One territory – two toponymies: Patterns of geographical naming in the Falkland Islands

Paul WOODMAN[*]

This paper briefly sets the scene by looking at the qualities of islands in general, before examining the Falkland Islands in some detail. The Falkland Islands form a remote and uncompromisingly bleak territory in the South Atlantic Ocean, comprising two principal islands and several hundred smaller islands, islets and offshore rocks. The Islands were uninhabited when Europeans first sighted them in the sixteenth century, and the subsequent naming patterns reflect a chequered history involving the French, Spanish and English languages. About 10 per cent of the places and features in the Falkland Islands have names which differ as between English and Spanish. While dual toponymies are not uncommon across the globe, what is exceptional in the Falkland Islands is that only one of the two available toponymic inventories – the English-language inventory – is used *in situ*, for the entire population is English-speaking. The Spanish-language names are instead used outside the Islands, in the geographically most proximate independent country – Argentina – located more than 600 kilometres distant on the South American continent. As this paper will demonstrate, this extraordinary and perhaps unique toponymic circumstance is the result of particular historical, social and cultural phenomena, examination of which also reveals distinct national patterns of toponymic practice.

SETTING THE ISLANDS SCENE

Islands are different; islands are special – even though, as the Danish onomastician Peder Gammeltoft has pointed out, ultimately we all live on one, of one size or another (GAMMELTOFT 2016: 125). In reality and in our imagination, literally and figuratively, islands contain something inherent that sets them apart, giving them a quality which we might (for want of a better word) call 'islandness'. Their individuality and separation contribute to this, of course, but the real key to the uniqueness of islands is their complete self-containment. No other landform provides this characteristic, this ability to be completely distinct. We can think here of the unique fauna of Madagascar, or the unique geology of Iceland. We can think of the uniqueness of Jeju, too, that makes this island so distinct in many respects from the mainland of the nearby Korean peninsula. It is renowned as an island of absences (thieves; beggars; gates), but it is also an island

---

[*] Former Secretary, Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, United Kingdom.

of notable presences (stones; winds; even honeymooning couples). Such generalisations can be made for a limited and self-contained landform, in a way that would not make sense if speaking of a larger landmass or continent.

So it is no real surprise to learn that islands have aroused fascination and invited study at least since the era of Greek mythology, when Homer's *Odyssey* (circa 800BC) identified Ithaca as the island home of the hero Odysseus. Literary themes throughout the ages have often been based around the self-contained nature inherent to an island, a notable example being Prospero's isle in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. In more recent decades film scripts have followed suit. Islands provide the cinema backdrop where the good, the bad and the eccentric can get up to their activities undisturbed, as we see in James Bond movies, Thunderbirds cartoons, and the Jurassic Park film series. The study of islands has even generated its own terminology, which speaks of 'nissology' and 'islandscapes'.

But of course not all islands are identical, nor do we each necessarily see a given island in quite the same way. In fact, islands possess a wide spectrum of attributes, or inherent qualities, making them:

- <u>A utopia</u>: a perfect society, existing only in literature and the imagination;
- <u>An arcadia</u>: a place of total contentment, again existing only in literature and the imagination;
- <u>An escape</u>: a place of idyllic natural beauty (*eg* Seychelles);
- <u>A bridge</u>: a cultural and/or social stepping stone (*eg* Å land);
- <u>A backwater</u>: a place of cultural and/or social marginalisation (*eg* Chiloé);
- <u>A bastion</u>: a fortress against the outside (*eg* Singapore);
- <u>A prison</u>: a place of banishment or confinement (*eg* Alcatraz and Robben Island).

And islands evoke within us a wide spectrum of responses, such as a sense of:

- <u>Distinctiveness</u> of culture and/or language and/or dialect:: *eg* Jeju society is considered individual compared to the more collective society of mainland Korea, perhaps because of the absence of a 'rice culture' on the island (owing to a lack of surface water);
- <u>Togetherness</u>: *eg* Kiribati shows a harmony of purpose in the face of a lethal sea level rise;
- <u>Peacefulness</u>: a tranquillity as found on *eg* Tahiti;
- <u>Solitude</u>: a neutral or ambivalent response, *eg* to St Helena;
- <u>Remoteness / Isolation</u>: a sense of discomfort, *eg* on the outermost of the Outer Hebrides;
- <u>Displacement / Dislocation</u>: a sense of anguished separation, *eg* the Chagos Islanders;
- <u>Exclusion / Exile</u>: a removal from society that can be both literal and metaphorical, as seen *eg* in the use of an 'islands' theme in the term *Gulag Archipelago* [Архипелаг Гулаг], coined by the dissident author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn for the myriad of scattered labour camps within the Soviet penal system.

