands lexicon (see Blake et al., 2011). This influence can be seen in a legion of Spanish place names.

The main socio-historical aspect that favoured contact between English and Spanish is the frequent transit of supplies and people to and from the South American continent. The Islands' cattle business was primarily run by South American gauchos who made their way mainly from Montevideo. Descriptions of the gauchos' activities in the Falkland Islands can be obtained from numerous historical documents (see, for example, FitzRoy, 1839; Darwin, 1979; Destéfani, 1982; Lasserre, 1869; Falkland Islands Government Census Archives). The gauchos' presence died out when the Islands transitioned to the sheep farming industry. However, their early presence on the Islands is still remembered in the many place names of Spanish origin (e.g., *Boca* 'Mouth', *Dos Lomas* 'Two Hills', *Rincón de los Indios* 'Indians' corner') (Boumphrey, 1967). Spruce states that the largest group of words that are the most characteristic of the Falklands is made up of borrowings from these early gauchos who "gave their names for streams, valleys and camps" (2011, 1).

In addition to this local linguistic toponymy, there is another group of Spanish place names that are used to label the archipelago's locations and topographical attributes. This group is made up of toponyms featured on the maps produced in Argentina for the Islands and its former dependencies:

South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands[42]. Many of these place names developed as a result of the ongoing conflict between Britain and Argentina over the Islands (Woodman, 2006). In the 20th century, in an attempt to resolve the dispute, the United Nations invited Great Britain and Argentina to formal negotiations over the jurisdiction of the Islands. Unfortunately, before any agreement could be reached, on April 2, 1982, war broke out. Following dictator Galtieri's instructions, Argentinian troops landed on the Islands with the intention of taking possession of the territory. A total of 649 Argentinian military personnel, 255 British military personnel, and three Falkland Islanders died during the confrontation. Seventy-four days later, the British proclaimed victory in the 10-week war and recovered control of the archipelago. At present, the website of the Islands' government states that "[t]he Falkland Islands is a self-sufficient country with a long history and unique culture. The people of the Falkland Islands have the right to self-determination, enshrined in international law". This is a statement that Argentina rejects. One of the ways in which Argentina showcases its disagreement is by using Spanish place names for the Islands. Coining Spanish place names has been a medium for strengthening their sovereignty claim.

When studying British and Argentinian maps of the Falklands, the impact of Spanish is immediately apparent in the abundance of Spanish toponymy. Some are related to the Argentinian sovereignty claim (e.g., *Puerto Giménez* 'Giménez Port', *Isla Trinidad* 'Trinity Island', and *Puerto Argentino* 'Argentinian Port'), while others do not seem to have a political motivation at all (e.g., *Bombilla Hill* 'straw Hill', and *Laguna S*eca 'Dry Pond').This chapter presents a novel classification system that efficiently accommodates the two major sub-groups of Spanish-language place names: (1) those that resulted from the influence of the gauchos and appear in local Falklands maps (Gaucho-heritage place names); and (2) those coined and used by the Argentinian Government but largely rejected by the Falkland Islanders (Argentinian place names).

3.3 Methodology

Both traditional and contemporary toponomastic methods were employed for this investigation. No database exists of local Falkland Islands place names. Hence, British and Argentinian post-colonization digital and paper maps from 1966, 1987, and 1995 were carefully analysed to identify place names. All Argentinian place names were examined using the official Argentinian list of 686 Spanish place names for the archipelago. Only Spanish place names associated with gaucho culture were extracted from the British maps. Those

[42] In 1985, the Falkland Islands Dependencies ceased to exist and South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands became UK overseas territories.

names potentially related to Saints and personal proper names were omitted to exclude toponymy from either Spanish (e.g., San Carlos Settlement, River Pedro) or British colonialism (e.g., Victor Creek).

3.4 Findings

3.4.1 Argentinian place names

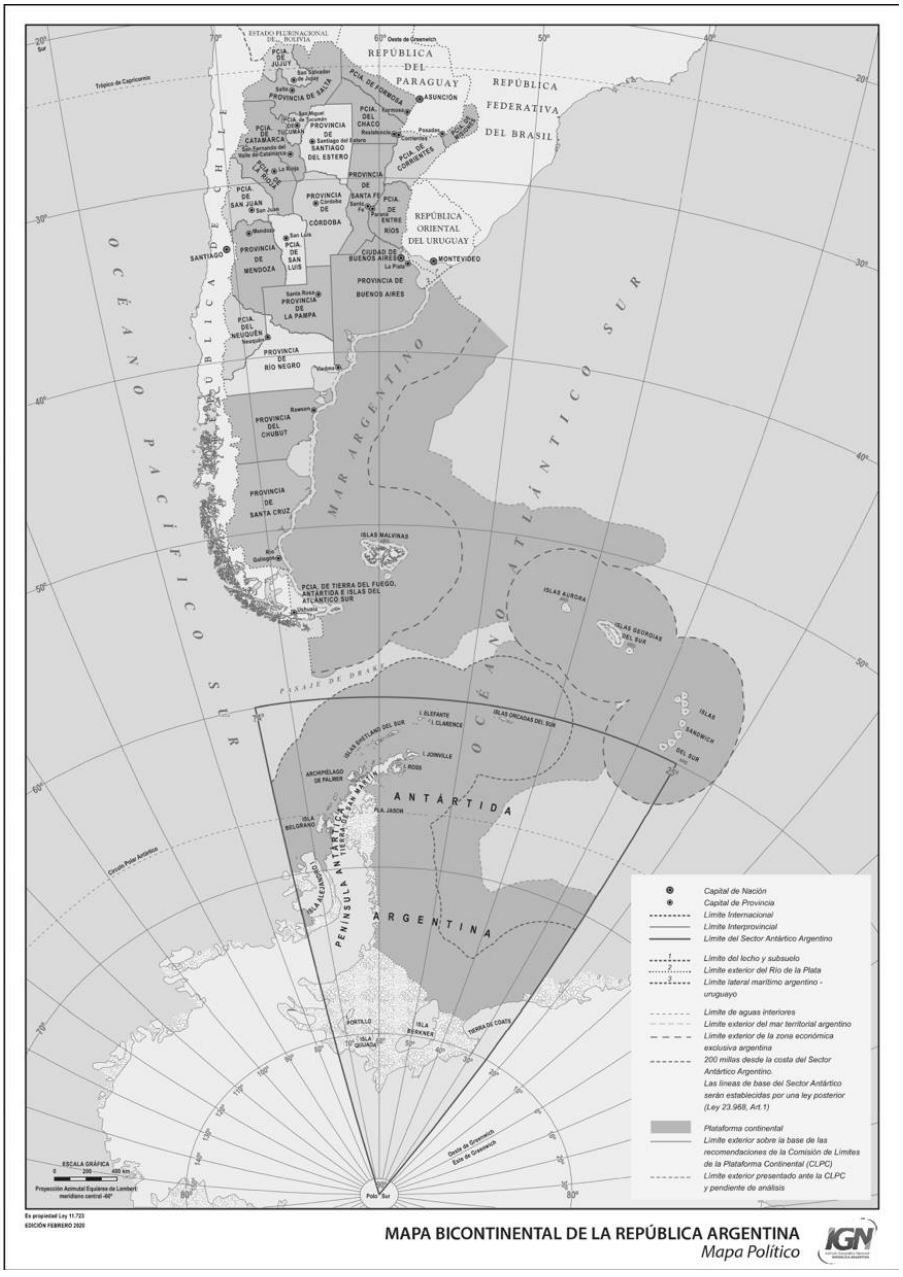
The long-standing international dispute between Argentina and the UK is evident in the competing names used to refer to the archipelago as a whole (i.e., *Malvinas*), and extends to names used for topographic attributes and settlements (see Fourches, 2016). The use of Spanish place names from the Republic of Argentina is partly a reflection of its rejection of British settlement in the Falklands since 1833 when the Islands began to be administered by the United Kingdom. Examples of such Spanish place names are *Islas Malvinas* 'Malvinas Islands' (or its variations, *Malvinas*, *Las Malvinas* 'The Malvinas'), *Isla Soledad* 'soledad Island', *Gran Malvina* 'Great Malvina', and *Puerto Argentino* 'Argentinian Port' (see more examples in Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Places named differently in Argentinian maps than in British ones.

The official Argentinian toponymic inventory of the Islands is under the purview of the Instituto Geográfico Nacional (National Geographic Institute). However, before 2009, Argentinian cartography was in the hands of the Instituto Geográfico Militar (Military Geographic Institute). Despite this transfer of authority, official Argentinian maps have continued to present the Islands as National territory through their marked use of non-English toponymy. Furthermore, a map produced by the Argentinian National Geographic Institute is required for use by the entire education system by law (Ley 26.651) (see Figure 3.2). Apart from reaffirming a territorial claim to part of the Antarctic, the map places the Islands at the very centre of the map, calling them *Islas Malvinas* and giving them a key position in the mental map of the reader (Fourches, 2016, p. 4).[43]

[43] On the 'power of the center' see Arnheim (1982, p. 73) and Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001, p. 201). On the strategic centering in maps, see Thurlow and Jaworski (2003, p. 588).

Figure 3.2: Bicontinental map of Argentina, downloaded from the website of Argenina's Instituto Geográfico Nacional



Not a single fully English toponym appears on the present official Argentinian maps issued by the Instituto Geográfico Nacional. All 686 place names in the Argentinian database of the Islands are either (a) fully in Spanish or (b) carry a specific with a potentially English origin. The first group comprises 617 place names (89.94%), while the second group contains 69 place names (10.06%).

Some toponyms in the official Argentinian maps are probably nationalist in nature. Expertise in Argentinian history would be needed to provide a solid list, but some reasonable nationalist examples include *Puerto Mitre* 'Mitre Port', *Rincón de San Martín* 'san Martín Corner'; *Bahía Nueve de Julio* 'Ninth of July Bay', and *Monte Independencia* 'Mount Independence'. Bartolomé Mitre was president of Argentina from 1862 to 1868, and San Martín was a famous general who fought for Argentina's and South America's independence (Ministerio de la Nación Argentina, 2015) and the 9th of July is Argentina's Independence Day. With regards to *Monte Independencia*, an anecdote that is familiar on both the Islands and in Argentinia is worth mentioning in this context as it illustrates how international rivalries over the Islands affect the local toponymy. The two highest peaks on West Falkland are locally known as Mount Adam and Mount Robinson. Argentina used to call the second *Monte Independencia* 'Mount Independence'. However, when a survey revealed that the highest peak was actually Mount Adam and not Mount Robinson, Argentina revised its toponymy and started calling Mount Adam *Monte Independencia* 'Mount Independence'. Technically speaking, the highest peak of the archipelago is Mount Usborne on East Falkland (marked as *Cerro Alberdi* 'Alberdi Hill' on Argentinian maps, in honour of Juan Bautista Alberdi, primary author of the 1853 Argentinian Constitution).

3.4.2 Gaucho-heritage place names

British map analyses resulted in the identification of 222 Gaucho-heritage place names (see Table 3.1 in Appendix), reflecting the gauchos' early presence in the archipelago. Three examples are *Piedra Sola* 'Lonely Stone', *Los Cerritos* 'Little Hills', and *Campito* 'Little field'. Concerning the last two examples, the suffix '-ito' is a hallmark of Rioplatense Spanish, and there are analogous names in both Argentina and Uruguay from where the gauchos came (see Boumphrey, 1967). These toponyms can be further classified as (a) fully in Spanish or (b) Spanish-English hybrids (place names composed of lexical components of both languages) (see Table 3.2). Of the 222 Gaucho-heritage place names, 44 (19.81%) place names are completely in Spanish (for instance, *Cantera* 'Quarry' and *Laguna Isla* 'Lagoon Island'). However, 178 toponyms (80.18% of the 222) are Spanish-English hybrids with either the generic or the specific in Spanish. For example, Rio Verde Bay 'Green River Bay', and Hunters Arroyo 'Hunters Stream' (see Figure 3.3). It is worth noting that hybrids' underlying structure responds to the English logic. When it comes to the Spanish generics in this group, rincon 'corner' and arroyo 'stream', are by far the most productive, with 71 (31.98%) and 33 (14.86%) cases each

(see Table 3.1 in Appendix). Table 3.3 shows the most common generics and their English counterpart.

Table 3.2: Examples of hybrid and Spanish Gaucho-heritage toponyms in the Falklands.

Gaucho-heritage fully Spanish place names	**Gaucho-heritage hybrid place names**
Arroyo Malo	*Poncho Hill*
Brazo del Mar	*Chancho point*
Camapamenta	*Manada Paddock*
Campito	*Playa Ridge*
Cerro Montevideo	*Little Rincon*
Chata Rincon	*Colorado Bay*
Corral Brazo	*Dos Lomas House*
Estancia	*Ponchos Pond*
Gaucho Corral	*Torcida Point*
Laguna Isla	*Swan Pond Arroyo*
Laguna Seca	*The Verde Mts.*
Los Cerritos	*Bombilla Hill*
Piedra Sola	*Paso Grande Creek*
Rincon de los Indios	*Ponchos Pond*
Rincon Grande	*Piojo Gate*
Rincón del Moro	*Triste Point*
Saladero	*Rum Arroyo*
Tranquilidad	*Cuero Brook*
Zaino Rincon	*Malo Creek*

Figure 3.3: Some examples of Gaucho-heritage place names in local Falkland Islands maps.

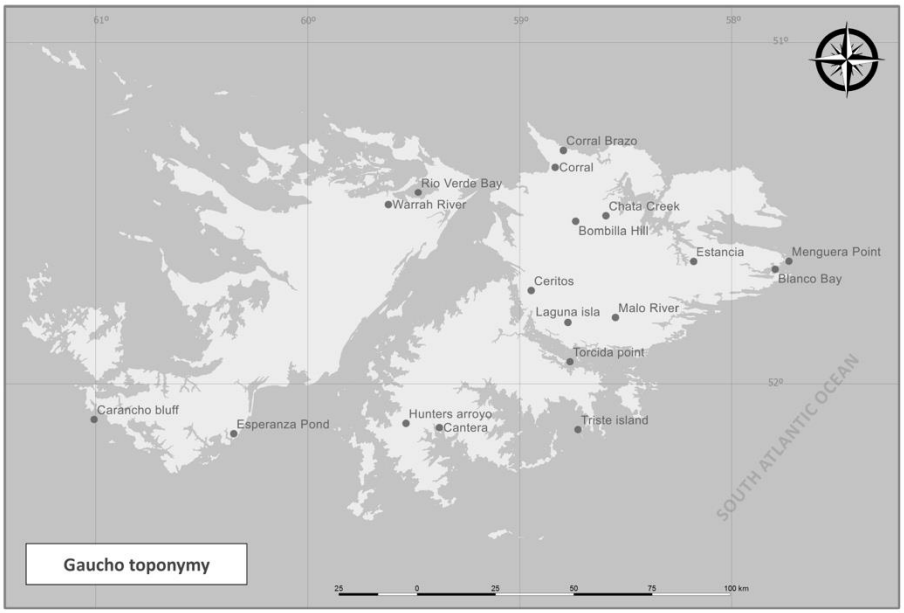


Table 3.3: Falklands Generic and its Standard English correspondent according to Munro (1998).

Falklands Generic generics according to Munro (1998)			
Arroyo	'stream'	*Isla*	'island'
Cerro	'hill'	*Laguna*	'pool'
Monte	'mount'	*Río*	'river'
Morro	'bluff'	*Roca*	'rock'
Rincón	'corner'		

East Falkland was found to have the highest number of Spanish place names (i.e., 72.52% of 222), while in West Falkland there were only 61 Spanish place names (27.47%) (see Table 3.1 in Appendix). The distribution of the gaucho toponymy within coastal and inland areas was found to be quite even: 125 (56.30%) and 97 (43.69%), respectively. Furthermore, 163 toponyms (73.42%) name geomorphic features (for instance, 'hill, 'mount', 'rock'), and

the remaining 59 (26.57%) name water-related features (for example, 'island', 'beach', 'bay', 'lagoon').

3.5 Summary and discussion

The findings presented in this study reveal the existence of a Spanish toponymic inventory to name the Falklands locally, proving that Woodman's 2016 statement that there is no Spanish inventory in the archipelago is inaccurate. Over two hundred Spanish place names were identified in pre- and post-war British and local Falklands maps as gaucho-heritage. More potentially Spanish toponyms were identified but were not included in this group since their historical origin is unclear, i.e., they could be either English or Spanish in origin (e.g., Victor Creek, Lorenzo Pond).

This point directly relates to one of the limitations of this study: a detailed etymological examination of each and every place name of interest would have been desirable but was beyond the scope of this preliminary investigation. Consequently, it was not possible to make a differentiation between English, Spanish, and Gaucho anthroponyms. Finding maps of the Falklands also proved to be a difficult endeavour. A further limitation of this investigation, therefore, involved the limited store of maps utilised. Military maps, for example, were not accessed, since they are restricted. Replicating the present investigation with such maps would be necessary to strengthen the present chapter's argument.

However, the role of competing place names in the historical conflict between Argentina and the UK is not unique. It is also present in other political conflict scenarios of the world. For instance, Cohen and Kliot (1992) explore the process of naming places as a mechanism for landscape transformation in the territories captured by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967. Based on their experience in conflict zones, they clearly state:

> Place names are intrinsic components of the political landscape, and their study should be an important part of political geography. The spatial distributional patterns of names by categories, origin, and specific meaning, when set within the context of related aspects of the natural and built environment, are sensitive indicators of the general link between political process and landscape. Affixing names to places is inextricably linked with nation building and state formation. Sweeping changes in the naming process reflect ideological upheavals and are often expressions of revolutionary values. (p. 653)

Future researchers should not underestimate the importance of becoming well-acquainted with the complex political history of the Islands. With this caution in mind, subsequent onomastic research of the Falklands could explore demographic differences in the reception of competing Spanish and English toponyms amongst Falkland Islanders. Looking into Argentinians'

attitudes towards competing Spanish and English place names would also be a fruitful area of research. The current work presents the etymology of some Falkland Islands place names. However, more work is needed on this subject. The same is true for Argentinian names for the archipelago. The novel classification presented in this chapter could also be further developed by identifying and analysing other types of place names for the Islands (e.g., those resulting from French, Spanish, and British colonialism). Moreover, by comparing this case study with other conflicting scenarios, important light could be shone on the intersection between onomastic policies and politics.

Chapter 4

4. Competing place names: Malvinas vs. Falklands. When a sovereignty conflict becomes a name conflict

A version of this chapter will be published as:

Rodríguez, Y. & Elizaincín, A. (forthcoming) Competing place names: Malvinas vs. Falklands: When a sovereignty conflict becomes a name conflict. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*.

Abstract

The ongoing Argentinian claim of sovereignty to the Falklands has interacted with Falklands toponymy by assigning the archipelago, and places within it, different names than those used in the Islands. Place naming phenomena like this one have not received much attention. No one has examined place naming in the Falklands within the framework of critical toponomatics nor have they looked into Islanders' language attitudes through an ethnographic approach. This is a preliminary attempt to do so, by looking into the Spanish place names used in Argentinian maps but not in local ones, resorting to *in situ* interviews, participant observation, and social media data. The analysis suggests that these Argentinian toponyms receive neither official nor societal approval by Islanders. The findings indicate that Argentinian Spanish names became a point of contention because of the political conflict, leading to a linguistic conflict scenario.

4.1 Introduction

The Falkland Islands (called *Islas Malvinas* by Argentina) are an archipelago located 344 kilometres off the Argentinian coast and 12,173 kilometres from the United Kingdom. There are two main islands, West Falkland and East Falkland. Argentina calls them *Gran Malvina* and *Isla Soledad* respectively. Of the rest, fewer than a dozen are inhabited. The capital of the archipelago is Stanley for the locals and *Puerto Argentino* for Argentina, hosting three-quarters of the total population (about 2,000 people). The rest live in small settlements.

The Islands are administered as an Overseas Territory of the United Kingdom. This political situation is challenged by the Republic of Argentina, which claims the Islands as its own. Both governments justify their arguments through historical events. The dispute revolves around two conflicting principles: self-determination and territorial integrity. Based on United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1541: "All people have the right to self-determination", although there is still no definition of a people (Fourches, 2016, p. 1). The principle of territorial integrity, on the other hand, is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in Article 2, paragraph 4: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations" (Charter of the United Nations).

While a discussion on both parties' claims is beyond this thesis' ambition, apart from the aforementioned principle of self-determination, the following are some of the relevant elements of such debate:

-First sighting
-First landfall
-First settlement
-Laws and treaties (e.g., the 1494 papal Treaty of Tordesillas; the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht; legal position of successor states; legality of popular will; colonialism; propinquity; history of continuous settlement)

In an attempt to resolve this conflict, the United Nations invited both countries to dialogue over the sovereignty of the Islands, but no definitive agreement was reached. On April 2nd, 1982, Argentinian troops landed on the Islands and war broke out. Almost three months later Britain had won the war and the locals regained control of the archipelago. The death toll: 649 Argentinian military personnel, 255 British military personnel, and three local civilians. Today, the Falkland Islands Government website states that "[t]he Falkland Islands is a self-sufficient country with a long history and unique culture. The people of the Falkland Islands have the right to self-determination, enshrined in international law". This is a statement, obviously, with which Argentina does not agree.

Since the British settled in the archipelago in 1833, a parallel toponymy has developed. Furthermore, Argentina does not regard Stanley (named

Puerto Argentino in 1982 by Argentinian military decree) as the capital of the Islands. Instead, it considers Ushuaia the capital, arguing the Islands are part of Tierra del Fuego province. By using different names for their geographical features and places, Argentina brings the political claim to a new level: toponymy.

Within the scarce literature on Falklands toponymy (see Munro, 1998; Woodman, 2006 and 2016; Мартыненко, Ильина and Куприянова, 2019), no one has examined Spanish place naming within critical toponomastics, which is also known as the new framework of toponomastics. I have only found one precedent looking into how the Falklands/Malvinas war is perceived by young Islanders in Benwell et al. (2019), and the notable work of Fourches 2016 resorting to maps as tools to understand the conflict. Toponomysts now agree that it is crucial to engage seriously with many different kinds of sources, both written and oral (Taylor, 2016), but for much of the 20th century the field of toponymy was mainly preoccupied with accumulating and cataloguing place names rather than analysing the socio-spatial practice of toponymic inscription itself (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). Today, most toponymists recognise that the traditional reliance on maps and gazetteers to study place names is inadequate and should be supplemented with some combination of participant observation, interviews, and ethnographic methods (Myers, 1996). Such a mixed-methods approach lends itself more to a consideration of toponymic space not only as a 'text' but also as resulting from a set of 'performative' practices. Hence, I seek to address the subject of Argentinian official toponymy absent in local maps, starting from the assumption that analysing the place names that do not make it into the official nomenclature might be especially fruitful, since place naming studies logically scrutinise stakeholders, public debates on toponymy, and the wider political dimension of naming (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016). The Falklands/Malvinas naming competition results from a language contact scenario and a long-standing political dispute, which leads to a linguistic conflict. However, sometimes it is the place names that start political discord; consider for example the naming disputes over Macedonia (see Nimetz, 2020) and that of the British Isles (see Bronwen, 2000). In both cases, an understudied sphere in this type of research is peoples' attitudes towards the phenomenon.

Since attitudes are a psychological construct, the concept cannot be easily defined. However, there is broad acceptance within social psychologists that attitudes are evaluative reactions to an object (for instance, to a person, a place, etc.) (Albarracin and Shavitt, 2018). In consonance with this viewpoint, I define language attitudes as *evaluative reactions to language*. I understand that its object is language in its spoken, written, and signed forms, and not limited to varieties within one language. Attitudes to other languages and their speakers have much to yield, too. Unfortunately, language attitudes research has mostly focused on attitudes to language varieties by means of spoken language.

The present work is an account of the Argentinian naming of the archipelago interleaved with data informative of Islanders' attitudes towards such place names. Data were obtained from social media as well as from

ethnographic and archival research. I aim at looking into whether naming practices, as well as attitudes towards them, can help us better understand a conflict.

4.2 The renaming of toponyms

Within linguistics, the field of onomastics has a sub-field called toponymy studies, which is devoted to the study of the origins, connotations and changes of place names. Toponymists have yet to properly address the question of naming, its motives, and the potential controversies it raises, and in order to do, so cross-disciplinary work is a must (Giraut, 2020). Analysing renaming processes around the world is fundamental when it comes to gaining insights into conflicts. There are numerous cases around the globe featuring renaming phenomena disputes. For instance, Persia vs. Iran, Kosovo vs. Kosova, Sea of Japan vs. East Sea vs. Korean East Sea.

Place naming plays a crucial role when it comes to nation-building and national identity (Saparov, 2003; Cohen and Kliot, 1992). As Giraut (2020) points out,

> whether official or unofficial, whether stemming from legal procedure or from practice, naming can be regarded as a social technology that assigns certain places and territories a function and a set of references and contributes to establishing and/or revealing a social and political order. (p.1)

Hence, renaming inevitably makes some feel excluded by the use of a certain place name while others feel recognised, and the other way round. Furthermore, it can reveal power struggles amongst actors with conflicting political objectives (Nash et al., 2010). To understand the importance of such toponyms in competition for recognition and belonging, it is necessary to investigate the ways in which "people seek to control, negotiate, and contest the naming process" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010, p. 457). Based on these premises, this chapter asks: to what extent can studying naming practices and people's attitudes towards them help us better grasp conflicts? I intend to collaborate in this endeavour by looking into a canonical case of competing places in South America: the Falklands/Malvinas dispute. On this occasion, I focus on Islanders' attitudes.

4.3 Methodology

Since attitudes are a mental construct, there can be uncertainty about whether research data truly represent the respondents' attitudes (Garret, 2010). When

investigating language attitudes, linguists resort to one (or a combination) of three research approaches, i.e., the societal treatment approach, the direct approach and the indirect approach[44]. This work mainly resorts to the first, a category that typically includes observational (e.g., ethnographic) studies, or the analysis of various sources within the public domain – for example, the discourse of government or educational policy documents, employment and consumer advertisements, novels, television programmes, cartoons, style and etiquette books (see Garrett et al., 2003, 15). Within the current trends and reconsiderations of toponymic research, I first appealed to a traditional approach of toponomastics. Secondly, to techniques from critical toponomastics (following Rose-Redwood et al., 2010; Vuolteenaho y Berg, 2009). I collected and studied British and Argentinian maps of the Islands (dating back as far as 1764), local press (the Penguin News, founded in 1979), and social media posts (namely, Facebook and Twitter). Finally, in order to understand how Argentinian toponyms work and how Islanders perceive them, I adopted an ethnographic approach to data collection, i.e., talking with Islanders in their cultural setting, given that for the foreseeable future at least, there is no substitute for being in and moving through the actual landscape (Taylor, 2016).

Within the ethnographic techniques, I opted for participant observation and the ethnographic interview with both camp (countryside in the Falklands vernacular) and Stanley dwellers. Both participant observation and interviews were conducted in 2019 and 2020. Informants were mainly Islanders and a few immigrants. Information about their identities is protected given that the population only amounts to 3,500 people. The tools consisted of field notes, a camera, a field diary, and a recorder, in accordance with the premise of ethnographic fieldwork (Guber, 2011). Meetings and interviews were arranged with people from different parts of the Islands (Stanley and camp, both West and East Falkland), and of different ages. Snowball sampling facilitated the recruitment of 20 respondents. All interviews were carried out in the informant's L1; hence most were conducted in English and a few in Spanish (those with immigrants). However, the language used is not revealed in the transcriptions in order to safeguard the identity of the informants (again, bearing in mind the small-sized population of the Islands). In the same vein, some pronouns in the transcriptions and analysis have been changed. All interviewees were presented with information letters and provided informed consent using formats approved by the Ethics Committees of both Universidad de la República and Universiteit Leiden.

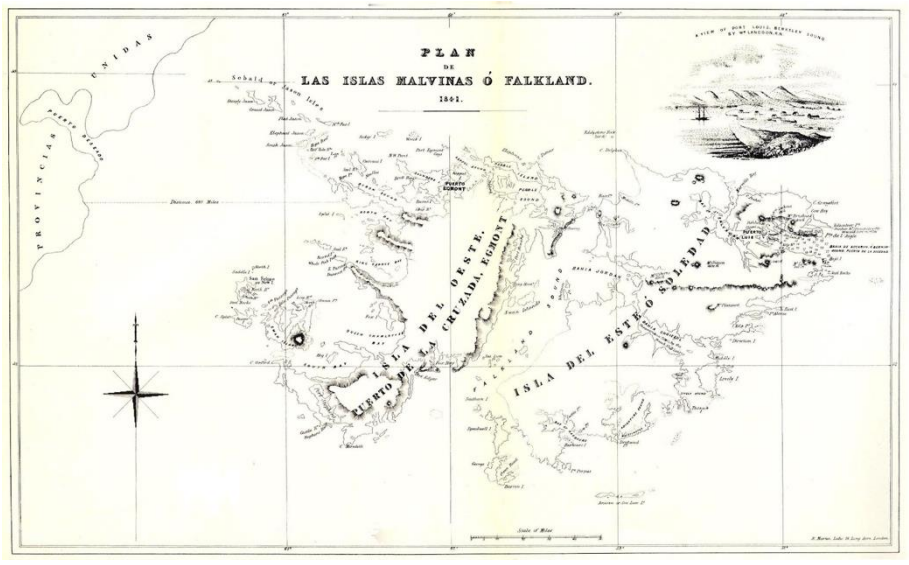
In sum, all the data presented in the following sections stem from document analyses, traditional and critical toponomastics, and/ or ethnographic work (photographs and statements result from the latter).

[44] For an elaboration of what direct and indirect apporaches involve, see Garret (2010).

4.4 The beginning of the place naming competition

Anyone studying the Malvinas/Falkland Islands dispute immediately realises that cartography has played a crucial part in the history -and present- of the conflict (Fourches, 2016). The Islands have received various names since their first sightings, including Sansón y Patos (1520), Archipiélago de Sansón (1523), Les isles de Sanson ou Des Geants (1586), Hawkins' Maiden Land (1594), Sebald-Eilanden (1600), Les Malouines (1764), to Falkland Islands and Islas Malvinas in the present (see Rydjord, 1961, for a detailed study of the numerous names for the archipelago). The Islands continue to appear under the Spanish name on many maps (including Google Maps when the language is set to Spanish). Furthermore, all United Nations documentation -in all languages except Spanish- mentions the Islands as the "Falkland Islands (Malvinas)", while in Spanish it is called "Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands)" (Rydjord, 1961). There is even a map from 1841 displaying both toponyms (see Figure 4.1). The map is titled 'Plan de Las Islas Malvinas o Falkland'.

Figure 4.1: Map prepared by order of the Governor of Buenos Aires Juan Manuel de Rosas, and the ambassador to the United Kingdom Don Manuel Moreno, published in London in 1841.



Amongst the earliest cartographical evidence of the sovereignty claim are the Argentinian maps produced in the 1880s by the Argentinian National Statistical Office. One of those maps, produced in 1882 -when the Office was under the direction of Francisco Latzina- shows the Falkland Islands as *Islas Malvinas* but in a different shade from Argentina (see Figure 4.2). The colour used for the archipelago has been under debate. Some claim it is the same

as for Argentina while others believe it is the lighter brown used for Chile, in which case, it would be an admission that, at that date, Argentina did not recognise the archipelago as part of its territory (Fourches, 2016, p. 5). In 1884 the Argentinian Government created a new map which included the Falklands (again as *Islas Malvinas*) but this time clearly as part of their territory, concomitantly informing the British representative in Buenos Aires that they intended to revive their claim (see Falkland Islands Government, 2012). However, in December of the same year, the British Government made a formal protest to which Argentina responded, disavowing all responsibility for such a map, which had not yet been published. In 1885, a map showing the Islands as part of Argentina -and calling them *Islas Malvinas*- was drawn under the supervision of Professor Arturo Seelstrang, under the auspices of the Argentinian National Government. In Seelstrang's map the archipelago is united with Tierra del Fuego (see Figure 4.3), the province to which the Islands belong, according to Argentina.

