INSIGHTS INTO THE PHONETIC SYSTEM OF 21ST CENTURY FALKLAND ISLANDS ENGLISH[1]

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Abstract – Falkland Islands English (FIE) constitutes one of the least investigated Southern Hemisphere English varieties. According to the limited literature available, English seems to have been established as a koinè among the different groups of foreign seasonal workers who temporarily populated the islands along with missionaries and pensioners in the mid-nineteenth century. Today, more than half of the population is settled, although many regularly travel to England to study or work. Falkland Island English has therefore become increasingly closer to British English, losing the subtle types of variation that characterized the original variety. To date, the few existing studies on the specific phonological characteristics of Falkland Island English seem to indicate that the formation of a new dialect did not occur despite the fact that ideal conditions existed (Trudgill 2004). This paper aims to offer empirical insights into the contemporary use of FIE based on the analysis of data collected from online video recordings of conversations of various Falkland Islanders. The data analysed include a number of conversations and speeches by five adults, three female and two male native Falkland Islanders, key figures in local media broadcasts. Attention was paid to certain phonological features identified in the literature as distinctive of this variety of English to see if they were indeed still present in the inhabitants' speech. The results were then compared with other variants of the English language in the Southern Hemisphere. It emerged that the contemporary use of FIE actually shows characteristics that are increasingly closer to the original, distancing the possibility of koineization, in contrast to what happened to the other varieties in the Southern Hemisphere which instead are fully focused (Le Page, Tabouret-Keller 1985). Despite the considerable limitations of the study, including the small number of speakers and the formality of the medium, the present analysis offers an empirical contribution on the contemporary use of Falkland Island English and at the same time highlights the need for further investigation into the forms and structures of the Falkland Island variety in informal and local contexts.

Keywords: English varieties; Falkland Islands; language change; phonological system; sociolinguistic studies.

1. Introduction

1.1. Socio-political background

The Falkland Islands are an archipelago of about 780 islands located in the South Atlantic Ocean. They lie 8,000 miles south of the UK and 300 miles east of the South American mainland. The largest islands of the archipelago are West Falkland and East Falkland, which are also the highest inhabited parts of the islands. The capital is Port Stanley, where most of the population is concentrated, while the marginal areas with few rural inhabitants are generally referred to as Camp.

Nowadays the islands are included in the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories and are therefore classified as a British colony. Indeed, they are included in the list of the British Overseas Territories, which comprises a total of 14 non-

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included in the list of the British Overseas Territories, which comprises a total of 14 non-independent territories. The Falkland Islands have, in fact, an internal self-governance headed by Nigel Philips, while remaining loyal to the British crown, and thus to King Charles III, who takes responsibility for military defense and foreign affairs. The population living in this territory, following the British Nationality Act of 1983, is considered both Falkland Islander and British.

However, regarding the discovery of the islands and European colonization, there is still much controversy. Despite the fact that the Falkland Islands have been considered British territory since 1833 and that the British claim the absence of local population before their first arrival in 1690, historical documents and private correspondence suggest the opposite. In fact, archaeological findings attest that populations from nearby Patagonia settled on the islands in ancient times, as evidenced by the presence of arrowheads and canoe remains found in different areas (Fieldgate 2007, p. 305). With regard to the discovery of the island, two hypotheses exist. The first one sees a Portuguese navigator, Esteban Gomez, as the first visitor to the islands, whereas the second hypothesis considers the British John Hawkins and Richard Davis as discoverers of the Falkland Islands. Nevertheless, the first to colonize the islands (i.e. the eastern part) were French led by Louis Antoine de Bougainville in 1764, who named the islands "Malouines" from which the Spanish name "Malvinas" derives. In 1765 the British took possession of the western part. However, in 1770 the Spaniards having got rid of the French, resolved to remove the British and occupied Port Egmont on 10th of June. After a one-year diplomatic battle that involved the French, British and Spanish governments, the Spaniards left West Falkland and concentrated their activities on East Falkland. On May 25, 1810, the Buenos Aires governor set up the Provisional Governing Junta of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata and Falkland Islands became part of the Spanish colonies. In 1829 the Argentine Luis Maria Vernet became governor of the archipelago and proclaimed the "Comandancia Política y Militar de las Islas Malvinas" (for a more detailed description of the history of the islands, see Metford 1968). Settlers from the Argentine territory arrived and populated the island. The British reoccupied the islands in 1833 and the United Kingdom was regarded as continuing the 18th century settlement. Pascoe and Pepper (2008, p. 18) state that before the arrival of the British in 1833 there were 33 residents on the island and a garrison of 26 Argentinean soldiers, who were forced to leave by Captain Onslow. From this moment on, the British declared their sovereignty over the entire archipelago starting a long conflict between the Argentinean and British, which in 1982 broke out in a war due to the arrival of Argentinean armed forces in the Falkland Islands territory. The conflict lasted 74 days and ended with enormous losses for the Argentine side, 649 Argentinean deaths and 255 British deaths. This victory confirmed that the Falkland Islands belonged from that moment on to Great Britain.

The history of the population of the Falkland Islands is rather complex, mainly because there are not many sources attesting to the origin of the inhabitants who populated the islands before and right after the arrival and settlement of the British. In the 19th century, most of islanders were short-term contract workers who stayed on the islands for a few months or a couple of years at most (Royle 1985; Spruce 1996). From the accounts of families and governors, it appears that these people came mostly from Scotland and South-West England, Scandinavia, Chile, and Uruguay (Sudbury 2000). In particular, the Scottish people continued to live on the islands, presumably due to the fact that the climatic and agricultural conditions are similar (Royle 1985). Government dispatches specified that these were people from the Orkney and Shetland Islands (Government dispatches, 1842, R.C. Moody to Lord Stanley). The number of people from Scotland,

especially from Highlands and Islands regions, grew exponentially as they were recruited by large landholders such as the Falkland Islands Company (Sudbury 2000) on the assumption that they would settle well on the island because of the similar terrain and climate (Gough 1990). As for the British, they came mainly from Somerset and Devon, called by one of the pioneering landowners on West Falklands, Robert Blake (Trehearne 1978). However, there were also individual settlers, such as Scandinavian sailors or missionaries on their way to Patagonia (Royle 1985) and Irish pensioners sent to the islands in 1849 (Strange 1983).

