The discursive positioning of the Falkland Islands (las Islas Malvinas): A corpus-based collocational analysis of British and Argentinian websites

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Abstract: Considering "discursive positioning" to be a form of "placement," this study examines how the Falkland Islands or *las Islas Malvinas*, a place which has long been politically controversial, are discursively positioned on British and Argentinian websites. The data came from two reference corpora: namely the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE) and the Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects. The 388-million-word British section of the former and the 183-million-word Argentinian section of the latter were selected for analysis. Attention was paid to the 20 most frequent collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*." Semantic prosody, collocation networks and word clusters were also investigated. It was found that the Falkland Islands are positioned differently in the two corpora. While the collocates of "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus (e.g., "government" and "population") position the Islands as a territory with "self-determination," the collocates of "*Islas Malvinas*" in the Argentinian corpus (e.g., "*nuestras*" [our (feminine plural)], "*territorio*" [territory] and "*recuperación*" [recovery], together with the 5-gram "*las Islas Malvinas son argentinas*" [the Falkland Islands are Argentinian]) subsume the Islands under the ownership of Argentina. Not only are the Falkland Islands "discursively positioned," Britain and Argentina are also subject to positioning. For instance, in the British corpus, Argentina is construed as an invader (as suggested by the collocates "invasion" and "1982") whereas in the Argentinian corpus, Britain is given this demonized role (via the collocates "*militar*" [military] and "*británica*" [British (feminine singular)]). Such findings add strength to van Dijk's (2011) discussion of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation." As an example of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), the current research also offers solid evidence on the social phenomenon of "classification" proposed by Bourdieu (1990)—i.e., "a vision of the world is a division of the world."

Keywords: Corpus-assisted discourse studies, discursive positioning, Falkland Islands, Argentina and Britain, collocation.

1. Introduction

In March 2016, the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS) decided that the territory of Argentina ought to be enlarged to incorporate the waters around the Falkland Islands—an archipelago situated in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. This ruling generated opposing reactions from British and Argentinian political leaders. While the Argentinian representative gladly accepted the decision, the British government brushed it off (Payton 2016). The Falkland Islands, or *las Islas Malvinas* (the Spanish name used by the Argentinians), have long been a source of tension between leaders of the two countries. Although the current status of the Falkland Islands is a British overseas territory, the Argentinian government maintains the view that the Islands belong to Argentina. Another notable event which happened on the Falkland Islands within recent years is the referendum held in 2013, where the vast majority of the voters on the Islands indicated their wish for the Islands to remain a British overseas territory. Different from the United Nations ruling mentioned above, the referendum result was dismissed by Argentina whereas the British government stressed that the wish of the Islanders had to be honored (Ford et al. 2013). The antagonistic diplomatic relation between Argentina and Britain could be traced to the Falklands War which occurred in 1982. On 2 April 1982, Argentina sent troops to occupy the Falkland Islands. Two months later, the Argentinian soldiers were defeated by the British army and surrendered (Boyce 2005).

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Research article

Despite its defeat in the Falklands War, Argentina has never given up its pursuit of the Falkland Islands. The debates regarding the status of the Islands are still ongoing. Even international law has failed to offer a resolution since the Falklands War ended (Chommeloux 2015). As described by Raimondo (2012: 402), the Falkland Islands are included as part of Argentina's territory under the Argentinian constitution, while the British law states that the Islands form an overseas territory of Britain. When discussing this issue, both parties have presented conflicting claims. Foregrounding the principle of *uti possidetis juris*,[2] Argentina suggested that the Falkland Islands had been inherited from Spain in 1810 during the South American course of seeking independence from the colonial Spanish regime (Raimondo 2012: 403). On the other hand, Britain claimed that the first person who landed on the Islands was a British captain and a British settlement had already been established on the western island of the archipelago in 1766. Although there were attempts from the then Argentinian government (the United Provinces of the River Plate) to occupy the Islands between 1820 and 1832, Britain reasserted its authority over the Islands in 1833 (Raimondo 2012: 406). In response to the disputes over the Falkland Islands, the British officials have been underlining the idea of "self-determination" since the 1960s (Raimondo 2012: 407). As Boyce (2005: 8) opined, "self-determination" is one of the most frequently employed concepts in contemporary political history. It basically refers to the right of the people who share a common identity based on culture, ethnicity, race or language, etc. to reside in their own "sovereign state" and rule themselves (2005: 8). Britain believes that the Falkland Islanders who share a unique identity should earn their right to "self-determination" so their wish for the Islands to continue being a British overseas territory has to be respected (Raimondo 2012: 410).