Figure 4.2: The Latzina map.

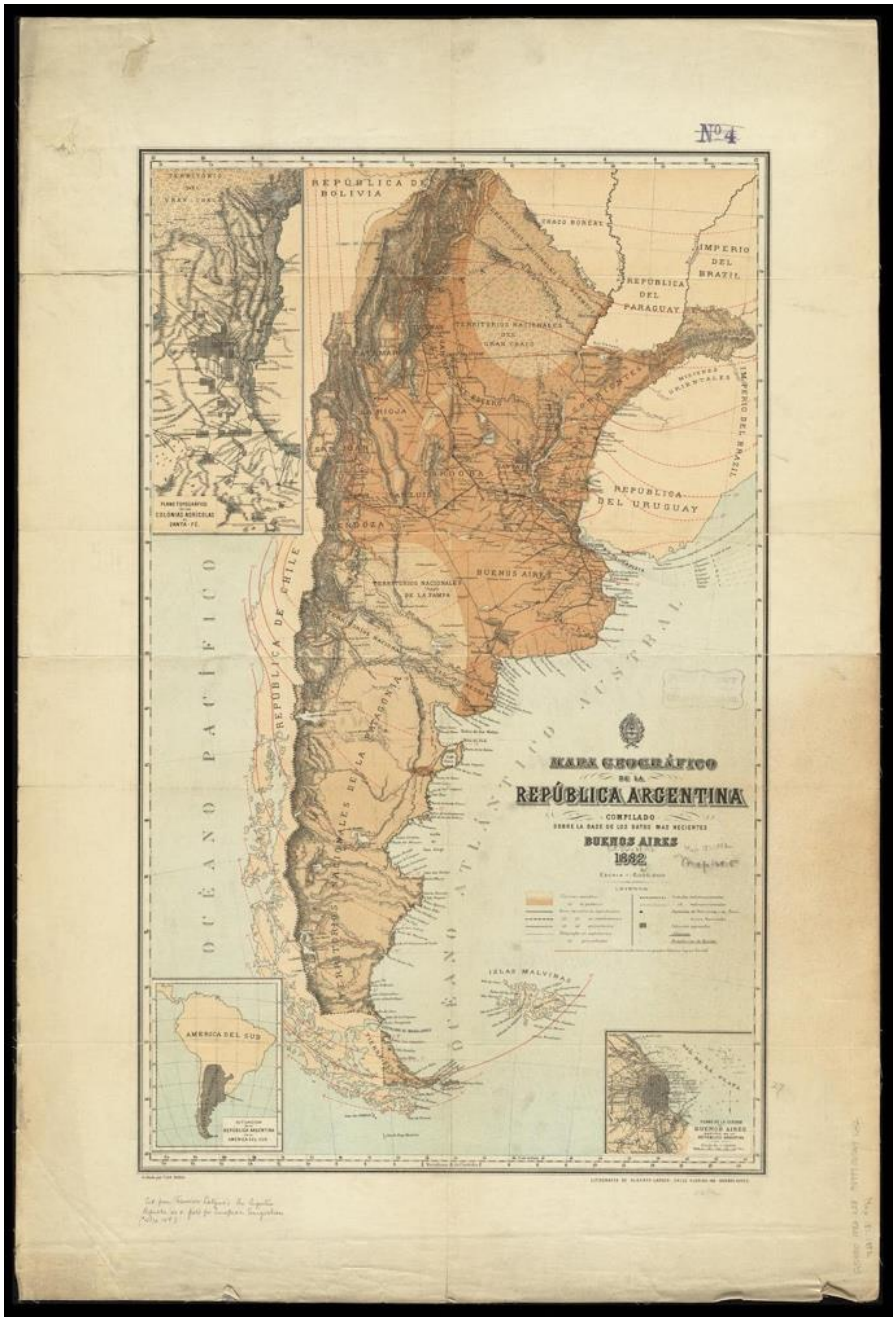
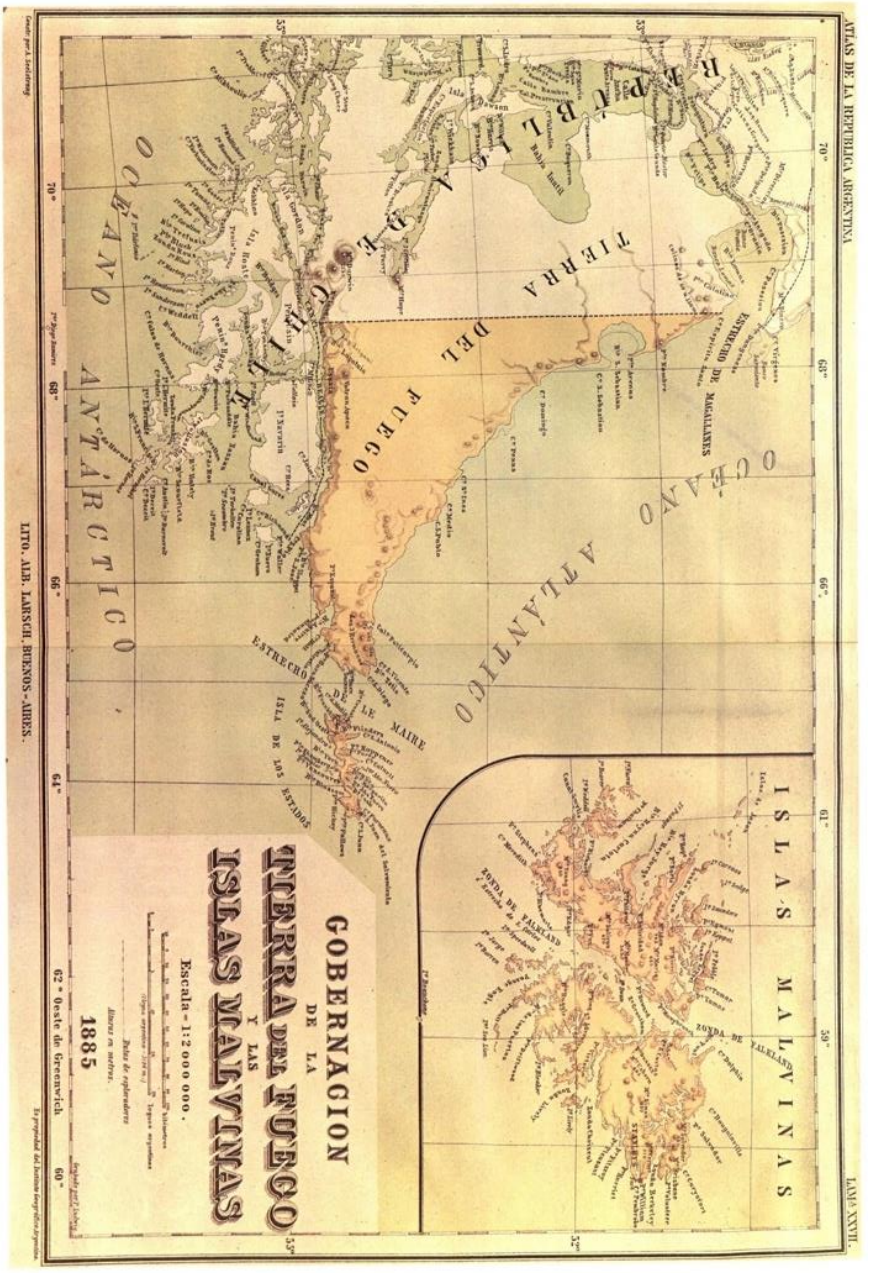


Figure 4.3: The Seelstrang map.



Even though the name dispute revolves mainly around the names *Islas Malvinas* (or its variations: *Malvinas*, *Las Malvinas*), *Isla Soledad*, *Gran Malvina*, and *Puerto Argentino*, the conflict extends to both landscape features and other settlements (Fourches, 2016). In an attempt to display and keep worldwide attention on their sovereignty claim, the Argentinian government has maintained -and coined- Spanish names which are not used by the Islanders but appear in all official maps of the Republic (Argentina also calls South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands *Islas Georgias del Sur* and *Sándwich del Sur*, respectively). Some names are translations of English names, others are completely different, and some names only appear in Argentinian cartography (see Woodman, 2016, for a detailed analysis).

In the '90s, Argentina carried out a policy known as 'seduction of the kelpers' ('kelpers' is the name given to Islanders because of the large seaweeds called kelp that surround the Islands). By applying such a policy - known to Argentinians as 'la política de seducción'- the Government of Carlos Menem managed to temporarily freeze the sovereignty debate over the Islands (Crisorio, 2007). Within this scenario, and due to a series of events that affected relations with Chile and the UK provoked by the arrest of Chile's dictator General Pinochet in London, a meeting between Argentinian and British representatives was scheduled for July 1999 in London.

At this meeting, Argentina (represented by Foreign Minister Guido di Tella) and the United Kingdom (represented by Foreign Secretary Robin Cook) issued a Joint Statement on relations between the two countries, which mentioned the matter of place names in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. The relevant section of the Joint Statement announced that Argentina was willing to review the toponymy, recognising it as problematic.

The UK Foreign Secretary explained that they had agreed to 'symbolic steps of reconciliation' relating to the four main elements of the agreement. On their side, the Falkland Islanders were to give permission for a memorial in the Argentinian cemetery, meant for Argentinian military personnel who lost their lives in 1982. For its part, the government of Argentina was to review the Spanish place names for locations in the Falkland Islands which were imposed by decree by Galtieri. The decree had not been repealed after the fall of the military, nor after signing the Joint Statement. According to Fourches (2016, p. 6), shortly after the signing of the agreement, a private member's bill was presented by deputy Fernando Maurette with a view to repealing the 1982 decree, but the government of the day seems to have supported the decree, such that nothing came out of Maurette's initiative, and the decree is still on the statute book.

From the many features on the Falklands with unofficial Spanish-language names, only one name dates from the period of the Argentinian dictatorship: *Puerto Argentino*, which is still used for Stanley in Argentina. Other Spanish names, most notably *Islas Malvinas* itself, have a longer historical tradition dating back to the time the Spanish Empire ruled the Islands.

Islanders complain that the Argentinian government did not do its part. In the words of a Falkland Islands business owner aged 58, in August 2004:

> In 1999 I was all for the agreement. I think at least 60% of the population supported it at the time. But now I don't think there's a single person in the Falklands who supports the agreement. (...) They haven't even changed our place names. I don't think we should have anything more to do with them, whatever they do or say.[45]

More recently, the dispute also had its momentum at the polls. In 2013 the government of the Islands organised a referendum to assess the will of the Islanders to remain British (99.8% of voters chose to remain a British overseas territory). However, Britain's sovereignty over the Islands remains a matter of controversy. Even though residents claim self-determination, Argentina does not see Islanders as a local population, arguing that they have been implanted, and denying the value of the referendum as the right of a people to self-determination, a fundamental principle in modern international law. It seems that the Islanders' claim of self-determination and will of remaining British is also present in their attitudes towards the exonym *Malvinas* -which they clearly associate with Argentina's posture.

4.5 A linguistic war over the name of the archipelago

In one of many long-lasting epistolary exchanges, local historians Spruce and Blake (in personal correspondence, February 17, 2020), pointed out that local feelings run very high on the Argentinian-isation of the islands' names and Stanley. That statement was corroborated in fieldwork both in 2019 and 2020. In the following sections, I will try to present some Islanders' views on the grounds that language attitudes analysis is important not only because attitudes can affect language change but also because such reflections and discussions can bring light to social, cultural, political and educational matters, requiring an interdisciplinary approach (Bugel and Montes-Alcalá, 2020). During fieldwork and social media analysis, statements along the lines of the following examples were heard or read quite often.

Some Islanders might fear an incorporation into the Argentinian state. They describe Argentinian actions as aggressive, using words such as 'imposition', and provide analogous examples to show how rude and irritating it is to rename a place which does not belong to oneself.

> (1) The main problem today is the aggressive Argentinian imposition of modern political names.

[45] Retrived from https://www.fiassociation.com

> (2)I wonder what the reaction in Argentina would be if we in the Islands had maps published calling Buenos Aires 'Queen Elizabeth', Comodoro Rivadavia 'Felton Town', etc.!

After asking me to remind her what the Spanish name for West Falkland is, an informant told the following anecdote:

> (3) I remember taking some Argentinian tourists around and this guy kept saying to me - are we going to visit the *Gran Malvina*? - and I said: I have no idea what you mean. I didn't realise he was trying to have a political debate and I just didn't know what he was talking about. And it was only afterwards that I realised that, of course, he was trying to be funny. But it didn't work.

This anecdote shows how a local does not even consider the Spanish name when thinking about the archipelago; the name does not register. However, he later understood what the tourist meant and realised the Argentinian was trying to provoke him. The guide did not find it funny, though.
With respect to the many Argentinian names of the capital, I was told:

> (4) Those words are never ever used locally. They cause a degree of irritation, I suppose. I wouldn't put it any higher than that.

This informant was trying to show that Argentinians just manage to annoy Islanders, nothing more than that. His intention was to downplay the irritation. However, a quick search online makes clear that such behaviour does more than annoy Islanders, as they seem to perceive it as a lack of respect for the locals. This is clearly entrenched in the 1982 armed conflict. For instance, during the war, Patrick Watts of the Islands' radio station used periphrases to avoid using Argentinian names –. He later stated "It hurt me greatly to call it [the radio station] *Radio Nacional Islas Malvinas*, and [I] tried to avoid referring to Port Stanley as *Puerto Argentino*. I called it 'the capital' or the 'largest settlement on the island" (Fox, 1982, p. 309).

Islanders still remember his circumlocutions and hold him in high esteem as someone who did an amazing job in the radio station. Here's an example:

> (5) I remember Patrick on the radio the night of the invasion and later broadcasts, also other programme presenters being very patriotic in an extremely careful way when playing certain records, and on the Queen's birthday in April playing a record for 'Lizzy Windsor wishing her a happy birthday'.

4.5.1 The "M word"

The word *Malvinas* is seldom used in the local press, and when it is used, it is to refer to the Argentinian propaganda, or what they usually call a myth given their strong disagreement with Argentina's arguments. Here is an example

taken from the only local newspaper, written by John Fowler, who has offered many interesting insights into the longstanding conflict:

> Without having given it much thought, after having been fed the Malvinas myth from their earliest days, I suspect that most Argentinians who have not actually been here, go along with their government's erroneous notion that we are a British colony with an implanted English population. The flying of the Union Flag encourages this unhelpful misconception that we are still a colony and "owned" by Britain. (John Fowler, Penguin News, vol. 29, number 15, oct 27, 2017).

When it comes to the use of the name *Malvinas* in the region, it must be noted that outside Argentina it does not necessarily imply that a speaker who uses it favours the Argentinian claim. For instance, in a radio interview on radio Sarandí, from Uruguay (July 9, 2020), the British ambassador on duty (Ian Duddy) spoke in Spanish to the Uruguayan community referring to the Islands as "las Islas Falkland, y bueno, las Malvinas para ustedes [the Falkland Islands, and well, the Malvinas for you]", showing that the controversial place name is also used in an objective manner. For romance language speakers, for instance, Portuguese and Spanish speakers, *Ilhas Malvinas* and *Islas Malvinas* are easier to pronounce than their English counterparts *Ilhas Falkland* or *Islas Falkland*. In fact, in many cases, *Malvinas* is the only name they are known for in these speech communities. Some people do not know where the Falklands are until you use the Spanish/Portuguese name, just like it would happen with China being called Zhōngguó. Most Islanders are well aware that the place name *Malvinas* is used throughout South America for the Falklands, however, the name still provokes discomfort in the community. In an attempt to cater for this, the Government advises avoiding its use in the Islands. While making the arrangements for fieldwork, the Falkland Islands Government sent me a detailed document titled "Key facts about your stay in the Falkland Islands", which amongst other recommended behaviours, stated that

> 'Malvinas' is not the Spanish or Portuguese term for 'Falkland Islands' – it's a word that Argentina uses to assert their sovereignty claim and local people find it offensive either online or in person; in Spanish please use Islas Falkland and in Portuguese Ilhas Falkland.

This is proof that the toponym has become a point of contention because of the political conflict (not the other way round). The local government states that *Malvinas* is not the translation of Falklands, in the same way, a national language academy would do. I must admit, though, that the advice not to use the ´M word´ is well-grounded. Locals do not like it and should have the right to be called the way they want, especially in their home.

The following examples show how the ´M word´ disgusts most of the community.

> (6) Years ago a document came to the school from the UK and it said 'Falklands / Malvinas' and people went crazy.

> (7) The M word is hated by most people, even those who did not experience the conflict, which means that parents are passing that hatred on to the next generations. I have some friends who don't care about that, but there aren't many.

An informant told us about an English-speaking foreigner who worked in the Islands and had a blog with a series of complaints about the Islands, which she purposely called *Malvinas*:

> (8) On her blog, she wrote 'Malvinas' and not 'Falklands'. Why would an English speaker do that on a completely English blog? To annoy those here, surely.

While reflecting on the archipelago's name, some Spanish speakers who live in the Islands considered that:

> (9) It is just a name, but people don't want to understand it. They associate it with the claim, period. They do not understand, or rather they do not want to understand that for non-Argentinians it is simply the word in Spanish.

Being a Spanish speaker, the whole place name issue seems silly to this informant. She is happy with the current administration but does not see a problem in calling the Islands *Malvinas*. The name dispute is a construct, according to her, and locals do not want to admit or understand that *Malvinas* is the chosen name by speakers of other languages.

Another anecdote showing how aggressive the place name is to locals is that of an Islander on holidays in Brazil:

> (10) She asked Brazilians not to say Malvinas in their own language. I don't know what the Portuguese word is, but I guess it's almost the same.

Even though the resentment towards the name *Malvinas*, confirmed while doing fieldwork, is based on the use of the place name as a claim tool. However, the place name is used by many Spanish and Portuguese speakers without any political implications. In fact, Islanders pointed out that

> (11) Chile uses Malvinas in a very respectful way, and that when speaking to you, Chileans tend to pause a bit and use the name Falkland or Islands.

This pause can also be taken as an indicator of the pronunciation cost for enunciating the English place name.

In fact, the Chileans I interviewed in the Islands acknowledged that they know the resentment around the 'Malvinas word' is with the Argentinians and

not with them. Furthermore, one of the Spanish-speaking immigrant informants who had moved to the Islands some years ago said:

> (12) I don't like saying Malvinas because I work for the Government.

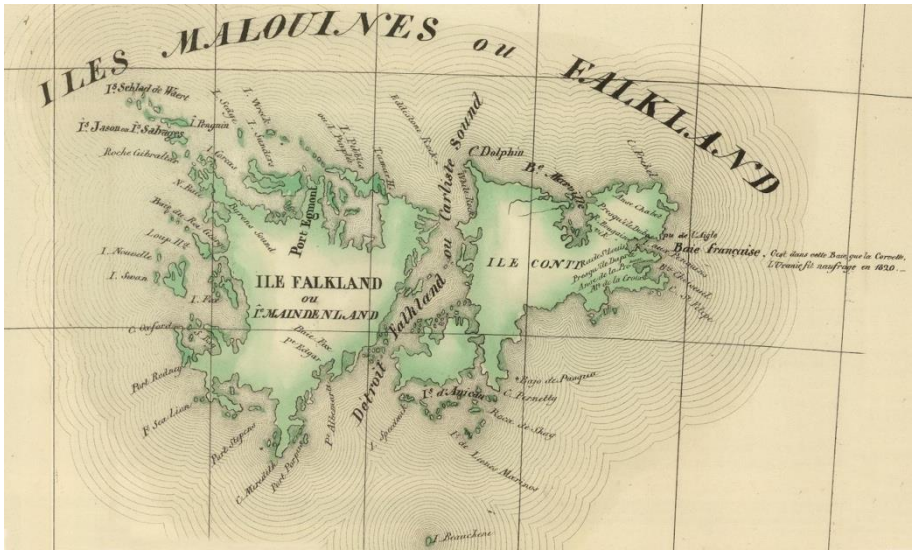
This statement can be understood as a politeness strategy, a way to show respect or not to trouble Islanders. Furthermore, this interviewee defends the locals' self-autonomy claim and when speaking Spanish in their hometown would chiefly use *Malvinas*.

The parallel toponymy can be traced back to the beginning of the 19th century (see Figure 4.4). The name *Islas Malvinas* comes from the place name *îles Malouines*, the name that the French admiral and explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville gave to the islands in 1764. Surprisingly, both *Malvinas* and Falklands seem to be British etymologically speaking. So does the Falkland Islands Government (2012, p. 4) claim in their publication "Our Islands, Our History", stating that

> The first captain to land on the Islands in 1690, John Strong, named the Sound between them after an English peer, Viscount Falkland, who had invested heavily in Strong's expedition to find treasure. Falkland's name remained firmly attached to the Islands as a whole from then on. Some years later the Islands received their French name: merchants from the French port of St Malo, (named after a Welsh saint Melu –'the apostle of the Bretons'- who founded the town in the seventh century AD,) passed the Islands on their way to trade with ports in Chile. A French map produced by the explorer Frezier in 1716 described them as 'New Islands discovered by the vessels from St Malo since 1700 of which the western part is still unknown'. Later cartographers preferred the snappier 'Isles Malouines' and the Spanish adopted this usage as Islas Maluinas, which evolved into Islas Malvinas.

My hypothesis also considers the possibility of mapmakers graphically interpreting the spelling with 'u' as a 'v'. In any case, it comprises an evolution of the name.

Figure 4.4: Map of the archipelago, displaying the controversial toponymic pair, published in 1827 in Vandermaelen's Atlas universel de geographie.



While doing fieldwork I stayed in the Malvina House Hotel. A name that calls the attention of linguists and tourists alike. Amongst the many explanations of the hotel's name (a subject that would naturally come up in interviews) I highlight the following:

> (13) When I explain we have the Malvina House Hotel over here to an Argentinian guest, for example, they go -Ah so you recognise the word Malvinas- and they are usually very upset to find out 'well no... it does not have to do with the Spanish word for the Falklands' (...) it's a very common Victorian name 'Malvina'. And the lady who used to own it was called Malvina Felton. So, it became known as the Malvina House. It was Malvina's house, in other words. It had nothing to do with Spanish 'Las Malvinas'.

It is worth noting that Malvina also used to be a very common name for girls in Argentina and Uruguay. Moreover, with regards to the hotel's name, I was told that some years ago, Stanley Services (the owners of the hotel) circulated a questionnaire asking locals if they wanted to change the name of the hotel to 'stanley Hotel' or something similar, and according to an informant:

> (14) There was local uproar, no you keep it as Malvina House Hotel, that's what it is!

This is quite surprising as one might have expected Islanders to be keen on changing the name of the hotel. On the other hand, not wanting to make that move can be interpreted as a message of strength and respect for their

history, because they know that the origin of the name has nothing to do with the sovereignty claim.

When it comes to the United Nations, no matter how Great Britain responds to Argentina's claims, no matter how concurrent Argentinian names are condemned and denied, at all times the name of the Falkland Islands has been accompanied and continues to be accompanied by its counterpart toponym (Мартыненко, Ильина and Куприянова, 2019). The same applies to most international press articles addressing the conflict issue. It is worth noting that there are cases in which Google Maps provides English and Spanish names in their search results. For instance, when searching for 'Malvinas' or 'Falklands' in a computer set up for Spanish, it will show the result as "Islas Falkland (Islas Malvinas)"; and if the same search is done in a computer set up for English it will show the same pair with the Spanish equivalent to 'Islands': "Falkland Islands (Malvinas Islands)". Google Maps' choice of names does not depend on the IP address but on the language choice of its user.

Although this chapter aims at exploring the locals' attitudes toward the archipelago's name, I divert here to show the position of Marcelo Kohen (in Robledo, 2018), an expert in international law dedicated to the study of the dispute for almost 40 years. According to him, there is a lot of confusion about the name of the Islands:

> Las Islas Malvinas son las Islas Malvinas en castellano, son las Falkland Islands en inglés y Îles Malouines en francés… Se ha politizado la cuestión del nombre de las islas, cosa que no era así en el siglo XIX o antes. Decir Malvinas Islands es tan absurdo como decir Islas Falklands. Nos perdemos en el laberinto de cuestiones accesorias. [The Falkland Islands are Islas Malvinas in Spanish, Falkland Islands in English and Îles Malouines in French… The issue regarding the name of the Islands has been politicised, which was not the case in the nineteenth century or earlier. Saying Malvinas Islands is as absurd as saying Islas Falklands. We get lost in the maze of ancillary matters]

Though that may be the case when it comes to the legal side of the conflict, it becomes evident to the reader navigating this dissertation that these are not trivial or accessory issues when one tries to understand the underpinnings of such a complex scenario.

4.5.2 The capital dispute

Stanley became the capital of the Falklands shortly after the British settled in the Islands. During the governorship of Richard Moody, the capital was moved from Port Louis to Port Jackson (following the suggestion of Sir James Clark Ross, see Falkland Islands Government, 2012), which had a deeper anchorage for visiting ships. Unlike Port Louis -known as *Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* to Spain- the new settlement did not have a Spanish counterpart place name. The capital was to be renamed Stanley Harbour,

after the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies at the time: Lord Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley. Stanley became the capital in July 1845, and today it remains the principal settlement of the Falkland Islands. More recently, on 2 August 1956, the Officer Administering the Government of the Falkland Islands reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London as follows:

> There is some difficulty over the correct name of the capital. Early dispatches contain references to both Port Stanley and Stanley. Port Stanley was accepted by the Naming Commission set up in 1943 to consider the names then being included on the War Office maps. Local opinion differs on the matter, but there is no doubt that Stanley is now common usage and has been for some considerable time.

The subject of the name of the new capital is particularly interesting for renaming within toponomastics. Its official given name is 'stanley' (sanctioned by official decree), however, time and custom transformed it into Port Stanley. It is my belief that this name prevailed due to the former name (Port Jackson - probably after Andrew Jackson, President of the USA 1928-37, according to Munro 1998)-, whose generic lingered in the new place name. Furthermore, the use of Port Stanley during the war also collaborated in the establishment of such a name.

The 'official' name in the first decree issued by the British government given to the capital is 'stanley' but people also call it Port Stanley. An informant pointed out that

> (15) about 1985 it was decided by the then Attorney General to rule that Port was no longer applicable. It did not go down very well with the Islanders and franking machines had to be changed, the Port taken off one of the BAS ships' stern as her Port of Registry.

The history of the capital of the archipelago is rich in terms of the many names it has carried, or more precisely, the number of renaming processes it has gone through. One of the first records of renaming by the Argentinian Republic dates to January 1965, when the Argentinian Commission for the Recovery of the Falkland Islands demanded that the "Argentinian flag should fly everywhere in *Puerto Soledad*, the Islands' capital". The name *Puerto Soledad* (by metonymy from the Spanish name for East Falkland -*Isla Soledad*- on which Stanley lies) is used here as a nationalist alternative to Puerto Stanley (the name used for Stanley in maps and literature of the time, e.g., in Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen, 1959, and Moreno, 1950). The following year, a group of Peronist militants landed in Stanley, after diverting a Douglas DC-4 from Aerolineas Argentinas in what became known as the Operation Condor. During their short stay, they called the city *Puerto Rivero*, after gaucho Antonio Rivero, who in 1833 murdered settlers and is to these days celebrated as a hero in Argentina (see Tesler, 1971). Some believe it might have embedded itself as the chosen Argentinian alternative for Stanley after

the events of 1982, had not both this unauthorised landing and the 1982 war taken place during periods of anti-Perón military rule (Woodman, 2006, p. 4).

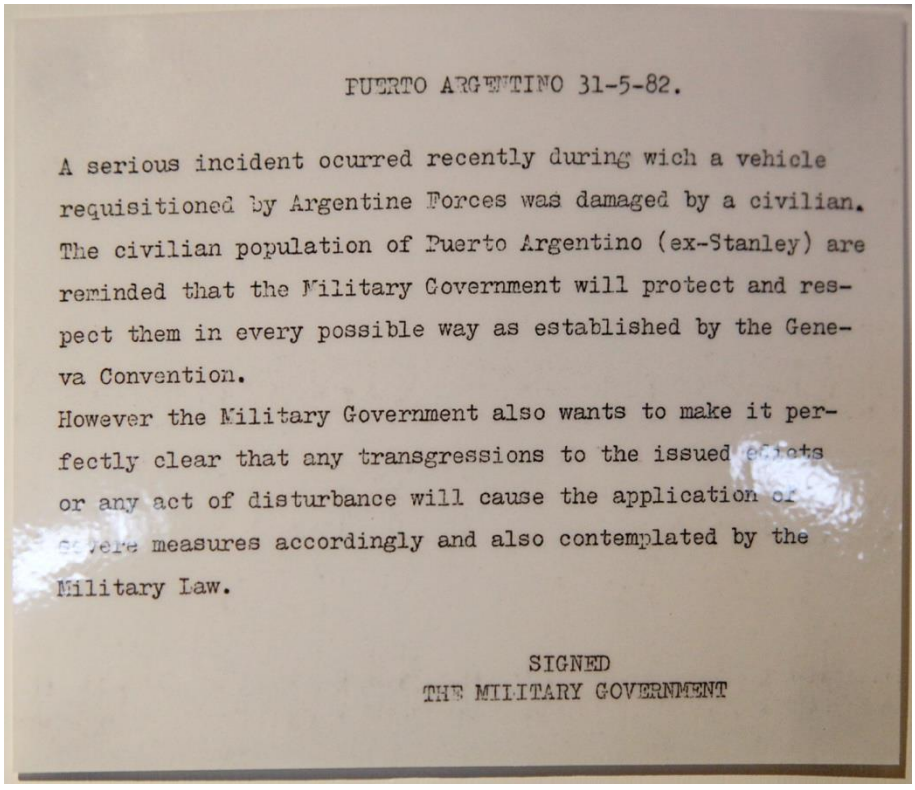
The armed conflict brought the renaming process to its peak. During the first twenty days of the hostilities, Argentina employed five different names for the capital. They finally settled upon *Puerto Argentino* (declared by Decree No 757 of the Argentinian military committee), which it uses to date. This name - together with *Islas Malvinas*- was and remains anathema to Falkland Islanders. The chronology of the five names for Stanley used by Argentina in the space of three weeks is as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Chronology of the names for Stanley used by Argentina.

Date	**Name**	**Used by**
Before 2 April 1982	Puerto Stanley	used by the Argentinian government and most media
In 1965	Puerto Soledad	used by certain Argentinian media
In 1966	Puerto Rivero	used by Peronists
3 – 4 April 1982	Puerto Rivero	used by the Argentinian government and media
5 April 1982	Puerto de la Isla Soledad	used by the Argentinian government and media
6 – 20 April 1982	Puerto de las Islas Malvinas	used by the Argentinian government and media
Since 21 April 1982	Puerto Argentino	decree No 757 of the Argentinian government, 21 April 1982; used by the Argentinian government and media since that date

Halfway into the armed conflict (May 31st, 1982) Islanders were instructed by Argentina on the new name for the town. Figure 4.5 shows an example of the new name accompanied by the old between brackets: “Puerto Argentino (ex-Stanley)”. However, as soon as Islanders had the chance to express themselves again, some did so by stating that the name of the settlement was “not ‘Puerto Rivero’, ‘Puerto de las Islas Malvinas’ nor ‘Puerto Argentino’ but Port Stanley” (see Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.5: Message from the Argentinian government to the local population during the 1982 armed conflict using both the Argentinian and the local denomination of the town "Puerto Argentino (ex-Stanley)".