In the 20th century, it is reported, some of the previous settlers had left the archipelago due to adverse weather and low earnings to seek their fortunes in Patagonia and Britain. In addition, the arrival of other seasonal workers from Hampshire and Northern Ireland was documented between the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1980s after the war with Argentina, a surprising massive growth took place in the social and economic sphere. Whereas in the previous period the emigration rate was much higher than the immigration rate, from then on the situation was reversed. People arrived from St. Helena and Chile, and there was a return of Falkland Islanders who had left the islands for overseas territories (Sudbury 2001). They were joined by other seasonal workers from New Zealand and Australia. Coming to this century, the 2006 Census found 62 different countries of birth among the 2955 inhabitants of the Falkland Islands (Falkland Islands Government 2006; Pascoe, Pepper 2008, p. 38). Previously, the population consisted mainly of people of British, Irish and Scandinavian descent (Government of the Falkland Islands 2016, p. 30; Pascoe, Pepper 2008), whereas, according to Falkland Islands Government estimates made in 2016, the ethnic groups present on the Falkland Islands are almost half Falkland Islanders (with 23 per cent British and lower percentages St. Helenian, Chilean, mixed, other and unspecified (see Figure 1).
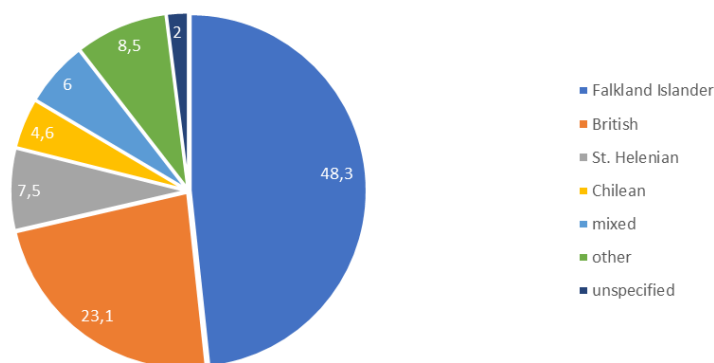

Figure 1
Ethnic Groups in the Falkland Islands (2016 Census report.
https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/falkland_islands_census_2016_-_report_without_data_tables.pdf; last accessed: 11.27.2022).

According to a survey conducted in the same year by the Falkland Islands Government, although more than half of the population had British, Chilean, Philippines, Zimbabwean and other citizenships, 49 per cent of them declared themselves Falkland Islander by national identity (see Figure 2).

Language	Total	Born in the FIs	Born elsewhere
Spanish	325	83	242
Shona	73	0	73
Pilipino	64	0	64
French	26	2	24
Italian	10	0	10
German	7	1	6
Other	56	1	55

Figure 2
National identity of usual residents (2016 Census report.
https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/falkland_islands_census_2016_-
_report_without_data_tables.pdf; last accessed: 11.27.2022).

These figures seem to disagree with the studies conducted so far on the islanders, their national identity and language, but this issue will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

The present study aims at shedding light on Falkland Islands English (FIE) speech in the 21st century. In particular, we will focus on the vowel system at the segmental level. Since FIE is one of the most recently developed but as yet among the least studied English varieties, we hope that it will contribute to draw attention to this Southern Hemisphere variety, providing evidence of the current state of its phonological evolution and enabling comparison with other varieties of the Southern Hemisphere. Before we begin, it is necessary to make a few clarifications. Firstly, our focus is on variations from the British standard. Second, our analysis is biased towards segmental production as suprasegmental features will not be considered. Third, the study is structured around a sociolinguistic approach to phonological variation rather than traditional phonemic analysis. Indeed, this study is not intended to provide an in-depth description of the FIE phonetic system, but to illustrate the actual use of some speech sounds by native speakers. Finally, we hope that the analysis of the data collected will shed light on the ongoing mutations of the FIE variety thus contributing to the discussion about Falkland Islands English whether it is to be considered a variety of English marked by contact-induced change or a variety characterized by unsuccessful koineization due to extra-linguistic factors and increasing contacts with the lexifier.

2. Falkland Islands population and languages

Due to the historical and political events described above, the population of the Falkland Islands is remarkably diverse and has undergone a constant turnover. Nevertheless, the literature reports a rather stable language scenario, with English as the main or even only reference language (it is worth noting, though, that the reference literature on FIE is almost exclusively British). Sudbury (2000) and Britain and Sudbury (2010) argue that English is the language that primarily developed on the Islands, characterised by a mix of dialects spoken by the settlers who inhabited the islands during the 19th and 20th

centuries, mainly from Scotland, South-West England, and Northern Ireland as a result of the British government's migration programmes. It seems that even non-English speakers, mainly sailors who arrived on the islands at the time, soon abandoned their native language, in favour of English (Sudbury 2005) especially after 1872 when, under the Education Act, English was made compulsory in all schools. With the exception of Scandinavian surnames in telephone directories, no other source proves the existence of other dialects (Sudbury 2001) on the island. Sudbury also reports of young women who switched to English dialects in contact with seasonal workers from those territories. Leaving this aside, what she describes about those times is an inter-and intra-speaker variability that "sounded like a southern English variety with few traces of Scottish influence" (Sudbury 2001, p. 407). In his book on colonial dialects, Trudgill (2022) describes the FIE variety as the result of a combination of several factors, including the absence of language contact with indigenous varieties (about the claim of a tabula rasa situation, see also Trudgill 2004), language contact with other EU languages, and dialect contact. The first refers to the absence of indigenous populations on the Islands prior to the anglophone settlers; the second relates to the presence of some Spanish words in the FIE lexicon; the third applies to rural FIE (i.e. spoken in areas other than Port Stanley, particularly in the West Falklands), which shows variations depending on the origins of each community of speakers from a single British area. It is quite interesting to note that the British scholars seem to ignore the aforementioned findings of objects and remains testifying to the presence of earlier non-British settlers (mainly from Argentina), evidence that belies the claims of a linguistic tabula rasa.