Another political concept which habitually appears in the discussion about the Falkland Islands is "sovereignty." Nevertheless, as Heywood (2015: 82) illustrated, the interpretation of this term is subject to many variations, although "sovereignty" itself means "absolute and unlimited power." Boyce (2005: 8) said that "sovereignty" can be split into the "external" and the "internal." "External sovereignty" underscores the endorsement of a state as having rights of jurisdiction over a specific group of people and being totally accountable for that jurisdiction amid international law. "Internal sovereignty" focuses on the supreme power exercised over a society and how internal affairs are governed (2005: 8). Given the complexity of the term "sovereignty," we may wonder what it really means when people are debating about the "sovereignty of the Falkland Islands." In this study, I would adhere to the postmodernist line of thought (e.g., Potter 1996) and consider the "sovereignty of the Falkland Islands" to be a social discursive construct, which can be analyzed only via examination of relevant discourses.[3]

The debates over the Falkland Islands involve principally three places (Britain, Argentina and the Falkland Islands) and the stance taken by different parties (e.g., the British and the Argentinian governments, the general public in the two countries, etc.) is reflected or even constituted by the ways they discursively position the Falkland Islands. It is at this point that the present research turns to the theme of this particular issue of *Globe*—places and placement. In this paper, I will align the term "placement" with the concept of "discursive positioning." More details about "discursive positioning" will be given in the next section. The major objective of this study is to analyze how the Falkland Islands are discursively positioned on British and Argentinian websites via exploration of two existing online corpora. It is hoped that the findings will offer solid empirical evidence which deepens our current understanding of the controversy surrounding the Falkland Islands.

2.   Theoretical background
To better illustrate what "placement" means within the context of the present study, I would like to

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[2]   As explained by Lone (2012), *uti possidetis juris* is a principle which has governed the territorial boundaries of many postcolonial states. According to this principle, the borders of newly established sovereign nations should be drawn to match their former dependent terrain prior to their independence so that "territorial integrity" can be ensured.

[3]   In this study, I will comply with Fairclough's (2003: 3–4) distinction between "discourse" and "discourses." As he stipulated, the former refers to language in use (viz., texts) whereas the latter denotes different social practices or ways of representing the world.

refer to the notion of "classification" in addition to that of "discursive positioning." In this section, I am going to provide an account of these two concepts which will be the theoretical foundation of this study. Also, relevant prior scholarly works about the Falkland Islands, as well as those concerning other politically contentious issues, will be reviewed.

According to Fairclough (2003: 213), the term "classification" was introduced by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. "Classification" refers to the countless ways of dividing the world, which lead to different perceptions and human behaviors. It is Bourdieu's belief that in order to "see the world," one has to "classify" or "categorize" it and the classification (or categorization) is done mostly in accordance with a typical "binary or dualistic model of order" (Jenkins 2002: 28). In other words, the result of classification tends to be a "dichotomized" world. As Fairclough (2003: 213) postulated, different discourses represent different classifications. Assuming that British and Argentinian websites are different discourses,[4] we can envisage that different classifications of the Falkland Islands can be uncovered from the two groups of websites. One task which I have in the present research is to examine the discursive manifestation of the classifications.