PUERTO ARGENTINO 31-5-82.

A serious incident ocurred recently during wich a vehicle requisitioned by Argentine Forces was damaged by a civilian. The civilian population of Puerto Argentino (ex-Stanley) are reminded that the Military Government will protect and respect them in every possible way as established by the Geneva Convention.

However the Military Government also wants to make it perfectly clear that any transgressions to the issued edicts or any act of disturbance will cause the application of severe measures accordingly and also contemplated by the Military Law.

SIGNED
THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Figure 4.6: Local newspaper Penguin News first cover after the armed conflict came to an end.

30th JUNE 1982 No. 20

THE PENGUIN NEWS

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS NEWS MAGAZINE

VICTORY

The date : MONDAY, 14th JUNE 1982

The place : NOT "Puerto Rivero", "Puerto de las Islas Malvinas" OR "Puerto Argentino" BUT PORT STANLEY, FALKLAND ISLANDS

The event : Surrender of all Argentine forces in the Islands

Today the Spanish names are seen as either local or imposed, i.e., gaucho-heritage and Argentinian, endonyms and exonyms respectively (as explained in Chapter 3):

> (16) What people object to strongly now are the names given to places here by the Argentinian government especially *Puerto Argentino* which has no relevance unlike some used by Vernet when he was at Port Louis which have over time gone out of use.

None of the many Argentinian names are accepted by the Islanders. However, many Spanish speakers use 'Puerto Stanley', as a neutral translation of the British name.

4.5.3 Other conflicting place names

The controversial toponymy characteristic of the Falklands is not limited to the name of the main settlement and the archipelago as a whole. Other place names are also disputed, although with a lower profile. The common denominator: the armed conflict. According to Fourches (2016, p. 6), the war brought more than 10,000 Argentinian soldiers who "converted the English names into Spanish names by a simple process of translation when this was possible". I hereby present one example.

Goose Green is a settlement established by the British administration in 1875, as the location of a tallow factory. During the war, Goose Green was occupied by Argentinian forces and over one hundred civilians were

imprisoned in its community hall. In May 1982, what is known as the 'Battle of Goose Green' would take place in the settlement. In Spanish, though now we can find it in documents as "*Batalla de Pradera* (or *Prado*) *Ganso*", it is better known by Argentinian veterans as la "*Batalla de Ganso Verde*", an erroneous translation of the original English name (ignoring the polysemy of Eng. green and the syntax of English). Here is a comment from a local on the matter:

> (17) Ganso Verde, for example, is Goose Green, it's got nothing to do with a green goose, it's a green which is being grazed by a number of geese that walk around on it and poo on it all day and make the grass very green. It's not a ganso verde which in Spanish I understand would mean a goose that's coloured green.

4.5.4 Malvinas, Falklands, or both? Better get it straight

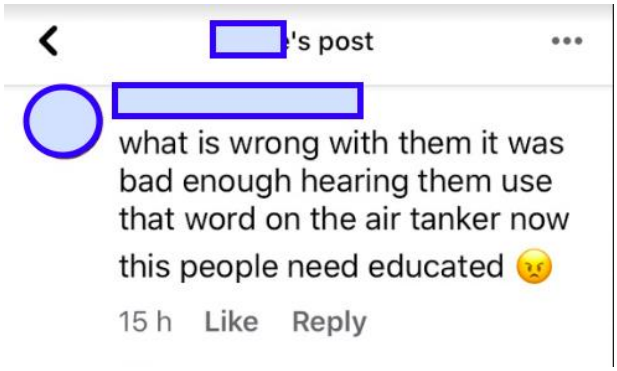
On June 11, 2020, Santiago Cafiero, current Chief of the Cabinet of Ministers of Argentina announced the new map of the Nation via Twitter (see Figure 4.7). On July 20th (less than a fortnight after the new map had been released), Argentinian citizen Alicia de Arteaga displayed, in an online class of Argentinian Architectural Panorama -allegedly by mistake-, a map of Argentina in which the Islands were identified as British. This caused immediate repercussions both in the press and on social media. The course organiser, Comisión Nacional de Monumentos, de Lugares y de Bienes Históricos, immediately removed the presentation and publicly apologised through a press statement, explaining that

> En la clase del lunes 20 de julio a cargo de la vocal Alicia de Arteaga se incluyó por error un mapa del país en el que nuestras Islas Malvinas figuraban bajo la ilegal atribución de UK (Reino Unido). Advertidos al respecto, esa misma noche la citada clase fue bajada de la emisión. La Comisión Nacional de Monumentos, de Lugares y de Bienes Históricos ha tenido una línea de conducta permanente sobre un tema que constituye una indudable política de Estado para la Nación [During the class on Monday, July 20, given by member Alicia de Arteaga, a map of the country in which our Islas Malvinas appeared under the illegal attribution of the UK (United Kingdom) was included by mistake. Warned about this, that same night the class was removed from the broadcast. The National Commission of Monuments, Places and Historic Sites maintains a permanent line of conduct on an issue that constitutes an unquestionable State Policy for the Nation].

Figure 4.7: Twitter post of the Chief of the Cabinet of Ministers of Argentina announcing the new map of the Nation.

Ten days later an analogous episode took place on the counterpart. Marks & Spencer (a British company) caused outrage by selling globes, picturing the Falkland Islands with their Argentinian name. Facebook posts on the matter were numerous. As an example of what it provoked, I provide a comment on one of such posts which shows how this matter concerns not only the Islanders but also the British community at large, especially the military and their family, friends and supporters (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Facebook screenshots showing the discomfort produced by the Marks & Spencer episode.



On a final note, I would like to point out that on the aeroplane tickets to the Islands the name of its airport appears as “Mount Pleasant, FK”, making it clear that it belongs to a British territory by adding the abbreviation ‘FK’ (Falklands). However, while one waits to board at the last stopover airport (in Punta Arenas, Chile) the destination appears with both names (see Figure 4.9). Was the airline catering for bilingual passengers on the screen but not on the tickets?

Figure 4.9: Photograph of airport screen taken in Punta Arenas airport (Chile) while boarding the last leg to Mount Pleasant Airport (Falkland Islands).

4.6 Is it about islandness, nationalism, and/or a claim instrument?

When it comes to Islands, it has been alleged that islanders develop a strong sense of self idiosyncrasy to the place where they live (e.g., Gaffin, 1996). Furthermore, this enhanced sense of difference and uniqueness appears to be stronger on islands than in other isolated places that are non-island environments (Wylie and Margolin, 1981) (see Nash, 2015). Were this to be true, it could be argued that islanders are more susceptible to renaming

processes than non-islanders. In any case, the situation and the history of the Falklands is unique, and the Falklands double toponymic scenario can be seen as an exemplary case of the construction of national interests.

Social media, interview data, and press material show that Spanish place names associated with Argentina are disliked by locals. Some scholars argue that nationalist bias has infested the historiography of both British and Argentinian claims (e.g., Lorenz, 2014; Blair, 2019), and it could be argued that after analysing the data presented, nationalism is found both in the naming processes as well as in locals' attitudes towards place names. According to Jordan (2012, pp. 20-21),

> exonyms are not symbols of appropriation and do not express claims, but indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it. Exonyms just help to integrate a foreign feature into the cultural sphere of a community and help to avoid exclusion and alienation. It is also true that the use of exonyms is sometimes conceived as expressing claims, especially when exonyms correspond to historical endonyms. But this is a misunderstanding, which should be erased by a politically sensitive use of exonyms.

I agree with the part of the statement but cannot do so with Jordan's last suggestion, since not only it is clear that the Argentinian Government does use its own nomenclature as a tool to support its longstanding territorial claim, but it would be naive to point to certain language use as a misunderstanding of their users. Exonyms are not just one full class of place names.

4.7 Final remarks

I have attempted to provide first insights into the problem and assert that looking at toponymy from the aspect of societal acceptance is both a valuable exercise and a promising field with lots of ground for novel research. The data suggest that Argentinian place names for the Islands are being purposely used as instruments of sovereignty claim, thus provoking negative sentiments and sometimes even outrage in the Falklands population, who do not use them to refer to the archipelago's locations and features, and whose government does not use in maps. It remains to be analysed to what extent the Argentinian names are a matter of irritation, anger or fear to the Islanders. It is clear, though, that toponyms are very relevant to people. However, the place name *Malvinas* is not necessarily indicative of political attitudes. Some people do use it to claim the Islands as Argentinian while others just use it as the Spanish alternative.

Place names deserve far greater attention within academic inquiry, particularly when it comes to language conflict. What is more, ethnographic fieldwork has been particularly valuable in better understanding the complex toponymic reality of the archipelago. Visiting the archipelago and speaking

with Islanders face to face has unveiled facts that go unnoticed when one limits research to maps and gazetteers. Moreover, when looking into attitudes towards place names, analysing social media has also proved useful. Today's new toponomastics will benefit from these novel approaches just as conflict linguistics scholars can benefit from looking into place naming. The present case study is one of many other naming conflicts around the globe. Tackling analogous situations through cross-disciplinary approaches would entail major contributions to linguistic disciplines concerned in social settings like this one.

In a nutshell, I believe studying naming practices and people's attitudes towards them has the potential of shedding light on conflicting scenarios, allowing us to see how governments and peoples resort to and recognise toponyms as tools for territorial claims.

Chapter 5

5. An ethnolinguistic approach to contact onomastics Falkland Islanders' attitudes to gaucho place names

A version of this chapter is submitted for publication as:

Rodríguez, Y., & A. Elizaincín. An ethnolinguistic approach to contact onomastics: Falkland Islanders' attitudes to gaucho place names [Manuscript submitted for publication].

Abstract

This chapter investigates American Spanish gaucho toponymy in the Falkland Islands. One of the peculiarities of such toponymy is its multilingual character: French, English and Spanish names coexist throughout the archipelago (e.g.: Chartres, Cape Dolphin and Rincon Verde) serving as a reminder of the busy history of the Islands. However, unlike the English, French, and Spanish place names given by sailors (which mainly refer to Islands, rocks, bays, coves, capes, etc.), Hispanic names after 1833 also identify locations of the inland, reflecting the new practical need for orientation, delimitation and land management for livestock practice purposes. These place names were the result of a former South American gaucho presence, the main workforce when it came to the cattle industry in the Islands. These toponyms have not received exclusive attention yet. Until now they have been only mentioned in gazetteers with reference to their Spanish origin. The present work resorts to both traditional approaches as well as fieldwork to identify toponyms; understand how they work, and analyse how Islanders perceive them. This is done under the assumption that studying Islanders' attitudes contributes to revealing historical facts as well as relationships between the Islands and the mainland.

5.1 Introduction

The Falklands are a collection of over seven hundred of islands and islets. Its two main islands are called West Falkland and East Falkland, and fewer than a dozen of the rest are inhabited. The archipelago is located 12,173 kilometres from the United Kingdom, and 344 kilometres from Argentina. Three-quarters of the 3,500 population live in its capital -Stanley-, while the rest live in small settlements. The Islands have been an enclave of great controversy since 1833 when the British took control of the archipelago from Argentina, which has never relinquished its sovereignty claim. Since then, the Islands have been administered as a British overseas territory, except for a 74-day-long war in 1982 which ended with the British retaining control.

Since 1833, the Islands have been continuously inhabited by an English-speaking community. The scarce literature on Falklands English states it is one of the most recently developed World Englishes, rising from the contact of English varieties of the south and south-west of England, and of the northwest of Scotland (Britain and Sudbury, 2010). However, the young variety is also the result of contact with Spanish, from which it has borrowed a considerable number of Spanish words (see Chapter 6), a consequence of linguistic contact with Spanish speaking gauchos[46]. These loanwords are mainly related -though not exclusively- to country life and livestock. Incidentally, the borrowing process extended to place names (see Chapters 3 and 4), resulting in a fair number of Spanish toponyms still in use to date. Such place names are a reminder of gauchos' presence in the Falklands (Boumphrey, 1967), and a strong indicator of the significance that they had in the history of the Islands. In other words, their survival points to the scope of the cultural process involved with their presence (see Spruce and Smith, 2019). An example of this is the word used today in the Islands to refer to the rural area: '*camp*' (borrowed from the Spanish word *campo*) instead of the word *countryside* or a variant of it.

When it comes to toponymic research, for much of the 20th century, the study of place names was mainly preoccupied with accumulating (see Wright, 1929) and cataloguing the toponyms rather than analysing the socio-spatial practice of toponymic inscription itself (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). In the last decades, there has been a growing recognition that the traditional reliance on maps and gazetteers to study place names is inadequate and should be supplemented with participant observation, interviews, and ethnographic methods (Myers, 1996). Toponomysts now agree that it is crucial to engage seriously with many different kinds of sources: both written and oral, since the latter can supply names that rarely -if ever- find expression in the written

[46] Transhumant South American mestizos skilled in livestock work, experienced in raising and managing horses and cattle, adept in lassoing and slaughtering cattle, crafty in making horse tack, constructing tools and buildings, amongst other skills. Gauchos inhabited today's Argentina, Uruguay and Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil).

record; examples of such are microtoponyms (minor names) (Taylor, 2016). In today's revisited toponomastics framework, carrying out fieldwork becomes mandatory. There are aspects essential to the work which involve getting out and about: for the purposes not just of interrogating those who live in a landscape, as in the collection of oral material, but of interrogating the landscape itself (Taylor, 2016). The Falkland Islands toponymy is an understudied territory[47], which lacks an examination of Spanish place naming. Let alone one within the new framework of toponomastics (i.e., contemplating maps as well as inhabitants' narratives).

The present study seeks to address the pending subject of looking exclusively into gaucho place names by resorting to both traditional toponymic approaches, as well as ethnolinguistic ones. Hence, results are presented in two parts. The first consists of the traditional outlook on toponomastics, i.e., collecting and studying maps of the Islands (dating back as far as 1766), and the second involves three specific objectives: attempting to learn if any of these toponyms escape maps; observing how they are used today; and looking into Islanders' attitudes towards them. Nonetheless, before diving into that, an introductory section is provided to acquaint readers with basic concepts of language contact onomastics, the sociohistorical context, the study of language attitudes by means of linguistic ethnography, and the languages in contact.

5.1.1 Place names and contact linguistics

Place names are particularly interesting for contact linguistics as they give a diachronic picture, indicating which cultures have been present in an area through time and unveiling which languages were spoken in a certain time and place. Toponyms in contact situations are easily borrowed, probably because sharing a place name is the easiest way to point out a specific location and just like loanwords, loan names are adapted to the sound system of the recipient language, and adaptations sometimes also occur on other linguistic levels, including grammar and syntax (Sandnes, 2016). Sandnes draws attention to the role of the speaker in contact onomastics, as processes such as translations, replacement of elements, and syntactic adaptations can only be explained as the result of a speaker's interpretation and adaptation, and adds that names offer interesting insights into linguistic processes in language contact areas since they are likely to be amongst the first items to be borrowed when people speaking different languages meet, since they do not need to be understood (place names function as labels for places which can be singled out by pointing at them, meaning that only a minimum of communication is needed) (2016)[48].

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[47] The scarce literature that tackles it is limited to Мартыненко, Ильина and Куприянова, 2018; Munro, 1998; Woodman, 2006, 2016.

[48] It should be noted that place names are not always borrowed in contact situations.

In contact onomastics, studies of place names may be monolingual or bilingual in their approach. In this study, a bilingual approach is adopted, looking into how English and Spanish have interacted, hoping to better understand the historic interactions between different speakers in the same place. Furthermore, like contact linguistics, contact onomastics should address the socio-cultural setting, language users, and the relevant languages (Sandnes, 2016). The following subsections will focus on them.

5.1.2 Socio-cultural setting: gauchos in the camp

Livestock business in the Islands can be traced back to the 18th century, when Bougainville led a herd of around seven calves and two bulls, along with some pigs and sheep, three horses and a goat (Strange, 1973). According to Strange (1973) -who has made a detailed study of the livestock history in the Falklands- during the Spanish occupation more cattle were taken to the Islands, and by 1785 the Spanish Governor Ramón Clairac claimed that the animals reached 7,774 heads. Between 1826 and 1832, Vernet would settle in the Islands in response to a proposal from the government of the province of Buenos Aires. One of its main purposes was to capture wild cattle and slaughter some 20,000 head with the help of gauchos from the River Plate (Beccaceci, 2017). The work of these gauchos consisted of (a) catching the wild cattle descended from horses and cows left by Bougainville, (b) the construction of peat and stone corrals for the confinement of animals, and (c) trading (Lorenz, 2014). The General Archive of the Argentinian Nation holds the contracts between Vernet and gauchos in which it was specified that their work included the slaughter of cattle and horses.

In 1833 Captain Onslow would raise the British flag proclaiming British sovereignty over the Islands. At that point, the 33 Argentinian residents and 26 soldiers who made up Argentina's garrison were forced to withdraw, while the rest were given the option to stay (Pascoe and Pepper, 2008). According to Pascoe and Pepper (2008), twelve Argentinians, 4 Uruguayan Charrúa Indians; 2 British, 2 Germans, 1 French, and 1 Jamaican decided to stay, and another 7 civilians arrived later that year (including 4 gauchos). By 1838, there were 43 people, of whom 14 were sailors working from docked ships and 7 were gauchos (Britain and Sudbury, 2010). The following extract from the travel notes of Captain Robert Fitz Roy (1839, p. 278) is very illustrative of that moment and place, as he points out, that

> Although the climate is so much colder than that of Buenos Ayres, the gauchos sleep in the open air, when in the interior, under their saddles, just as they do in the latitude of 35°. While idling at the settlement they gamble, quarrel, and fight with long knives, giving each other severe wounds. With their loose ponchos, slouched hats, long hair, dark complexions, and Indian eyes, they are characters fitter for the pencil of an artist than for the quiet hearth of an industrious settler. Besides these gauchos, we saw five Indians, who had been taken by the Buenos Ayrean

> troops, or their allies, and allowed to leave prison on condition of going with Mr. Vernet to the Falklands.

The gauchos described by Fitz Roy were amongst the few who remained after 1833. The captain also mentioned how the population was made up, based on what someone who had been in Port Louis (first settlement location) earlier told him, and according to that source, there were around 100 people, including 25 gauchos, 5 Indians, 2 Dutch families, 2 o 3 English, a German family, and the rest were Spanish or Portuguese.

In 1842 amongst the 49 non-military residents, there were missionaries en route to Patagonia, gauchos, seal hunters, a private group of horticulturists and fish curators, as well as government harvest workers (Royle, 1985). Sudbury (2001, 2005) asserts that the settlers of the 19th century came mainly from Scotland (from the Highlands and the region of the western islands) and from the south-west of England (Somerset and Devon). In the second half of the 19th century, the population increased significantly, in part due to the British government's policy of encouraging migration. However, there were also migrants from South America, mainly gauchos from the River Plate who were employed to work in the cattle industry (Spruce, 2011) and would remain in the Islands until the end of the 19th century. Those gauchos were not precisely the ones Vernet took to work with wild cattle (though some decided to stay in the Islands); as other merchants continued to 'import' workers, especially from Patagonia, and in the case of the Lafone brothers from Uruguay (Lorenz, 2014). The Englishman Samuel Fisher Lafone, resident of Montevideo, created the Falkland Islands Company to commercialise Falklands' cattle. Colonial auditor Boumphrey (1967) pointed out that in 1847, the great peninsula that forms the southern half of East Falkland, known as 'Rincón del Toro' to Darwin, was bought by Lafone. Along with the land, the businessman acquired the rights to the cattle that flourished there. This peninsula became known to this day as Lafonia. Lafone established the Hope Place salting house (locally known by the Spanish name Saladero), which led to the rapid decline of wild cattle (Strange, 1973). According to Strange, the gauchos that Lafone brought to the Islands built a wall of peat across the isthmus linking the northern section of East Falkland with Lafone's area to the south, preventing cattle from escaping their land; with this, they managed to hunt cattle to such an extent that in a period of four to five years practically no wild cattle remained (1973). In March 1852 a population census was carried out, it registered eighteen people with the 'profession' of gaucho, and other South Americans were listed as 'labourers' or 'workers' (these censuses are available in The Jane Cameron National Archives). The places of origin go from South America, Uruguay, Argentina, to Montevideo (since it was the port from which they sailed out). According to Beccaceci (2017) at that time, boats with gauchos coming from the continent were constantly arriving in the Falklands.

In 1867, thousands of hectares were allocated to sheep farming, turning the Islands into a pastoral colony of the United Kingdom and bringing immigrants of British origin who were supplanting the Rio de la Plata gaucho

(Beccaceci, 2017). According to Beccaceci (2017), by 1883 there were already half a million sheep, and in 1889 the position of *capataz* (foreman of the gauchos) disappeared from the Falkland Islands Company's records. In a short time, cattle ceased to exist in East Falkland, while in West Falkland they disappeared around 1894 (Strange, 1973).

At present, the Historic Dockyard Museum of Stanley has a whole section devoted to the Islands' gaucho-heritage (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

Figure 5.1: Entrance to the Horse Gear section of the museum, where horse tack almost identical to that of the mainland is displayed. Most of them are named in Spanish.

Figure 5.2: Some of the numerous bits, saddles and head collars (locally known by the Spanish loanwords 'freno', 'recao', and 'bozal', respectively), amongst other horse tack.

5.1.3 Language attitudes and linguistic ethnography

Attitudes are generally understood as a way of thinking or feeling about someone or something, and even though they are typically reflected in a person's behaviour, social psychologists agree that they are a mental construct, and as such, there can be uncertainty whether research data truly represent the respondents' attitudes (Garret, 2010). When looking into language attitudes, linguists resort to one (or a combination) of three approaches, i.e., the societal treatment approach, the direct approach and the indirect approach. This work mainly resorts to the first, which tends to include ethnographic techniques, but direct and indirect approaches are part of such interviews too, since researchers do bring up subjects to discuss and ask questions directly even while carrying out unstructured interviews in the field. In the past 20 years, within sociolinguistics, this approach has been called linguistic ethnography.

Linguistic ethnography combines theoretical and methodological approaches from both linguistics and ethnography, in order to look into social matters that involve language (Tusting, 2019). While linguistics devotes its attention to language itself, ethnography provides reflexivity about the role of the researcher; attention to people's emic perspectives; sensitivity to in-depth understandings of particular settings; openness to complexity, as well as contradiction and re-interpretation over time (Rampton et al., 2004).

5.1.4 American Spanish and Falkland Islands English

English is the first local and only official language of the Falklands. Falkland Islands English (henceforth FIE) is usually unknown to other speakers of English. In fact, it is difficult for most of them to identify an Islander when listening to them abroad, and their dialect is generally confused with other southern varieties, given that it features characteristics common to Australian and New Zealand's English (Sudbury, 2001). Interestingly, it has been pointed out that what sets FIE apart from other Southern Hemisphere varieties is the fact that it has not incorporated autochthonous words. Even though incorporating native lexicon is technically impossible since there is no record of a native population to the archipelago, Falklands English does have an island-specific vocabulary as rich as those of Australian, New Zealand, and South African Englishes, which have also developed local lexicons (cf. Sudbury, 2001). While Sudbury (2001) argues that the lack of language contact with an indigenous population account for what she believes is an absence of lexical diversity, she admits that "there are some local lexical items. The majority of these have Spanish origins, most likely left behind from the 19th century South American gauchos" (p. 74).

The Spanish imprint in FIE finds its origin in the 19th century. The gauchos who set sail from the Port of Montevideo were the ones giving way to Spanish-English contact (very probably Rioplatense Spanish speakers), but transit between the Islands and Patagonia has very probably also played a

part. For Joan Spruce (2011) - a fifth-generation Islander and local historian- the largest group of words characteristic of the Falklands is probably the one taken from the Spanish spoken by the gauchos and specifies that they brought with them the terminology and knowledge of how to make and use horse gear, which served both for transporting and driving animals, also giving name to streams, valleys and establishments[49]. However, -as already mentioned- in the late 19th century cattle ranching began to be replaced by sheep, making gaucho expertise unnecessary. Such events appear to have diminished the vitality of Spanish loanwords. But even though many of the words borrowed from Spanish may have fallen into disuse, the Spanish linguistic contribution has not been insignificant at all. What is more, the toponymic footprint is still solid as a rock.

5.2 Methodology

This work is a combination of contact linguistics and toponomastics. In contact linguistics, researchers tend to resort to methodologies and techniques of adjacent disciplines. This work is no exception, a mixed approach of methods from anthropology and sociolinguistics is taken. With respect to toponymic research, following the current trends and reconsiderations of the field, I investigated Islanders' attitudes towards them, by combining ethnographic approaches and close attention to language use. This mainly involved conversing with Islanders in their cultural setting, given that for the foreseeable future at least, there is no substitute for being in and moving through the actual landscape (Taylor, 2016).

The first stage of this research involved adopting a traditional approach of toponomastics, i.e., collecting and studying maps of the Islands (dating back as far as 1764). During map analysis, only place names clearly tied to gaucho culture were considered. Hence, names that were not plainly gaucho-heritage were left aside. The second phase incorporated participant observation, and interviews during two visits to the Falklands, in 2019 and 2020. Data were collected while speaking with dwellers about Spanish names on the Islands' map, asking them to supply any information they recalled related to the place names in question. Meetings were arranged with people from different parts of the Islands (from West and East Falkland). Informants were all Islanders, both camp (countryside in Falklands vernacular) and Stanley dwellers, men and women from ages 18 to 87 (no more information is disclosed on this behalf in order to protect their identity since the population only amounts to 3,500 people). The tools consisted of field notes, a field diary, and a recorder, following the premise of ethnographic fieldwork (Guber, 2011).

[49] A substantial part of the toponymy of the Islands has a full or hybrid (Spanish-English) form based on Spanish (see §3.1).

Participant observation and ethnographic interviews took place both in camp and in Stanley. Snowball sampling facilitated the recruitment of 20 respondents, and interviews were carried out in the informant's L1, i.e., English. All interviewees were presented with information letters and informed consents approved by both Universidad de la República and Universiteit Leiden's Ethics Committees.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Falkland Islands Spanish place names in maps

Through the analysis of different types of Falkland Islands maps (paper and digital ones) the contact with Spanish stands out through the abundant Spanish toponymy, e.g., *Rincon Grande*, *Ceritos*, *Rincon Verde*, *Cantera*, *Malo River*, *Dos Lomas*, *Torcida Point*, *Pioja Point*, *Oroqueta*, *Laguna Isla*, *Bombilla Hill*, *Tranquilidad*, *Rincon de Saino*, *Rincon del Picaso*, *Rincon del Moro*, *Rincon de los Indios*, etc[50]. There is no doubt that Spanish place names in the Islands result from 19th-century gauchos working in the Islands (see §2.4.2), and that the legacy is of considerable weight. In fact, limiting the analysis to local maps the number of place names with a Spanish component rises to around 200. Spruce states that gauchos left "names for streams, valleys and camps" (2011, p. 1) a toponymic legacy that is still alive and kicking, both in maps and in actual language use. With respect to their coinage, she explains (personal communication, June 22, 2020) that prior to the gauchos working in the mountains, crossing rivers, valleys and ground from, for example, Cantera (Spanish for quarry), many of these features would not necessarily have been named. According to her, in order to report to a manager (*capataz* in Falklands vernacular), a gaucho would have to provide a name for the valley, mountain, stream, river, where he had found cattle or where he had been going for the cattle work, and these nominations were largely coined from the appearance of the place. The name of *Malo River* is explained by the fact that it was a bad place to cross on a horse ('Malo' is Spanish for 'bad'), *Terremoto* explains swampy ground (Spanish for 'quivering ground'), *Campo Verde* (Spanish for 'green land/area') describes green grassy areas. In addition, the name of Cerro Montevideo hill indicates the presence of a Uruguayan gaucho, who might have missed his homeland. This was probably the origin of the toponymic inventory of the Islands on maps.

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[50] It should be noted that as a result of the ongoing interest of both Britain and later Argentina in the Islands, a parallel toponymy -also in Spanish- developed (see Woodman, 2006). For an elaboration on this classification see Chapter 3, and for detailed analysis of Islanders' attitudes towards Argentinian place names see Chapter 4.

Unlike place names in French, English and Spanish given by seamen - which refer mainly to islands, rocks, bays, coves, and capes- gaucho names also identify inland geographical locations and features, reflecting the new practical necessity for orientation, land delimitation and management in the cattle business. The use of gaucho toponyms is evenly distributed between inland and coastal areas (islands, beaches, bays, points). However, these gaucho place names do tend to refer to geomorphic features (e.g., hills, canteras) rather than to water ones (e.g., streams, lagoons). It is also worth noting that 73% of the place names are in East Falkland, something that came up during fieldwork as a fact intuitively well known to Islanders.

Many place names carry a descriptive and a generic, sometimes both in Spanish and sometimes one of each, e.g., Rincon Verde, First Arroyo, Cara Playa Ridge, amongst others. What is more, while the French and English place names tend to represent the many explorers and navigators who visited the Islands, the Spanish names rarely constitute anthroponyms (except for cases like Lafonia[51] and Mount Vernet, amongst others). Instead, they tend to refer to physical and natural elements in the areas where livestock was practised, i.e., in the countryside, while those originating in other languages mostly define coastal areas.

Around 80% of gaucho toponyms are Spanish-English hybrids (also called blended toponyms) and do not present a combinatorial dominant since either the specific or the generic is in Spanish, e.g., Chancho Point / Horse Rincon. These bilingual place names configure toponymic clusters, i.e., the generics are used as part of the specific (see §5.3.2.2).

Looking at local maps allows the reader to immediately perceive the gaucho imprint throughout the camp, a toponymy still in force almost 200 years after the peak of the language contact[52]. During fieldwork, it became clear that this toponymy of loanwords is positively valued by the local population, who consider it not only part of their history but also their cultural heritage, as we will see in §3.2.

5.3.2 Gaucho place names discussed in fieldwork

The Falklands do not have a literature production (articles, books, etc.) vast enough to study how place names work and have evolved. Except for a handful of cases, one of which is presented below, as an example of gaucho toponyms in:

> After following the foothills of the range, with the vast grey bulk of Mt Usborne glowering on their right, the riders struck south, across an area

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[51] After Smuel Lafone, the English businessman that leased the southern isthmus of East Falkland to establish and manage a cattle business from Uruguay (see § 2.4.2).
[52] These place names are fully assimilated to the phonological system of the Falkland Islands English, though this remains an unreserached subject.

> of lowland, along a creek called Ceritos Arroyo, through a very narrow stretch of land separating Burnside Pool from Camilla Creek.[53] (Trehearne, 1978, p. 51).

Given that these types of excerpts seldom occur, fieldwork became fundamental. In the following subsections ethnographic data is presented on undocumented gaucho place names, how gaucho toponyms are used, and the community's attitudes towards them.

5.3.2.1 What fieldwork -not maps nor archives- shows

It has been claimed that oral sources accessed during fieldwork are particularly useful when it comes to finding microtoponyms (see Taylor, 2016). That has been true for the present case study, since the microtoponym 'Galpon' escapes all maps, proving how relevant fieldwork is also for toponymic research. In Spanish 'galpón' (barn, shed) is a mere noun, however, fieldwork lets us understand that in the Falklands 'galpon/galapon[54]' is a name restricted to a few buildings in Lafonia, two in North Arm and one in Darwin. However, the latter seems to be the one most associated with such a word, but the place name escapes all maps analysed, and no evidence of 'galpon' was found working as a common noun to refer to any barn, either. 'The Galpon' in Darwin -as it is locally known- has been designated as being of architectural and historic interest by local Planning Ordinance 1991.