The issue of non-koineization of FIE is highly controversial. According to Kerswill (2002; Schreier 2012, p. 548), the success of a koineization process depends on three criteria: the type and level of homogeneity of the new community, the openness of the social networks, and the degree of interaction and mutual intelligibility of the input varieties. On the basis of Kerswill's principles, which emphasise, among other things, the unpredictability of koineization, Schreier (2012) contends that the formation of a new dialect did not take place on the islands despite the fact that the ideal conditions illustrated by Trudgill (2004) were in place, and that language-external factors, including the duration and intensity of contact, are necessary for change to happen. Indeed, Sudbury (2000), in her seminal work on FIEs, observed that "the Falkland accent has not yet become fully focused [...] it has not become a fully focused variety like the rest of the Southern Hemisphere" (p. 368) thus contradicting the concept that a linguistic 'tabula rasa' is a favourable condition for a variety to become 'focused'. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) define a focusing process in relation to speakers' awareness of the linguistic uniqueness of the dialect and their agreement on the rules governing its structures. They add that once 'focused', the variety has its own name and the processes of standardization and codification are activated, which entails the promotion of a sense of local identity among the members of the speech community. Trudgill (2022) suggests that, unlike the other Southern Hemisphere languages, "it is likely that because of the small population movements in and out, (East) Falkland Islands English did not crystallise, to the extent that it has in fact done so (Sudbury 2000), until later than New Zealand English." (p. 25). Despite the presence of settlers from rural areas who most likely originally had a marked accent, some of the typical features of their original varieties may have been levelled out to facilitate communication between people from different areas (Kerswill, Williams 2000). This is what Mufwene (2001) indicates as competition and selection, which lead to the restructuring of the language. Nevertheless, the characteristics of FIE presumably varied over time, levelling out further towards the original British variety. Furthermore,

the continuous flow of migratory movements made the stabilization of characterizing linguistic features particularly complex, and the creation of a social identity as well. This situation, together with the claimed absence of an indigenous non- Anglophone population, have contributed to the uniqueness of this dialect among the Southern Hemisphere English varieties (Trudgill 2004). Not least, the tendency of the first settlers to isolate themselves, reinforced by the geographical conformation of the islands' territory and the lack of continuous communication exchanges between the different social groups, may have further slackened the koineization.

Identity is another element considered crucial in the lack of focus of the FIE variety. In the dynamic model theorised by Schneider (2003), the willingness of the new inhabitants of colonised territories to establish an independent identity is a fundamental factor for the development of the new variety. While this principle applied to other Southern Hemisphere languages such as NZE and AusE, it did not in the case of FIE (Schreier 2012). Indeed, there does not appear to have been a strong desire for independence from British rule on the part of the population, and this is reflected in the politics and foreign affairs of the Falkland Islands (Schreier 2012) as well. In fact, the Falkland Islands sovereignty referendum held in 2013, which asked Falkland Islanders whether they were in favour of retaining their status as a UK Overseas Territory, showed that 99.80% were in favour with only three voters against (Willetts 2013). Even worldwide the Falkland Islanders have a reputation for being "more British than the British" (Cameron 1997, p. 2) and this can also be said for language, or at least it is true according to the few language data available so far (Britain, Sudbury 2010; Sudbury 2001). As regards other languages, the 2016 Census data indicate that the most widely spoken Language Other Than English (LOTE) is Spanish, followed by Shona and Filipino. French, Italian, and German languages are also spoken on the islands mainly by non-native inhabitants (see Figure 3).
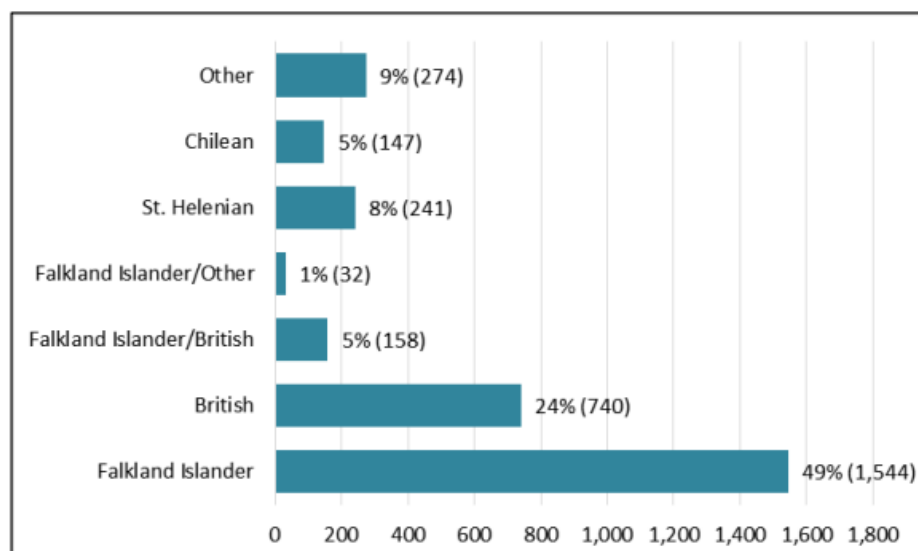

Figure 3
Foreign languages spoken at home
(https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/falkland_islands_census_2016_-_report_without_data_tables.pdf; last accessed: 11.27.2022).

It is therefore possible that those who do not speak English as their native language have learned FIE as a new language. This new English, however, does not seem to appear

prominently in the spoken language of those from households where Standard English or other varieties of English have long been spoken. Nevertheless, data collected through the 2016 Census survey (see Figure 2) show that almost half of the population feels they are of Falkland Island and non-British origin. This finding could be interpreted as an ongoing shift towards independence in both identity and language. Therefore, despite the slowdown, it is possible that the development of Schneider's (2003) phases is indeed taking place in FIE.