Some islands feature in more than one category. St Helena evokes solitude for everyone, but was in addition a place of exile for the French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. And there is a wide range of mix-and-match correspondences between the two spectrums: Singapore may be a bastion, but this engenders a sense of cultural togetherness rather than a sense of displacement. Even the continental portion of the Republic of Korea might in some ways be considered an 'island', for thanks to the secretive seclusion of its northern neighbour – the Democratic People's Republic of Korea – the only means of access and egress are by sea or air.

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS

Geographical background

With regard to the above spectrums, the Falkland Islands might be said to hover between backwater and bastion, and between solitude and isolation. They form an uncompromisingly bleak territory in the South Atlantic Ocean, situated more than 600 kilometres east of Río Gallegos, the southernmost town in continental Argentina. The territory comprises two principal islands and several hundred smaller islands, islets and offshore rocks, totalling about 12,000 square kilometres and forming the living space for a population currently just shy of 3000. The density of population (*circa* 0.25/km²) is about 2000 times lower than that for the Republic of Korea (*circa* 500/km²).

The two principal islands are named (in English) as East Falkland and West Falkland. Both are barren and windswept, and their landscape is largely hilly and devoid of trees. Sheep farming has long been one of the few viable occupations on the land, though there are also potentially rewarding extractive opportunities offshore. About two-thirds of the population live in the sole settlement of note – Stanley – with the remainder scattered thinly elsewhere across the islands, on land that is collectively and colloquially known as 'the Camp'. Apart from Stanley, no settlement on the Islands has a population of more than about 30 inhabitants.

Historical background

The first sighting of the Falkland Islands by Europeans probably took place at some point in the sixteenth century. The precise facts are unclear and are unlikely ever to be definitively resolved, though it seems that the first unequivocal sighting was made by the Dutch sailor Sebald de Weert in 1600. What is certain is that, at this period in history, the Islands were uninhabited. The first landing was probably made in 1690 by an English naval captain who gave the name 'Falkland' to the strait between the two principal islands, in honour of Viscount Falkland, a leading English naval figure at that time. From this event, England (and then Britain from the early 1700s) laid claim to the territory as a whole, adopting for it the name 'His Majesty's Falkland Islands'.

The first settlement was not established until 1764, when the French admiral and explorer Louis de Bougainville arrived on East Falkland and created a dwelling-place which came to be known as Port Louis. These first settlers were principally sailors and fishermen from the French port of Saint-Malo, a town whose inhabitants are known as 'Malouines' in French, and accordingly they adopted the name 'Îles Malouines' for the

Islands. Two years later, in 1766, a separate British settlement named Port Egmont was also established, this time on West Falkland. It is possible that for some time afterwards the two settlements of Port Louis and Port Egmont were unaware of each other.

Also in 1766, and as part of a much wider pact, the French and Spanish branches of the ruling House of Bourbon came to an agreement whereby France withdrew from the Islands and passed her interests there over to Spain, who appropriated the name 'Îles Malouines' and adapted it into Spanish as 'Islas Malvinas'. Spain also at this time bestowed the name 'Isla Nuestra Señora de la Soledad' (*Island of Our Lady of Solitude*) on the island otherwise known as East Falkland; this was later simplified in Spanish to 'Isla Soledad'. For the following decade, tension ensued and occasional hostilities flared between Britain and Spain concerning the Islands, but Britain then became preoccupied with the American War of Independence and withdrew from the Islands in 1776, without however relinquishing her territorial claim. This left Spain in administrative charge of the Islands, a role which she exercised from mainland Montevideo until 1811, when (as with Britain in the 1770s) pressures elsewhere forced her to abandon the Islands – though also without relinquishing her territorial claim.

Among the pressures facing Spain at this time were the demands for independence emanating from South America. By about 1815, much of present-day Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay had united in opposition to colonial Spain, and had formed the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. From 1816 the United Provinces claimed to be the regional successor state to Spain, and as such entitled to the Islands, but its administration of the Islands was hapless and the territory descended into lawlessness. In 1828 the United Provinces appointed Louis Vernet as governor of the Islands; he arrested a number of American vessels which had landed there and in retaliation the United States navy burned down Port Louis, which by this time had been renamed Puerto Soledad. Amidst this chaos, the population of the Islands appealed to Britain to return and restore order, which she duly did in 1833.