"Discursive positioning" was mentioned in the work of Trent (2012). Trent (2012) performed interviews with eight native speakers of English teaching in Hong Kong government schools, where most of the English language teachers are local Chinese-English bilinguals. Trent's (2012) aim, through application of "Positioning Theory," was to see how these eight teachers positioned themselves via discourse.[5] Being the ones who introduced "Positioning Theory," van Langenhove & Harré (1999) stated that "positioning" can be regarded as a vital discursive process and may take many different forms. One of these forms is "self and other positioning." This means that in a discursive event, a participant constantly positions herself or himself while positioning the other(s) at the same time (van Langenhove & Harré 1999: 22). In my opinion, "positioning" as defined in "Positioning Theory" can be interpreted as a type of "placement" because the outcome of both "positioning" and "placement" is to secure a place, position or role of somebody or something in the social and/or the discursive world.

Academic works on the Falkland Islands by discourse analysts are rare. Berbéri & Castro's (2015) edited volume contains three studies (Durán 2015; Fournier 2015; Leggett 2015) which concern the representation of the Falklands War in novels, fiction films, documentaries and British news. Among these studies, Leggett's (2015) contribution has the most relevance to the current research because Leggett (2015) investigated how certain lexical items used by the press epitomize particular ideological orientations, whereas the other two studies mainly deal with how events in the War were used as materials for creative works. Leggett (2015) compared the ways in which the BBC and the tabloid newspaper *The Sun* presented the War, arguing that the BBC attempts to project an impartial tone by referring to the task force on the Islands as either "Argentinian" or "British," instead of "enemy troops" or "our troops" which would be favored by the patriots in Britain (2015: 16–17). On the other hand, *The Sun* employs nationalistic rhetoric like "support our boys" (2015: 20). Leggett (2015: 21–22) concluded that the BBC refrains from being a means of propaganda while *The Sun* is keen on exhibiting its support for the government's decision to take part in military actions.

As mentioned above, the assumption of the current study is that Argentinian and British websites embody different visions of the world, particularly in relation to the issue of the Falkland Islands. It is worth finding out in a more concrete manner what these visions are and how they are discursively realized. Such a contrastive approach has been quite often employed by discourse analysts to examine the discursive representation of politically controversial matters. Slingerland et al. (2007) compared how the American and the Chinese newspapers reported the crash of an American surveillance aircraft with a Chinese military jet in 2001. The collision caused the death of a Chinese pilot and forced the American plane to land without prior consent on Hainan Island in China, leading to China's call for an apology. Slingerland and his associates (2007: 67–69) noted that whilst the Chinese press uses phrases which are suggestive of violation and victimization, its

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4   See footnote 3 about Fairclough's (2003) explanation of "discourses".
5   See footnote 3 about Fairclough's (2003) explanation of "discourse".

American counterpart construes the whole incident as a game or sport by using phrases such as "players," "pawns" and "win." Slingerland et al. (2007: 68) argued that the Chinese strategy is to ignite emotions and the American tactic is to soften the burden of the American side since remorse and punishment are less applicable to games and sports. When a person wins in a game, the other party just has to accept the result. The other relevant study is that of Alameda-Hernández (2008). She looked at how media discourse in Gibraltar, Spain and Britain represented Gibraltar (which is also a politically controversial territory) during the period of 2002 when the referendum about joint sovereignty of Spain and Britain over Gibraltar was held. Analysis revealed that within the Spanish and the British newspapers, Gibraltar's voice tends to be diminished as it is often "backgrounded" or "passivated" (e.g., "[Gibraltar] would have to be sacrificed […]" and "Gibraltar is caught in […]"). The results of both studies (viz., Slingerland et al. 2007; Alameda-Hernández 2008) have demonstrated that discourse about the same event or entity can vary by geographical locations. The findings provide a very good stepping stone for the present research on the "discursive positioning" of the Falkland Islands. In the next section, I will talk about how I collected the data and conducted the analysis.