3. Materials and Methods

The linguistic data upon which the present study is based were collected from online videos of the Falkland Government (https://www.youtube.com/user/FalklandsGov) featuring inhabitants of the Falkland Islanders as representative voices of the local community. The decision to draw on online sources rather than field data was dictated by the impossibility of personally visiting the islands and interviewing the local people due to COVID19 restrictions. However, we contacted the editor of the leading local newspaper 'Penguin News', who made suggestions and provided information on useful sites for our research. After a meticulous search of the suggested sources and an analysis of the material retrievable on the official platform of the Falklands Government as well, we decided to collect data from speakers we could have reliable information on including sociolinguistic variables (e.g. age, sex, social condition, level of education). A comparison was made between the speeches of 5 adults, three women and two men (see section 3.1 for specific details about the informants). The linguistic analysis focused on phonological data and aimed at collecting information on the FIE spoken by contemporary islanders. Specifically, our attention was directed to the vowel and consonant sounds the literature identifies as being distinctive of this variety (Britain, Sudbury 2013; Sudbury 2000, 2001). Words containing the identified vowel and consonant sounds were isolated for each informant and compared with the British standard. The findings were then classified according to Wells' (1982) lexical classification system. Finally, possible factors that would lead to the emergence of similarities and divergences in Falkland Island English compared to other Englishes of the Southern Hemisphere (Trudgill 2004) were discussed.

3.1. Participants

Speaker 1 (Georgina): born in Argentina in 1981 from an English father and an Argentine mother. She moved to the Falkland Islands when she was two weeks old and has lived, schooled, and worked there ever since. She studied in England and Australia and once finished college, she moved back to New Island, one of the remotest areas of the Falklands Islands (Begonia 2018; Cockwell 2012, p. 4; Falklands Government 2014a-2014d)
     Speaker 2 (Leona): born in 1972 in Punta Arenas to a Falkland Islander mother and a Chilean father. When she was three years old, her family returned to the Falklands, where she currently lives. As with many young people of the islands, she attended university in England and then returned to the Falklands (Falkland Islands Government 2012a, Falkland Islands Television 2019).
     Speaker 3 (Rebecca): daughter of a fourth generation Falkland Islander, presumably around 50 years old. She spent her childhood at Camp and studied in London. She returned to the islands because she considered them the perfect environment to raise a

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family. She and her family currently live in Port Howard, West Falkland (Cockwell 2012, p. 4, Falklands Government 2014b; Falkland Islands Television 2020).

Speaker 4 (Andy): A sixth generation inhabitant of the Falkland Islands, he is 42 years old. He studied in both England and New Zealand, then travelled to various countries such as Thailand, Chile, Australia and finally settled in the Falklands Islands. However, he spends the winter season on the Isle of Lewis, Scotland (Falklands Government 2014c; Far South Expeditions 2016).

Speaker 5 (Ian): born at Hill Cove in 1958, he is a fifth generation Falkland Islander. His ancestors who settled on the islands came from Scandinavia. He grew up and worked at Hill Cove (1974-1980) and then on Pebble Island. He currently lives at Main Point (Channel 5 Belize 2019; Falkland Islands Government 2012b).

4. Analysis of some vowel and consonant sounds of FIE

Most of the data is from relatively spontaneous interviews conducted for the local television broadcast, i.e. FITV, and the official Falkland Islands Government channel (see References for hyperlinks). The speakers have been chosen following parameters based on sociodemographic data, mainly referring to the diastratic dimension (e.g. age, sex, sociocultural context, native speaker of FIE, education in FIE, possibly an inhabitant of the Falklands for at least two generations, etc.), and their retrievability. The speech of each informant was firstly isolated, then attentively examined and evaluated by the researchers.

4.1. FIE vowels

Our analysis first addressed the study of vocalic phonemes using the keywords suggested by Wells (1982) lexical set classification system.

1. The TRAP set. This vowel is realised by each of the FIE speakers as [æ] in monophthongs, in open syllables, and before voiceless plosive, fricatives, sibilants and nasals. Here some examples (Table 1):

Participant	TRAP vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[ˈnætʃərəlɪst] [mægˈnɪfɪsənt] [ˌhɒspɪˈtæləti]	naturalist magnificent hospitality
Speaker 2	[pæst] [ˈmæs.ɪv] [ðæt]	past massive that (stressed syllable)
Speaker 3	[ðæt] [ɪntəˈnæʃnəli] [ˈnætʃrəl]	that (stressed syllable) internationally natural
Speaker 4	[ˈræmpeɪdʒ] [sæt] [fænˈtæstɪk]	Rampage sat fantastic
Speaker 5	[kæːn] [ðæːt] [ˈhæp.ən]	can (stressed syllable) that (stressed syllable) happen

Table 1
Examples of the use of the TRAP vowel among the sample speakers.

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Comparing the data gathered here with those analysed by Trudgill (2004) and contrasting them with the New Zealand and Australian varieties, the researchers noticed the lack of rising. This could probably be due to the fact that FIE developed later than the other two varieties in question, in which occasionally slightly raised variants occur.

2. The DRESS set. This vowel is tendentially realised as [e], as in the following examples (Table 2):

Participant	DRESS vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[prəˈfeʃənl]	professional
	[ˈplenti]	plenty
	[ˈbetəI]	better
Speaker 2	[tɛn]	ten
	[rɪˈmembə]	remember
	[ˌsendɪŋ]	sending
Speaker 3	[aɪˈdentɪfaɪə]	identifier
	[ˈveri]	very
	[sprɛːdz]	spreads
Speaker 4	[gɛˈt]	get
	[ˈveri]	very
	[bɛst]	best
Speaker 5	[sɛːlf]	self
	[ɪˈspɛkt]	respect
	[əˈdresiz]	addressees

Table 2
Examples of the use of the DRESS vowel among the sample speakers.

The five speaker's realisation of this vowel sound is slightly different from Sudbury's results based on interviews conducted in 1998 (Sudbury 2000, 2001). The data she collected, which were in any case inter-and-intra-variable, showed the predominance of the [ɛ] phoneme, while we found the more standard [e] as a regular occurrence (see, for example, [əˈdresiz] in Speaker 5, [ˈveri] in Speaker 3 and 4, [sendɪŋ] in speaker 2 and [ˈplenti] in Speaker 1).

3. KIT. This vowel is commonly realised as front mid-close vowel [ɪ] as can be seen in the next examples (Table 3):

Participant	KIT vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[wɪð]	with
	[bɪg]	big
	[bɪt]	bit
Speaker 2	[wɪˈðɪn]	within
	[ɪn]	in
	[pəˈzɪʃ.ən]	position
Speaker 3	[ðɪs]	this
	[rɪsk]	risk
	[ˈtɪʃ.uː]	tissue
Speaker 4	[sɪt]	sit
	[tʃɪk]	chick
	[θɪŋ]	thing
Speaker 5	[bɪt]	bit
	[θɪŋ]	thing
	[ˈbɪg]	big

Table 3
Examples of the use of the KIT vowel among the sample speakers.