In Goose Green, I came into one holding a sign which read "Ye ole Galpon". The expression 'Ye olde' is a phrase coined in the 19th century originally used to establish a connection between a place or business (for instance, a pub) and England (see Figure 5.3).

[53] My underlining of Spanish gaucho place names.
[54] The local dictionary points out these alternatives. See Blake et al. (2011).

Figure 5.3: Picture of 'Ye Ole Galpon' taken at Goose Green during fieldwork.

In a similar manner, the former salting house where Lafone's gauchos used to live and work -formally named Hope Place and referred to as such in all historical and legal documents- is locally called Saladero. This place name is so much preferred over the official one that today's maps and road signs refer to the place by it (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Picture of a street sign taken during fieldwork, where the Spanish name 'saladero' appears instead of the original name 'Hope Place'.

5.3.2.2 Contemporary functioning

The formation of toponyms is a long, multi-stage process, which tends to be accompanied by a rethinking of elements, adding of suffixes, or, conversely, by truncating long names. In this context, it is necessary to note the modern tendency of reducing the full form of some Falkland Islands place names.
On 5th February 1859, Arthur Bailey, Surveyor General, Stanley, in his report to Governor Moore on The Survey of Wild Cattle (within East Falkland) [Jane Cameron National Archives] mentioned geographical names which have not been in full use for many years (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Gaucho place name usage in the nineteenth century compared to today.

1859	**Nowadays**
Arroyo Malo	*The Malo* ("We went fishing on the Malo river".)
Sierra Chata	*The Chata* ("There used to be a house at the Chata".)
Campo Verde	*The Verde* ("We rode through to the Verde camp or house".)

According to local historians Joan Spruce and Sally Blake[55] (personal communication, February 19, 2020), Spanish generics are part of the place name cluster and are not in use in general conversation, as in 'going to the Arroyo Malo via Laguna Isla'. In other words, they are generics in the donor language (Spanish) but some generics have been dropped (see Table 5.1), for example, the Arroyo Malo is now just referred to as The Malo (fishing river). In fact, a typical current feature is to put article 'the' in front of Malo, Chata etc., though this practice responds more to orality than to cartography. This is likely because Spanish articles are gendered, hence a FIE speaker would have to learn the accompanying 'el' or 'la' article that precedes the place name, while using the English article 'the' is more economical.

Analysing phonetics and phonology was not within the aims, however, during fieldwork it became evident that most place names are fully adapted to the recipient system. Interestingly, some Spanish place names have inherited Rioplatense sounds like the voiceless palatal features in words like *playa* and *ellos*. An example is the place name *Bombilla* which is pronounced in the way Uruguayans or Bonaerenses (i.e., Rioplatense Spanish speakers) would do it.

5.3.2.3 Islanders' attitudes towards local Spanish place names

Most locals are aware of the toponymic heritage left by gauchos. When asked about those place names they do not hesitate to point out their Spanish origin and follow up with an account of how gauchos are part of their heritage. Some of this knowledge is now taught at school. While visiting Stanley's Junior

[55] See: Spruce, J. (1992). *Corrals and Gauchos: Some of the people and places involved in the cattle industry*. Peregrine Publishing; Spruce, J. & Smith, N. (2019). *Falklands Rural Heritage: sites, structures and snippets of historical interest*. Falklands Publication.

school I talked with teachers and witnessed how gaucho-heritage is tackled in the classroom and in school projects (some put up on bulletin boards). Gaucho historical culture is part of the local curricula as much as of the archipelago's historical memory. I now present quotations from some of the conversations held during fieldwork, representative of the Islanders' attitudes.

While talking about the extension of Spanish toponyms in the archipelago, an Islander interviewed in the northwest Falkland camp, pointed out that "Lafonia is more cantered around the gaucho terminology, it seems to be. Which is obvious, because that's where they were...". This person was right in his estimate, as I have shown that there are more gaucho place names in East Falkland (see §5.3.1). So did a former camp dweller who now lives in Stanley due to his advanced age: "... quite a few of them [Spanish names] are in Lafonia, because I think that's where Lafone came and started his cattle business…".

While reflecting on the origin of the names, a Stanley dweller pointed out that the names are taken naturally by locals, contemplating that people are not linguistically aware of their origin, nor pay much attention to them. In her own words: "I don't really think anyone stops to think about them. I think that because you grow up calling them that, you don't really stop to think…".

The subject of Spanish being the language of 'the invader' came up on a few occasions. In East Falkland's camp, a family mentioned a change in names and clarified that these changes are unrelated to the sovereignty claim held by Argentina: "some people did [start changing the names], but a lot of people still refer to the old names. To me it has nothing to do with Argentina. South American gauchos provided a lot of the Spanish names". In fact, one informant -who was in his twenties during the armed conflict- shared an interesting story about war backlashes.

> In 1982, there was a post-war public meeting held in an old gym of Port Stanley (now the Standard Chartered Bank is situated there). It was arranged by a local Legislative Councillor who proposed that all Spanish names in the Islands would be changed. This proposal was somehow accepted due to the fresh memories of the war and the heightened emotions of that time. But he was outvoted. Generally, people felt the old gaucho names were part of regional history and besides, any new name would have taken years to replace the familiar gaucho terms. What people object to strongly now are the names given to places here by the argentine government especially *Puerto Argentino* which has no relevance unlike some used by Vernet when he was at Port Louis which have over time gone out of use.

This confirms the fact that names are highly esteemed by Islanders. Again and again, Islanders would come up with words such as *heritage*, *history*, and *gauchos*, whenever the subject of Spanish nomenclature came up. For instance, a young Islander from Stanley explained that "there's no doubt that it's heritage, particularly with the land names and such… because of the gauchos, who were the first people to spread across the Islands…". It seems

to be that the cultural origin of the toponyms is what matters most to many of the Islanders, not the language itself.

5.4 Conclusions

Spanish place names reflect the archipelago's gaucho-heritage, which were attested both historically (in maps) and in Islanders' narratives. It is clear that locals are aware and are happy to acknowledge that Spanish toponyms are related to the gauchos. Furthermore, the analysis of these toponyms shows acculturation and inter-linguistic processes resulting from Spanish-English contact, and attitudinal data shows how this interwoven toponymicon constitutes a shared historical heritage between the Islands and the mainland.

Gaucho place names have taken their own way within the recipient language, i.e., dropping the generics, omitting articles and adapting to the English phonetics. Even though adaptation was not amongst the objectives of this work, the subject seems to have potential for future research.

When it comes to Islands research, it has been claimed that islanders develop a strong sense of self idiosyncrasy to the place where they live (e.g., Gaffin, 1996). An enhanced sense of difference and uniqueness appears to be stronger on islands than in other isolated places that are non-island environments (Wylie and Margolin, 1981) (see Nash, 2015). Such a sense of singularity has also been found in the data, given that Islanders embrace their past and point out how proud they are of it. Future directions of this work could study these issues.

The relevance of fieldwork has become evident in this work. Speaking with Islanders in person has revealed facts that go unnoticed when one limits research to maps and gazetteers, i.e.: finding micro toponyms, understanding how the place names under study are used *in situ*, observing their pronunciation, discovering the stories behind them, as well as what Islanders think and feel about these place names (especially bearing in mind the ongoing conflict with a Spanish speaking nation).

I have attempted to provide first insights into the problem and assert that looking at toponymy from the aspect of societal acceptance is both a valuable exercise and a promising field with lots of ground for novel research. Place names must be given far greater attention, with a wider scope of analysis. Moreover, ethnographic fieldwork has proven useful in understanding the complex toponymic reality of the archipelago.

Chapter 6

6. The Spanish component of Falkland Islands English: A micro-corpus approach to the study of loanwords

A version of this chapter will be published as:

Rodríguez, Y., Elizaincín, A., & González, P. (forthcoming) The Spanish component of Falkland Islands English: a micro-corpus approach to the study of loanwords. *English World-Wide*.

Abstract

English is the most used language in the Falkland Islands; however, Spanish was also spoken in the 19th century when beef livestock farming was one of the economic engines of the Islands. Such businesses used to be managed by gauchos from South America, and their presence is still evident in the lexicon of Falkland Islands English. This chapter presents a novel methodological approach to the elaboration of loanwords corpora. Loanwords are later analysed in terms of their occurrence, frequency, appearance in dictionaries and the semantic fields they have penetrated. This work is an attempt to account for the volume of words that Spanish speakers lent to the Islands' English. Findings show that Spanish loanwords are mainly -though not exclusively- related to horse tack and horse types: it is clear from the data that most words are tightly connected to gauchos vernacular and not exclusively with their equestrian duties.

6.1 Introduction

The Falkland Islands (called *Islas Malvinas* in Argentina) are administered as a British overseas territory. It is an enclave of great controversy, and it has been for the best part of 200 years since the British took control of the archipelago from Argentina, which has never relinquished its sovereignty claim. In 1982 the two countries went to war over the Islands, resulting in the British retaining authority.

The archipelago is composed of two main islands: West Falkland and East Falkland. The total population amounts to about 3,000 people, three-quarters of whom live in the capital, Stanley, and the rest in small settlements in what is known as 'camp'.

Since the English settlement in 1833, the Falkland Islands have been continuously inhabited by an English-speaking community, converting this variety into the youngest of the 'Inner Circle' (Kachru, 1985). Nowadays English is the most used language in the Islands, but Spanish is the second most spoken language (Falkland Islands Government, 2017).

Livestock farming used to be one of the economic engines of the archipelago. Such business was mainly managed by gauchos from South America. During the 19th century, 23% of the total Falklands population was registered under the occupation of gaucho, making them an essential part of the community. Reasonably, there were probably other Spanish speakers with professions related to rural life.

Spanish speaking South American labourers disappeared when the Islands were handed over to the sheep-raising industry. In 1867 thousands of hectares were assigned to sheep farming, turning the Islands into a pastoral colony of the United Kingdom and bringing immigrants of British origin who slowly supplanted the South American gaucho. By 1883 there were already half a million sheep, and in 1889 the post of capataz de los gauchos (foreman of the gauchos) disappeared (Beccaceci, 2017). In a short time, cattle ceased to exist on East Falkland, while on West Falkland they disappeared around 1894 (Strange, 1973). However, gauchos' earlier presence is still remembered in the many place names of Spanish origin (Boumphrey, 1967). These place names are a strong indicator of the significance that gauchos had in the history of the Islands (Rodríguez, 2022), and their survival points to the scope of the cultural process involved with their presence (see Spruce and Smith, 2019). The Spanish linguistic contribution is also visible in the lexicon of Falkland Islands English (henceforth FIE). Many Spanish loanwords in FIE arise as a result of contact between Spanish and English-speaking Islanders. An example of this is the word used in the Islands to refer to the rural area: 'camp' (borrowed from the Spanish word *campo*) instead of the word countryside or a variant of it. Another example is that in the past, Spanish words were applied both to horse tack and to the different types of horses found on the Islands (Boumphrey, 1967). We will see in this chapter that these words are closely related, although not exclusively, to country life and livestock.

Spanish loanwords have remained in orality due to their register and context of use. They seldom occur in the very few written corpora that exist of FIE, however, they are attested in texts where the words are mentioned as part of travellers' and locals' observations of Islanders' speech. Hence, I have resorted to such corpora which I call metalinguistic given that it is composed of writers' reflections and scrutiny (i.e., texts in which language itself is discussed).

The present work aims at unveiling a selection of the Spanish words that were borrowed into FIE by studying several texts that reflect on the Islanders' speech, given that, to date, there is no digital corpus available in which these words are found. The words are analysed in terms of their frequency, appearance in dictionaries and the semantic fields they have penetrated.

6.1.1 Falklands English: An overview

The variety spoken in the Falklands is one of the most recently developed Inner Circle Englishes and an understudied World English. The varieties of English that gave rise to it are those of the south and south-west of England, and those of the northwest of Scotland (Britain and Sudbury, 2010). FIE has moved away from the Scottish varieties, but still retains grammatical traces of them. It is usually unknown to other English speakers, who struggle to identify an Islander when listening to them abroad. FIE is generally confused with other southern varieties, given that it features characteristics common to the varieties of Australia and New Zealand (Sudbury, 2001).

In part because of its youth, FIE is an understudied variety. Only a few linguists have studied it, mainly David Britain and Andrea Sudbury. Both Trudgill (1986) and Wells (1982) commented on the similarity of FIE with the rest of the Southern Hemisphere varieties, but it was Andrea Sudbury (2000) who in her doctoral dissertation pointed out that although the variety has many characteristics in common with other Southern Hemisphere dialects, it is divergent in certain respects. She observed that grammatically, FIE shows considerable levelling with respect to its original dialects, and that it shares a few characteristics with the other Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985) varieties. Britain and Sudbury (2010) agree with Trudgill and Wells on the fact that FIE shares some features with other Anglophone countries of the Southern Hemisphere and conclude that this corresponds to the fact that it was also the result of varieties of English brought by settlers. However, they point out that, unlike the others, in the Falklands there was no contact with non-Anglophone indigenous populations (it should be noted that despite a lack of contact with a native population, native South American words have penetrated FIE probably via Spanish-English contact, see Chapter 7). However, although the Islands did not have a native population, there was contact with Spanish speakers. The main socio-historical aspect that favoured the contact between English and Spanish was the frequent transit of supplies and people -mainly gauchos according to historical sources- to and from the South American mainland. Spanish loanwords in FIE reflect the strong business and social

exchanges maintained with the continent. More recently, and after this contact diminished due to the political conflict between Argentina and the UK, there has been contact with Chilean Spanish speakers.

Communication between speakers of structurally distinct linguistic systems may last for only a short period of time or persist for the long run. In the Falklands, there seems to have been a short period of strong contact, followed by a co-existence of the English and Spanish in a manner that does not configure language contact given that English has become the de facto language in the last century. Hence, only the first stages of linguistic contact were reached, i.e., jargon and borrowing (see Chapter 2).

According to Joan Spruce (a fifth-generation Islander and independent researcher), the largest group of words characteristic of FIE is probably the one borrowed from the Spanish spoken by gauchos who went to work in the livestock industry and specifies that "they brought with them the terminology, and the knowledge of how to make and use gear for horses, which were both transport and pack animals on the huge farms; they gave their names for streams, valleys and camps" (2011, p. 1). Spruce also points out that within the mix of British varieties, one should also consider

> the influence of those who had worked in Patagonia and brought back their own version of the Spanish they had learnt, and the seasonal workers from Chile, such as those that came to the meat works at Goose Green in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Direct shipping links to Uruguay and Chile also added to the smattering of South American Spanish (2011, p. 1).

Therefore, even though there was no contact with an indigenous population as rightly pointed out by Sudbury (2005, p. 403), there was one with Spanish speakers. In the Islands, Spanish was used either as a native or foreign language. In fact, knowing Spanish was probably a fundamental skill for Islanders also when going abroad. During fieldwork, many Islanders reported having family in Patagonia, their families having businesses there in the past and the commercial and social links that came to a halt after the war.

6.1.2 Loanwords

Words are generally borrowed whenever two cultures with different languages come into contact; thus, the study of borrowed words (Whitney, 1881; Haugen, 1950; van Coetsem, 1988, 2000; Field, 2002; Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009) has a longstanding tradition in historical linguistics (Zenner et al., 2012). Such words are called loanwords (i.e., words that are transferred from a donor language to a recipient language). Haugen (1950) was the first to provide a definition, considering them to be "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (1950, p. 212). Even though all dimensions of language – lexicon, morphology, syntax – have the potential of incorporating elements from another language, the lexicon is the aspect that

provides a sufficient body of data with specific historical content. However, the potentialities of using loanwords to get to know the historical interactions between societies have for the most part received limited appreciation, even though they seem to provide the most useful kind of linguistic evidence of all (Ehret, 1976). The first, fastest, and most ephemeral influence of one language on another occurs in the lexicon that designates new, unknown elements to the other cultures' language; impact on the syntax, morphology and phonology is a much longer process, which requires a stronger contact (see Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, pp. 74-76, who propose a scale that predicts the degree of borrowing based on the degree of contact intensity). For his part, Kiddle (1952) points out that the borrowings made between two groups can touch any aspect of their cultures, as borrowings can refer both to inanimate objects as well as to ideas or abstract concepts. Like Ehret (1976), Kiddle defends that by studying this phenomenon, we can understand not only the origin of common objects and practices but also the cultural processes by which traits have been diffused, since foreign words let us appreciate the development of cultures (see Chapter 7 for an elaboration of these ideas). Along with Stolz and Stolz (2001), Kiddle considers the case of Spanish particularly interesting, given that it offers great possibilities for the study of linguistic and cultural diffusion in the period that starts with Europeans' discovery of the New World.

Concerning the factors that play a role for the borrowing to take place, Sapir (1921) considered that even though the nature and number of loanwords depend entirely on the historical facts that condition the cultural relations, the psychological attitude of the recipient language can determine the degree of acceptance of these words. More recently, and in line with Sapir, Field (2002) notes that there are social and linguistic factors that would have an impact on the loan phenomenon (i.e., cultural domination, convenience, social prestige, lack of vocabulary in the recipient language, frequency in which a loanword occurs in the donor language, and equivalence). Winford (2003) has a similar viewpoint, dividing loanwords into the categories of necessity and prestige. Necessity arises in contexts in which a community is exposed to cultural knowledge for which its own language does not yet have specific vocabulary; and the prestige of a language contributes to the borrowing process, even in cases in which the recipient language does not need to borrow a word because it already has one to serve the naming function.

Amongst the many scholars who have worked on a taxonomy for loanwords, Myers-Scotton (2002) distinguishes between *cultural* and *core* loanwords. The latter would include lexical distinctions made by all human societies, for example, words for night, cold, the number two, etc. This has been attributed to prestige and other pressuring factors (see Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). The former, on the other hand, includes more culturally variable concepts, for example *telephone*, *theatre*, etc., this vocabulary increases when new objects or concepts enter a culture. New concepts are usually expressed with loanwords when the donor language is well known; thus, when few speakers know the potential donor language, neologisms are created (Haspelmath, 2008).

In the many typological studies on borrowability (e.g., Gómez Rendón, 2008; Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009), attention is mainly paid to tracing the impact of parts of speech (Zenner et al., 2012). The fact that nouns are one of the most frequent elements both in the code mixing and borrowing phenomenon is difficult to explain as mere coincidence (Thomason, 2001, p. 133).

A somewhat neglected aspect in the analysis of loanwords is that of the semantic fields from which they tend to come. Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) approach the subject with a systematic methodology that allows them to find several regularities. For instance, invasions (both incursions and colonisations) usually end with the loan of local place names, flora and fauna. In response to this lack of systematic research on the lexical semantic fields that loanwords usually come from, I embarked on the analysis of semantic fields permeability for the case of Spanish loanwords in FIE. Through the history of contact linguistics, we learn that semantic fields of non-existent objects or concepts in the languages that come into contact tend to be the ones that first penetrate the other language. In addition, when there are contacts between very different cultures (e.g., Spanish and Quechua), food, everyday objects, flora, fauna, etc. are the first fields from which words are borrowed. Scientific development of cultures can also have an impact on other cultures' lexicon. For instance, today, in many languages, words related to technology have been borrowed from English.

Haspelmath (2008) points out that, due to the need to have a written corpus for the identification of loanwords, it is advisable to limit loanword studies to recent loanwords —from the past 300-500 years— even when it comes to languages in which older loanwords could be identified. He adds that it is well recognised by lexicographers that one of the recurring sources of confusion in the genealogical classification of languages are loanwords.

6.2 Spanish loanwords in FIE

As indicated in the previous section, loanwords are usually understood as a word transferred from a donor to a recipient language. According to Sapir (1912), lexicon analysis best reflects the community's social and cultural issues. According to him, the complete vocabulary of a language can be considered as an inventory of all the ideas and interests that occupy the attention of the community (p. 228). It is precisely words that account for the most representative activities on the Islands that are transferred from Spanish to English.

The Salesian Father Migone, a Uruguayan missionary who spent more than thirty years in the Islands, points out that at the beginning of the 20th century all the horse's implements, without exception, as well as their coats,

are designated in Spanish and spoken by all the kelpers[56], as well as by the owners and managers of farms, in the same way as on the mainland. The equivalent names in English, he says, are entirely unknown in the Islands, where only *freno* (bit), *recao* (saddle), *bozal* (head collar), *manea* (hobbles), *cojinillo* (sheepskin), *cincha* (girth), *sobrecincha* (small girth placed over the cojinillo), etc. are used; as well as the words *zaino* (very dark reddish black), *gateao* (dun coloured with a black stripe along the backbone and black mane and tail), *tostao* (roasted coffee) etc., used to designate the horses according to their coats (1996). Similarly, Vidal (1982) points out that almost all the names of the saddle and the horse's trimmings have been retained from the time of the gauchos and that the names of horses' coats are all Spanish.

The dissemination of a linguistic variant is essentially the adoption of a new convention by a community of speakers (Croft, 2000, p. 174). As they spread, words undergo a series of changes. The source word, i.e., the word that serves as a model for the loanword, has properties in its original language that usually do not coincide with those of the recipient language system. So, in order to survive, certain adaptations are necessary, namely, transformations that a word undergoes when it is borrowed by another language (Peperkamp, 2005). The borrowings from Spanish into FIE are well adapted to English phonology (Sudbury, 2000), which is reasonable given the time elapsed since the beginning of the contact -about 170 years. Spanish loanwords are so adapted to the recipient language that in many cases their origin might go unnoticed (e.g., *palenkey* from Sp. *palenque*).

Today, although there are many Spanish speakers in the Islands, English is the first local and only official language. Spruce (2011) explains that she began compiling a list of the FIE lexicon precisely because some began to be heard less and less, and others were no longer used. According to Sudbury (2000, p. 191) many of these words are losing vitality due to contact with foreigners. For Sudbury (2000, p. 191), the influence of Spanish has been purely lexical and quite insignificant. That is indeed the case in the synchronic dimension. However, by means of incorporating the diachronic view, I aim to demonstrate that Spanish has notably influenced many domains of FIE' lexical repertoire along its history. This is a facet of the variety that has yet to be fully explored.

6.3 Methodology

Carrying out corpus-based work on lesser-known varieties can be a challenging enterprise (Meyerhoff, 2012). Furthermore, in contact linguistic studies it is often emphasised that finding sufficient data is a complicated

[56] *Kelpers* is the name given to Islanders because of the large seaweeds called kelp that surround the Islands.

venture, either because the linguistic community under scrutiny is limited in size and hardly produces written material, or because the contact phenomena are typical of spoken language (Zenner et al., 2012, p. 755). In addition, when loanwords are confined to jargon or a vernacular, the occurrence of these lexical items depends on the context and the topic of the conversation. As for FIE, all those circumstances apply. Given the small population of the Islands, locally written material is scarce, especially when looking for local narratives and literature on cultural aspects of the archipelago that could make reference to country life themes (books and articles on the 1982 armed conflict are abundant but do not make any reference to local customs/history in which Spanish loanwords could be mentioned)[57]. Moreover, texts in which Spanish loanwords might appear in use are rare due to the nature of this lexicon (i.e. strictly constrained to orality) and to the fact that they are not being used as much as in the last century.

I have mined social media and carried out ethnographic fieldwork interviews in 2019 and 2020, but Spanish borrowings were extremely scarce or did not come up naturally, confirming that they are used less and less as noted by Sudbury (2000) and Spruce (2011). Most words have not been used anymore because their reference is no longer needed. For instance, Land Rovers are used to travel through the Islands instead of horses, cattle raising is not that common as in the 19th century and where it is still carried out the tools and techniques are different. However, after analysing dozens of written works of all kinds and topics (see §6.3.1), I discovered that loanwords do tend to be introduced as local colour in the journals of travellers and explorers who visit the Falklands, in order to describe the Islanders and their costumes.

Consequently, I decided the corpus would combine those written sources about the Falkland Islands, as well as local writers' texts in which there is some reference to the use of Spanish lexicon in FIE, as words representative of the English variety, or within a description of traditional practises (e.g., how to saddle a horse). They consist of academic as well as non-academic observations on their culture, including their speech (not necessarily written by Islanders). In these texts, loanwords appear between inverted commas, with translations to standard English, accompanied with definitions, or incorporated in a glossary or list of some kind. A years-long book search resulted in a corpus composed of the following works: Beccaceci, 2017; Blake et al., 2011; Colgate, 2002; Darwin, 1839; Hipólito Solari, 1959; Lorenz, 2014;

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[57] This handicap had been mentioned by Massolo (1990), who stated that "The war fought over the Falkland Islands between Argentina and Britain briefly captured world attention in 1982 and generated masses of books in English, Spanish, and other languages. With very few exceptions, academics, journalists, and propagandists focusing on international relations have perpetuated stereotypes of the conflict's antecedents. Few have shown any interest in local matters, which, despite their apparent parochialism, help explain the situation in the region today. An important but neglected aspect to consider is the world view of the islanders as expressed through their customs" (p. 284).

Migone, 1996; Moreno, 1950; Roberts, 2002; Spruce, 1992; Steen, 2000; Strange, 1973; and Vidal, 1982. This corpus represents a selection of books scanned for Spanish borrowings. In other words, I went over all kinds of texts written about the Islands, and only found reference to Spanish lexicon in the works chosen. Therefore, only texts that mentioned Spanish loanwords as representative of FIE vocabulary were selected. Given that in this corpus words are used metalinguistically, publication dates do not have the same value as in other corpora (e.g., those in which words are in actual use). Year of publication is not indicative of the words' vitality, in fact, in many cases they are referred to as words that were used in the past in the Islands. Hence, I am not relying on dates of publication to reach vitality conclusions.

6.3.1 Corpus and data collection

Discussion of Spanish loanwords is a marginal issue in most of the texts of the metalinguistic corpus. As mentioned before, the corpus describes metafocus by users of loanwords or people who by visiting or living in the Islands became aware of these loanwords (see Hoenigswald, 1996, and Preston, 2005, for an elaboration on speakers' opinions about their own speech). Only Vidal (1982) and Roberts (2002) had the explicit objective of addressing the subject of Spanish loanwords. The rest mention the borrowings without this being the primary purpose of their work. The requisite for being incorporated into the corpus was that Spanish loanwords in use in the Falkland Islands were mentioned. All sources that complied with this requisite were included; no further selection was made. Within the texts that make up the metalinguistic corpus are books, narratives, articles, essays, and a local dictionary. They were all collected in Montevideo, in my visits to Buenos Aires, during my stays in Stanley, and through online purchases of books. The list of texts used for this study is given below. The author and date are followed by a brief description of the text.

1. Beccaceci 2017 - A historical book on South American gauchos in the Falklands written by an Argentinian history aficionado.
2. Blake at al., 2011 - A Dictionary of Falkland Islands vocabulary written by three Islanders.
3. Colgate 2002 - Memories of an English travelling teacher who worked in the Islands for three years.
4. Darwin 1839 - Narrative of voyages between the years 1826 and 1836, including the Falklands.
5. Hipólito Solari 1959 - Impressions of an Argentinian visitor to the Falklands in the late 1950s.
6. Lorenz 2014 - A book based on historical and cultural facts of the Falklands written by an Argentinian historian.
7. Migone 1996 - Narratives of a Uruguayan Salesian priest who lived in the Islands for three decades.

8. Moreno 1950 - Testimony of a visit to the Falklands in the 1940s, written by a Venezuelan of Argentinian nationality.
9. Roberts 2002 - Essay on the origins and associations of Spanish words in the Islands written by an Islander.
10. Spruce 1992 - Monograph written by a local historian about the people and places involved in the cattle industry.
11. Steen 2000 - Essay on the role of horses in the Islands written by an Islander.
12. Strange 1973 - Essay on the historical events that accompanied the introduction of cattle to the Islands written by an English researcher who lived in the Islands.
13. Vidal 1982 - Essay on the Falklands lexicon written by an Argentinian dialectologist.

It is worth mentioning that The Jane Cameron National Archives located in the Islands and administered by the Falkland Islands Government has scanned copies of archives (available online at https://www.nationalarchives.gov.fk) but there is no digitised material in which an electronic word search can be done. Archive's digitalised documents have been analysed but given the bureaucratic and formal nature of the documents, Spanish loanwords were practically not attested.

6.3.2 Classification

Traditionally, when analysing loanwords in texts, their identification and classification receive all the attention (e.g., Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1950, 1956). The identification of loanwords in this work was carried out manually while collecting the micro-corpus (a small corpus limited to the needs of this research, i.e., necessarily containing Spanish loanwords). The corpus was analysed in search of Spanish loanword types and tokens. Types are considered the total number of forms found; repetitions of the same form are always counted as a type even if they present different spelling or morphology; tokens, on the other hand, represent the number of times a certain type is registered (Poplack and Sankoff, 1984). Each type may represent a family of words, for instance: *maneas*, *maneador*, *manear* (hobbles, to hobble). Words are analysed in terms of their frequency across corpora which has the potential of being indirectly informative of their frequency of use. Subsequently, words were ordered in accordance with the following aspects: the Spanish written form, semantic field (a-k, codes shown below), and the number of tokens across the corpus. For example, the word capataz (foreman) is entered as 'capataz (f) (3)'.

In order to attest their inclusion to the norm (i.e., to see if they have been accepted by scholars and awarded prestige), the most frequent loanwords were analysed in terms of their appearance in three English dictionaries.

Frequency, though, is not always related to the adaptation and integration into the recipient language.

The dictionaries consulted are Diddle Dee to Wire Gates - A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary (Blake et al., 2011) (the only local dictionary that was also used as a lexicographic testimony for the corpus); the Oxford English Dictionary (OED); and the Cambridge Dictionary and the Merriam-Webster Dictionary[58]. Finally, the words were studied in terms of the semantic fields they belong to, an aspect mostly omitted in loanword studies. Semantic fields were not pre-established, on the contrary, the data were approached without a preconceived schema and the words were classified in the following fields:

a TYPES OF HORSES
b HORSE TACK
c FOOD
d TOOLS
e CLOTHING
f PROFESSIONS
g ANIMALS
h PLACES
i PHYSICAL-NATURAL ELEMENTS
j OTHER

It is worth noting that around 20% of the entries in the local dictionary are Spanish loanwords (Blake et al., 2011).

6.4 Analysis and results

Table 6.1 comprises the list of Spanish words borrowed by FIE -at some point in history- found in the sources. The list is arranged alphabetically and includes a total of 168 types and 532 tokens (see Tables 6.2 and 6.3 in the Appendix). The various ways in which each token was registered in the sources consulted were noted; however, such information is not analysed in this dissertation. Some words were not mentioned in the corpus as Spanish in origin, instead, they appeared as specific vocabulary of the Islands and perhaps were not identified due to their high degree of integration, but after recognising and verifying their origin, they were included in this compendium. I am not aware of a more exhaustive list of Spanish loanwords in this English variety.

[58] It should be noted, however, that this dictionary most probably identifies Spanish lexical items in American English, borrowed in an entirely different way, in an entirely different context.

