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

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Chapter 4

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

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Abstract

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

4.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 The renaming of toponyms

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

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

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

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

4.3 Methodology

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

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

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

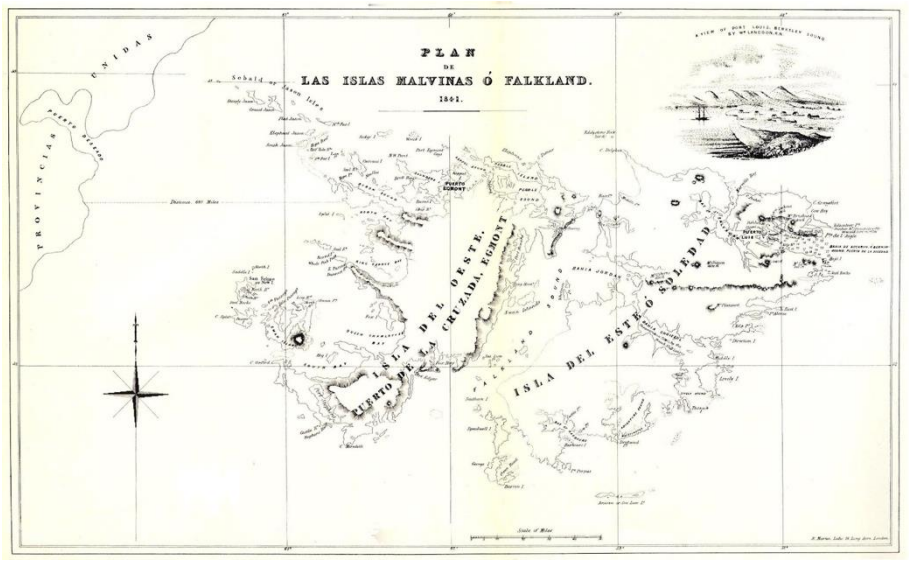
In sum, all the data presented in the following sections stem from document analyses, traditional and critical toponomastics, and/ or ethnographic work (photographs and statements result from the latter).

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

4.4 The beginning of the place naming competition

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

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



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

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

Figure 4.2: The Latzina map.