What was found for the KIT vowel seems to be in line with other studies on FIE. A question remains, however, regarding the short front vowels, which are occasionally lengthened. Are these forms perhaps the result of influences from early varieties of Scottish and Southwestern English? This could be the case for some of these sounds, as Sudbury (2001) also theorises. However, it is more likely that they are new FIE acquisitions. In fact, the latter hypothesis could derive from a later development of a variety of Southern Hemisphere English.

Furthermore, with regard to the lengthening of some short vowels, as in the case of [ɛ] and [æ] (see, for example, [sprɛːdz] Speaker 3, [sɛːlf] in Speaker 4- Table 2- and [kæːn] [ðæːt] in Speaker 5- Table 1) this could be attributed to individual speaker variation and not to a general rule applicable to this variety of English. According to the studies by Wells (1982) and Ellis (1889) on South-Western English, the lengthening of short vowels is considered a typical feature of these varieties.

4. LOT/CLOTH. For the most part these vocal sounds are realised with open back rounded vowels [ɒ] as in the following examples (Table 4):

Participant	LOT/CLOTH vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[kɒnsəˈveɪʃən]	conservation
	[frɒm]	from
	[ɒn]	on
Speaker 2	[ɪmˈpɒsəbəl]	impossible
	[gɒt]	got
	[əˈkrɒs]	across
Speaker 3	[ˈkrɒs.əʊ.vər]	crossover
	[nɒt]	not
	[ˈkɒn.tækt]	contact
Speaker 4	[bɒnd]	bond
	[lɒt]	lot
	[pɒp]	pop
Speaker 5	[iˈkɒn.ə.mi]	economy
	[ˈpɒs.ə.bli]	possible
	[ˈkɒn.stənt]	constant

Table 4
Examples of the use of the LOT/CLOTH vowel among the sample speakers.

In the past, instances have also been found where this vowel was lengthened and raised [ɔː] (e.g. in the words off, across and often, as in Sudbury 2001, p. 410) and these were considered to derive from old-fashioned RP (Wells 1982). Similar considerations were made for New Zealand English, arguing that Southern English settlers had imported this feature into this variety of Southern Hemisphere English (Trudgill 2004). According to the latter analysis, the same could be said for FIE, except that this vowel only occurred in a few cases and was not found in the analysed speeches.

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5. STRUT. This vowel sound is commonly realised as [ʌ]. A few examples are given below (Table 5):

Participant	STROUT vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[dʒʌmp]	jump
	[trʌst]	trust
	[bʌt]	but
Speaker 2	[ʌs]	us
	[sʌtʃ]	such
Speaker 3	[ˈhʌn.drədz]	hundreds
	[ˈpʌb.lɪk]	public
Speaker 4	[bʌt]	but
	[ˈget.ʌp]	get-up
Speaker 5	[dʒʌst]	just
	[ʌp]	up
	[ˌæg.rɪˈkʌl.tʃər.əl]	agriculture

Table 5
Examples of the use of the STROUT vowel among the sample speakers.

6. FOOT. The realisation of this vowel by the speakers in all the instances we analysed is a back rounded [ʊ] as shown in the following examples (Table 6):

Participant	FOOT vowel	Token
Speaker 2	[tʊk]	took
Speaker 4	[lʊk]	look
Speaker 5	[gʊd]	good
	[ˈfɔː.wədˌlʊk.ɪŋ]	forward-looking

Table 6
Examples of the use of the FOOT vowel among the sample speakers.

In this case, the presence of distinct phonemes for FOOT and STRUT is similar to the Southern English and Southern Hemisphere varieties, although STRUT does not have fronted outputs like AuE and NZE (Trudgill 2004). Some authors, though, have noted that alongside the back rounded instantiation, a FOOT fronting process seems to have started (Britain, Sudbury 2013; Wakelin 1986), which shows a traceable phonologic relationship with parts of the southwest of England.

7. BATH/START/PALM. This vowel is realised with an open front [aː]. Here below the data collected among the informants of this study (Table 7):

Participant	BATH/START/PALM vowels	Token
Speaker 1	[ˈfəʊ.tə.graːf]	photograph
	[tʃaːdʒ]	charge
Speaker 2	[ˈɔː.tə.graːf]	autograph
	[laːdʒəʳ]	larger
	[haːd]	hard
Speaker 3	[faːr]	far
Speaker 4	[haːf]	half
Speaker 5	[staːʳt]	start
	[paːʳt]	part

Table 7
Examples of the use of the BATH/START/PALM vowels among the sample speakers.

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The realisation of the vowels considered for this group is fairly homogeneous across speakers. However, the same cannot be said for the linguistic data presented by Britain and Sudbury (2013), in which great variety was shown. They also found short, mid- and fully open vowels that they linked to the Scottish and Southwestern English dialects spoken in the 19th and 20th centuries in the Falklands Islands. In fact, quite a number of variations also existed in these varieties (Ellis 1889).

8. NURSE. This vowel sound is usually realised as unrounded mid-central [ɜ:]. Such realisation can be observed in the following words (Table 8):

Participant	NURSE vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[sɜ:f]	surf
	[wɜ:ld]	world
Speaker 2	[ˈfɜ:st·li]	firstly
	[ˌpɜ:.sənˈæl.ə.ti]	personality
	[ˈfɜ:st]	first
Speaker 3	[lɜ:n]	learn
	[wɜ:ld]	world
	[kənˈsɜ:nd]	concerned
Speaker 4	[ˈsɜ:.tən.li]	certainly
	[ˈθɜ:.ti]	thirty
Speaker 5	[ˈvɜ:.səs]	versus
	[daɪˈvɜ:s]	diverse
	[ˈpɜ:.sən]	person

Table 8
Examples of the use of the NURSE vowel among the sample speakers.

In earlier times, this phoneme was realised quite differently, to the extent that Sudbury's (2000) studies also showed raised, fronted and lip-rounded variants. Today, however, the realisation tends more towards the standard English. Additionally, the fronted raised and rounded vowel of NZE appears to be an innovation of this English variety, which originated in the 19th century (Trudgill 2004). Similar realisations of this new vowel are found in AuE and SAE, to the extent that it can be assumed to be a Southern Hemisphere innovation.