3.   Data and methodology

The data of the present study came from two existing reference corpora which are available for online access. These two corpora are the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE) (Davies 2013) and the Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects (Davies 2016). As their names suggest, the former is an English language corpus whereas the latter is based on the Spanish language. The two corpora can be considered comparable corpora, not only because they were both compiled by Mark Davies and are housed by Brigham Young University, but also owing to the composition of the corpora. They both consist of texts taken from a large amount of websites in territories where English or Spanish is an official or dominant language. The GloWbE has 1.9 billion words from more than 300 000 websites in 20 territories, one of which is the United Kingdom (Davies 2013). The Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects contains 2 billion words from more than 170 000 websites in 21 territories, one of which is Argentina (Davies 2016). The online interface of the two corpora allows users to conduct basic corpus-related enquiries, such as frequency counts of search words nominated by users as well as lists of collocates. The co-text of the search words and their collocates (viz., concordance) is also provided. For each concordance line, a hyperlink is attached so that users can visit the original website from which the text was taken. In both corpora, users have the option to limit their enquiries on texts from individual territories. Since the Falkland Islands are supposedly the concern of mainly Britain and Argentina, I decided to select only the 388-million-word British section of the GloWbE (hereinafter referred to as the British corpus) and the 183-million-word Argentinian section of the Corpus del Español (hereinafter referred to as the Argentinian corpus) for analysis. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the figures related to the two corpora.

Table 1: The British section of the GloWbE and the Argentinian section of the Corpus del Español (Davies 2013, 2016)

	Corpus of Global Web-Based English (Great Britain)	Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects (Argentina)
General	255 672 390 words (66%)	93 195 550 words (51%)
Blogs only	131 671 002 words (34%)	89 509 348 words (49%)
Total	387 615 074 words	182 704 898 words

The choice of the two corpora for the present research is justifiable. First, the two corpora are sufficiently large to yield findings which are generalizable. Second, both corpora were compiled from

web pages. In the contemporary world, web pages have become an important means of knowledge dissemination and acquisition. Their role of ideological formation and reproduction in society is hardly contestable. Although noticeable portions of either corpus are comprised of blog posts which could make the data more subjective than those from other web pages (viz., the General category), blog posts are highly valuable resources with which to examine prevailing ideology held by a wide cross-section of the population. For example, bloggers may have different social backgrounds and various political opinions. As Hoffmann (2012: 18) remarked, people who write blogs "discuss affairs with a personal perspective but, notably, without the interference of any internal or external censor." Thus, with the inclusion of blogs in the corpora, it is feasible to capture a broad range of societal voices in relation to the positioning of the Falkland Islands (*las Islas Malvinas*).[6]

To be able to compare how the Falkland Islands are represented in the two corpora, I employed "Falkland Islands" and "*Islas Malvinas*" as the search term of the British corpus and the Argentinian corpus, respectively. The term "Falkland Islands" occurs 1322 times in the British corpus whereas there are 1313 tokens of "*Islas Malvinas*" in the Argentinian corpus. The next step was to identify the collocates of these two search terms (known as the "nodes") in the corresponding corpus. As defined broadly by Sinclair (1991: 170), a word which appears in the neighborhood of a word under examination is a collocate of it. For instance, "happy" is a collocate of "news" in the two-word cluster "happy news." The co-occurrence of "happy" and "news" is called "collocation." In this example, "happy" and "news" are directly next to each other. However, there are cases where a collocate occurs more than one place to the left (or right) of a specific word, as in "**happy** morning **news**." In general, when researching collocation, analysts can set the distance at five words on either side of the search word (Sinclair 2004: 141). As pointed out by Baker et al. (2013: 36), such a collocation span is optimal because spans which are shorter may produce insufficient words for analysis, whereas longer spans are likely to detect cases where words do not actually have a meaningful relationship with each other. Based on this reason, I set the collocation span at five words on either side of the search word in the present research.