There has now been continuous exclusively British settlement on the Falkland Islands for almost two centuries, since the 1833 restoration, punctuated only by the 75-day Argentine military occupation of the Islands in the period from April 2nd to June 15th, 1982.

Sovereignty interpretations

The Falkland Islands are administered as an Overseas Territory of the United Kingdom, a political situation that is challenged by the Argentine Republic, which claims the Islands as its own. The United Kingdom and Argentina both cite the historical events outlined above to justify their respective claims. It is not within the scope of this paper to pass judgement on those claims, but it might be of interest to outline briefly the factors involved in any interpretation of the history of the Islands, notably the following:

- First sighting and discovery. Both of these remain uncertain.
- First landfall. This was probably made by Britain.
- First settlement. This was established by France, with Britain following shortly afterwards.
- History of relevant laws and treaties. All parties acceded to or violated laws and treaties as they saw fit, and the Islands were merely pawns in a larger

context of British, French and Spanish imperial ambition. Nevertheless, treaties matter, and of particular note here are:

(a) The 1494 papal Treaty of Tordesillas, which sought to adjudicate respective areas of Spanish and Portuguese sovereignty over newly-discovered South America by drawing a north-south demarcation line (later seen to correspond to the 46˚W meridian);

(b) The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, which sought *inter alia* to establish the overseas areas over which France, Spain and Britain enjoyed legitimacy.

- <u>Legal position of successor states</u>. Questions here include:
  (a) The relevance of the Papacy to civil law-making;
  (b) Whether it was within France's legal competence to hand over responsibility for the Islands to Spain;
  (c) Whether the United Provinces legally inherited Spain's colonies in southern South America;
  (d) Whether Argentina can properly be considered the successor state to the United Provinces.
- <u>Legality of popular will</u>. Whether Britain's repossession of the Islands in 1833, in response to local popular demand, can be considered legitimate.
- <u>Colonialism</u>. Whether colonisation (the territorial settlement of uninhabited islands) equates to colonialism.
- <u>Propinquity</u>. Whether Argentina's relative geographical proximity to the Islands is of relevance.
- <u>History of continuous settlement</u>. The continuous British settlement and administration since 1833, in accordance with the wishes of the Islanders. This reality assumes an ever-increasing significance as the years go by.

Toponymy

As might be anticipated in light of the preceding paragraphs, the toponymy of the Falkland Islands is a testament to and a legacy of its chequered history, and involves geographical names belonging to the French, Spanish and English languages. Each national participant in the unfolding drama has applied its own toponyms to those places and features which have concerned it. Although France absented herself from the story of the Islands at a relatively early stage, her toponymy has lingered on, some of it still in use today in both English-language and Spanish-language toponyms. But the really interesting toponymic story that the Falkland Islands have to tell us concerns the parallel development of English-language and Spanish-language inventories (WOODMAN 2006).

There are approximately 2000 named places and features in the Falkland Islands, a total arrived at by counting the names found on the official 1:50,000-scale map series of the Islands. Of this total, about 220 (just over 10%) have names which differ as between the English and Spanish languages. About half of these differences simply involve features which actually have the same name in both languages, but in translated form in each, or carry essentially the same meaning in the two languages. A few examples of this phenomenon are provided here in the format <English name / Spanish name>:

- Black Rock / Roca Negra
- East Island / Isla del Este

- New Year Cove / Caleta Año Nuevo
- North Bluff / Morro Norte
- Port Pleasant / Puerto Agradable
- Pyramid Point / Punta Pirámide
- Two Sisters / Dos Hermanas
- Yellow Point / Punta Amarilla

Of greater interest however are the remaining 100 or so features, approaching 5% of the total named inventory of the Falkland Islands, whose names fall into one of two categories. Either these features are named completely differently as between the English and Spanish languages (see **Table 1** below); or else in a few instances they possess a name in Spanish but not in English (see **Table 2** below).