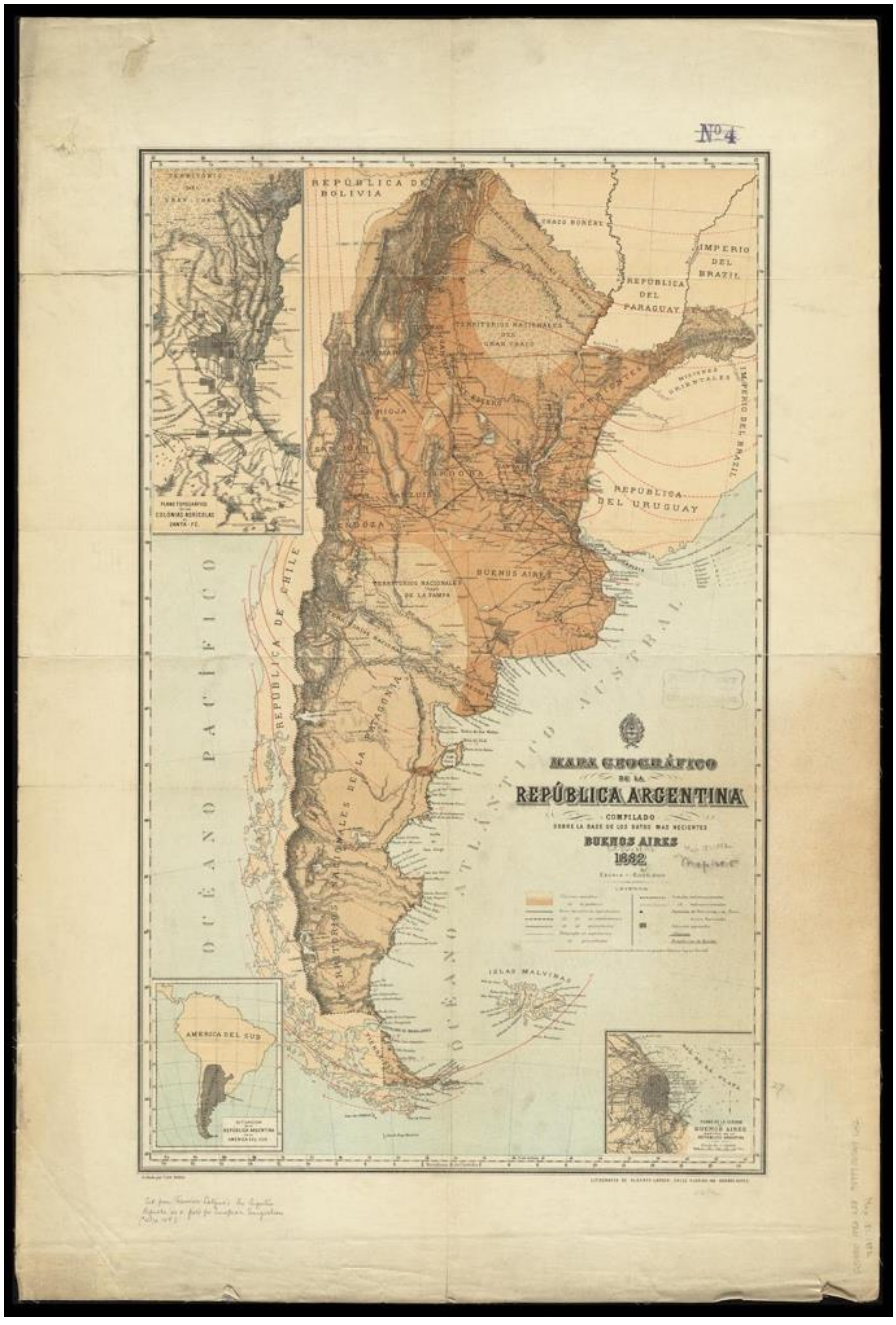
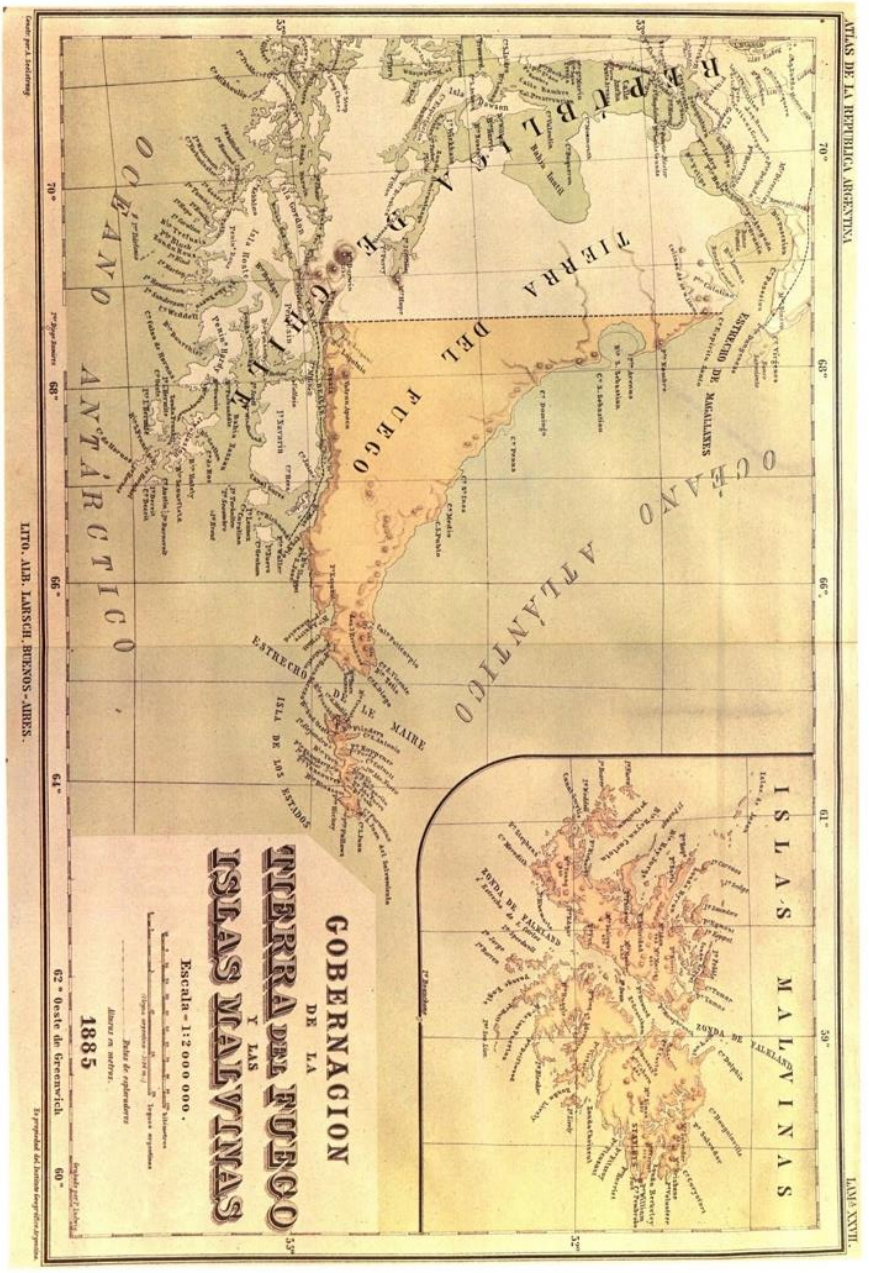