Another issue in relation to collocation analysis is the use of statistical tests to calculate the strength of the collocation. In McEnery & Hardie's (2012: 126–127) words, this is known as "collocation-via-significance." Through statistical measures, "collocation-via-significance" aims to identify the collocates of a specific word which are statistically significant, rather than occur by chance. As suggested by Cheng (2012: 94), the two most popular statistical indicators for collocation are the "mutual information" (MI) value and the "t-score."[7] These two indicators are governed by different formulae and thus can represent very different results. While the t-score is prone to identify function words as collocates, the MI value has a tendency to catch lexical collocates (Cheng 2012: 95). As a convention, when an MI value is 3.0 or above, statistical significance is reached. On the other hand, a t-score of at least 2.576 is regarded as the threshold for attaining significance (Xiao 2015: 109–110). In the current research, MI was adopted as the statistical measure of collocation because this is the only built-in option available from the online interface of the two corpora.

The study of collocation is valuable for discourse analysis as it can shed light on the ideological use of language (Baker et al. 2013: 36). In fact, collocation analysis is a research technique developed from corpus linguistics. In recent years, numerous researchers (e.g., Baker et al. 2008; Cheng 2013; Mautner 2016) have advocated the integration of techniques from corpus linguistics into discourse studies, especially those studies in which a critical lens is taken (aka "critical discourse studies"). The term CADS ("corpus-assisted discourse studies") was coined to denote research which employs statistical methods from corpus linguistics in discourse analysis. The label "corpus-assisted" is used to describe such research because corpus techniques are just one among many others, and researchers are entitled to use as many as needed to yield meaningful findings (Partington et al. 2013: 10). As noted by Baker & Ellece (2011: 24), CADS is a form of discourse-oriented research which leans

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[6]   The present study focuses on comparing the two corpora as a whole and will not go into detail about the differences between general and blog data.

[7]   Apart from these, "collostructional analysis" can be adopted to measure the extent to which lexical items and grammatical structures are attracted to, or resisted by, each other (Yoon & Gries 2016: 4).

towards a critical approach to analysis (viz., reminiscent of critical discourse studies). Hardt-Mautner (1995) was one of the CADS pioneers. She examined a 168 000-word corpus of British newspaper editorials covering the European Union or European Commission. Hardt-Mautner (1995) made use of information on frequencies of salient lexical items and concordances to study the representation of important news actors such as Jacques Delors, the then President of the EU Commission. As another notable proponent of CADS, Stubbs (1996) analyzed a variety of texts and text corpora including formal speeches and school textbooks in order to show how concordances, the identification of recurrent syntactic structures and lexical collocation could facilitate text analysis.

Forchtner (2013: 1444) maintained that methods from corpus linguistics can enhance the "methodical rigor" of discourse-related research, resulting in analysis that is more transparent and verifiable. For example, O'Halloran (2007) examined the collocation patterning of selected words in British news reports by using a corpus approach. Those selected words are "simmering," "erupted," "erupt(s)," "eruption(s)" and "swept through." It was found that "simmering," "erupted" and "erupt(s)" regularly co-occur with hostile human behaviors whereas "eruption(s)" and "swept through" are significantly related to volcanoes and fire respectively (2007: 10–19). O'Halloran (2007: 21) stressed that such lexical preference in news reports would not have been revealed if corpus techniques had not been applied.

The study by O'Halloran (2007) illustrates that some lexical items are bound to carry negative connotations. It also shows that there is more to analyze beyond simple collocation. To enrich the findings of the current research, I included "semantic prosody" and "collocation networks" when analyzing the data. Basically, "semantic prosody" concerns how evaluative or attitudinal meanings are conveyed in collocational relations (Sinclair 2003: 178). Other names of "semantic prosody" are "evaluative prosody" and "discourse prosody" (Partington et al. 2013: 58). For instance, Louw (1993: 171) discovered that when the phrase "build up" is utilized transitively with an animate subject as in "we build up our business," the semantic prosody is consistently positive. However, when the phrase is used intransitively as in "tension builds up," the semantic prosody is habitually negative.