Table 1. Features named differently in English and Spanish

ENGLISH NAME	SPANISH NAME	TRANSLATION OF SPANISH NAME
Adventure Sound	Bahía del Laberinto	*Labyrinth Bay*
Albemarle Harbour	Puerto Santa Eufemia	*St Euphemia Harbour*
Arch Islands	Islotes Franceses	*French Islands*
Barrow Harbour	Puerto del Cerro	*Hill Harbour*
Beaver Island	Isla San Rafael	*St Raphael Island*
Berkeley Sound	Bahía de la Anunciación	*Annunciation Bay*
Bleaker Island	Isla María	*Mary Island*
Bluff Cove	Hoya Fitzroy	*Fitzroy Cove (= captain of Darwin's 'Beagle')*
Byron Sound	Bahía San Francisco de Paula	*St Francis of Paola Bay*
Camilla Creek	Rincón del Desierto	*Desert Camp*
Caneja Creek	Caleta del Centro	*Central Creek*
Cape Bougainville	Cabo Alto	*High Cape*
Cape Carysfort	Cabo Corrientes	*Cape Currents*
Cape Dolphin	Cabo Leal	*Cape Loyal*
Cape Frehel	Punta Choza	*Hut Point*
Cape Meredith	Cabo Belgrano	*Cape Belgrano*
Cape Pembroke	Cabo San Felipe	*Cape St Philip*
Carcass Island	Isla del Rosario	*Rosary Island*
Chatham Harbour	Puerto San José	*St Joseph Harbour*
Coast Camp	Arbolé	*Grove*
Cochon Island	Isla Pájaros	*Birds Island*
Concordia Bay	Ensenada del Norte	*Bay of the North*
Danson Harbour	Rincón de las Dos Bocas	*Two Mouths Camp*
Devil's Point	Punta Oeste	*West Point*
East Falkland	Isla Soledad	*Solitude Island*
Elephant Jason	Isla Pan de Azúcar	*Sugarloaf Island*
Falkland Islands	Islas Malvinas	*Malvinas Islands*
Falkland Sound	Estrecho de San Carlos	*St Charles Sound*
First Island	Isla San Julián	*St Julian Island*
Grantham Sound	Bahía de Ruiz Puente	*Ruiz Puente Bay*
Green Island	Roca Ruiseñor	*Nightingale Rock*

ENGLISH NAME	SPANISH NAME	TRANSLATION OF SPANISH NAME
Horseshoe Bay	Ensenada de Vuelta Perruca	*Vuelta Perruca Bay*
Island Harbour	Rincón del Sudeste	*South-East Camp*
Jason Islands	Islas Sebaldes	*Sebald Islands*
Jason West Cay	Isla Rasa del Oeste	*Flat Island West*
Kelp Lagoon	Puerto Pacheco	*Pacheco Harbour*
Keppel Island	Isla Vigía	*Lookout Island*
Keppel Sound	Bahía de la Cruzada	*Crusade Bay*
Kidney Island	Isla Celebroña	*Celebration Island*
King George Bay	Bahía Nueve de Julio	*Ninth of July Bay* (*Argentine Independence Day*)
Limpet Creek	Laguna de la Sal	*Salt Lagoon*
Lively Island	Isla Bougainville	*Bougainville Island*
Lively Sound	Ensenada (de) Luisa	*Louise Sound*
Mengeary Point	Punta Celebroña	*Celebration Point*
Moffit Harbour	Puerto Castelli	*Castelli Harbour*
Mount Adam	Monte Independencia	*Mount Independence*
Mount Philomel	Monte Ruiseñor	*Nightingale Mountain*
Mount Usborne	Cerro Alberdi	*Mount Alberdi*
Mount Wickham	Monte Rivadavia	*Mount Rivadavia*
New Island	Isla de Goicoechea	*Goicoechea Island*
North West Rincon	Punta Federal	*Federal Point*
Pebble Island	Isla de Borbón	*Bourbon Island*
Pebble Island Settlement	Puerto Calderón	*Port Calderón*
Pebble Islet	Isla Rasa	*Flat Island*
Penguin Point	Punta Navidad	*Christmas Point*
Penn Island	Isla Baja	*Low Island*
Phillips Point	Cabo Hermoso	*Beautiful Cape*
Philomel Road	Paso Ruiseñor	*Nightingale Channel*
Plaza Creek	Caleta Fangoso	*Muddy Creek*
Port Albemarle	Bahía Santa Eufemia	*St Euphemia Bay*
Port Egmont	Puerto de la Cruzada	*Crusade Harbour*
Port Howard	Puerto Mitre	*Port Mitre*
Port King	Rincón del Fuego	*Camp of Fire*
Port Louis Harbour	Puerto Soledad	*Port Solitude*
Port Philomel	Puerto Ruiseñor	*Port Nightingale*
Port Richards	Puerto Moreno	*Port Moreno*
Port Salvador	Bahía de la Maravilla	*Bay of Wonder*
Port William	Puerto Groussac	*Port Groussac*
Puntafrio	Corral Segundo	*Second Camp*
Quaker Harbour	Puerto de Ximénez	*Port Ximénez*
Queen Charlotte Bay	Bahía San Julián	*St Julian Bay*
Ruggles Bay	Bahía Libertad	*Liberty Bay*
Saunders Island	Isla Trinidad	*Trinity Island*
Sedge Island	Isla Culebra	*Snake Island*
Ship Harbour	Bahía del Rosario	*Rosary Bay*
Ship Harbour	Puerto Tamar	*Port Tamar*
Smylie Channel	Canal Colón	*Columbus Channel* (*Colón = Ch. Columbus*)