9. THOUGHT/FORCE/NORTH. This vowel is realised as half-close back [ɔ:] among the studied speakers and no instances of diphthongisation (Britain, Sudbury 2013) have been found. Here are some examples (Table 9):

Participant	THOUGHT/FORCE/NORTH vowels	Token
Speaker 1	[ˈnɔ:.mə.li]	normally
	[nɔ:θ]	north
Speaker 2	[sɔ:t]	sort
	[ɪkˈstrɔ:.dɪn.ər.i]	extraordinary
	[ˈtɑ:sk ˌfɔ:s]	task force
Speaker 3	[fɔ:r]	four
	[fɔ:r]	for
Speaker 4	[fɔ:r]	four
	[ˈmɔ:.nɪŋ]	morning
Speaker 5	[kɔ:s]	course
	[ˈfɔ:.tʃən.ət]	fortunate
	[ɪmˈpɔ:.tənt]	important

Table 9
Examples of the use of the THOUGHT/FORCE/NORTH vowels among the sample speakers.

10.   FLEECE. This vowel is generally realised as [iː], as shown in the speakers'
pronunciations of the following words (Table 10):

Participant	FLEECE vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[iːt]	eat
	[biːtʃ]	beach
	[siː]	sea
Speaker 2	[miːn]	mean
	[siːm]	seem
	[ˈmiː.tɪŋ]	meeting
Speaker 3	[biːn]	been
	[niːd]	need
	[kiːp]	keep
Speaker 4	[fiːl]	feel
	[piːs]	peace
	[siː]	see
Speaker 5	[ˈsiː.ɹɪŋ]	seeing
	[ˈpiː.pəl]	people
	[ˈiː.zi]	easy

Table 10
Examples of the use of the FLEECE vowel among the sample speakers.

11.   GOOSE. The GOOSE vowel is commonly realised with back close long
[uː]. Here are some examples (Table 11):

Participant	GOOSE vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[tuː]	two
	[zuː]	zoo
Speaker 2	[kəˈmjuː.nə.ti]	community
	[hjuːdʒ]	huge
Speaker 3	[ˈɪn.tuː]	into
	[ˈhjuː.mən]	human
Speaker 4	[ʌnˈjuː.ʒu.əl]	unusual
Speaker 5	[duː]	do
	[hjuːdʒ]	huge

Table 11
Examples of the use of the GOOSE vowel among the sample speakers.

In contrast with Britain and Sudbury's (2013) observations, the sample speakers'
realisation of the vowel phoneme is not diphthongised into [ə̝ u] (p. 2015). The former
realisation, however, would have been in line with the input dialects, i.e. Southwest
English and Scottish, of which Ellis (1889) had also recorded fronted short variants.
Overall, unlike AuE there is no tendency towards vowel breaking, nor [ïɯ, ʊʉ]
realisations.

12.   PRICE. The realisation of this diphthong is mainly [aɪ] as in the examples below (Table 12):

Participant	PRICE vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[ˈwaɪld.laɪf]	wildlife
	[ˈaɪ.lən.dər]	islander
	[laɪk]	like
Speaker 2	[taɪm]	time
	[laɪf]	life
	[twaɪs]	twice
Speaker 3	[faɪnd]	find
	[flaɪtz]	flights
	[ˈtʃaɪ.nə]	China
Speaker 4	[maɪt]	might
	[taɪm]	time
	[ɪnˈsaɪd]	inside
Speaker 5	[ˈaɪ.lənd]	island
	[laɪk]	like
	[səɪd]	said

Table 12
Examples of the use of the PRICE vowel among the sample speakers.

The rather homogeneous presence of [aɪ] contrasts with the data initially collected by the first FIE studies (Sudbury 2001), in which the realisation of this diphthong occurred in a range from a mid-close to a more open onset [əɪ-ɐɪ]. In the language data from the previous century, the presence of Canadian rising,[2] was also noted, which was believed to have originated from the Scottish spoken by the early population.

13.   MOUTH. The dominant variant for this vowel is [aʊ], similarly to NZE and AuE regarding the nucleus quality (Britain 2008). Here are some examples (Table 13):

Participant	MOUTH vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[daʊn]	down
Speaker 2	[aʊər]	our
Speaker 3	[əˈbaʊt]	about
	[haʊ]	hour
	[ˈaʊt.saɪd]	outside
Speaker 4	[əˈrɛʊnd]	around
	[grɛʊnd]	ground
Speaker 5	[daʊn]	down
	[naʊ]	now
	[paʊər]	power

Table 13
Examples of the use of the MOUTH vowel among the sample speakers.

Compared to previous findings, in which this diphthong was realized with the variants [ɛʊ] and [ɐʊ] (Britain, Sudbury 2013), the current realisation tends mainly towards standard

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[2] Canadian raising is a phonological process characteristic of one variety of Canadian English, in which the onsets of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ raise to mid vowels when they precede voiceless obstruents (the sounds /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, and /f/).

English. The latter was relatively uncommon in Sudbury's studies (2001), whereas today it is confirmed as the most widespread realisation, as our informants' speeches suggest. Indeed, only Informant 4 shows the raised variant noted in Britain and Sudbury (2013), which is typical of the dialect of the South-West of England.

14.   FACE. The realisation of this vowel sound exhibits a RP-like diphthong [eɪ] as can be found in the following examples (Table 14):

Participant	FACE vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[streɪndʒ] [ˈneɪ.tʃər] [ˈkreɪ.zi]	strange nature crazy
Speaker 2	[keɪm] [pleɪ] [ˈlɪb.ər.eɪt]	came play liberate
Speaker 3	[kəˈrəʊ.nəˌvaɪə.rəs] [bɪˈheɪv] [meɪks]	coronavirus behave makes
Speaker 4	[weɪ] [ræmˈpeɪdʒ] [bɪˈheɪ.vjə]	way rampage behaviour
Speaker 5	[pleɪs] [ˈsteɪ.ʃən] [steɪdʒ]	place station stage

Table 14
Examples of the use of the FACE vowel among the sample speakers.

The realisation of this diphthong sound differs from other Southern Hemisphere Englishes in that FIE does not tend towards more centralized or fully open onsets.

