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

Rodriguez Gutiérrez, Y.V.

Chapter 6

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

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Abstract

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

6.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1.1 Falklands English: An overview

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1.2 Loanwords

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.2 Spanish loanwords in FIE

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

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

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

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

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

6.3 Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.1 Corpus and data collection

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

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

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

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

6.3.2 Classification

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4 Analysis and results

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

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

Table 6.1: Spanish loanwords found in the corpus.

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

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

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

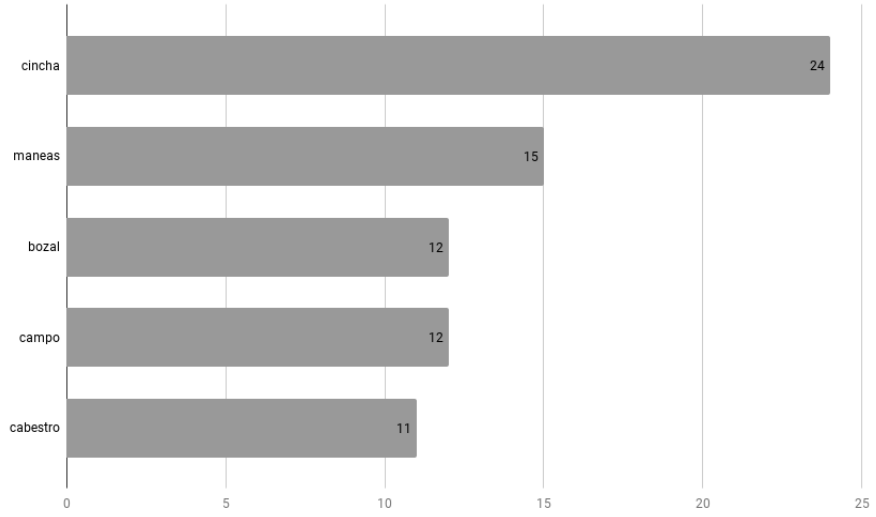
Below, the five words that evidenced the highest frequency in the data are presented (given the character of the corpus, i.e., secondary sources, it should be noted that frequency is not representative of actual usage). The

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

6.4.1 Frequent in the corpus but not in dictionaries

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

Figure 6.1: Most frequent Spanish loanwords in the corpus.



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

(1) Cincha

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

cinch

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

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

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

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

(2) Maneas

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

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

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

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

(3) Bozal

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

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

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

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

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

(4) *Campo*

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

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

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

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

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

(5) *Cabestro*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

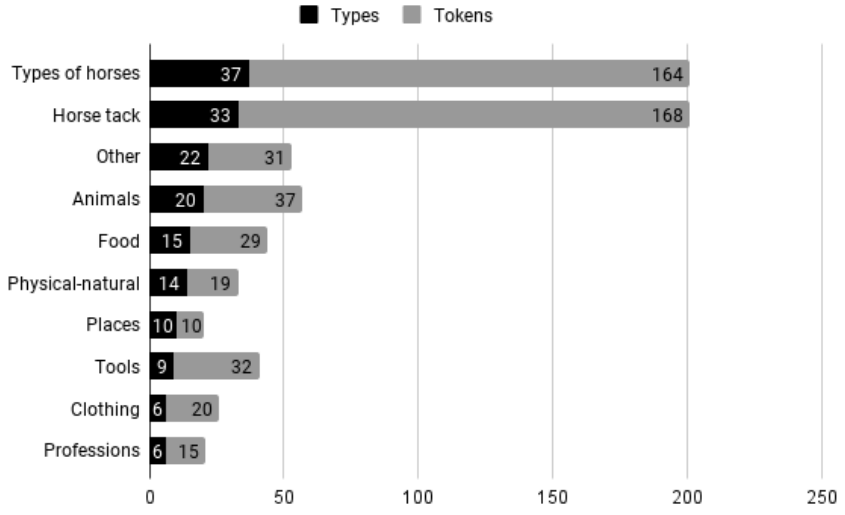
6.4.2 Most permeable semantic fields

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

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

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

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



6.5 Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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