ENGLISH NAME	SPANISH NAME	TRANSLATION OF SPANISH NAME
Speedwell Island	Isla Águila	*Eagle Island*
Stanley	Puerto Argentino	*Port Argentine*
Swan Inlet	Corral Grande	*Big Corral*
Swan Point	Punta Vuelta	*Return Point*
Weddell Island	Isla San José	*St Joseph Island*
West Falkland	Isla Gran Malvina	*Great Malvina Island*
Westpoint Island	Isla Remolinos	*Island of Eddies*
Westpoint Pass	Paso Remolinos	*Channel of Eddies*
Whale Bay	Seno de Borbón	*Bourbon Bay*
Wickham Heights	Alturas Rivadavia	*Rivadavia Mountains*
Wreck Islands	Islas los Hermanos	*Brothers Islands*
Yeguada	Rincón de San Martín	*San Martín Camp*

Key to Colours

🟩	National name	🟨	Religious name
🟦	Neutral name of French/Dutch/German/American origin	🟥	Name used in one language but derived from the other
⬜	Name of unknown origin	⬜	Descriptive name

The table above reveals the widespread willingness of both Britain and Spain to bestow descriptive names, and also their occasional willingness to bestow neutral names originating from third languages (most often French, where for example both English and Spanish commemorate the role played by Louis de Bougainville). But the most striking distinction between the naming patterns adopted by the English and Spanish languages concerns the roles played by nationalism and religion. Half of the English-language names in the table can be considered 'nationalist' in origin, these being names of British establishment figures (Berkeley; Byron; Falkland; King George; Stanley; *etc*) and British ships (Adventure; Dolphin; Jason; Lively; Philomel; *etc*). These names were bestowed for the most part in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a period in which the Spanish authorities were by contrast bestowing names of religious significance. The religious names in the Spanish-language column date from this same period and commemorate Roman Catholicism; names such as *Isla Soledad* (from Our Lady of Solitude) and *Bahía de la Anunciación* (from the Feast of the Annunciation). It is interesting to note in passing here that this bestowal of religious names took place despite the total absence of an indigenous population on the Islands (in contrast to the South American continent), and must therefore have come about for reasons of familiarity and reassurance for the settlers, rather than with any thoughts of evangelism.

Nationalist names were not used by Spain. Instead, the nationalist names in the Spanish-language column date principally from a slightly later historical juncture; the nineteenth-century post-colonial period. These nationalist names mainly celebrate prominent figures relevant to Argentine history, such as the celebrated Latin American liberator José de San Martín, the military leader Manuel Belgrano and the first president Bernardino Rivadavia; and also events connected to Argentine independence (names such as *Monte Independencia; Bahía Nueve de Julio; Bahía Libertad*).

The significance of Argentine independence in Spanish-language naming practices on the Falkland Islands is very clearly illustrated in the case of the name *Monte Independencia*. The two highest peaks of the Islands occur in close proximity to each other on West Falkland, and are named in English as Mount Adam and Mount Robinson. Early surveys suggested that Mount Robinson was marginally the higher of these two peaks, and accordingly it was to that peak that Argentina initially attached the name *Monte Independencia*. But a recent and more accurate survey has revealed the summit of Mount Adam to be five metres higher above sea level than the summit of Mount Robinson, and immediately following this survey Argentina re-designated its toponymy so that the name *Monte Independencia* was transferred from Mount Robinson to Mount Adam.