Table 6.1: Spanish loanwords found in the corpus.

adiós	domador	pejerrey
ajos	doradillo	peón
alazán	empacarse	pestaña blanca
albino	empanada	picaro
alpargatas	encimera	picaso
apero	ensillar	pico blanco
arreo	estancia	pinto
arroyo	estribo	plateado
asado	facón	poncho
azulejo	faja	presilla
bagual	fajinal	pretal
baquiano	freno	pretal
barriguera	frigoríficos	pucha
bastos	gargantilla	puchero
bayo	gateado	puestos
bicho	gaucho	que lastima!
blanco	guacho	quebracho
bocado	guanaco	querencia
bolas	horqueta	rabicano
bolichero	isla	ranchos
bombachas	laguna	reata
bombilla	lazo	rebenque
borrego	lobuno	recado
bozal	loco	riendas
bronco	lonja	rincón
bueno	macanudo	río
caballero a caballo	malacara	roca
cabestro	maletas	rodeo
cabezada	manada	rosado
calabaza	manchado	rosillo
caldera	mandil	ruana
campo	maneas	rucio
cantera	manguera	saladero
cañada	mantas	salud
capa	manteca salada	sidera
capataz	mañero	sinuelo

carajo	mate	sobado
caramba	mocho	sobrepuesto
carancho	monte	soga
carguero	montura	tabas
carne con cuero	mordaza	talero
carona	moro	tientos
carreta	morro	tirón
cazuela	muy bien!	tordillo
cebruno	negro	toruno
cerro	ñandú	tostado
cerveza	oscuro	traba
chau	ovejuno	trenzado
che	overo	tropilla
cincha	palenque	tubiano/tobiano
cojinillo	palomino	vaca
colorado	pampa	vino
corral	pangaré	yapa
correón	pasear	yerba
criollo	paso libre	zaino
cruzado	pealar	zarco

In their overview paper on FIE Britain and Sudbury (2010) recognise that some distinctive words from FIE have their origin in Spanish and suppose that it is the result of contact with South American gauchos, mentioning as an example the word 'camp'. However, as Table 6.1 shows, many more Spanish words have been borrowed into FIE. Prima facie, all these words seem to be typical of what Algeo (2010) calls 'popular loanwords', a term that opposes 'learned loanwords' (p. 248), the first ones being transmitted orally, without speakers being aware of their origin despite being used daily, while the latter owe their adoption to literary, scientific or academic influence. A conversation with one of Vidal's (1982, p. 8) informants, a 64-year-old cattle farmer, clearly illustrates this phenomenon: "antes había en las Malvinas más gente que hablaba castellano que inglés, y la vida de campo, hasta ahora, es como la de los criollos de la Patagonia [before there were more Spanish speakers than English speakers in the Malvinas, and country life, until now, is like that of the people of Patagonia]". According to Sudbury (2000, p. 191), many of these words are losing vitality. Indeed, many of the words borrowed from Spanish seem to have fallen into disuse, however, this study shows that the Spanish contribution has been significant.

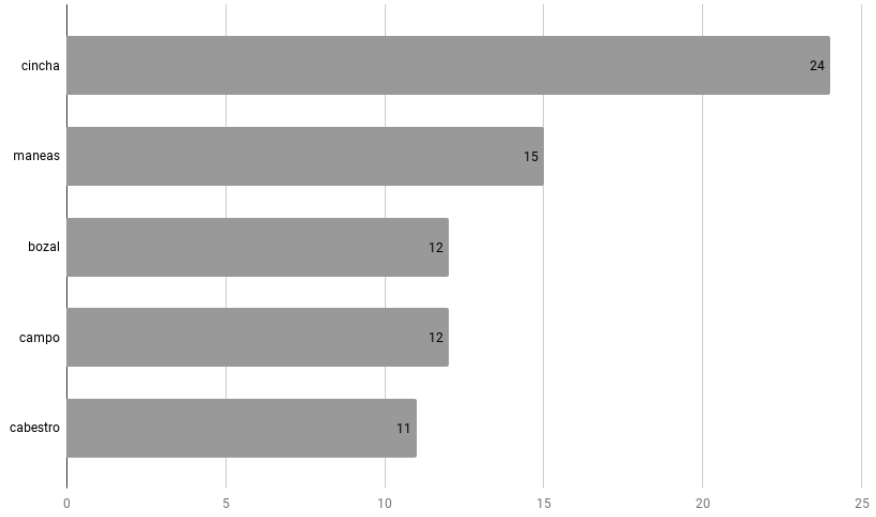
Below, the five words that evidenced the highest frequency in the data are presented (given the character of the corpus, i.e., secondary sources, it should be noted that frequency is not representative of actual usage). The

examples are mainly of one type, *cultural loanwords* using Myers-Scotton's terminology (1993). It is worth noting that the Spanish origin was acknowledged in these five cases by the Falkland Islands Dictionary: Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary.

6.4.1 Frequent in the corpus but not in dictionaries

From the 168 types in Table 6.2 (in the Appendix), 44% of the tokens (233 out of 532) are concentrated in 24 words, within which *cincha*, *maneas*, *bozal*, *campo*, and *cabestro* are the most frequent in the dataset, with 24, 15, 12, 12, and 11 tokens respectively (see Figure 6.1 below and Table 6.3 in the Appendix).

Figure 6.1: Most frequent Spanish loanwords in the corpus.



We now move on to see whether these words have been included in English dictionaries (i.e., Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, OED, Cambridge Dictionary, and the Merriam-Webster).

(1) Cincha

Occurs 10 times standing alone either as 'cincha' or 'cinch', 9 as 'sober cinch' (from Spanish *sobre cincha*), 3 as 'top cinch', 1 as 'cinchón' (a synonym of *sobrecincha*), and 1 as 'cinch up' (to tighten the cinch). The local Dictionary explains that *girth* is the equivalent in standard English. It can be considered a cultural loan.

cinch

> Spanish: *cincha*. This is the girth which holds the saddle on the horse and is made from long, twisted rawhide *tientos* with a ring at either end and a *correone* for fastening. A top cinch is a broad rectangle of rawhide or leather with a ring on either end which is placed over the saddle. The rings on the top cinch are then attached to the rings on the cinch with *correones*, the offside one being permanently tied on and the nearside being laced so that it can be tightened up. Some horses were referred to as cinch horses, which meant that they would pull heavy objects attached to the cinch ring, or more correctly to the 'sedare', which was another ring firmly attached to the cinch ring itself. This is how fence posts were taken out to a new fence line. The posts were drilled and the horse would drag two posts on either side. The cinch hose was also used when colts were being tamed/broken in. They were tied to the tame cinch horse so they could not bolt. To cinch up is to tighten the cinch, but is also used in connection with tightening up things unconnected. (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 21-22)

It is worth noting that the words in italics (in bold in the actual dictionary) used to present the meaning of 'cinch' are Spanish words themselves.
This word does not appear in the OED, nor in the Cambridge Dictionary. But it does appear in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary:

> *cinch* noun \ ˈsinch \
> 1 a strap that holds a saddle on a horse
> 2 a tight grip
> *cinch* verb - cinched; cinching; cinches
> transitive verb
> 1 (a) to put a cinch on
> // cinch a horse
> (b) to fasten (something, such as a belt or strap) tightly
> // He cinched his belt tight.
> intransitive verb
> to tighten the cinch —often used with up // cinched up before mounting his horse

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary also includes its first known use as a noun (1859) and as a verb (1866), in the meaning defined as transitive (1a). With respect to the history and etymology for *cinch*, the dictionary states that it comes from Spanish *cincha*.

(2) Maneas

Maneas has the Standard English equivalent *hobbles*. It is a cultural loan. The word and its derivatives appear 15 times in the corpus, either as the noun to describe the types of hobbles (the *maneas* or *maneador*), as the action of

putting the hobbles on the horse (*manear*). The Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary defines them as follows.

> *manares* Spanish: *maneas*. These are rawhide hobbles, fastened with a hide button. They are always carried by Falkland Island riders because of a lack of natural features such as trees to which horses can be secured in the *camp*. They are carried on the saddle so that they are always available if one needs to stop for any reason. The Falkland Islands Magazine of March 1901 offers for sale "1 cinch and manez (nws) £1". This is a good example of the variety of phonetic spelling of *gaucho* words in the Falklands. The word has also been adapted for use as a verb (as have others in our list). Richard Fogerty, writing of his experiences with horse taming in the 1970s: "Despite being menared the horses decided they were going home. By the time we noticed, they had a head start and it is amazing how quickly experienced horses can cover the ground with their front legs hobbled together. They got home before us". (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 57).

None of the other dictionaries contains the word *maneas* or the variant *manares*.

(3) Bozal

This cultural loan occurs 12 times in the corpus. The local Dictionary of FIE (Blake et al., 2011) confirms that there is a counterpart for this word in standard English. Below is its definition:

> *bosal*
>
> Spanish: bozal. The equivalent of a halter, this was often a beautifully painted item, with a hide 'button' not buckles, to fasten it. 'Colt bosals' were very much stronger and tougher, being made of a double layer of rawhide and used when dealing with unbroken horses. (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 13)

The word does not appear in the OED, nor in the Cambridge Dictionary, in neither of the two forms in which it appeared in the corpus (i.e., bosal, bozal). However, it does appear in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary:

> *bosal* bo·sal | \ bōˈsal \
> variants: or less commonly bozal \ bōˈsal , -ˈzal \ plural -s
> Definition of bosal
> Southwest: NOSEBAND

And the Merriam-Webster also provides a brief note on its history and etymology in the United States, pointing out that it comes from contact with Mexican Spanish.

(4) *Campo*

This is another cultural loan, which occurs 12 times in the corpus; its equivalent is the standard English word *countryside*. Derivations of it, such as camper(s) (country dwellers) and camps (fields) are also coined in the corpus.

> *camp*
>
> Spanish: *campo*, countryside. This refers to everywhere in the Islands outside Stanley, but is also used to refer to the ground itself. The Falkland Islands Magazine of December 1890 writes of an epidemic of whooping cough "Not a single fatal case has so far been reported from the Camp". (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 16).

The local dictionary also includes entries of other expressions with the word *camp*, such as *camp burning*, *camp fires*, *camp matches*, *camp skins*, *camp wool*, *camp time*, showing how prolific this local word is. Furthermore, we also find definitions for the other two forms found in the corpus:

> *camper*
>
> Those people living in the camp. (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 18).
>
> *camps*
>
> Areas of the farms divided by fences, and given names to identify them, sometimes descriptive, such as 'The River Camp' or 'Brown Point'. The River Camp would have a river running through it and Brown Point would have extensive areas of brown rush, or clay patches. The word was also used in the same sense as camp. The Falkland Islands Magazine of December 1890 railing against the demon drink says "Witness the drunkenness both in the Settlement and in the Camps". In the same magazine "The epidemic of whooping cough has spread throughout all the camps". At this point Stanley was referred to as the Settlement, but the practise eventually disappeared to be replaced by Stanley, Port Stanley or simply 'Town'. (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 18).

None of the English dictionaries consulted includes the word *camp* with this definition. It is striking that a word like *camp* is not illustrated in any of the consulted dictionaries, given the abundant evidence of its use -including in the present.

(5) *Cabestro*

Cabestro is a special type of rein, and another cultural loanword. Here is the local dictionary's definition (it is worth noting that in the River Plate region,

cabestros are called cabrestos, hence the second spelling of the dictionary's entry).

> *cabaresta/cabresta*
>
> Spanish: *cabresto*. A leading rein made of rawhide, it has a flap with hide 'button' and 'buttonhole' to fasten it to a ring on the *bosal*. The Falkland Islands Magazine of March 1906, reporting an accident says, "All the gear was on the horse he had been riding, and the cabresta trailing on the ground". (Diddle Dee to Wire Gates. A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary, p. 16).

The OED does not include the word in its data. However, the Cambridge dictionary does, and defines it as follows:

> *halter*
>
> [noun] a rope for holding and leading a horse by its head.

So does the Merriam-Webster dictionary, though the authors do not use the English alternative to define it, and once more, they mention its first known use and etymology:

> *cabestro* noun
> ca·bes·tro | \ kəˈbe(ˌ)strō; -bre(ˌ)stō, -tə \
> plural -s
> Definition of cabestro
> *Southwest*
> : a rope of hair used especially as a lasso or tether
> First Known Use of cabestro
> 1846, in the meaning defined above
> History and Etymology for cabestro
> American Spanish, from Spanish, halter, from Latin *capistrum*, from *capere* to take

All the words appear in the local dictionary, cincha and bozal also make it to the Merriam-Webster, and only cabestro appears both in the American dictionary as well as in the Cambridge Dictionary. The fact that the words appear more in the American dictionary is probably because the word is more evident in American English than in British English, also due to its own history of Spanish-English contact in cattle and horse-related activities. This could be considered informative of different types of contact between the same pair of languages. The five words are the result of cultural borrowing.

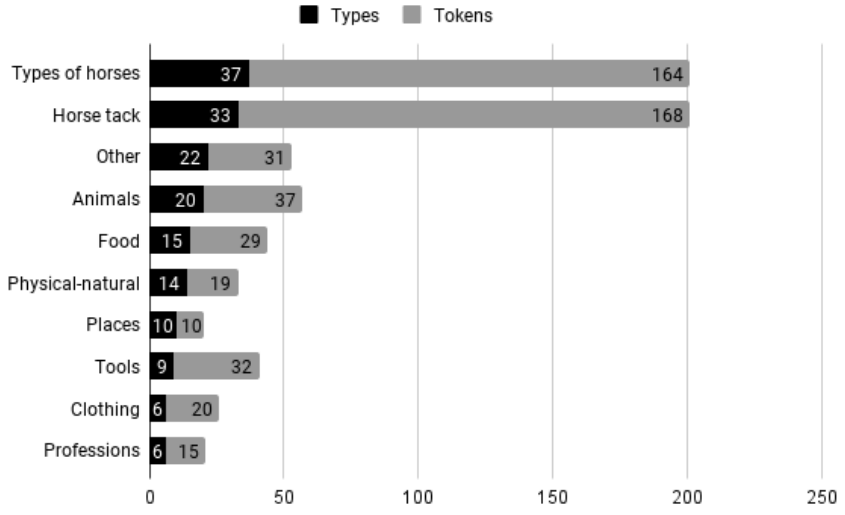
6.4.2 Most permeable semantic fields

Data show that the Spanish lexicon is not restricted to gauchos' professional work, but extended to other semantic domains, also related to rural life. Several semantic fields were highly permeable to loanwords. Namely, types of horses, horse tack, animals, food, places, landform, tools, professions, clothing and a last group, which due to lack of relationship amongst its components, is called other. All these fields are highly connected to gauchos' tasks and lifestyle. This is not surprising, as loanwords, more precisely, cultural loanwords, "show us what one nation has taught another" (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 458).

The most frequent words in the dataset belong to the semantic field of t*ypes of horses*. Within all the loanwords attested in the corpus, the most permeable fields were *types of horses* followed by *horse tack*, with 39 and 33 types respectively and the least permeable *clothing* and *professions*, with 6 each (see Table 6.4 in the Appendix).

When comparing types and tokens, both present similar frequency indexes. However, *types of horses* and *horse tack* vocabulary stand out from the rest. These two fields take up to 30% of the total number of tokens registered. This confirms the observations of the few researchers who have attempted to state the incidence of Spanish into FIE lexicon (see Spruce, 1992; Vidal, 1982). However, from this dataset we learn that other fields have also been permeated by what could be classified as gaucho vocabulary, i.e., words to describe animals, food, clothing, etc. (see Figure 6.2 below, and Table 6.4 in the Appendix).

Figure 6.2: Spanish loanword types and tokens in the corpus sorted by semantic field permeability in FIE.



6.5 Conclusions

As noted earlier, research on lesser-known language varieties is seldom able to draw on large and well-balanced corpora (Meyerhoff, 2012). Resorting to texts that mentioned the use of Spanish words in FIE, in which loanwords are raised as part of travellers' and locals' observations has proven useful as a means of compensating for the lack of written corpora in which these words are in actual use as well as for the rare use of the words in today's FIE. It must be acknowledged that in this corpus words are being used metalinguistically and that such use should be borne in mind when drawing conclusions. Naturally, there are limitations on what we can infer from the corpora, but there is still a useful place for micro-corpora like these in exploring linguistic questions about variation in situations of language contact (Meyerhoff, 2012). I believe that resorting to a micro-corpus has proven useful to the extent that it has allowed us to have a starting point in terms of the groups of Spanish words that have been used in the Falklands. The present work's findings also prove useful for further fieldwork and online data collection (see Chapter 7).

Given that -amongst other linguistic features- studying the lexicon can help learn and better understand the development of cultures, I have attempted to account for the volume of words that Spanish-speaking labourers lent to FIE (attesting 168), while also providing a brief sketch of the historical events that gave rise to the contact scenario, an indispensable framework to

understand the linguistic outcome of language contact (Thomason and Kaufman, 1998). Unfortunately, not much has transpired in the scientific literature about the role of these South American actors in the history of the Islands. Much less about the linguistic inheritance they left behind in the English of the archipelago. The literature usually notes the legacy of corrals and place names, but as we have seen, its heritage is also found in the Islanders' speech. It is worth noting that such absence may be partly because of their strong integration into the English sound system. Consequently, the Spanish lexicon goes unnoticed by those who do not speak Spanish or are not language scholars (as pointed out previously, many words appeared as folk vocabulary without reference to their Spanish origin).

In the scarce bibliography mentioning these loanwords, it is stated that they belong to the equestrian world. However, as noted in the list presented in §6.4, they are not confined to such a realm. I did observe that Spanish loanwords are mainly -though not exclusively- related to horse tack and horse types. However, most words are tightly connected to gaucho vernacular and not exclusively to their equestrian duties. These findings coincide with Sapir's observation that the complete vocabulary of a language can be considered as an inventory of all the ideas and interests that occupy the attention of the community (1912).

Nowadays, with the mechanisation of industry and the reduction of field lots, horses are no longer needed for transportation, and cattle raising has been replaced by raising sheep. The latter is considered to have made those South American gauchos' expertise unnecessary. In consequence, Spanish loanwords in FIE are no longer used every day, others are heard less and less (this became evident during fieldwork, and from conversations with Islanders). Given the current lifestyle and a population that changes so rapidly, it is very likely that they will also disappear. Hence, future directions of this work should investigate the words' vitality as well as people's perceptions about the phenomenon. Present day contact with Spanish speakers does not seem to have lent English many words. Which may respond to the fact that most local Spanish speakers are fluent in English, and Spanish is not needed in public conversation.

This analysis has only looked into the presence of five words in dictionaries based on their frequency in the corpus. Since they have not yet been incorporated into British Dictionaries, it would be worth looking into this again in the future. However, frequency should not be taken as assimilation criteria, since "assimilation criteria based on frequency counts have proved to be less reliable than previously thought" (Kurtböke, 1998, p. 99). Hence, even though I do not take frequency as a consequence of assimilation, I do consider it as an indicator of words' vitality (in this case, at some point in the past), that is, how often they were/are used within a speech community.

In sum, Spanish loanwords present in FIE coincide with other situations of lexical innovation in World Englishes, i.e., adaptation to local conditions and contexts. In the case of FIE, country life and the cattle business have been strong features of Falklands culture, both overwhelmingly present in the data collection, and unsurprisingly reflected in their English dialect.

Chapter 7

7. Los Préstamos Lingüísticos como Registro de la Historia: Indigenismos en el Inglés de las Islas Malvinas/Falkland

A version of this chapter is submitted for publication as:

Rodríguez, Y., González, P., & Elizaincín, A. *Los préstamos lingüísticos como registro de la historia: indigenismos en el inglés de las Islas Malvinas/Falkland* [Manuscript submitted for publication].

Resumen

El presente capítulo analiza los indigenismos (i.e., palabras originadas en lenguas autóctonas de América) encontrados en el inglés hablado en las Islas Malvinas/Falkland, sobre el entendido de que el estudio del préstamo a lo largo del tiempo puede sacar a la luz aspectos insospechados de los tipos de encuentros entre inmigrantes, criollos e indígenas (Ehret, 2010). Los indigenismos en cuestión son quechuismos y guaranismos encontrados en un corpus y en el diccionario local. Este capítulo es el primer estudio de caso sobre indigenismos en el inglés del archipiélago, para el que se recurre a métodos propios de la antropología, la sociolingüística y a la lingüística del corpus.

Abstract

This chapter analyses some Americanisms (i.e., words originated in native American languages) in Falkland/Malvinas English, under the assumption that the study of loanwords over time can bring to light unsuspected aspects of the types of encounters between immigrants, criollos and indigenous people (Ehret, 2010). The Americanisms are words from the Quechua and Guarani languages found in a corpus and in the local dictionary. This chapter is the first case study on Americanisms in the English spoken in the archipelago, for which I have resorted to methods from anthropology, sociolinguistics, and corpus linguistics.

7.1 Introducción

Como consecuencia de los descubrimientos y colonizaciones que tuvieron lugar a partir del siglo XV, a América llegaron las dos grandes potencias de la época, España y Portugal, acompañadas de sus respectivas lenguas. La imposición de estas no sería una tarea fácil y mucho menos rápida. Es bien sabido que en este tipo de encuentros de culturas, la lengua que se impone es la del que cuenta con el poder: p.ej. el español en América (Lipski, 2007); el inglés en Australia (Romaine, 1991); el portugués en África (Chabal et al., 2002).

En el hemisferio sur existe una diversidad lingüística que excede a la dupla neolatina. Si bien otras lenguas indoeuropeas como el francés, el holandés y el inglés también han logrado hacerse lugar en el continente, el grupo occidental es ampliamente superado por el nativo. A pesar de esta diferencia, las lenguas autóctonas recién ahora están empezando a recuperar espacios, mayoritariamente en lo tocante a la educación y a la administración (considérese como ejemplo el caso del guaraní en Paraguay). En la actualidad, casi 500 lenguas indígenas se hablan en América del Sur (ver Ethnologue). Sin embargo, esto no es más que una fracción de las lenguas que se hablaban al momento de la conquista (Tsunoda, 2005). Dentro de las lenguas autóctonas que aún se hablan, encontramos al quechua y al guaraní. Ambas han tenido un rol de lengua franca, tarea que las ha llevado a establecer contactos fortísimos con otras lenguas locales y con las trasplantadas.

Dada la situación lingüística de la región sudamericana, no sorprende que tanto el español como el portugués, así como las múltiples lenguas autóctonas de América del Sur, hayan tomado prestadas palabras unas de otras ya que el contacto lingüístico es inevitable. Sus resultados son diversos y van desde el surgimiento de nuevas variedades de lenguas a la incorporación de léxico de una lengua a otra. Este último fenómeno es llamado ‘préstamo léxico’ y es el proceso por el que una lengua toma palabras de otra. Los estudios sobre préstamos lingüísticos en América del Sur se han centrado sobre todo en el papel del español (y el portugués) en las lenguas amerindias, pero la influencia de las lenguas nativas de América en las variedades del español no ha sido estudiada con la misma atención. De entre estos trabajos podemos destacar el de Haboud (1998) sobre el español andino ecuatoriano influenciado por el quechua; el de Krivoshein de Canese y Corvalán (1987) y el de Dietrich (1995) sobre el español paraguayo influenciado por el guaraní; los de Flores Farfán (1998; 2000) sobre el español mexicano influenciado por el náhuatl y el de Rodríguez (2016, 2017, 2018) sobre préstamos del guaraní en el español hablado en Uruguay.

Prácticamente toda variedad del español (y portugués) americano presenta en su repertorio léxico palabras que se originan en lenguas autóctonas de América. Dado que estas lenguas suelen estar a su vez en contacto con otras lenguas, nos encontramos con palabras autóctonas de

América en un archipiélago del Atlántico Sudoccidental donde la lengua local es el inglés.

7.2 La relevancia del estudio del fenómeno del préstamo para reconstruir situaciones lingüísticas

El préstamo léxico suele entenderse como una palabra transferida de una lengua a otra. En uno de los trabajos pioneros sobre el préstamo lingüístico, Haugen (1950) define un préstamo como “the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another” (p. 212). El préstamo entendido como un cambio inducido por contacto(s) requiere una visión diacrónica, el proceso es visible por la forma en que elementos extranjeros se incorporan a una lengua: desde su aparición en los idiolectos de los innovadores hasta su posterior difusión entre otros hablantes y, finalmente, a la comunidad lingüística en general (Gómez Rendón, 2008). Si bien hablar de influencia sería más apropiado, el término ‘préstamo’ no da lugar a confusiones en la literatura especializada. Por ‘préstamo’ hacemos referencia a una palabra que pasa de una lengua a otra y llamamos ‘fuente’ a la primera y ‘receptora’ a la segunda. Los préstamos son relevantes para la lingüística general porque son una de las principales manifestaciones del cambio lingüístico (Backus, 2014), por lo que su estudio puede ayudarnos a entender mejor el fenómeno del cambio. Es más, un mejor conocimiento de la manifestación de los préstamos es fundamental para progresar en la lingüística histórica comparada (ver Haspelmath, 2008). En la historia de las palabras también existe un registro de los eventos culturales de la historia humana y a partir de las historias de muchas palabras juntas podemos construir una comprensión compleja de la historia de la sociedad en su conjunto (Ehret, 2011). En palabras de Ehret (1976):

> Linguistic evidence, in the form of loanwords, can show the appearance of new ideas and things in the course of history of a society and indicate their sources; and if preservable material culture is involved, the same things and their directions of spread will show up in the archaeological record as well. Furthermore, because we can argue also from linguistic evidence whether a particular language shift accompanied a situation of major cultural break or one of considerable cultural continuity, linguistics also allow us to deal with the most difficult problem of correlation - whether a significant break or the lack of it should appear in the archaeological sequence correlatable with the particular historical sequence suggested by the linguistic evidence. Moreover, relative geographies of ethnicities through time can be built up from the combining of relationship and loanword evidence, and the fitting of such linguistic mappings over archaeological maps will eventually yield correlations of near certainty of correctness. Finally, linguistic evidence can confirm whole dimensions of culture history which are only occasionally, or not at all, inferable from the material remains. (pp. 16-17)

Resumiendo, un análisis del préstamo léxico a lo largo del tiempo puede sacar a la luz aspectos insospechados de los tipos de encuentros entre inmigrantes, criollos e indígenas (Ehret, 2010), lo cual intentaremos demostrar en el presente capítulo.

7.3 El contexto sociolingüístico-histórico

Las Islas Malvinas/Falkland, han sido documentadas desde principios del siglo XVI, pero según fuentes inglesas solo han sido permanentemente habitadas desde 1833, cuando fueron ocupadas por los británicos. Sin embargo, antes de esa fecha numerosos asentamientos británicos, franceses, españoles y argentinos se habían establecido en los siglos XVIII y XIX. Los primeros pobladores fueron francófonos, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville llegó a las Islas el 3 de febrero de 1764 e instaló un pequeño asentamiento en Port Louis al noreste de la East Falkland (Britain y Sudbury, 2013). Al poco tiempo, los ingleses fundan Port Egmont, pero en 1767 la Corona francesa reconoce la soberanía de los españoles (basándose en el tratado de Tordesillas de 1494) y entregan la colonia de Bougainville a las autoridades españolas en Buenos Aires. En ese entonces "todos los veranos se realizaba el aprovisionamiento de la colonia con barcos que partían desde el puerto de Montevideo" (Beccaceci, 2017, p. 11). Para 1774 los ingleses también abandonarían las Islas, sin renunciar por ello a su reclamo. En el siglo XVIII, uno de los barcos españoles amarrados en Montevideo era enviado a las Falklands cada año y su oficial al mando actuaba como comandante gobernador del asentamiento en Port Louis/Puerto de la Soledad (David, 2005). Sin embargo, debido a los procesos de independencia del Virreinato Del Río de la Plata, las Islas quedaron a la merced de marineros cazadores que aprovechaban su riqueza natural. En 1829 el gobierno de Buenos Aires funda, de la mano de Luis Vernet, una colonia en las Islas pero cuatro años más tarde el Capitán Onslow al mando de la corbeta Clio reclamaría las islas como británicas obligando al comandante argentino don José María Pinedo a retirarse (Boumphrey, 1967).

Después de que Onslow izara la bandera británica en 1833, proclamando la soberanía británica e instalándose ininterrumpidamente hasta nuestros días, los 33 residentes argentinos y los 26 soldados que conformaban la guarnición de Argentina fueron obligados a retirarse, mientras que al resto se le dio la opción de quedarse (Pascoe y Pepper, 2008). Según Pascoe y Pepper (2008), 12 argentinos, 4 indios charrúas uruguayos; 2 británicos, 2 alemanes, 1 francés y 1 jamaiquino decidieron quedarse y otros 7 civiles llegaron más tarde ese año (incluyendo 4 gauchos). Para 1838, había 43 personas, de las cuales 14 eran marineros que trabajaban desde barcos atracados y 7 eran gauchos (Britain y Sudbury, 2010). En 1842 solo 10 aún permanecían en las islas y entre los 49 residentes no militares, había misioneros en ruta a la Patagonia, gauchos, cazadores de focas, un grupo

privado de horticultores y curadores de pescado y trabajadores zafrales del gobierno (Royle, 1985). Sudbury (2001, 2005) asegura que los colonos del siglo XIX provenían mayormente de Escocia (de las Highlands y la región de las islas del oeste) y del suroeste de Inglaterra (Somerset y Devon). Se consideraba a los escoceses colonizadores ideales, debido a las similitudes de las condiciones climáticas y agrícolas entre Escocia y las Malvinas/Falklands. En la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, la población aumentó significativamente, en parte debido a la política del gobierno británico de fomentar la migración. Sin embargo, también hubo migrantes de América del Sur, principalmente gauchos rioplatenses (ver Figura 7.1) que fueron empleados para trabajar en la industria ganadera (Spruce en Blake et al., 2011) y que permanecieron en las Islas hasta finales del siglo XIX.

Figura 7.1: Obra titulada "Dos gauchos en el palenque", realizada c. 1878 por Juan Manuel Blanes (Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales del Uruguay). Los gauchos que viajaron al archipiélago probablemente lucirían de un modo similar.

La presencia de los gauchos en las Islas tiene su origen en el siglo XVIII, cuando Bougainville llevó una manada de alrededor de siete terneras y dos toros, junto con algunos cerdos y ovejas, tres caballos y una cabra (Strange, 1973). Según Strange (1973), quien ha hecho un estudio pormenorizado de la historia ganadera en las Falklands, durante la ocupación española más ganado fue llevado a las Islas y para 1785 el Gobernador español Ramón Clairac aseguraba que los animales alcanzaban las 7.774 cabezas. Entre 1826 y 1832, Vernet se establecería en las Islas, en respuesta a una propuesta del gobierno de la provincia de Buenos Aires y uno de sus principales fines era capturar ganado salvaje y faenar unas 20.000 cabezas con la ayuda de gauchos rioplatenses (Beccaceci, 2017). El trabajo de estos gauchos comprendía en (a) la 'agarrada' de ganado bagual, descendientes de los caballos y vacas dejados por Bougainville, (b) la construcción de corrales con turba o piedra para el encierro de animales y (c) el ejercicio de distintos oficios (Lorenz, 2014). En los contratos que celebraba Vernet con los gauchos, disponibles en el Archivo General de la Nación de Argentina, se especificaba que su labor comprendía la matanza de ganado vacuno y caballar; además cuando no se realizara esa tarea debían cuidar de la hacienda mansa, construir corrales, ranchos y hacer lazos, cinchas, caronas, maneas y componer bastos. Resulta muy ilustrativo el siguiente extracto de las notas de viaje del Capitán Robert Fitz Roy (1839), donde apunta, que

> Although the climate is so much colder than that of Buenos Ayres, the gauchos sleep in the open air, when in the interior, under their saddles, just as they do in the latitude of 35°. While idling at the settlement they gamble, quarrel, and fight with long knives, giving each other severe wounds. With their loose ponchos, slouched hats, long hair, dark complexions, and Indian eyes, they are characters fitter for the pencil of an artist than for the quiet hearth of an industrious settler. Besides these gauchos, we saw five Indians, who had been taken by the Buenos Ayrean troops, or their allies, and allowed to leave prison on condition of going with Mr. Vernet to the Falklands (p. 278).

Los gauchos descritos por Fitz Roy fueron de los pocos que permanecieron después de los sucesos de 1831-1833. El capitán también mencionó cómo estaba compuesta la población, en base a lo que un colega que había estado en Port Louis antes le dijo y según esa fuente había alrededor de 100 personas, incluyendo 25 gauchos, 5 indios, 2 familias holandesas, 2 o 3 ingleses, una familia alemana y el resto eran españoles o portugueses.