15.   GOAT. The GOAT vowel, as well as the previous FACE vowel, tends to be realised in a standard-like form, that is [əʊ]. Some examples are given below (Table 15):

Participant	GOAT vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[gəʊz] [sləʊ]	goes slow
Speaker 2	[əʊld] [səʊ] [sɪˈnɑː.ri.əʊ]	old so scenario
Speaker 3	[ˈkrɒs.əʊ.vər] [ˈməʊ.mənt] [ləʊ]	crossover moment low
Speaker 4	[gəʊz]	goes
Speaker 5	[həʊm] [nəʊ]	home know

Table 15
Examples of the use of the GOAT vowel among the sample speakers.

16.   CHOICE. The CHOICE vowel is realised with a mid-open back onset [ɔɪ]. Here some examples (Table 16):

Participant	CHOICE vowel	Token
Speaker 3	[əˈvɔɪd]	avoid
Speaker 5	[vɔɪs/]	voice
	[tʃɔɪs]	choice

Table 16
Examples of the use of the CHOICE vowel among the sample speakers.

According to Sudbury (2001), this realisation would be consistent with historical variants and other Southern Hemisphere varieties (2001, p. 412).

17.   NEAR. In FIE this vowel sound is realised as the diphthong [ɪə]. For example, in the following words (Table 17):

Participant	NEAR vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[hɪər]	here
Speaker 2	[jɪərs]	years
Speaker 3	[hɪər]	here
Speaker 4	[jɪər]	year
Speaker 5	[fɪər]	fear
	[aɪˈdɪə]	idea
	[ˌkær.ɪˈbiː.ən]	Caribbean

Table 17
Examples of the use of the NEAR vowel among the sample speakers.

18.   SQUARE. The realisation of the SQUARE vowel is generally [eə], as showed in the examples below (Table 18):

Participant	SQUARE vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[ðeər]	there
Speaker 2	[jeə]	yeah
Speaker 3	[keər]	care
Speaker 4	[ˈpeə.rənt]	parent
Speaker 5	[weər]	where

Table 18
Examples of the use of the SQUARE vowel among the sample speakers.

The vowels of NEAR and SQUARE are realised differently among the speakers considered here. In studies previously conducted, Sudbury (2001) predicted a potential merge between [ɪə] and [eə], leaning towards the latter realisation. This process would have been in line with what happened in NZE (Gordon, Maclagan 1990) but in fact did not take place.

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19.   HAPPY. This unstressed ending vowel is characterized by a standard-like pronunciation as visible in the following examples (Table 19):

Participant	HAPPY vowel	Token
Speaker 1	[ˈrɪə.li]	really
	[ˈjuː.ʒu.ə.li]	usually
Speaker 2	[ˈfɜːst.li]	firstly
	[ˈmæs.ɪv.li]	massively
	[ˈver.i]	very
Speaker 3	[pəˈtɪkjələli]	particularly
	[ˌɪn.təˈnæʃ.ən.əl.i]	internationally
Speaker 4	[ˈsɜː.tən.liː]	certainly
	[ˈɜː.liː]	early
Speaker 5	[fəˈsɪl.ə.ti]	facility
	[ˈiː.kwə.li]	equally

Table 19
Examples of the use of the HAPPY vowel among the sample speakers.

The speakers' realization of the HAPPY vowel in FIE is consistent with standard English with the exception of speaker 4, who exhibits a slightly longer [iː] than the others. This finding reflects what Sudbury noted (2001), although the longer realisation was the most common in the past, as in most varieties of Southern English and Southern Hemisphere English.

4.2. FIE Consonants

As far as consonants are concerned, we found even less variety than in the vowel system. The most characteristic features that have been considered are the postvocalic /r/, the /h/-dropping, the th-fronting, the intervocalic or word final /t/, and the -ing variation.

FIE can be considered a non-rhotic variety (Sudbury 2005), although some settlers who initially arrived on the islands spoke rhotic varieties peculiar to areas of Scotland and the West Country. The presence of this characteristic in other varieties of the Southern Hemisphere such as NZE, AuE and SAE, could be explained by taking into account the concept of drift introduced by Trudgill et al. (2000). According to the authors, the loss of rhoticity is related to the evolution of this consonant sound in 19th century English and therefore it is not a consequence of the so-called dialect-labelling of variants of the colonial English. Examples for this can be found in the following cases (Table 20):

Participant	POSTVOCALIC -r	Word
Speaker 1	[ˈnɔː.mə.li]	normally
Speaker 2	[jeə]	year
Speaker 3	[pəˈtɪkjʊləli]	particularly
Speaker 4	[bɪˈheɪ.vjə]	behaviour
Speaker 5	[ˌɑːdʒənˈtiːnə]	Argentina

Table 20
Examples of the use of postvocalic /r/ among the sample speakers.

/h/-dropping is a feature rarely found among speakers of FIE and the other Southern Hemisphere Englishes. In fact, it was not found in our data. However, Bell and Holmes (1992) report instances in NZE in remote times and in limited cases.

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Th-fronting is generally absent in FIE, in fact it was not found in any of the speeches analysed for this study. However, in the data collected by Sudbury (2000), two young female speakers showed high levels of fronting and some Camp residents had replaced TH with [d] (Britain, Sudbury 2013).

As for *intervocalic and word final /t/*, the prevailing pronunciation of this consonant sound in FIE is standard-like, whereas realisations such as [ʔ] and [ɾ] were common in the past (Sudbury 2001), with considerable variation across speakers (as observed in speaker 4, who uses a tapped/voiced intervocalic /t/). There is early dialect evidence of voiced /t/ variants in Scottish and in Southwestern English (Sudbury 2000). It seems, though, that these realisations have not been retained in current FIE.

The pronunciation of word final-*ing* was not homogeneous among FIE speakers in the past (Britain, Sudbury 2013; Sudbury 2001). In fact, the realisations were in the range [ɪŋ- ɪn- ən], whereas today they seem to generally tend towards a standard pronunciation, as can be seen in the following examples (Table 21):

Participant	FINAL -ing	Word
Speaker 1	[ˈweɪ.tɪŋ]	waiting
Speaker 2	[ˈmiː.tɪŋ]	meeting
Speaker 3	[ˈfaɪn.dɪŋ]	finding
Speaker 4	[ˈmɔː.nɪŋ]	morning
Speaker 5	[ˈbɪl.dɪŋ]	building

Table 21
Examples of the use of final -ing among the sample speakers.