Also of particular interest is the Spanish-language name for Stanley, the principal settlement of the Falkland Islands. Although *Puerto Argentino* is the current Argentine name for Stanley, this has not always been the case. Before the short-lived invasion which began on April 2nd 1982, Argentina customarily referred to Stanley as *Puerto Stanley*. Then for the first few days following the invasion the Argentine government and media used the name *Puerto Rivero*, in honour of a legendary but controversial nineteenth-century gaucho named Antonio Rivero. As early as April 5th, though, Argentine sources changed their preference to *Puerto de la Isla Soledad*, a name which however lasted only for 24 hours. For the following fortnight, from April 6th until April 20th, the Argentine government and media used the name *Puerto de las Islas Malvinas*. Finally, on April 21st 1982, Decree No 757 of the Argentine military junta declared that the name would be *Puerto Argentino*, and that name has been used by Argentina ever since. In all, therefore, five different names for Stanley were used by the Argentine authorities in the space of just three weeks in that fateful spring of 1982.

Finally, it is worthwhile noting the five features listed in Table 2 below, which are named only in the Spanish language. Their names date from the Spanish colonial era. Three of the names are religious in origin, one commemorates the French navigator Louis de Freycinet, and there is one descriptive name reflecting the seal oil and penguin oil of that locality. This discrepancy between the toponymic inventories reflects differences in feature observation patterns as between Spanish and British navigators and settlers, though it is nevertheless perhaps surprising that those using the English language have never found a need to name at least some of these particular features.

Table 2. Features named in Spanish but not in English

ENGLISH NAME	SPANISH NAME	TRANSLATION OF SPANISH NAME
[none]	Bahía del Aceite	*Oil Bay*
[none]	Bahía San Felipe	*St Philip Bay*
[none]	Península de Freycinet	*Freycinet Peninsula*
[none]	Península de San Luis	*St Louis Peninsula*
[none]	Punta San Julián	*St Julian Point*

Key to Colours

■ Religious name   ■ Neutral name of French origin

□ Descriptive name

Concluding remarks

The territory of the Falkland Islands provides us with a fascinating case of dual toponymies. While this phenomenon can also be seen elsewhere across the globe, what is exceptional in these Islands is that only one of the two available toponymic inventories – the English-language inventory – is used *in situ*, for the entire population is English-speaking. The Spanish-language names are instead used only outside the islands and indeed only outside the country altogether. This extraordinary linguistic and geographical separation of toponymies is the result of particular historical and cultural factors. Of especial note is the propensity of different powers to adopt different themes for their naming policies. Of the two countries which initially developed the Islands, Britain favoured the application of nationalist names, whereas Spain showed a distinct preference for religious names. But independent Argentina has broken with Spanish tradition and has favoured nationalist names that reflect its own relatively youthful heritage. It is difficult to see any coming together of the two toponymic inventories in the near future, partly because of the obvious political gulf between the United Kingdom and Argentina regarding the sovereignty of the Islands, but also for the simple reason that the Islands have no patronymic heritage of indigenous names that could act as a single toponymic reservoir which both parties might agree to accept.

REFERENCES

Calvert, P. (1983). *Sovereignty and the Falklands crisis. International Affairs*, 59(3), pp. 405-413.
Gammeltoft, P. (2016). Island names. in HOUGH, C. (ed). *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. (pp. 125-134). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Goebel, J. (1927). *The struggle for the Falkland Islands: A study in legal and diplomatic history*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Gough, B. (1990). The British reoccupation and colonization of the Falkland Islands, or Malvinas, 1832-1843. *Albion*, 22(2), pp. 261-287.
Metford, J.C.J. (1968). Falklands or Malvinas? The background to the dispute. *International Affairs*, 44(3), pp. 463-481.
Munro, R. (1998). *Place names of the Falkland Islands*. Huntingdon: Bluntisham Books.
Reisman, M. (1983). The struggle for the Falklands. *Yale Law Journal*, 93(2), pp. 287-317.
Royle, S.A. (1985). The Falkland Islands 1833-1876: The establishment of a colony. *Geographical Journal*, 151(2), pp. 204-214.
Rydjord, J. (1961). Falkland Islands: Nationalism and names. *Names*, 9(4), pp. 234-247.
Shackleton, Lord (1983). The Falkland Islands and their history. *Geographical Journal*, 149(1), pp. 1-4.
Wikipedia. The Spanish-language version of this online encyclopaedia was consulted for certain Spanish-language toponyms in this paper: https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Portada. Accessed 2016-09-07.
Woodman, P. (2006): The toponymy of the Falkland Islands as recorded on maps and in gazetteers. *UK Permanent Committee on Geographical Names*. Available online at: http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140402150947/http://www.pcgn.org.uk/Falkland%20Islands-July2006.pdf.