Si bien no muchos de los primeros gauchos que Vernet llevó para trabajar con el ganado bagual decidieron quedarse en las Islas, otros comerciantes continuaron 'importando' trabajadores, sobre todo desde la Patagonia y en el caso de los hermanos Lafone especialmente desde Uruguay (Lorenz, 2014). El inglés Samuel Fisher Lafone, habitante de Montevideo, creó la Falkland Islands Company (FIC) para comercializar el ganado vacuno de las Islas. El auditor colonial Boumphrey (1967), señalaba que en 1847, la gran península que forma la mitad sur de East Falkland,

conocida como 'Rincón del Toro' para Darwin, fue comprada por Lafone. Junto con la tierra, el empresario adquirió los derechos sobre el ganado que floreció allí. Dicha península pasó a conocerse hasta nuestros días como 'Lafonia'. Lafone estableció el saladero Hope Place, lo cual llevó a la rápida disminución del ganado salvaje (Strange, 1973). Según Strange, los gauchos que Lafone llevó a las Islas construyeron una pared de turba a través del istmo que une la sección norte de East Falkland con el área de Lafone al sur, evitando que el ganado se escapara de su tierra; con esto lograron cazar ganado hasta tal punto que en un período de cuatro a cinco años prácticamente no quedó ganado salvaje (1973). En marzo de 1852 se realizó un censo poblacional que registró dieciocho personas con la profesión de 'gaucho', otros sudamericanos figuraban como peones o trabajadores (estos censos están disponibles en The Jane Cameron National Archives). Como lugar de origen se lee: South America, Uruguay, Argentina y Montevideo (por ser el puerto del que habían zarpado). Según Beccaceci (2017) en ese entonces llegaban constantemente barcos con gauchos desde el continente.

En 1860, el gobierno británico volvió a tener la propiedad del ganado silvestre y comenzó a cobrar multas a quien hería o capturaba ganado fuera del área de Lafonia sin el permiso del gobernador. En consecuencia, el ganado fue destruido lentamente por los colonos y en cuestión de unos pocos años aproximadamente solo permanecían 300 reses en propiedad de la Corona en la East Falkland (Strange, 1973). En 1867 se adjudicaron miles de hectáreas a la cría de ovejas, convirtiendo a las Islas en una colonia pastoril del Reino Unido y trayendo inmigrantes de origen británico que fueron suplantando al gaucho rioplatense, apunta Beccaceci (2017). Según el mismo autor, para 1883 ya había medio millón de ovejas y en 1889 desaparece el puesto de "capataz de los gauchos" de la FIC. En poco tiempo dejó de haber ganado bovino en la East Falkland, mientras que en la West Falkland desapareció alrededor de 1894 (Strange, 1973).

José Hernández, el autor del Martín Fierro, viajó a las Islas y en 1869 publicó una carta con observaciones y relatos sobre su experiencia, en donde nos cuenta sobre un encuentro con un indio pampa:

> He conocido Puerto Luis, antigua capital en tiempo de la posesión argentina, según se me ha asegurado allí mismo por un indio pampa que fue del Río Negro (Costa Patagónica) en calidad de peón de estancia hace 52 años, es decir, dieciseis años antes de la invasión inglesa. Suponga usted la edad que podrá tener; él mismo no lo sabe, pero dice que era hombre cuando se conchabó para ir a bordo de una goleta cargada de caballos que llevaban desde la costa firme para poblar una estancia en Malvinas.

Desde aquella época, él vive en Puerto Luis, en donde ha conseguido aquerenciar un rodeo de vacas que ha ido agarrando a lazo en las serranías que aún se hallan plagadas de ganado alzado. Se encuentra feliz y sin deseos de volver a su país; es proporcionalmente rico, se ha acostumbrado, o más bien aquerenciado, en aquellas soledades, y se ausenta para ir de tiempo en

tiempo a Stanley en compañía de su mujer que es una inglesa muy madura también, a asistir a las funciones religiosas de la iglesia protestante en que fue bautizado cuando se casó. Inútil será decirle que ha olvidado totalmente el mal español que hablaba cuando recién fue; hoy se explica en tan buen inglés como la mayoría de los súbditos de S.M.B. (Hernández, 2006, p. 38)

El testimonio de Hernández da cuenta de la existencia de población indígena en el archipiélago y de su asimilación a la cultura angloparlante. Por desgracia, no existe una descripción precisa de la situación lingüística de las islas durante esta época (esto es, cómo se desarrolló la situación de multilingüismo, en qué contextos se utilizaban las lenguas, qué distribución de las lenguas existió para que se produjese una incorporación de esas palabras, etc). Sin embargo, sí hemos podido constatar un número considerable de personas con la profesión de 'gaucho' (ver Figura 2.1 en el Capítulo 2). La presencia de gauchos hispanohablantes o bilingües puede considerarse como un posible origen de los muchos préstamos de lenguas americanas (quechua y guaraní, en este caso) que llegan al inglés de las Islas.

7.4 El inglés hablado en las Islas su componente hispano-americano producto del contacto lingüístico

La variedad inglesa de las Falklands está poco estudiada, junto con la de Nueva Zelanda es una de las variedades más recientes del 'Inner Circle' (Kachru, 1985), ya que el archipiélago ha estado habitado continuamente por menos de doscientos años. La variedad de las Falklands suele ser desconocida y difícilmente alguien pueda identificar a un isleño al escucharlo en el extranjero. Trudgill (1986), Wells (1982) y Sudbury (2000) han mencionado las similitudes del inglés de las Falklands con las otras variedades del inglés del hemisferio sur. Pero durante su investigación doctoral, Sudbury (2000) demostró que si bien la variedad de las Falklands presenta muchas características en común con el resto, es divergente en ciertos aspectos. Apunta que dentro de las variedades de inglés extraterritoriales el desarrollo del inglés de las Islas es peculiar, lo que atribuye a su demografía y al contexto de variedades en contacto (Sudbury, 2005). Las variedades del inglés que dieron origen a la de las Falklands son los del sur y sudoeste de Inglaterra y los del noroeste de Escocia (Britain y Sudbury, 2010). El inglés de las Islas se ha alejado de estas variedades, pero aún conserva restos gramaticales de ellos; es más, como una variedad del Círculo Interno (Kachru, 1985) que se desarrolló en un momento similar a las variedades de Australia y Nueva Zelanda, comparte con ellos una serie de características aunque sigue siendo un miembro un tanto periférico del 'club' del hemisferio sur (Britain y Sudbury, 2013).

Lo que Sudbury (2005, p. 403) llama *pure dialect contact* no fue tal, ya que al contacto entre variedades de inglés se le debe sumar el contacto con

variedades del español. Siguiendo a Spruce (2011), entendemos que dentro de esta mezcla de acentos británicos, también debe considerarse

> the influence of those who had worked in Patagonia and brought back their own version of the Spanish they had learned, and the seasonal workers from Chile, such as those that came to the meat works at Goose Green in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Direct shipping links to Uruguay and Chile also added to the smattering of South American Spanish (p. 1).

Según esta autora el mayor grupo de palabras características de las Falklands es probablemente el que se tomó prestado del español hablado por los gauchos rioplatenses que fueron a trabajar en la industria ganadera, y explica: "They brought with them the terminology, and the knowledge of how to make and use gear for horses, which were both transport and pack animals on the huge farms; they gave their names for streams, valleys and camps" (Spruce, 2011, p. 1). Hoy en día, debido a los cambios propios de nuestra era, la industria está mecanizada, los lotes de campo reducidos, no se precisan caballos para transportarse y la cría de ganado vacuno ha sido reemplazada por la de ganado ovino. Dicho reemplazo parece haber influido en que se prescinda de la mano experta del gaucho.

Actualmente, el inglés hablado en Stanley está más en contacto con otras lenguas y variedades que el inglés hablado en algunos de los establecimientos del *camp* (de 'campo', palabra que se usa para referir a todo territorio fuera de Stanley, así como la tierra en sí). Como resultado, hay quienes dicen que el 'acento' de Stanley se parece al del inglés australiano y otros que creen que los hablantes de algunas partes del camp suenan como aquellos del sudoeste de Inglaterra (ver Sudbury, 2000, 2001). Britain y Sudbury (2010) no están seguros de cómo el mayor contacto con los extranjeros e inmigrantes afectará la variedad, es decir, si convergerá o divergirá de las variedades del inglés a las que es tipológicamente similar. Con respecto a las palabras y expresiones exclusivas de las Falklands, Spruce (en Blake et al., 2011) explica que algunas de las palabras ya no son de uso cotidiano, otras se escuchan cada vez menos, y agrega que con el estilo de vida actual y con una población que cambia rápidamente, es muy probable que también desaparezcan.

Si bien Britain y Sudbury (2010) reconocen que algunas palabras distintivas del inglés de las Islas, tienen sus orígenes en el español y suponen que es el resultado del contacto con gauchos sudamericanos, solo mencionan la palabra *camp*. Sin embargo, otros investigadores han registrado varios hispanismos (p. ej. Vidal, 1982; Strange, 1973; Migone, 1996; Spruce, 1992; Blake et al., 2011; Munro, 1998; Roberts, 2002; Lorenz, 2014, y Beccaceci, 2017). Prima facie, los préstamos en cuestión parecen ser lo que Algeo (2010) llama 'popular loanwords', término que opone a 'learned loanwords' (p. 248) siendo las primeras transmitidas oralmente, sin que sus hablantes sean conscientes de su origen a pesar de que son usadas a diario, mientras que las segundas, deben su adopción a la influencia literaria, científica o académica. Uno de los informantes de Vidal (1982), un ganadero de 64 años

le decía: “antes había en las Malvinas más gente que hablaba castellano que inglés, y la vida de campo, hasta ahora, es como la de los criollos de la Patagonia” (p. 8).

Hoy, si bien existen hablantes de español en las Islas, el inglés es la primera lengua local. Y si a esto le sumamos que las prácticas ganaderas han desaparecido, no sorprende que muchos de los hispanismos no se usen más. Según Sudbury (2000) muchas de estas palabras están perdiendo vitalidad debido al contacto con los extranjeros, especialmente con los militares británicos asentados en las Islas. Sin embargo, el español hizo una colaboración de peso en la conformación de esta variedad, mayoritariamente en la esfera léxica. A través de este, algunos indigenismos han penetrado el inglés de las Islas. Como explicaremos a continuación, conocer estos préstamos es el principal objetivo de este capítulo. Vale aclarar que en este capítulo llamaremos ‘indigenismos’ a palabras originadas en lenguas autóctonas de América (en rigor, quechua y guaraní) que previo a su llegada al inglés de las Falklands fueron incorporadas a las distintas variedades del español. La literatura también llama a estas palabras ‘americanismos’. En este trabajo seguimos el criterio según el cual son americanismos sólo los elementos léxicos nacidos u originados en América (ver Rona, 1969). Criterio que podría estrecharse si solo se consideran originales de América los procedentes de las lenguas amerindias, esto es, los llamados ‘indigenismos’.

7.5 Objetivos y metodología

En este capítulo se busca dar cuenta de cómo las múltiples capas de préstamos en una lengua son informativas sobre los contactos que mantuvieron los hablantes de la lengua receptora y de la lengua fuente, ya que las características de las palabras que fueron incorporadas también nos hablan sobre la naturaleza del contacto (Backus, 2014). Para ello, nos embarcamos en el estudio de aspectos relacionados con algunas palabras de origen amerindio. Es decir, el foco estará exclusivamente en el préstamo, puntualmente en aquellos con origen en lenguas nativas de América. Las palabras cuentan con forma y significado, y si bien ambos componentes pueden ser transferidos a otra lengua, en este capítulo estudiamos los casos en los que tanto la forma como al menos parte del significado de una palabra son incorporados al inglés.

En la lingüística del contacto se suelen utilizar metodologías y técnicas propias de áreas del conocimiento y disciplinas adyacentes. Para este caso, tomamos un enfoque mixto en tanto que recolectamos datos cuantitativos y cualitativos, recurriendo a métodos propios de la antropología (entrevistas de tipo etnográfico), la sociolingüística (encuestas a integrantes de la comunidad de habla) ya la lingüística del corpus.

La primera etapa de esta investigación consistió en el relevamiento de un corpus metalingüístico en el que se menciona vocabulario de origen

hispano. A saber: Beccaceci, 2017; Blake et al., 2011; Colgate, 2002; Darwin, 1839; Hipólito Solari, 1959; Lorenz, 2014; Migone, 1996; Moreno, 1950; Roberts, 2002; Spruce, 1992; Steen, 2000; Strange, 1973, y Vidal, 1982. Se consultó la etimología de todos los préstamos, recurriendo a los siguientes diccionarios:

- el diccionario de quechua elaborado por el Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador (2009),
- el diccionario de guaraní de Krivoshein y Acosta (1997),
- el diccionario Manual de Americanismos de Morínigo (1966),
- los diccionarios de la Real Academia Española (RAE)
    - el Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española (2014) (de aquí en más DLE)
    - el Diccionario de Americanismos de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (2010) (de aquí en más DA),
- dentro de las obras lexicográficas de la lengua inglesa se consultó el Oxford English Dictionary (2021),
- el único diccionario existente sobre la variedad de inglés de las Falklands (Blake et al., 2011).

La segunda fase se basó en estimular la circulación de una encuesta a través de redes sociales durante el mes de julio de 2019. Su fin era conocer las percepciones y actitudes de los isleños. Las preguntas buscaban conocer el conocimiento, el uso, la aceptación de los préstamos. Se preguntó a los informantes si conocían las palabras, si se las habían oído decir a un isleño, si alguna vez las habían usado ellos mismos y si las consideraban parte del inglés de las Falklands. Finalmente, se preguntó si conocían el origen de las palabras y cuando la respuesta fue negativa se les invitó a hipotetizar uno. Esto último para conocer su conciencia lingüística sobre el fenómeno. Todos los informantes tienen el inglés como lengua de preferencia, el 61% son mujeres, la edad promedio es 47 (con informantes que van de 15 a 71 años). El 84% de los participantes nacieron en las Islas, el resto vivió en ellas al menos el 70% de su vida. La muestra consiste en 88 individuos. Consideramos a esta una muestra representativa dada la población del archipiélago: 3,354 de acuerdo al último censo de 2016 (Falkland Islands Government, 2017)

Por último, tuvieron lugar dos estancias de trabajo de campo (en 2019 y 2020) con el fin de conocer mejor las actitudes de los isleños hacia las palabras. Las herramientas constan de notas de campo, una cámara, y una grabadora, siguiendo la premisa del trabajo de campo etnográfico (Guber, 2011). Se organizaron reuniones y entrevistas con personas de diferentes partes de las Islas (Stanley y el campo, tanto en East Falkland como en West Falkland) y de diferentes edades; especialmente informantes añosos para contemplar el fenómeno del tiempo aparente (Chambers, 2002; Eckert, 1997). Tanto en el trabajo de campo como en la redacción de este documento, se tomaron en cuenta las precauciones éticas fundamentales de la investigación

académica. Se realizaron 20 entrevistas. Se pidió a todos los participantes que firmaran consentimientos informados, se garantizó la confidencialidad a todos los informantes y a las instituciones involucradas, y se dejó una carta de información para que los informantes puedan contactar a las universidades involucradas en caso de que así lo desearan. El aval ético para el trabajo de campo se obtuvo del comité de Ética de las facultades de Humanidades y Arqueología de la Universidad de Leiden y de la Universidad de la República. Los comentarios de los informantes han sido anonimizados y se presentan seguidos de números entre paréntesis. Las observaciones hechas por isleños están enumeradas y sin clasificaciones individuales, el fin último es preservar al máximo la identidad de los informantes en una comunidad tan pequeña.

7.6 Resultados, análisis y discusión

El relevamiento del corpus metalingüístico arrojó como resultado una lista de 168 préstamos del español en el inglés de las Islas. De este universo, de acuerdo a los diccionarios consultados, cuatro resultaron ser palabras autóctonas de lenguas americanas:

- *guanaco* (del quechua 'wanaku')
- *mate* (del español 'mate' y este del quechua 'mati')
- *warrah* (del español 'guará' y este del guaraní 'aguara' -'zorro')
- *yapper* (del quechua 'yapa')

En los apartados 7.6.1.1 a 7.6.1.4 se presentan, palabra a palabra, los datos obtenidos a partir del relevamiento de diccionarios, del cuestionario completado por isleños y del trabajo de campo (aparecen numerados los comentarios de los isleños, sin que dicha enumeración sea significativa en sentido alguno). Otras palabras que también pueden llegar a tener un origen en lenguas amerindias son *wacho*, *gaucho*, *pangaré* y *che*. Pero dado que no hay consenso en la etimología de estos lemas, se decidió darles un análisis aparte. Los tres últimos por su origen incierto y el primero por la confusión que presenta con *gaucho* (ver apartado 6.1.5). Por último, en el apartado 6.2 se poropone un análisis y una breve discusión de los datos en su conjunto.

7.6.1 Resultados

7.6.1.1 Guanaco

En la Tabla 7.1 pueden verse tanto las etimologías y significados atribuidos por el diccionario quechua-castellano elaborado por el Ministerio de Educación del Ecuador, los diccionarios de la Real Academia Española (el de americanismos y el de la lengua española), el diccionario de las Falklands de la autoría de Blake et al. 2018 y el Oxford English Dictionary (OED). Está claro

que *guanaco* es un quechuismo y que el significado de la palabra ha permanecido inalterado en las tres lenguas en cuestión.

Tabla 7.1: Entradas para la palabra guanaco *en los diccionarios consultados.*

Diccionario de quechua	**DA**	**DLE**	**A dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**	**OED**
wanaku [wanaku] s. s. *variedad de llama.* Chantazushina, llamashina wiwa. *Perumanta shuk wanakuta apamuni.*	(Del quech. *wanaku*). I. 1. m. Ec, Pe, Bo, Ch, Ar. Camélido sudamericano, de cerca de 1,5 m de altura hasta la cruz y poco más desde el pecho a la grupa, cabeza pequeña, orejas largas y puntiagudas, cuello largo y erguido y cuerpo cubierto de pelo largo y lustroso, de color pardo oscuro. (Camelidae; Lama guanicoe). ◆ (huanaco).	Tb. huanaco en acep. 1, Arg., Bol. y Perú. Del quechua *wanaku*. 1. m. y f. Mamífero camélido, propio de los Andes, muy parecido a la llama, de la cual se diferencia en ser algo mayor. U. en m. ref. a la especie.	*Lama guanicoe*. The guanaco belongs to the llama family and is native to South America. It is found in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. Some guanaco were imported to the Falklands in the 1930s and their descendants are to be found on Staats Island [El guanaco pertenece a la familia de las llamas y es originario de América del Sur. Se encuentra en la Patagonia y Tierra del Fuego. Algunos guanacos fueron importados a las Malvinas en la década de 1930 y sus descendientes se encuentran en la isla Staats].	< Quichua *huanaco*, *huanacu*. A South American mammal, *Auchenia huanaco*, a kind of wild llama producing a reddish brown wool [Una especie de llama salvaje que produce una lana de color marrón rojizo].

Los isleños se familiarizaron con el guanaco cuando fueron importados en la década de 1930 por el sr. Waldron, explica la historiadora e isleña de novena generación Joan Spruce (en comunicación personal, 2021). Un pequeño número permanece en Staats Island y debido al gran número de nacimientos, se sacrifican algunos cada pocos años, dice la investigadora.

Más de la mitad de los informantes (el 88%) conoce, usó alguna vez y oyó a isleños decir la palabra *guanaco*. En lo que respecta a la aceptación de la palabra, esta se mantiene en el 50%. Quienes no conocen la palabra son los informantes adolescentes, un par de veinteañeros y solo una persona en sus treinta. Los comentarios mencionan el origen sudamericano del animal, que este no está solo en las Falklands, que la palabra se usa poco y algunos indican con especificidad en cuál de las más de 700 islas e islotes del archipiélago podemos encontrarlos.

Estos son los comentarios que hicieron ocho isleños sobre la palabra *guanaco*:

1. *It is a species of imported animal. Name of a South American animal similar to a llama*

   Es una especie de animal importado. Nombre de un animal sudamericano parecido a la llama.

2. *A member of the South American llama family*

   Un miembro de la familia de la llama sudamericana.

3. *Guanaco are not unique to the Falklands*

   Los guanacos no pertenecen solo a las Falklands.

4. *But again not used much these days*

   Una vez más, no se usa mucho hoy en día.

5. *There are guanacos on some islands in the Falklands but it is not a commonly used word*

   Hay guanacos en algunas islas de las Falklands pero no es una palabra comúnmente usada.

6. *This is not a word that is used in everyday language*

   Esta no es una palabra usada en el lenguaje diario.

7. *They are present on Staats Island*

   Están en la Isla Staats.

Queda claro que los isleños conocen el origen del animal, asociándolo a América del Sur, e insisten en que no es una palabra de uso cotidiano y en que está perdiendo vitalidad.

Un comentario interesante para la lingüística, sobre el que sería bueno indagar en el futuro es el siguiente:

8. *There are some on one of the remote Islands, introduced from South America years ago. I have never seen one but have had*

> *conversations about them. Some people say* '*I'm guanacoed*' *meaning I am tired (wordplay on* '*knackered*'*)*
>
> Hay algunos en las islas remotas, traídos de América del Sur hace años. Nunca vi uno, pero he tenido conversaciones sobre ellos. Algunas personas dicen 'I'm guanacoed' con el sentido de estoy cansado (un juego de palabras con 'knackered').

Esta apropiación del nombre como verbo, en su forma de participio merecería más atención.

7.6.1.2 Mate

En lo que respecta a la palabra *mate*, también resulta claro que es una palabra quechua (ver Tabla 7.2). Más allá de que esta significa 'calabacita', por metonimia tanto el recipiente como la infusión, comparten el lema en variedades del español americano donde su consumo es muy común. Su significado es el mismo en el inglés de las Falklands, salvo que allí solo se usa para la bebida y no para el contenedor, al que llaman 'gourd'. El propio diccionario local de las Islas aclara que

> [t]he gourd is passed from person to person and each takes a drink before passing it on. However, in the Falklands, people tended to have their own gourds and bombillas if they drank maté. A diary from Douglas Station records "Get up at 03.30. Bennie gives me a shake. After a few matés and coffee, collecting odds and ends we leave 05.00". At one time maté was commonly drunk in the Islands, particularly by those who had worked on the Coast, but is rarely found here today (Blake et al., 2011, pp. 58-59).

Tabla 7.2: Entradas para la palabra mate *en los diccionarios consultados.*

Diccionario de quechua	**DA**	**DLE**	**A dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**	**OED**
mati [mati] s. *mate*. Imatapash wishinkapak hatun pillchishina. *Kay mati hunta aswata upyachiway.*	Del quech. *mati*, calabacita). II. 1. m. *Co*, *Ec*, *Pe*, *Bo*, *Ch*, *Py*, *Ar*, *Ur.* Infusión de yerba mate que se toma sorbiendo a través de un pequeño tubo acondicionado para ese fin llamado bombilla. ◆ amargo; verde.	Del quechua *mati* 'calabacita'. 1. m. Infusión de yerba mate que por lo común se toma sola y ocasionalmente acompañada con yerbas medicinales o aromáticas. *Mate de poleo.*	Maté. A herbal tea of South American origin where it is known as *yerba maté* and commonly drunk in the countryside. It is infused in a gourd and drunk through a bombilla [Un té de hierbas de origen sudamericano donde se le conoce como yerba mate y se bebe comúnmente en el campo. La infusión se hace en una calabaza y se bebe a través de una bombilla].	maté < Spanish *mate* calabash (1570), infusion of maté (1740) < Quechua *mati* 2. A bitter infusion made from maté leaves, drunk as a stimulant for its high caffeine content. Also called *Paraguay tea* [Una infusión amarga a base de hojas de yerba mate, que se bebe como estimulante por su alto contenido en cafeína. También llamado té de Paraguay].

Spruce (1992) asegura que el mate era una infusión común entre los hombres en los años 60. Esto coincide con el dato de que prácticamente todos los informantes conocen la palabra (el 94%), aunque este número va bajando cuando se les pregunta si la oyeron en las islas y si la han usado ellos mismos (81%, 68% respectivamente). Solo la mitad la considera parte del vocabulario

de las Islas (no hay un patrón de edad), algo que seguramente tenga que ver con dos cuestiones: que la práctica de tomar mate ya casi no existe en el archipiélago y la asociación que se suele hacer con Argentina. A continuación presentamos algunas observaciones sobre esta palabra.

9. *Not many of the younger generation drink it*

   No muchos de la generación más joven lo toma.

10. *People from South America living here will use it and drink it, but not really a Falkland thing. We drink tea and coffee*

    Lo toman los sudamericanos que viven aquí pero no es algo propio de las Falklands. Nosotros tomamos té y café.

11. *Hardly ever used. I know one person on West Falkland who used to regularly drink mate these days. Mate is not widely used now and mostly I hear people speak of mate from pre-1982. I know it has been on sale in the Chandlery and I have drunk it on holiday in Uruguay but never in the Falklands. I would say it is a dying term here as no one drinks it anymore*

    Casi nunca se usa. Yo conozco una persona en West Falkland que solía tomarlo regularmente estos días. Hoy en día la palabra no se usa y cuando la oigo es en referencia a los años previos a 1982. Sé que está a la venta en el Chandlery y lo he tomado en vacaciones en Uruguay pero nunca en las Falklands. Diría que es un término que está muriendo aquí ya que nadie toma mate.

12. *When I was a girl it was only used among the older generation*

    Cuando era niña la usaba la generación más vieja (mujer de 63 años).

13. *Mate is known here but associated to South America*

    Aquí se conoce el mate pero se asocia con América del Sur.

14. *Not drank so much these days*

    No se toma mucho estos días.

De estos comentarios se desprenden tres observaciones. Primero que casi no se toma mate en las Islas, algunos afirman que nadie lo hace mientras que otros dicen que muy pocas personas lo toman. Segundo, sabemos que algunas generaciones atrás sí se tomaba, y tercero, podría pensarse que hay una asociación con el ‘afuera’ ya que América del Sur se considera otro lugar, más allá de que las Islas son parte del continente. Esto nos lleva nuevamente a considerar el episodio bélico de 1982, a que el mate es visto como argentino

y que considerar que las islas son parte del continente es darle cabida al reclamo de Argentina.

Spruce (en comunicación personal, 2021) señala que a pesar de que hoy el mate no sea consumido en las islas, hace un tiempo, los isleños que iban a trabajar a la Patagonia o la tripulación de los barcos que iban allí y a Montevideo lo habrían probado y tal vez a algunos les gustó. Y explica que cree que el mate nunca ganó mucha popularidad en las islas debido a que es bastante amargo y los británicos están acostumbrados al té dulce con leche.

7.6.1.3 Warrah

El zorro *warrah* –'the warrah (fox)' para los isleños- es el único mamífero terrestre autóctono de las Islas y fue el primer cánido en extinguirse en tiempos históricos. Consideramos evidente que el origen de su nombre está en la lengua guaraní, perteneciente a la familia tupí (ver Tabla 7.3). Philpott (2011) asevera que el guaranismo entra al inglés en los años siguientes al arribo de los británicos en 1833, cuando los gauchos llevados por Venet convivían con los angloparlantes. Robert Fitz Roy había convencido a 11 gauchos, dentro de los que se encontraban 5 indios. Dentro del universo de los diccionarios de español e inglés consultados, solo el OED cuenta con una entrada para este lema y menciona al tupí como lengua donante. Sin embargo, nombra a la palabra 'jagoará' y no 'aguara', como creemos que es la forma original.

Tabla 7.3: Entradas para la palabra warrah *en los diccionarios consultados.*

Diccionario de guaraní	**DA**	**DLE**	**A dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**	**OED**
aguara. 2. s. Zorro americano. *aguara guasu*. Lobo americano.	guara. I. 1.f. Pe. Faja estrecha a modo de adorno que aparece en algunos trajes típicos masculinos. rur. II. 1.Ho, ES. guacamaya, ave. 2.f. Ho. meton. Palanca de hierro al final de una cadena	guara 1 Voz indígena. 1. f. Cuba. Árbol parecido al castaño. guara 2 1. f. Col. Especie de aura o gallinazo, sin plumas en la cabeza y parte del cuello. 2. f. Hond. guacamayo. guara3 Quizá del quechua wara 'calzón, pantalón'. 1. f.	No figura.	Tupi *jagoára* 'dog, ounce' A large-maned wild dog of South America ['perro, onza' Un perro salvaje de melena grande propio de

	gruesa que sirve para sujetar las trozas en un camión maderero. III. 1.f. RD, PR. Árbol de hasta 15 m de altura y tronco liso y gris, de copa redonda, hojas ovaladas y peludas de color castaño, flores en panícula, blanquecinas y pequeñas, y el fruto en baya con tres semillas grandes; tiene aplicaciones en la medicina popular. (Sapindaceae; Cupania americana).	Arg. Adorno en el vestido.		América del Sur].

Curiosamente, *warrah* es la única palabra que todos los informantes, sin excepción, han informado conocer, oír y utilizar. Solo un informante tenía dudas sobre si se trataba de una palabra de las Islas, mientras que el resto estuvo de acuerdo en que sí.

Los isleños lo asocian inmediatamente tanto con el animal como con el nombre del río, también nos contaron que un zorro warrah aparece en la insignia del equipo de fútbol local y en la moneda de 50 peniques. También hubo quienes hicieron referencia a su exterminación. He aquí algunos comentarios:

15. *It's an extinct species, and the name of a local boat. Not in everyday use*

    Es una especie extinta y el nombre de un bote de las Islas. No es una palabra que se use asiduamente.

16. *It is the name of an extinct animal and a river in the Falkland Islands*

Es el nombre de un animal extinto y de un río de las Islas Falkland.

17. *Of course it is. Most other people don't know what a warrah was!*

    Claro que es una palabra característica de las Falklands. ¡La mayoría de las otras personas no saben lo que era un warrah!

18. *Warrah Fox, Warrah river*

    Zorro warrah, río warrah.

19. *I grew up at Port Howard. There is an outside shepherd's house called the Warrah there, so I used the word a lot*

    Crecí en Port Howard. Allá hay una casa de pastores a las afueras llamada Warrah, así que usaba mucho la palabra.

20. *I fished on the Warrah River many times as I lived right next to it*

    Pesqué muchas veces en el río Warrah ya que vivía al lado.

21. *It's an extinct fox-like creature. Features on our 50p coin, a reminder of a painful lesson from our past!*

    Es una criatura extinta tipo zorro. Aparece en nuestra moneda de 50p, un recordatorio de una lección dolorosa de nuestro pasado.

7.6.1.4 Yapper

En las obras lexicográficas inglesas consultadas, la palabra *yapper* no cuenta con referencias a su etimología, es más, el OED tiene una definición que corresponde a una derivación del verbo inglés 'yap' (ladrar mucho), que nada tiene que ver con la palabra que ocupa nuestra atención. Sin embargo, los diccionarios de la Real Academia Española y las Academias Americanas reconocen en la voz un quechuismo y coinciden en el sentido que tiene la palabra en el inglés del archipiélago: algo extra, de regalo, que viene anexado a otra cosa (ver Tabla 7.4).

