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

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# Chapter 2

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

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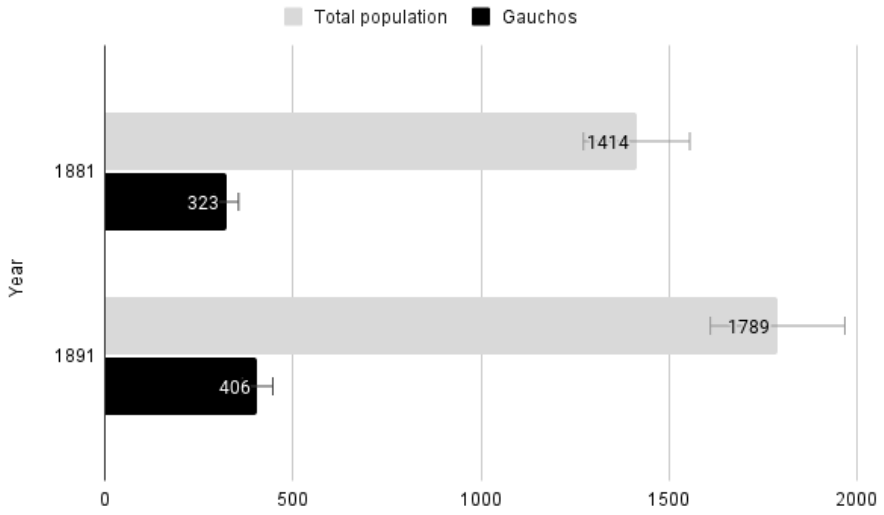
[33] Land on East Falkland was leased from the 1840s, and the settlement of West Falkland only began in the late 1860s (Strange, 1973).

[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.