Figure 4.3: The Seelstrang map.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5 A linguistic war over the name of the archipelago

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5.1 The "M word"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

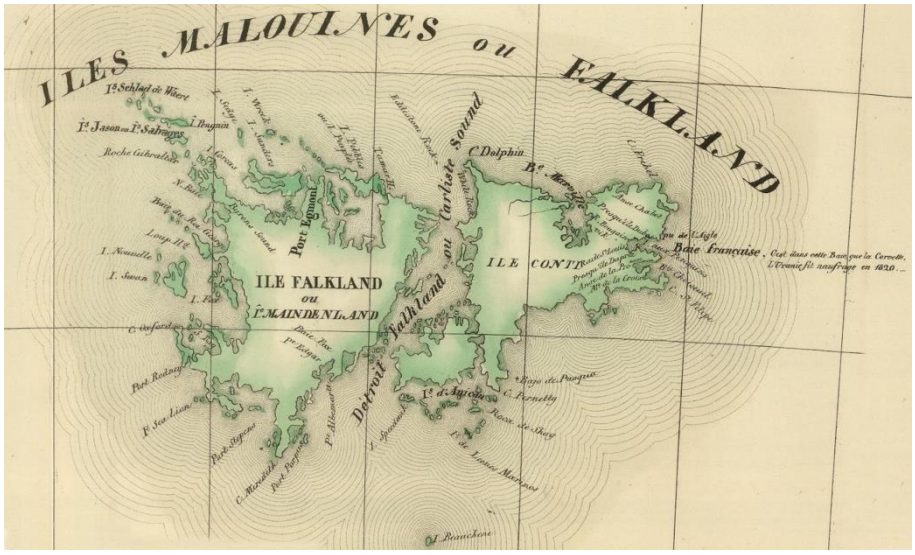
This statement can be understood as a politeness strategy, a way to show respect or not to trouble Islanders. Furthermore, this interviewee defends the locals' self-autonomy claim and when speaking Spanish in their hometown would chiefly use *Malvinas*.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5.2 The capital dispute