Tabla 7.4: Entradas para la palabra yapper *en los diccionarios consultados.*

Diccionario de quechua	**DA**	**DLE**	**A dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**	**OED**
yapa [yapa] adv. *demasiado, mucho, muy.*	yapa. (Del quech. *yapa*, ayuda, aumento). I.1.f. Ni, RD, Ec, Pe, Ch, Py, Ar pop + cult → espon; Co:SO, Ur p.u.; espon; Bo. pop. Obsequio de poca cuantía que, *especialmente un vendedor*, da a un cliente por la compra hecha. ◆ ñada.2.Bo, Ch, Py, Ar:NO, Ur. Cantidad o cosa que se añade o agrega a algo. pop + cult → espon.IV. c. ǁ para más ~. loc. adv. Pe. De yapa, por añadidura.	yapa Del quechua *yapa* 'ayuda', 'aumento'. 2. f. *Arg., Chile, Ec., Par., Perú y Ur*. Añadidura, especialmente la que se da como propina o regalo. de yapa 1. loc. adv. *Arg., Bol., Chile, Ec., Par., Perú y Ur*. gratuitamente. 2. loc. adv. *Arg., Bol., Ec., Par., Perú y Ur*. además.	Spanish: yapa, llapa. A yapper is a bonus, something extra; an unexpected day off for instance, or a small additional item thrown in for free by a shopkeeper. In Patagonia a yapa/llapa also refers to the end and strongest part of the lassoo [Del español: yapa, llapa. Un yapper es una bonificación, algo extra; un día feriado inesperado, por ejemplo, o un pequeño objeto adicional gratis obsequiado por un comerciante. En Patagonia una yapa/llapa también se refiere al final más fuerte del lazo].	ˈyapper *n.* a dog or person that yaps [un perro o una persona que ladra].

Solo un cuarto de los participantes de la encuesta conocen, han oído y usado la palabra *yapper*. Solo 6 informantes aceptan la palabra como identitaria de su variedad de inglés. Las observaciones que han hecho los hablantes van en la línea de la pérdida de la vitalidad del lema.

22. *Probably only now used by older people.*

    Hoy probablemente la usen solo las personas ancianas.

23. *It is more of a camp word or something known to us old timers. Not sure how many youngsters would know or use*

    Es más bien una palabra del campo o algo conocido por nosotros los de antes. No sé cuántos jovencitos la conocen o usan.

24. *An old expression, rarely used and dying out*

    Una expresión vieja, rara vez usada y desapareciendo.

25. *I have heard it but not recently, and cannot remember the exact context or meaning*

    La he escuchado pero no recientemente yno recuerdo el contexto exacto ni el significado.

26. *The word yapper would have been heard a lot 40 years ago but hardly ever heard now. I have been told it means getting something for free but not used these days*

    La palabra *yapper* se habría escuchado mucho hace 40 años pero prácticamente no se oye hoy día. Me han dicho que quiere decir obtener algo gratis pero no se usa estos días.

27. *I have not heard this word for more than 20 years*

    No he escuchado esta palabra por más de 20 años.

7.6.1.5 Otras palabras

Durante la recolección de datos se encontraron palabras que quizás tengan también un origen en lenguas autóctonas de América del Sur. Estas son: *wacho*, *gaucho*, *pangaré* y *che*. A continuación presento algunas observaciones sobre estas palabras, a la vez que se explica por qué no fueron analizadas como las otras cuatro (§7.6.1.1-4).

Wacho tiene un claro origen en el quechua. Los diccionarios de la RAE inmediatamente indican su origen en la lengua andina y se constata su presencia en el diccionario de quechua. Como era esperable, las grafías varían (ver Tabla 7.5).

Tabla 7.5: Comparación de la grafía atribuida al quechuismo wacho *en los diccionarios consultados.*

Diccionario de quechua	**DA**	**DLE**
wakcha	wacha/wachu	wajcha

La coincidencia en términos de su significado, considerando la atribuida en el diccionario del archipiélago, es significativa (ver Tabla 7.6). En todos los casos coincide la calidad de orfandad. Para los hispanohablantes, la palabra 'guacho' es atribuida a cualquier animal e incluso humano huérfano. Hoy, en el español rioplatense, las generaciones más jóvenes usan la palabra sin referencia a la orfandad, como sinónimo de 'joven'. Pero en las Falklands la palabra se usa para referirse a un cordero sin madre. Esto responde a que la cría de ovejas es la actividad ganadera por excelencia en las islas.

Tabla 7.6: Significados del quechuismo wacho *en los diccionarios consultados.*

Diccionario de quechua	**DA**	**DLE**	**A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**
wakcha [waxča, waxču] 3. huérfano, animal o persona. Yaya, mama illak runa, wiwapash kak. Wawaka yayamama wañukpimi wakcha kan.	guacho, -a. (Del ant. quech. y aim. wacha/wachu, huérfano). 2. Ec, Pe, Py, Ar, Ur; Bo, pop. Referido a la cría de un animal, que ha perdido la madre. rur.	guacho, cha - Del quechua wajcha 'indigente', 'huérfano'. 1. adj. Arg., Bol., Ec., Par., Perú y Ur. Dicho de una cría: Que ha perdido a su madre. U. t. c. s.	wacho: *Guacho*, an orphaned domestic animal. In the Falklands, a wacho is a small lamb which became motherless at an early age and is thin and under-size / an orphaned domestic animal. [Guacho, un animal doméstico huérfano. En las Falkands, un wacho es un cordero pequeño que se quedó sin madre a una edad temprana y es delgado / un animal doméstico huérfano]. .

Wacho es un préstamo probablemente importado por algunos de los isleños que trabajan en estancias patagónicas o algunos de los empleados chilenos, algunos hombres que se dedicaron a las labores ganaderas en las islas aprendieron en la Patagonia (Spruce en comunicación personal, 2021).

El estudio de la palabra *wacho* presentó dificultades tanto en la oralidad (en el trabajo de campo) como en la modalidad escrita (en el formulario) debido a sus similitudes con la palabra *gaucho*. En otras palabras, los informantes confunden *wacho* con *gaucho* y por ende, no podemos saber si los ejemplos recogidos son de *wacho* o *gaucho*. Muchos informantes responden: "I think you mean gaucho [Perhaps you mean gaucho]". Esto puede ser indicativo de que la palabra está en desuso, pero esta confusión detectada durante la recolección de datos no permitió conseguir datos significativos.

Con respecto a la palabra *gaucho*, su origen es incierto según los diccionarios de la RAE y el de Americanismos de Morínigo 1966). Para los

efectos de esta investigación debe apuntarse que se ha hipotetizado un origen en el quechua. Según Rona (1964), dentro del grupo de autores que han defendido dicha etimología, el primero parece haber sido Martiniano Leguizamón, quien aseguraba que la palabra tiene su origen en el quechua 'wáhča' (pobre, huérfano), apuntando que *gaucho* sería una variante de *guacho* (para una discusión a fondo ver Rona, 1964). Si bien Rona no se adhiere a esta hipótesis por considerar que los pueblos quechua hablantes no entablaron contacto con las comunidades rioplatenses, más recientemente, Bracco (2004) asevera a partir de un análisis detallado de documentos del siglo XVI que ambos pueblos tenían vínculos. Es más, hoy encontramos en el español del Uruguay numerosas palabras a las que se les atribuye un origen quechua. Por su parte, Morínigo apunta hacia un posible origen guaraní (ver Morínigo, 1966).

También tienen un origen incierto (pero con hipótesis que comprenden lenguas amerindias) *pangaré* y *che*. La primera no cuenta con entrada en el DLE, pero sí en el DA (donde no se le atribuye origen) y en el diccionario de las Islas se señala que es un préstamo del español. Chans Blanco (2015) hace un detallado análisis de las diferentes hipótesis referidas al origen de la voz *pangaré*, en el que analiza datos sobre un posible origen africano, portugués o indígena (guaraní o quechua) y se inclina por un origen mapuche pero sin llegar a afirmarlo debido a que la documentación disponible resulta insuficiente para probar con contundencia dicha procedencia. En lo relativo a sus significados, el DA y el diccionario de las Islas coinciden en que es un vocablo usado para describir caballos, sin embargo, los detalles difieren (ver Tabla 7.7).

Tabla 7.7: Significados de la voz pangaré *en el DA y en el diccionario de las Islas Falkland.*

DA	**A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**
adj. *Py*, *Ar*, *Ur. Referido a una caballería*, que tiene el pelo de un color desteñido, casi amarillento. rur.	Spanish. Used to describe a horse of any colour with a wide white blaze on the face, and very often a pink nose [Español. Se usa para describir un caballo de cualquier color con una mancha blanca grande en la cara y, muy a menudo, una nariz rosada.].

El caso del vocativo *che* también cuenta con una cuota de controversia. Los diccionarios de la RAE tampoco atisban a atribuirle un origen. Resulta interesante que el diccionario de las Falklands asegure que se trata de una palabra autóctona de América del Sur (ver Tabla 7.8) y que su significado pareciera ser otro. Sin embargo, el trabajo de campo en el archipiélago

permitió confirmar que el uso que se le da a la voz es muy similar al rioplatense[59].

Tabla 7.8: Acepciones y orígenes atribuidos a la palabra che *en diccionarios.*

DLE	**DA**	**A Dictionary of Falklands Vocabulary**
che2 De la interj. che, con que se llama a personas y animales. 1. interj. Val., Arg., Bol., Par. y Ur. U. para llamar, detener o pedir atención a alguien, o para denotar asombro o sorpresa.	che. a. ǁ ~. fórm. Bo, Py, Ar, Ur. Se usa al pedir o preguntar algo a una persona con la que se tiene confianza. pop + cult → espon. ¡che! I. 1. interj. Ho, Ni, RD, Bo, Py, Ar, Ur. Expresa asombro o desagrado. pop + cult → espon. ◆ ¡vaya che! 2. Ho, Py. Expresa llamada de atención o de regaño. pop + cult → espon. 3. Ho. Expresa ruego o pregunta a alguien de confianza. pop + cult → espon.	Chay/Chey/Ché Originating in Patagonia, *ché* is the South American Indian word for friend, or man. The local meaning is much the same, as in “See you later chay” [Originario de la Patagonia, *ché* es la palabra indígena sudamericana para amigo u hombre. El significado local es muy similar, como en "Hasta luego chay"].

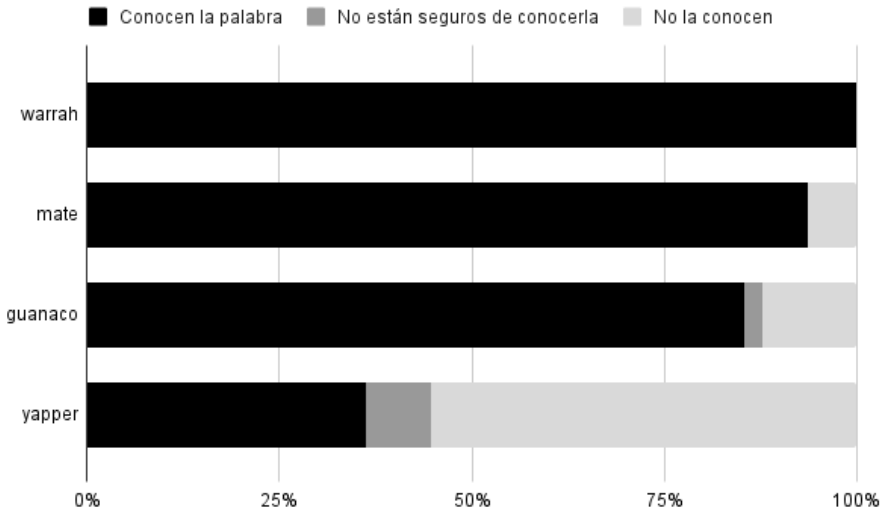
7.6.2 Análisis y discusión

En lo que refiere a sus significados, salvo por *warrah* y *yapper*, los diccionarios coinciden en las acepciones atribuidas a las palabras tanto en las respectivas lenguas amerindias, como en español y en inglés (ver Tablas 7.1 a 7.4). En el caso de *warrah* solo contamos con la definición de un diccionario de guaraní y con la del OED. En el de *yapper* la forma no aparece con el significado americano en el OED, pero coincide en todos los demás casos.

[59] See Rodríguez, Y. (forthcoming). Vocative che: Falkland Islands English most distinctive local feature.

En cuanto al conocimiento de los indigenismos, la única palabra que cuenta con el conocimiento de todos los informantes es *warrah*, seguida por *mate*, *guanaco* y *yapper* (ver Figura 7.2). Esta última resulta desconocida para la mayoría de los participantes en la encuesta, lo cual va en consonancia con sus niveles de uso (ver Figura 7.3).

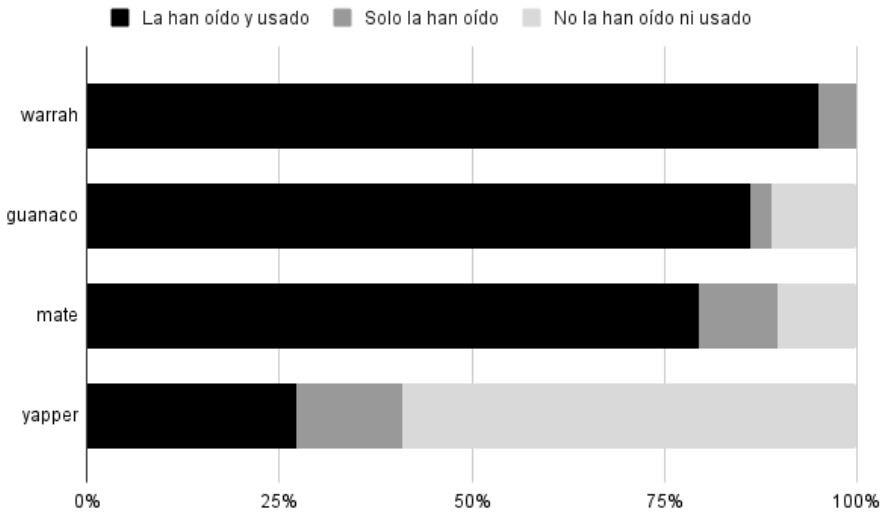
Figura 7.2: Conocimiento de los indigenismos por parte de los hablantes del inglés de las Islas Falkland.



En lo que respecta al uso de los indigenismos, la única palabra que cuenta con absoluto consenso en cuanto a su vigencia es *warrah*, seguida por *guanaco*, *mate* y finalmente *yapper* (ver Figura 7.3). La última parece estar perdiendo vitalidad, sobre todo en los hablantes más jóvenes.

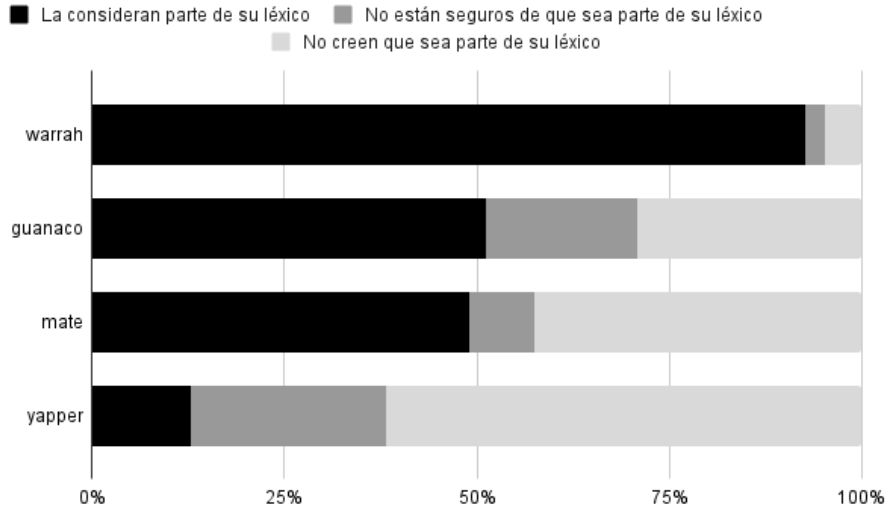
No debe olvidarse que estos préstamos léxicos están confinados a un argot, por lo que su uso depende del contexto de las interacciones del hablante así como de su historia de vida, y sobre todo, del tema de una conversación, por lo que la percepción del uso puede estar sesgada por esta frecuencia de uso tan constreñida.

Figura 7.3: Uso de los indigenismos por parte de los hablantes del inglés de las Islas Falkland.



Las diferencias en los grados de aceptación de las palabras están bien claras (ver Figura 7.4). Con un nivel alto para *warrah*, como parte del léxico local, uno medio para *guanaco* y *mate*: y *yapper*, como es lógico de esperar en razón del conocimiento y uso de la palabra, no cuenta con apoyo para que esta palabra sea considerada parte de la identidad lingüística del inglés hablado en las Falklands. Sin embargo, cabe recordar que en el diccionario de las Islas la palabra figura como parte del acervo léxico local y con la misma acepción que en el español de América y en el propio quechua.

Figura 7.4: Aceptación de los indigenismos por parte de los hablantes del inglés de las Islas Falkland.



Cuando se preguntó a los isleños qué tenían en común las palabras, si bien algunos dijeron no saberlo, una cuarta parte señaló que venían del español, mientras que otro cuarto de la muestra dijo que eran palabras de América del Sur. Solo una persona mencionó al guaraní como posible origen junto con el español. Algunas personas plantearon su relación con la historia de las Islas, con los primeros colonos y los gauchos. Destacamos entre ellas el siguiente comentario:

> 28. *They are all South American Spanish words that were in use by the Gauchos (most of them from Uruguay) that worked here in the eighteen hundreds*
>
> Son todas palabras del español de América del Sur que usaban los gauchos (la mayoría de ellos de Uruguay) que trabajaron aquí en el siglo dieciocho.

Quienes esbozaron una hipótesis dijeron que quizás era ‘imported language’ (reconociendo que se trataba de préstamos), que podrían venir de España o tener raíces en el español, que eran usados por los chilenos y que parecen venir de un extracto latinoamericano. Hubo quienes plantearon acertadamente que podría dar cuenta de vínculos latinos con América del Sur, sus caballos y gauchos. Pero también contamos con hipótesis del tipo:

> 29. *An attempt to justify some bit of Argie nonsense based on a sliver of ancient history?*

> ¿Un intento de justificar un poco de sinsentido argentino basado en una pisca de historia antigua?

Es claro que no se puede abordar este tipo de temas sin tener presente -o sin que se haga presente- el conflicto de 1982.

7.7 Reflexiones finales y direcciones a futuro

Este capítulo es un primer acercamiento al estudio de al mínimo cuatro voces originarias de pueblos americanos, que aquí hemos llamado indigenismos en el inglés hablado en las Islas Falkland. Todo indica que es el primer trabajo que aborda este asunto, por lo que aún queda mucho por hacer.

Visitar el archipiélago y hablar con los isleños cara a cara permitió revelar cuestiones que pasan desapercibidas cuando uno está limitado a un corpus o a una encuesta en línea. Además, quedó claro que analizar las actitudes hacia los préstamos sin perder de vista el contexto sociopolítico e histórico es fundamental para un buen entendimiento del fenómeno.

La presencia de estos lemas puede ser entendida como evidencia de encuentros entre inmigrantes, criollos e indígenas, tal como señala Ehret (2010). Si bien estas palabras seguramente hayan llegado al inglés vernáculo a través del contacto con hispanohablantes americanos y hablantes de lenguas amerindias, las direcciones a futuro podrían indagar sobre este asunto. Asimismo, sería interesante estudiar la adaptación de estas palabras a la fonética del inglés local, analizar las actitudes lingüísticas hacia estas palabras comparándolas con vocablos claramente hispanos y comprobar científicamente si los isleños prefieren los indigenismos a los préstamos del español.

Chapter 8

8. Final Considerations

8.1 Overview

This dissertation is in the area of contact linguistics, a field of study that has developed within contemporary linguistics. It is a dynamic area of research interested in understanding how language systems change when speakers of different languages and cultures interact. Contact studies are valuable for many areas of knowledge, for instance, language change research, sociolinguistics, language awareness, ethnolinguistics, anthropology and archaeology.

The socio-historical contexts in which the different varieties of Spanish and English have come into contact with other – typologically similar and/or different – languages have given rise to complex and varied situations. The contact between these two languages in the Falklands does not escape the rule. This dissertation elaborated on a study of the historical and sociolinguistic factors (mainly outlined in Chapter 2) that defined the linguistic encounter between Spanish and English in the Falkland Islands, focusing on the contact's repercussions, both in the toponymic sphere (Chapters 3-5) and in its lexis (Chapters 6 and 7). This final chapter summarises and evaluates its main findings.

The approach of this work follows the idea that contact varieties are shaped by their social histories, as pointed out by 20th century as well as contemporary linguists (e.g., Weinreich, 1953; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Mufwene, 2001; Hickey, 2003; Schreier, 2008). Within such an outlook, this dissertation intended to build on this research tradition, hoping to collaborate with the scholarly community in proposing satisfactory explanations of the phenomena of language contact. This work – composed of several case studies– aimed to show that the changes induced by contact obey communication strategies, economic necessities, the impact of immigration, and attitudinal factors, amongst others.

In §8.2, I propose an outline of the scenario that led to the contact-induced lexical innovations attested, in §8.3, I address some limitations of the study, and in §8.4, I summarise the contributions and methodological implications of his work. Finally, in §8.5, I provide a few suggestions for future research.

8.2 The socio-historical contact scenarios leading to Falkland Islands English Spanish components

Falkland Islands English is one of the three varieties of the South Atlantic Ocean and ranks amongst the group of "lesser-known varieties of English" (cf. Schreier et al., 2010). Since the English settlement in 1833, the Islands have been continuously inhabited by English speakers. Sudbury (2000) points out that the history of the Islands' settlements is atypical compared to the colonization of much of the English-speaking world, since the only linguistic varieties that came into contact were those English dialects spoken by the settlers, without the influence of other languages (Sudbury, 2005). However, English was also in contact with the Spanish spoken by the gauchos, resulting in a Spanish linguistic contribution in terms of vocabulary.

This work presented a broad array of data confirming that FIE is also the result of contact with Spanish, asserting that 'pure' dialect contact scenarios are the exception rather than the norm. The linguistic evidence of such contact, however, is reduced to words and place names emerging from what was probably a jargon for cattle business and lifestyle. I argued that FIE lexicon originated from the contact of English varieties as well as Spanish. The latter, together with some native American words (see Chapter 7), contributed to the ultimate shape of FIE's lexical idiosyncrasy. These words have been included in the local dictionary, and light up old Islanders' eyes when asked about their meaning or use.

Even though Spanish-English contact continues into the present, heavy Spanish-English contact took place simultaneously with FIE formation. The onset of the contact – and chiefly its peak – can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century when businessman Lafone leased part of the southern part of East Falkland, the largest of the Falkland Islands which today is named after him: Lafonia. This dissertation's focus, i.e., Spanish-English contact in the Falklands, began with the launching of Lafone's cattle raising business, followed by labour force migration, in a territory where the British Crown had just settled, marking the beginning of a still-lasting bond with the mainland. The 19th century was decisive for FIE configuration, and the fact that archives show significant numbers of people with the occupation of gaucho and related duties indicates the origin of the many camp-related Spanish loanwords found in this study.

Given the number of Spanish loanwords attested in the FIE lexicon (around 20% of the words registered in the local dictionary), a jargon was probably spoken as a result of Spanish and English speakers' interactions. This jargon was probably a simple sound system, one- or two-word utterances, without much grammatical complexity (see Chapter 2). Gauchos left the Islands when the economy shifted to sheep husbandry, therefore, the jargon did not undergo expansion so as to represent the first stage in the life cycle of a pidgin. It is worth noting, that even though it is common to talk about gaucho-heritage and gaucho words, it is important to acknowledge that people with professions other than the gaucho one (but related to it) were also agents

of linguistic contact. Rural labourers, women and children were very probably part of the contact scenario.

This dissertation has attempted to bridge a gap in the literature on English as a contact language, arguing that FIE is both the result of contact amongst English varieties as well as contact with a Spanish variety, a product of both linguistic and social factors.

8.3 Limitations of this study

There were two clear limitations of this research. One was the unavailability of written sources, a common impediment to the study of lesser-known language varieties (Meyerhoff, 2012) that is not easy to overcome. Building a traditional corpus was virtually impossible, hence limiting the linguistic inferences. Furthermore, this prevented an evaluation of whether the lexical influences affect other levels of language structure. Secondly, fieldwork data collection was hindered in terms of time because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Even though three trips were originally planned, only the first went smoothly and allowed for plenty of interviews, talks, and mingling with the Falklands community. The second, on the other hand, was truncated by the South American lockdown, and returning home became primordial. This imponderably hampered data collection, resulting in the lack of data on more recent contact outcomes planned for the third visit. Furthermore, a third trip would have allowed for a better insight into how Islanders reflect on this facet of their linguistic heritage.

8.4 Summary of the contributions and some methodological implications

Jointly with the socio-historical contact outline presented in §8.2, the findings of this dissertation can be narrowed into the two main topics: toponomastics and loanwords, and delve into theoretical, factual and methodological findings.

Place naming analysis revealed that within the Spanish toponyms used to refer to the archipelago – as well as to its various geographical features and places – there are two groups: one that is used locally and belongs to the gaucho legacy (over 200 toponyms), and another group used by the Argentinians in their maps of the Islands as a bastion of their long sovereignty claim over the archipelago (for the Islanders, the first constitutes endonyms and the second exonyms). Until now, it had been argued that no Spanish toponymic inventory was used in the archipelago (cf. Woodman, 2006). Furthermore, the data suggested that the second group of names is being used as instruments of the sovereignty claim, thus provoking negative feelings in the Falklands population, a subject that is well known to Islanders but which,

to my knowledge, had not been studied until now. With respect to the Spanish place names that are actually used by Islanders, data showed that they correspond to the archipelago's gaucho era, i.e., they were coined by then. Maps and Islanders' narratives constantly refer to them, and locals are well aware of their origin. These toponyms reveal profound acculturation and inter-linguistic processes, i.e., dropping the generics, omitting articles and adapting to the English phonology.

Methodologically, this work provided some relevant findings to the tradition of toponymic research. Visiting the archipelago and speaking with Islanders in person unveiled facts that go unnoticed when one limits research to maps and gazetteers, i.e., finding micro toponyms, understanding how the place names under study are used *in situ*, observing their pronunciation, discovering the stories behind them, as well as what Islanders think and feel about these place names (especially bearing in mind the ongoing political conflict with Argentina). In addition, despite the drawback mentioned in §8.3 regarding not having a traditional corpus, a years-long library and bookshop hunt allowed me to find a fair number of texts that mentioned the use of Spanish words in FIE. This metalinguistic corpus can be listed as an unexpected methodological finding since the limited local literature was not initially expected. Hence, this adjustment can also prove useful for other scenarios in which building a traditional corpus is not feasible.

Studying FIE lexis unveiled and evidenced historical facts that can otherwise go unnoticed. This suggests that lexicon studies help better understand the development of cultures. The 168 words attested in this work (by no means a terminal figure of this case) are an indicator of the volume of words that Spanish-speaking gauchos lent to FIE, making visible the role of the South American actors and their interactions with the local population of the Islands. Furthermore, fieldwork data made evident that these words are not limited to horse-riding terminology, as it had been claimed by other scholars (e.g., Sudbury, 2000), but also to other semantic fields such as animals, food, tools, clothing, and physical elements, amongst others. Fieldwork also indicated robust evidence of disuse of these words. Understandably, the modernisation of countryside practices, such as transportation and animal farming, has made the words redundant. Finally, it was noted that the Falklands variety has not been included in Oxford University's historical dictionary, denoting the under-researched status of the dialect.

This dissertation was not only the first to study a South American Spanish variety in contact with a British variety of English, but it was also the first scholarly work to study Native South American names in a Southern Hemisphere English variety. Even though these words have probably made their way through Spanish, contemplating their etymology is instructive in the absence of other historical data to reveal the myriad types and contexts of cultural encounters.

8.5 Suggestions for further research directions

When it comes to research on islands, it has been claimed that islanders develop a strong sense of idiosyncrasy to the place where they live (e.g., Gaffin, 1996). Such a sense of singularity stood out in this study, given that Falkland Islanders embrace their past, both the one related to Britain as well as the local one and point out how proud they are of it. Future directions of this work could look into these issues.

With regards to the contact characteristics, the questions that remain to be answered are: Did South American gauchos speak English? Did Islanders, British immigrants and English-speaking gauchos, speak Spanish? If so, where did they learn it (maybe in Patagonia)? Did these actors speak a Spanish-based or an English-based jargon? Additionally, further research could study the recent history of the contact. Contacts with the Spanish-speaking continent have been maintained virtually uninterruptedly throughout the Falklands' history; hence, it is very unlikely that neither the 20th nor the 21st-century Spanish speakers have lent FIE clearly identifiable words.

Concerning the origin and outcomes of this contact, there are four remarks worth making with respect to future research. The first is that toponymic studies still deserve far greater attention within academic inquiry with a wider scope of analysis. Place name research in the Falklands and elsewhere deserves detailed analysis, looking at toponymy from the aspect of societal acceptance. This, I believe, is both a valuable exercise for many disciplines, as well as a promising field with lots of ground for novel research. The second revolves around loanwords and place names adaptation. Preliminary observations show a strong adaptation to the English phonological system; experts in this field could benefit from studying this particular case. Thirdly, finding out how integrated the South Americans were and what interaction patterns they had with other residents, would be of great help to complete the puzzle. Finally, comparing the FIE scenario with other micro-contact settings involving Spanish and English also has the potential of throwing some light on the many questions that remain to be answered within contact linguistics.

This concludes my discussion on Spanish-English contact in the Falkland Islands, and an attempt to lay the basis for further linguistic analysis on this under-researched English variety.

Appendix

Table 3.1: Spanish place names in the Falkland Islands classified by languages involved and location.

