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

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Chapter 5

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

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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.