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

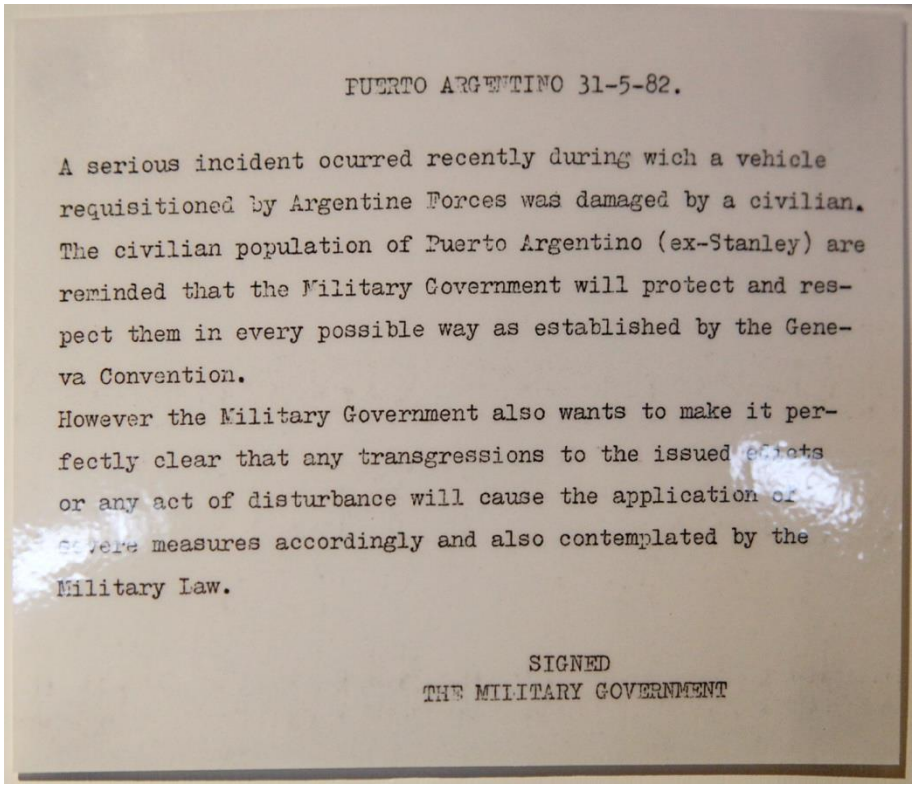
The armed conflict brought the renaming process to its peak. During the first twenty days of the hostilities, Argentina employed five different names for the capital. They finally settled upon *Puerto Argentino* (declared by Decree No 757 of the Argentinian military committee), which it uses to date.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

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

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

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

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



PUERTO ARGENTINO 31-5-82.

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

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

SIGNED
THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT

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

30th JUNE 1982 No. 20

THE PENGUIN NEWS

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS NEWS MAGAZINE

VICTORY

The date : MONDAY, 14th JUNE 1982

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

The event : Surrender of all Argentine forces in the Islands

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

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

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

4.5.3 Other conflicting place names

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

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

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

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

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

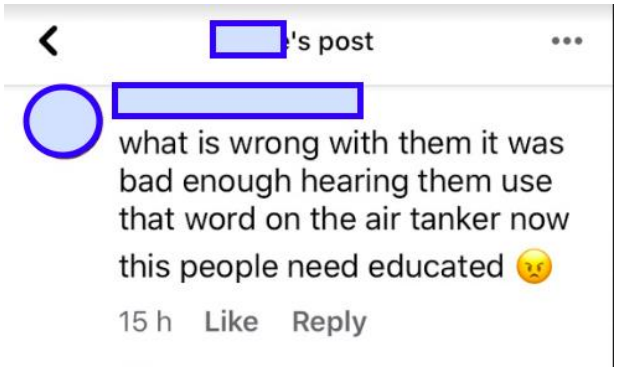
On June 11, 2020, Santiago Cafiero, current Chief of the Cabinet of Ministers of Argentina announced the new map of the Nation via Twitter (see Figure 4.7). On July 20th (less than a fortnight after the new map had been released), Argentinian citizen Alicia de Arteaga displayed, in an online class of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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.7 Final remarks

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

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

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

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