Place name	Bilingual or Hispanic	West or East Falkland
Albemarle Rincon	B	W
Ames Rincon	B	W
Anthony Rincon	B	W
Arrow Harbour Arroyo	B	E
Arrow Harbour Rincon	B	E
Arroyo	H	W
Arroyo Malo	H	E
Arroyo Pedro	H	E
Arroyos	H	E
Big Rincon	B	W
Big Rincon	B	E
Black Rincon	B	E
Black Rincon	B	E
Black Rincon	B	E
Black Rincon	B	E
Blanco Bay	B	E
Bombilla Flat	B	E
Bombilla Hill	B	E
Bombilla House	B	E

Brazo del Mar	H	E
Brazo la Mar	H	E
Bridge Camp	B	E
Bull Pt Rincon	B	E
Bush Rincon	B	E
Camila Creek Arroyo	B	E
Campamenta	H	E
Campamenta Bay	B	E
Campito	H	E
Cantera	H	E
Cantera House	B	E
Cantera Island	H	E
Cantera Mt	B	E
Carancho Bluff	B	W
Carew Harbour Rincon	B	W
Cart Arroyo	B	E
Carthorse Arroyo	B	E
Cattle Pt Rincon	B	E
Centre Camp	B	W
Centre Camp (2)	B	W
Ceritos	H	E
Ceritos arroyo	H	E
Cerritos Arroyo	H	E
Cerro Montevideo	H	E
Chancho Pt	B	W
Chancho Pt	B	E

Chata Flats	B	E
Chata Rincon	H	E
Chris's Camp	B	E
Coast Camp	B	E
Colorado Bay	B	E
Concordia Bay	B	E
Concordia Beach	B	E
Concordia Rock	B	E
Congo	H	W
Congo House	B	E
Congo Pond	B	W
Corral Brazo	H	E
Cuero Brook	B	E
Curvado Rocks	B	E
Deep Arroyo	B	E
Diamond Rincon	B	W
Dos Lomas	H	E
Dos Lomas House	B	E
Double Creek Rincon	B	W
East Rincon	B	W
Estancia	H	E
Estancia Brook	B	E
Estancia Horse Paddock	B	E
Ewe Camp	B	E
Fanning Rincon	B	E
Fanny Rincon	B	E

First Arroyo	B	W
Flores Harbour	B	W
Gallina Rock	B	W
Gateado Pond	B	E
Gauchos Corral	H	E
Ghost Arroyo	B	E
Gonzales Arroyo	H	E
Green Pass Arroyo	B	E
Green Rincon	B	W
Green Rincon (2)	B	W
Halfway House Arroyo	B	E
Hogget Camp	B	E
Hope Cottage Rincon	B	E
Horse Rincon	B	W
Horse Rincon	B	E
Horseshoe Bay Rincon	B	E
Hoste Inlet Rincon	B	W
Hunter's Arroyo	B	W
Inner Verde	B	E
Jackass Rincon	B	E
John's Rincon	B	E
Ladrillo	H	W
Laguna Isla	H	E
Laguna Isla	H	E
Laguna Isla House	B	E
Laguna Ronde	H	E

Laguna Seca	H	E
Laguna Verde	H	E
Little Rincon	B	E
Long Rincon	B	E
Los Cerritos	H	E
Lower Malo	B	W
Lower Malo	B	E
Lower Malo House	B	E
Lucas Rincon	B	W
Malo Creek	B	E
Malo Hills	B	E
Malo Rincon	H	E
Manada Paddock	B	W
Manada Paddock (2)	B	W
Manada Paddock (3)	B	W
Mappa Big Arroyo	B	E
Mare Rincon	B	W
Mare Rincon	B	E
Menguera Pt	B	E
Mocha Mt	B	W
Mocha Ridge	B	W
Mocho Pond	B	E
Moro Point	B	E
Mustard Arroyo	B	E
New House Arroyo	B	E
North Camp	B	W

North Rincons	B	W
North West Rincon	B	E
Orqueta Arroyo	H	E
Outer Verde	B	E
Outside Chata	B	E
Paices Rincon	H	E
Paloma Pond	B	E
Paso Grande Creek	B	E
Peat Banks Arroyo	B	E
Philimore Chico	B	E
Picaso Rincon	B	E
Piedra Sola	H	E
Piojo Gate	B	E
Piojo Pt	B	E
Platt Pt Rincon	B	E
Playa Ridge	B	E
Plaza Creek	B	E
Poncho Hill	B	W
Poncho Hill Stream	B	W
Ponchos Pond	B	E
Ponds Rincon	B	E
Port King Rincon	B	W
Post Arroyo	B	E
Pot Rincon	B	E
Purvis Rincon	B	W
Purvis Rincon	B	E

Rabbit Rincon	B	E
Rincon de los Indios	H	E
Rincon del Moro	H	E
Rincon Flat	B	W
Rincon Gate	B	W
Rincon Gate	B	E
Rincon Grande	H	E
Rincon Ridge	B	W
River Camp	B	E
Rodeo Creek	B	E
Rodeo Hill	B	W
Rodeo Mountains	B	E
Rodeo Pond	B	E
Rodeo Pt	B	W
Rodeo Pt	B	E
Rodeo Pt (2)	B	W
Ruana	H	W
Ruana	H	E
Ruana Rincon	H	E
Ruggles Arroyo	B	W
Ruggles Rincon	B	W
Rum Arroyo	B	E
Saladero	H	E
Saladero Gate	B	E
Salvador Hill	B	E
Sand Rincon	B	E

Sandhills Arroyo	B	E
Sandys Rincon	B	E
Seal Cove Rincon	B	E
Second Arroyo	B	W
Shag Rincon	B	E
Snipe Camp	B	E
Snipe Rincon	B	W
Snipes Arroyo	B	E
Sound Rincon	B	E
South Camp	B	W
South Camp (2)	B	W
South Harbour Rincon	B	W
Sow Rincon	B	E
Sparrow Rincon	B	E
Spars Arroyo	B	E
Stud Rincon	B	E
Swan Pond Arroyo	B	E
Teal Creek Arroyo	B	E
Ten Shilling Bay Camp	B	W
Terra Motas Pt	B	E
Terre Moto	H	E
The Campito	B	E
The Picos	B	E
The Rincon	B	W
The Rincon	B	E
The Verde Bt	B	E

The Verde House	B	E
The Verde Mts	B	E
Third Arroyo	B	W
Top Malo	B	W
Top Malo	B	E
Top Malo corner	B	E
Top Malo House	B	E
Torcida Point	B	E
Tranquilidad	H	E
Triste	H	E
Triste Pt	B	E
View Hill Arroyo	B	E
Warrah Bridge	B	W
Warrah Corner	B	W
Warrah House	B	W
Warrah River	B	W
White Rincon	B	E
Whittingtons Rincon	B	E
Wreck Rincon	B	W
Yeguada	H	E
Zaino Rincon	H	E

Table 6.2: Spanish loanwords found in the corpus presented by type and source word.

Type	**Source word**	**Type**	**Source word**	**Type**	**Source word**
1	adiós	57	domador	113	pejerrey

2	ajos	58	doradillo	114	peón
3	alazán	59	empacarse	115	pestaña blanca
4	albino	60	empanada	116	picaro
5	alpargatas	61	encimera	117	picaso
6	apero	62	ensillar	118	pico blanco
7	arreo	63	estancia	119	pinto
8	arroyo	64	estribo	120	plateado
9	asado	65	facón	121	poncho
10	azulejo	66	faja	122	presilla
11	bagual	67	fajinal	123	pretal
12	baquiano	68	freno	124	pretal
13	barriguera	69	frigoríficos	125	pucha
14	bastos	70	gargantilla	126	puchero
15	bayo	71	gateado	127	puestos
16	bicho	72	gaucho	128	que lastima!
17	blanco	73	guacho	129	quebracho
18	bocado	74	guanaco	130	querencia
19	bolas	75	horqueta	131	rabicano
20	bolichero	76	isla	132	ranchos
21	bombachas	77	laguna	133	reata
22	bombilla	78	lazo	134	rebenque
23	borrego	79	lobuno	135	recado
24	bozal	80	loco	136	riendas
25	bronco	81	lonja	137	rincón
26	bueno	82	macanudo	138	río
27	caballero a caballo	83	malacara	139	roca
28	cabestro	84	maletas	140	rodeo
29	cabezada	85	manada	141	rosado
30	calabaza	86	manchado	142	rosillo
31	caldera	87	mandil	143	ruana
32	campo	88	maneas	144	rucio
33	cantera	89	manguera	145	saladero
34	cañada	90	mantas	146	salud
35	capa	91	manteca salada	147	sidera
36	capataz	92	mañero	148	sinuelo
37	carajo	93	mate	149	sobado
38	caramba	94	mocho	150	sobrepuesto

39	carancho	95	monte	151	soga
40	carguero	96	montura	152	tabas
41	carne con cuero	97	mordaza	153	talero
42	carona	98	moro	154	tientos
43	carreta	99	morro	155	tirón
44	cazuela	100	muy bien!	156	tordillo
45	cebruno	101	negro	157	toruno
46	cerro	102	ñandú	158	tostado
47	cerveza	103	oscuro	159	traba
48	chau	104	ovejuno	160	trenzado
49	che	105	overo	161	tropilla
50	cincha	106	palenque	162	tubiano/tobiano
51	cojinillo	107	palomino	163	vaca
52	colorado	108	pampa	164	vino
53	corral	109	pangaré	165	yapa
54	correón	110	pasear	166	yerba
55	criollo	111	paso libre	167	zaino
56	cruzado	112	pealar	168	zarco
	Total amount of types: 168				

Table 6.3: Spanish loanwords found in the corpus presented by source word and number of tokens.

Source word	Tokens	Source word	Tokens	Source word	Tokens
adiós	1	domador	1	pejerrey	1
ajos	1	doradillo	3	peón	2
alazán	9	empacarse	1	pestaña blanca	4
albino	1	empanada	2	picaro	1
alpargatas	3	encimera	1	picaso	8
apero	2	ensillar	1	pico blanco	1
arreo	1	estancia	3	pinto	1
arroyo	5	estribo	3	plateado	1
asado	4	facón	1	poncho	4
azulejo	8	faja	3	presilla	2
bagual	1	fajinal	1	pretal	1

baquiano	1	freno	4	pretal	4
barriguera	3	frigoríficos	1	pucha	3
bastos	10	gargantilla	1	puchero	2
bayo	8	gateado	8	puestos	1
bicho	1	gaucho	4	que lastima!	1
blanco	7	guacho	1	quebracho	1
bocado	2	guanaco	2	querencia	2
bolas	8	horqueta	1	rabicano	4
bolichero	4	isla	1	ranchos	2
bombachas	5	laguna	1	reata	2
bombilla	3	lazo	9	rebenque	7
borrego	1	lobuno	1	recado	7
bozal	12	loco	1	riendas	4
bronco	1	lonja	2	rincón	3
bueno	1	macanudo	2	río	1
caballero a caballo	1	malacara	7	roca	1
cabestro	11	maletas	6	rodeo	3
cabezada	5	manada	3	rosado	4
calabaza	1	manchado	1	rosillo	6
caldera	1	mandil	1	ruana	4
campo	12	maneas	15	rucio	1
cantera	1	manguera	2	saladero	1
cañada	1	mantas	1	salud	1
capa	1	manteca salada	1	sidera	1
capataz	3	mañero	1	sinuelo	1
carajo	1	mate	4	sobado	2
caramba	1	mocho	2	sobrepuesto	5
carancho	3	monte	1	soga	2
carguero	4	montura	2	tabas	3
carne con cuero	3	mordaza	1	talero	1
carona	2	moro	3	tientos	7
carreta	1	morro	1	tirón	1
cazuela	1	muy bien!	1	tordillo	7
cebruno	5	negro	7	toruno	1
cerro	1	ñandú	1	tostado	7
cerveza	1	oscuro	3	traba	1

chau	1	ovejuno	2	trenzado	1
che	2	overo	7	tropilla	5
cincha	24	palenque	6	tubiano/tobiano	4
cojinillo	9	palomino	3	vaca	2
colorado	9	pampa	1	vino	1
corral	4	pangaré	2	yapa	3
correón	8	pasear	4	yerba	3
criollo	1	paso libre	1	zaino	10
cruzado	4	pealar	1	zarco	5
	Total amount of tokens: 539				

Table 6.4: Spanish loanwords found in the corpus presented by source word and semantic field.

Source word	Semantic field	Source word	Semantic field	Source word	Semantic field
adiós	j	domador	f	pejerrey	g
ajos	c	doradillo	a	peón	f
alazán	a	empacarse	g	pestaña blanca	a
albino	a	empanada	c	picaro	a
alpargatas	e	encimera	b	picaso	a
apero	b	ensillar	b	pico blanco	a
arreo	j	estancia	h	pinto	a
arroyo	i	estribo	b	plateado	a
asado	c	facón	d	poncho	e
azulejo	a	faja	e	presilla	b
bagual	g	fajinal	i	pretal	b
baquiano	f	freno	b	pretal	b
barriguera	b	frigoríficos	h	pucha	j
bastos	b	gargantilla	a	puchero	c
bayo	a	gateado	a	puestos	h
bicho	g	gaucho	f	que lastima!	j
blanco	a	guacho	j	quebracho	i
bocado	b	guanaco	g	querencia	g
bolas	d	horqueta	d	rabicano	a
bolichero	f/h	isla	i	ranchos	h
bombachas	e	laguna	i	reata	b

bombilla	c	lazo	b	rebenque	d
borrego	g	lobuno	a	recado	b
bozal	b	loco	j	riendas	b
bronco	g	lonja	d	rincón	i
bueno	j	macanudo	j	río	i
caballero a caballo	c	malacara	a	roca	i
cabestro	b	maletas	b	rodeo	g
cabezada	b	manada	g	rosado	a
calabaza	c	manchado	a	rosillo	a
caldera	c	mandil	b	ruana	e
campo	h/i/j	maneas	b	rucio	a
cantera	i	manguera	h	saladero	h
cañada	i	mantas	b/j	salud	j
capa	e	manteca salada	c	sidera	b
capataz	f	mañero	g	sinuelo	g
carajo	j	mate	c	sobado	b
caramba	j	mocho	g	sobrepuesto	b
carancho	g	monte	i	soga	d
carguero	g	montura	b	tabas	j
carne con cuero	c	mordaza	d	talero	d
carona	b	moro	a	tientos	b
carreta	j	morro	i	tirón	j
cazuela	c	muy bien!	j	tordillo	a
cebruno	a	negro	a	toruno	g
cerro	i	ñandú	g	tostado	a
cerveza	c	oscuro	a	traba	b
chau	j	ovejuno	a	trenzado	b
che	j	overo	a	tropilla	g
cincha	b	palenque	d	tubiano/tobiano	a
cojinillo	b	palomino	a	vaca	g
colorado	a	pampa	h	vino	c
corral	h	pangaré	a	yapa	j
correón	b	pasear	j	yerba	c
criollo	a	paso libre	j	zaino	a
cruzado	a	pealar	g	zarco	a

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Summary

This dissertation provides a thorough description of the lexical outcomes of the contact between the arguably young American Spanish and the youngest variety of Southern Hemisphere Englishes, thus closing a gap in the literature on Spanish and English as contact languages. The study is confined to the lexical sphere since unlike other contact situations between these languages the contact has only reached early stages.

Today, English is the most used language in the Falkland Islands, however, Spanish was also spoken in the 19th century when beef livestock farming was one of the economic engines of the Islands. Such businesses used to be managed by gauchos from South America, and their presence is still evident in the lexicon of Falkland Islands English. In order to understand the socio-historical context of the Islands, Chapter 2 takes us back to the 18th century, when Bougainville took livestock animals to the Falklands (Strange, 1973) and explains how almost a century later, Lafone, a businessman, and the British Crown exploited cattle with the help of Spanish-speaking people from the River Plate region (Beccaceci, 2017). Such enterprises set up the beginning of a language contact arena between English and Spanish. Falkland Islands vernacular is regarded as the result of dialect contact only, which entails an exception compared to the other colonial Englishes (Trudgill, 2004). However, a somehow neglected or unknown aspect of its history has been its contact with Spanish. This thesis aims to amend its contact history and demonstrate that contact with Spanish has played its part in the shaping of the archipelago's official language. I resort to a range of sources, i.e., archival research, literature reviews, and ethnographic fieldwork.

Spanish-English contact in the Falklands has left mainly two linguistic products: loanwords and place names. Concerning the latter, it has been argued that no Spanish toponymic inventory is used in the Falkland Islands (Woodman, 2016). Chapter 3 delves into how maps do attest to the presence of several Spanish names. The existence of these place names reflects the history of the area. Even though the Falklands currently host an English-speaking community, the Islands have a long history of Spanish-speaking settlers. The former Spanish administration as well as contact with 19th-century Spanish-speaking gauchos left quite a few Hispanic toponyms. Mostly coined after 1833, these toponyms collectively reflect the need for orientation, delimitation, and land management for livestock. However, there is another group of Spanish place names that is not used in the Islands. These toponyms are partly a result of the ongoing Argentinian claim of sovereignty over the Falklands. This thesis accounts for the existence of Spanish place names used locally to refer to the Islands and presents a novel classification system for the Spanish-language toponymic inventories of the Falklands into Gaucho-heritage and Argentinian. Chapter 4, follows with an analysis of the second

group. Argentina has assigned the archipelago different names than those used in the Islands. Place naming phenomena like this one have not received much attention. No one has examined place naming in the Falklands within the framework of critical toponomastics nor have they looked into language attitudes. This thesis is a preliminary attempt to do so, by looking into the Spanish place names used in Argentinian maps but not in local ones. I resorted to *in situ* interviews, participant observation, and social media data. The analysis suggests that these Argentinian toponyms receive neither official nor societal approval by Islanders, whose attitudinal factors in connection to Argentinian toponyms are negative in obvious connection to an unresolved conflict. On the other hand, American Spanish gaucho toponymy in the Falkland Islands is mostly the result of a former South American gaucho presence, the main workforce when it came to the cattle industry in the Islands. These toponyms had not received exclusive attention yet. Until now they had been only mentioned in gazetteers with reference to their Spanish origin. Chapter 5 looks into how they work; and analyses how Islanders perceive them. This is done under the assumption that studying Islanders' attitudes contributes to revealing historical facts as well as relationships between the Islands and the mainland.

In Chapter 6 a novel methodological approach to the elaboration of loanwords corpora is presented. Loanwords are analysed in terms of their occurrence, frequency, appearance in dictionaries and the semantic fields they have penetrated, attempting to account for the volume of words that Spanish speakers lent to the Islands' English. The findings reveal that Spanish loanwords are mainly -though not exclusively- related to horse tack and horse types. Furthermore, it is clear from the data that most words are tightly connected to gauchos vernacular and not exclusively with their equestrian duties. Chapter 7 focuses on those loanwords that, despite being the result of English and Spanish contact, are originally from autochthonous South American languages. This chapter highlights the relevance of the study of loanwords under the assumption that they can bring to light unsuspected aspects of the types of encounters between immigrants, criollos and indigenous people (Ehret, 2010). The Indeigenisms are words from the Quechua and Guarani languages found in a corpus presented in Chapter 6 and the local dictionary. This is the first case study on Americanisms in the English spoken in the archipelago, for which methods from anthropology, sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics are employed.

Overall, the studies presented in this dissertation have shown that language contact studies are advantageous when it comes to understanding history and social phenomena. Moreover, studying the contact between English and Spanish in the Falklands, both synchronically and diachronically, allows one to conclude that the products of such contact are mainly constrained to loanwords and toponyms. Moreover, this dissertation has not only been the first to study a South American Spanish variety in contact with a British variety of English, but it has also been the first scholarly work to study Native South American words in a Southern Hemisphere English variety.

Nederlandse samenvatting
Dutch Translation

Dit proefschrift geeft een grondige beschrijving van de lexicale uitkomsten van het contact tussen het redelijk jonge Amerikaanse Spaans en de jongste variëteit van Engels op het zuidelijk halfrond, waarmee een gat in de literatuur over Spaans en Engels als contacttalen wordt gedicht. De studie beperkt zich tot de lexicale sfeer, aangezien het contact, in tegenstelling tot andere contactsituaties tussen deze talen, slechts vroege stadia heeft bereikt.

Tegenwoordig is Engels de meest gebruikte taal op de Falklandeilanden, maar er werd ook Spaans gesproken in de 19e eeuw toen de veehouderij een van de economische motoren van de eilanden was. Dergelijke bedrijven werden vroeger beheerd door gaucho's uit Zuid-Amerika, en hun aanwezigheid is nog steeds duidelijk in het lexicon van het Engels van de Falklandeilanden. Om de sociaal-historische context van de eilanden te begrijpen, neemt hoofdstuk 2 ons mee terug naar de 18e eeuw, toen Bougainville vee meenam naar de Falklands (Strange, 1973). Er wordt uitgelegd hoe bijna een eeuw later Lafone, een zakenman, en de Britse Kroon vee en paarden exploiteerden met de hulp van Spaanssprekende mensen uit de River Plate-regio (Beccaceci, 2017). Dergelijke ondernemingen vormden het begin van een taalcontactarena tussen Engels en Spaans. Falkland Islands volkstaal wordt alleen beschouwd als het resultaat van dialectcontact, wat een uitzondering met zich meebrengt in vergelijking met de andere koloniale Englishes (Trudgill, 2004). Nietemin speelt er een onbekend aspect van zijn geschiedenis en dat is het contact met het Spaans. Dit proefschrift heeft tot doel de contactgeschiedenis te wijzigen en aan te tonen dat contact met het Spaans een rol heeft gespeeld bij de vorming van de officiële taal van de archipel. Ik maak gebruik van een scala aan bronnen, d.w.z. archiefonderzoek, literatuuroverzichten en etnografisch veldwerk.

Spaans-Engels contact in de Falklands heeft voornamelijk twee taalproducten opgeleverd: leenwoorden en plaatsnamen. Wat dit laatste punt betreft is het betoogd dat er op de Falklandeilanden geen Spaanse toponymische inventaris wordt gebruikt (Woodman, 2016). Hoofdstuk 3 gaat in op hoe kaarten getuigen van de aanwezigheid van verschillende Spaanse namen. Het bestaan van deze plaatsnamen weerspiegelt de geschiedenis van het gebied. Hoewel de Falklands momenteel een Engelssprekende gemeenschap is, hebben de eilanden een lange geschiedenis van Spaanssprekende kolonisten. Het voormalige Spaanse bestuur en het contact met 19e-eeuwse Spaanssprekende gaucho's lieten nogal wat Latijns-Amerikaanse toponiemen na. Meestal gebruikt na 1833 weerspiegelen deze toponiemen de behoefte aan oriëntatie, afbakening en landbeheer voor vee. Er is echter nog een groep Spaanse plaatsnamen die niet op de eilanden

wordt gebruikt. Deze toponiemen zijn deels een gevolg van de aanhoudende Argentijnse aanspraak op soevereiniteit over de Falklands. Dit proefschrift verklaart het bestaan van Spaanse plaatsnamen die lokaal worden gebruikt om naar de eilanden te verwijzen en presenteert een nieuw classificatiesysteem voor de Spaanstalige toponymische inventarissen van de Falklands in Gaucho-erfgoed en Argentijns. Hoofdstuk 4 volgt met een analyse van de tweede groep. Argentinië heeft de archipel andere namen gegeven dan die op de eilanden worden gebruikt. Plaatsnaamgevingsverschijnselen zoals deze hebben niet veel aandacht gekregen. Niemand heeft plaatsnaamgeving in de Falklands onderzocht in het kader van kritische toponomatiek, noch hebben ze gekeken naar taalattitudes. Dit proefschrift is een voorlopige poging daartoe, door te kijken naar de Spaanse plaatsnamen die wel op Argentijnse kaarten worden gebruikt, maar niet op lokale. Ik maakte gebruik van in-situ interviews, participerende observatie en social media data. De analyse suggereert dat deze Argentijnse toponiemen noch officiële, noch maatschappelijke goedkeuring krijgen van eilandbewoners, wier houdingsfactoren in verband met Argentijnse toponiemen negatief zijn in duidelijk verband met een onopgelost conflict. Aan de andere kant is de Amerikaans-Spaanse gaucho-toponymie op de Falklandeilanden meestal het resultaat van een voormalige Zuid-Amerikaanse gaucho-aanwezigheid, de belangrijkste groep arbeiders als het gaat om de vee-industrie op de eilanden. Deze toponiemen hadden nog niet exclusieve aandacht gekregen. Tot nu toe waren ze alleen genoemd in gazetteers met verwijzing naar hun Spaanse afkomst. Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoekt hoe ze werken en analyseert hoe eilandbewoners ze waarnemen. Dit wordt gedaan in de veronderstelling dat het bestuderen van de houding van eilandbewoners bijdraagt aan het onthullen van historische feiten en relaties tussen de eilanden en het vasteland.

In Hoofdstuk 6 wordt een nieuwe methodologische benadering van de uitwerking van leenwoordencorpora gepresenteerd. Leenwoorden worden geanalyseerd in termen van hun vindplaats, frequentie, aanwezigheid in woordenboeken en de semantische velden die ze zijn binnengedrongen, in een poging om de hoeveelheid woorden te verklaren die Spaanstaligen aan het Engels van de eilanden leenden. De bevindingen laten zien dat Spaanse leenwoorden voornamelijk -maar niet uitsluitend- gerelateerd zijn aan paardentuig en paardentypes. Verder blijkt uit de gegevens dat de meeste woorden nauw verbonden zijn met de gaucho-taal en niet uitsluitend met hun ruitertaken. Hoofdstuk 7 richt zich op die leenwoorden die, ondanks dat ze het resultaat zijn van Engels en Spaans contact, oorspronkelijk afkomstig zijn uit autochtone Zuid-Amerikaanse talen. Dit hoofdstuk benadrukt de relevantie van de studie van leenwoorden in de veronderstelling dat ze onvermoede aspecten van de soorten ontmoetingen tussen immigranten, criollos en inheemse volkeren aan het licht kunnen brengen (Ehret, 2010). De Amerikanismen zijn woorden uit de Quechua- en Guarani-talen die te vinden zijn in een corpus in hoofdstuk 6 en in het plaatselijke woordenboek. Dit is de eerste case study over Amerikanismenin het Engels dat in de archipel wordt

gesproken, waarbij methoden uit de antropologie, sociolinguïstiek en corpuslinguïstiek worden gebruikt.

Over het algemeen hebben de studies in dit proefschrift aangetoond dat taalcontactstudies gunstig zijn als het gaat om het begrijpen van geschiedenis en sociale fenomenen. Bovendien maakt het bestuderen van het contact tussen het Engels en het Spaans in de Falklands, zowel synchroon als diachroon, het mogelijk om te concluderen dat de producten van dergelijk contact voornamelijk beperkt zijn tot leenwoorden en toponiemen. Bovendien was dit proefschrift niet alleen het eerste dat een Zuid-Amerikaanse Spaanse variant bestudeerde in contact met een Britse variant van het Engels, maar het was ook het eerste wetenschappelijke werk dat inheemse Zuid-Amerikaanse woorden bestudeerde in een Engelse variant op het zuidelijk halfrond.

Resumen en español
Spanish Translation

Esta tesis brinda una descripción detallada de las consecuencias léxicas del contacto entre el joven español americano con la variedad más joven de los dialectos del inglés del hemisferio sur, cerrando así una brecha en la literatura sobre el español y el inglés como lenguas en contacto. El estudio se circunscribe al ámbito léxico ya que, a diferencia de otras situaciones de contacto entre estas lenguas, el contacto solo ha llegado a etapas tempranas.

Hoy en día, el inglés es el idioma más utilizado en las Falklands/Malvinas; sin embargo, el español también se hablaba en el siglo XIX cuando la ganadería vacuna era uno de los motores económicos de las Islas. Dichos negocios solían ser administrados por gauchos de América del Sur, y su presencia aún es evidente en el léxico del inglés hablado en el archipiélago. Para entender el contexto sociohistórico de las Islas, el Capítulo 2 nos retrotrae al siglo XVIII y explica cómo Bougainville importa ganado a las Islas (Strange, 1973), cuya descendencia explotaría Lafone junto con la Corona británica casi un siglo después. Esto se haría con la ayuda de hispanohablantes de la región del Río de la Plata (Beccaceci, 2017). Esos acontecimientos marcarían el comienzo de una arena de contacto lingüístico entre inglés y español. Se considera que la lengua vernácula de las Islas es solo el resultado del contacto dialectal entre variedades del inglés, lo que supone una excepción en comparación con los otros dialectos coloniales (Trudgill, 2004). Sin embargo, un aspecto un tanto olvidado o desconocido de su historia ha sido el contacto con el español. Esta tesis pretende enmendar dicha historia demostrando que el contacto con el español ha tenido un papel importante en la configuración de la lengua oficial del archipiélago. Para ello recurro a una variedad de fuentes, es decir, archivos, literatura de todo tipo y al trabajo de campo etnográfico.

El contacto español-inglés en las Falklands/Malvinas ha dejado principalmente dos productos lingüísticos: préstamos y topónimos. Con respecto a los últimos, se ha argumentado que no se utiliza ningún inventario toponímico en español (Woodman, 2016). El Capítulo 3 profundiza en cómo los mapas dan cuenta de la presencia de varios nombres hispanos. Estos topónimos reflejan la historia de la zona. Aunque las Islas actualmente albergan una comunidad de habla inglesa, tienen una larga historia de colonos de habla hispana. La pasada administración española, así como el contacto con los gauchos de habla hispana del siglo XIX, dejó numerosos topónimos en español. En su mayoría acuñados después de 1833, estos topónimos reflejan colectivamente la necesidad de orientación, delimitación y

gestión de la tierra para el ganado. Sin embargo, existe otro grupo de topónimos en español que no se utiliza en las Islas. Estos topónimos son en parte el resultado del reclamo argentino de soberanía sobre el archipiélago. Esta tesis, por lo tanto, también da cuenta de la existencia de topónimos en español usados localmente para referirse a las Islas y presenta un novedoso sistema de clasificación para los inventarios toponímicos en español: de herencia gauchesca y argentinos. El Capítulo 4 hace un análisis del segundo inventario. Argentina le ha asignado al archipiélago nombres diferentes a los que se usan localmente. Los fenómenos toponímicos como este no han recibido mucha atención. Nadie ha examinado la denominación de lugares en las Falklands/Malvinas dentro del marco de la toponomástica crítica y tampoco se han investigado las actitudes lingüísticas. Mi tesis es un intento preliminar de hacerlo, examinando los nombres de lugares en español que aparecen en los mapas argentinos, pero no en los locales. Asimismo, recurrí a entrevistas *in situ*, observación participante y datos de redes sociales. El análisis sugiere que estos topónimos argentinos no reciben aprobación oficial ni social por parte de los isleños, cuyas actitudes hacia ellos son negativas en relación obvia con un conflicto no resuelto. Por otro lado, la toponimia hispana gauchesca es en su mayoría el resultado de la ya mencionada presencia de gauchos sudamericanos, la principal mano de obra para la industria ganadera en el siglo XIX. Estos topónimos tampoco habían recibido atención exclusiva. Hasta ahora solo se habían mencionado en los nomenclátores con referencia a su origen en el español. El Capítulo 5 analiza cómo funcionan y explica cómo los perciben los isleños, bajo el supuesto de que el estudio de sus actitudes contribuye a revelar hechos históricos, así como las relaciones entre las islas y el continente.

En el Capítulo 6 se presenta un enfoque metodológico novedoso para la elaboración de corpus de préstamos lingüísticos. Los préstamos se analizan en función de su ocurrencia, frecuencia, aparición en los diccionarios y los campos semánticos en los que han penetrado, tratando de dar cuenta del volumen de palabras que los hispanohablantes prestaron al inglés de las Islas. Los resultados indican que los préstamos del español están relacionados principalmente, aunque no exclusivamente, con los aperos y los tipos de caballo. Además, se desprende claramente de los datos que la mayoría de las palabras están estrechamente relacionadas con la lengua vernácula de los gauchos y no exclusivamente con sus deberes ecuestres. El Capítulo 7 se centra en aquellos préstamos que, a pesar de ser fruto del contacto inglés-español, son originarios de lenguas autóctonas sudamericanas. Este capítulo destaca la relevancia del estudio de los préstamos bajo el supuesto de que pueden sacar a la luz aspectos insospechados de los tipos de encuentros entre inmigrantes, criollos e indígenas (Ehret, 2010). Los indigenismos son palabras de las lenguas quechua y guaraní que se encuentran en el corpus presentado en el Capítulo 6 y en el diccionario local. Este es el primer estudio de caso sobre indigenismos en el inglés hablado en el archipiélago, para lo cual se emplean métodos propios de la antropología, la sociolingüística y la lingüística de corpus.

En suma, los estudios presentados en esta tesis refuerzan la idea de que investigar situaciones de contacto lingüístico ayuda a entender fenómenos sociales e históricos. De hecho, estudiar el contacto entre el inglés y el español en las Falklands/Malvinas, tanto sincrónica como diacrónicamente, permite concluir que los productos de dicho contacto se limitan principalmente a préstamos y topónimos. Finalmente, cabe señalar que esta tesis no solo ha sido la primera en estudiar una variedad del español sudamericano en contacto con una variedad del inglés británico, sino que también ha sido el primer trabajo académico en estudiar palabras nativas sudamericanas en una variedad del inglés del hemisferio sur.

Curriculum vitae

Yliana V. Rodríguez was born on July 2nd, 1983, in Montevideo, Uruguay. She obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in Linguistics from Universidad de la República, and a Master of Arts in Human Sciences from the same Uruguayan University. During her studies, she has had academic training in L'Aquila University, Saint Petersburg State University, University of Amsterdam, University of Kiel, as well as in the International School for Advanced Studies (SISSA) in Trieste. Conducting her Ph.D. research involved fieldwork in the Falklands which she did twice accompanied by her 1-year-old son. Yliana has participated in dozens of linguistic conferences and published a number of peer-reviewed articles in prestigious journals and edited volumes. At present, she works in the Centre for Foreign Languages of Universidad de la República, in Montevideo.