5. Discussion and conclusions

Given the limitations of the data collected on spoken FIE, including the number of informants, although of accredited relevance, we are unable to make general statements on contemporary FIE. Nevertheless, interesting elements emerged from our analysis that seem on the one hand to diverge from and on the other to confirm our initial hypotheses based on previous studies. Our considerations refer to: differences and similarities with other SHEs, the dialects of settlers who arrived on the islands more than two hundred years ago, and the studies conducted by Sudbury and Britain from the 1998 interviews (Britain, Sudbury 2013; Sudbury 2000, 2001)

As regards the first point, when we looked closely at the realization of the vowel sounds by the FIE informants with reference the Southern Hemisphere main varieties, i.e. NZE, AuE and SAE, we noted a significative absence of the TRAP, STRUT and LOT/CLOTH raising. Similarly, we observed the fronting of the FOOT vowel, which seems to be an ongoing variation process although traceable also in some parts of the southwest of England. Furthermore, according to the observed realizations of the FLEECE, GOOSE, PRICE MOUTH, FACE, GOAT vowels, unlike the other major Southern Hemisphere Englishes, have not undergone the characteristic diphthong shift. The latter phenomenon indicates a series of coordinated movements for certain diphthongs and long vowels as illustrated below:

- <u>FLEECE</u> in FIE is realised as [iː] while in SHEs this sound diphthongises becoming [əɪ]. For example, *see* FIE /si/ vs NZE /səɪ/
- <u>GOOSE</u> in FIE is realised as [uː] while in Southern Hemisphere varieties the diphthong [ə˕u] is generally found with a lowering of the nucleus. For example, in FIE *zoo* /zuː/ vs /zə˕u/

- <u>PRICE</u> realisation in FIE corresponds to [aɪ] while in SHEs it sometimes backs and raises its nucleus to [ɑɪ-ɒɪ-ɔɪ], for example in FIE *find* /faɪnd/ vs AuE //fɑɪnd/
- <u>MOUTH</u> sound is pronounced in FIE as [aʊ], differing from other English varieties of the Southern Hemisphere, in which the pronunciation becomes [æʊ- æɔ- ɛʊ]. For example, *about* in FIE /əˈbaʊt/ vs AuE /əˈbæɔt/
- <u>FACE</u> is realised in FIE as [eɪ] while in SHEs it undergoes a lowering and sometimes backing of its nucleus, becoming [æɪ-ɐɪ]. For example, *place* in FIE /pleɪs/ vs AuE /plæɪs/
- <u>GOAT</u> in FIE is realised as [əʊ] and as [ɐʊ- ɐʏ- ɐʉ] in the rest of Southern Hemisphere Englishes. For example, *home* in FIE /həʊm/ vs NZE /hɐʉm/

Concerning consonants, FIE as well as the rest of the SHEs appears to be a non-rhotic variety. However, some idiosyncratic phonic patterns distinguish FIE from NZE for example, like the *own*-final sound, which is not disyllabic.

With respect to the second point, when considering FIE in comparison with the dialects of the first settlers arrived on the islands from English territories, mainly from the South-West of England and Scotland, some distinctive features emerge. For instance, the cases in which the TRAP and DRESS vowels are realized as lengthened vowel sounds could be traced back to residuals of the South-Western English dialect. One difference, however, is the cases where GOOSE and HAPPY are realized as lengthened vowel sounds. The former occurred in Scottish and South-Western English with a short-fronted variant. The latter, instead, was longer in Southern British English. In regard to consonants, FIE has no variety for the pronunciation of word-final or intervocalic /t/.

Finally, comparing our findings with those presented in the studies conducted by Sudbury, the foremost scholar of this English variety, a few divergences emerge. First, concerning vowel sounds, Sudbury described the production in FIE of the DRESS vowel as more open, and the LOT/CLOTH vowels longer and more raised than we found. Furthermore, the numerous variants for PRICE, MOUTH and BATH/TRAP/BALM vowels that Sudbury observed, were not found in our analysis of current FIE. As far as consonants are concerned, the differences are few and concern the pronunciation of /t/ and

-ing sounds. The former disagrees with [ʔ] and [ɾ] found in the past studies, while the latter is consistent with Standard English and is not as variable as in Sudbury's (2001) data.

Although the literature available so far tends to support the absence of divergence from the original variety, the more recent linguistic data collected and analysed in the present study, seem to suggest otherwise. However, the opposite hypothesis cannot be ruled out, namely that the current population of the island speaks a language closer to the original variety possibly due to the growing ties with the British territories and population, as well as the almost exclusive presence of media and radio broadcasts in British English.

On the whole, a classification of FIE still appears to be relatively complex. Compared to the past, however, it seems that FIE is increasingly oriented towards Standard English and, is thus probably a variety that has failed to differentiate itself from its original source. Yet, certain elements contribute to its distinctiveness and detachment from the Standard dialect. Despite the fact that the two countries are a long way apart, the population is still closely tied to that territory and comes mostly from there. Moreover, as there are no universities on the islands, almost all young people go to Britain to complete their studies, thus increasing the encroachment of the European variety on the local variety. It is no coincidence that most of the participants to our study studied in England or other English-speaking countries, only to return to the Falklands. However, it cannot be ruled out that FIE is an Inner Circle English according to the model theorized by Kachru

(1985), especially given its proximity to Standard English. FIE should also not be dismissed as belonging to the circle of the SHEs, although unlike them it cannot be said to have passed all the stages in Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003). The reason for this, however, is due to the extraordinary initial conditions found in this territory, favoured by the remote location of the islands so that not many people, apart from the English and Scots, wanted to stay on the islands. Undoubtedly, historical and political events also played a role in the linguistic development of this variety.

In the light of the recent findings, a deeper study of this Southern Hemisphere variety would be particularly significant especially in informal and local contexts to capture further minimal variations that might have gone lost in formal video-recorded interviews. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate the language of Falkland Islands children and young people born on the islands to non-English native speakers, which could shed light on the result of some new form of linguistic and cultural contact typical of the post-colonial period (Kirkpatrick 2010).

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