"Collocation networks" are based on the idea that text of a specific type or text dealing with a particular topic is arranged in accordance with lexical patterns, which can be visually presented as networks of words that co-occur with each other (Brezina et al. 2015: 142). As Brezina et al. (2015: 151–152) demonstrated, the advantage of collocation networks is that researchers can systematically study the "second-order" or even the "third-order" collocates of a specific lexical item (i.e., the collocates of the collocates of a node). To generate collocation networks, I copied the relevant concordance lines from GloWbE and the Corpus del Español into text files and ran them through the software *GraphColl*. For the purpose of analysis, the MI value of 3.0 was used as the level of significance. Also, I followed the default setting of *GraphColl* and disregarded co-occurrences which appear less than five times as far as collocation networks are concerned in this study.

As Cheng (2012: 94–95) noted, the drawback of using MI values in collocation analysis is that lexical items which are rare occurrences within the corpus tend to be identified as collocates. To circumvent this limitation, I opted for a method which is available through the browser of the two online corpora. With this method, the strong collocates identified (i.e., those with an MI score of 3.0 or above) are sorted by their frequency of co-occurrences with the node ("Falkland Islands" or *Islas Malvinas*"). In other words, once the MI score of a lexical item reaches 3.0, it would be ranked on the basis of its frequency regardless of how high the MI score is. The advantage of this method is that those lexical items which appear at the top of the collocation list are common enough within the corpus to generate meaningful analysis. The top twenty collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*" are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Top 20 collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*" in the two corpora

Rank	Corpus of Global Web-Based English (Great Britain)			Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects (Argentina)		
	Collocate	Joint frequency	MI score	Collocate	Joint frequency	MI score
1	government	89	3.71	*las* [the (feminine)]	1160	3.07
2	Argentina	61	7.2	*soberanía* [sovereignty]	164	8.62
3	British	45	3.47	*del* [of the (masculine)]	130	3.97
4	sovereignty	41	8.13	*Georgias* [Georgia]	117	12.78
5	south	41	4.19	*sur* [south]	112	6.11
6	Malvinas	33	10.44	*cuestión* [question]	87	5.12
7	Islands	31	6.11	*nuestras* [our (feminine plural)]	38	4.11
8	Britain	27	3.44	*argentinas* [Argentinian (feminine plural)]	30	5.5
9	Georgia	25	7.65	*argentino* [Argentinian (masculine singular)]	30	3.4
10	defence	22	4.41	*Unido* [United]	27	6.04
11	Falkland	20	8.18	*Reino* [Kingdom]	26	5.18
12	governor	19	6.25	*recuperación* [recovery]	24	5.39
13	claim	19	3.47	*argentinos* [Argentinian (masculine plural)]	24	3.57
14	1982	18	6.95	*territorio* [territory]	22	4.46
15	Argentine	17	6.93	*militar* [military]	19	3.74
16	invasion	17	6.03	*británica* [British (feminine singular)]	18	6.9
17	Oil	17	3.64	*Islas* [Islands (plural)]	18	5.37
18	force	17	3.28	*estadio* [stadium]	18	4.9
19	visit	17	3.21	*aeropuerto* [airport]	17	5.93
20	population	16	3.4	*permanente* [permanent]	17	4.16

The concordance lines for these collocates were examined manually. In order to have a more focused discussion of the findings, I decided to concentrate on the collocates, the use of which reflects the following two key issues: (i) specific ideological positions vis-à-vis the sovereignty and/or administration of the Falkland Islands; (ii) "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (van Dijk 2011: 397). Van Dijk (2011: 396–397) stated that in ideological discourse there is a tendency to "polarize" the in-group ("we") and the out-group ("they"). Four ways can help to achieve "polarization": (i) foreground "our" positive facets; (ii) foreground "their" negative facets; (iii)

background "our" negative facets; (iv) background "their" positive facets. Other scholars such as Potter (1996: 184) called such selective representation in discourse "ontological gerrymandering." It should be noted that the two key issues are highly interrelated and are not strictly separable. For instance, by presenting Argentina as the invader (viz., "negative other-presentation"), a British writer is denying the Argentinian sovereignty over the Islands.

    Bearing the two issues in mind, I excluded 11 collocates in Table 2 from analysis after examination of the concordance lines. These 11 collocates are listed in Table 3. Reasons for the exclusion are provided as well.

Table 3: The 11 collocates excluded from analysis

Corpus of Global Web-Based English (Great Britain)		Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects (Argentina)	
Collocate	Reason for exclusion	Collocate	Reason for exclusion
South	It tends to co-occur with "Georgia" to form "South Georgia," which together with "South Sandwich" forms a British overseas territory near the Falkland Islands. Since the focus of the present research is the Falkland Islands, this collocate is excluded.	*las* [the (feminine)]	This definite article tends to precede the two-word cluster "*Islas Malvinas*" and thus can be considered to be part of the node.
Islands	This collocate overlaps with the node (viz., "self-collocation").	*del* [of the (masculine)]	It tends to occur in the clusters "*Georgias del Sur*" [South Georgia] and "*Sándwich del Sur*" [South Sandwich], which are not the focus of the present research. For details, refer to the explanation for "south" in the British corpus.
Georgia	Refer to the explanation for "south" above.	*Georgias* [Georgia]	Refer to the explanation for "*del*" above.
Falkland	This collocate overlaps with the node (viz., "self-collocation").	*sur* [south]	Refer to the explanation for "*del*" above.
oil	It is used in contexts related to the oil reserves near the Falkland Islands. Although it constitutes a highly debatable topic, it does not directly echo the two issues which are of central interest to the present study.	*Islas* [Islands (plural)]	It is part of the Spanish term "*Islas Malvinas*" used by Argentinians to refer to the Falkland Islands. Since its referent overlaps with the node, it is excluded.
visit	It is used in contexts related to tourism of the Falkland Islands. It does not directly echo the two issues which are of central interest to the present study.		

4. Findings and discussion

I will divide this section into four parts, each of which is about a central topic uncovered from the concordance lines. These topics are: (i) sovereignty over the Falkland Islands; (ii) dispute over the Falkland Islands; (iii) military intervention; (iv) positioning of Argentina and Britain.

4.1.   Sovereignty over the Falkland Islands

The lexical item "government" is the most frequent collocate (N=89) of "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus. Examination of the concordance lines reveals that 81 co-occurrences of "government" and "Falkland Islands" refer to the Falkland Islands government. Figure 1 displays a sample of the concordance lines taken from the corpus.

Figure 1: Sample concordance of "government" when it collocates with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

1	in hospital last night. # In a statement the	**Falkland Islands government** today paid tribute
2	to investigate the impacts of tourism. The	**Falkland Islands Government** also permits the
3	Whilst it is unrealistic to expect the	**Falkland Islands Government** to halt commercial
4	across the world. # In the late 1990s, the	**Falkland Islands Government** issued the first
5	round of offshore Licences was issued by the	**Falkland Islands Government** and this time one
6	these services completely viable and so the	**Falkland Islands Government** subsidises the
7	wife and son were in a house in Kent. # The	**Falkland Islands Government** said in a statement
8	votes cast be against the current status, the	**Falkland Islands Government** will undertake
9	I don't have a problem with it. Nor does the	**Falkland Islands Government**. In fact they were
10	chair is not acting with impartiality # The	**Falkland Islands government** complained on

The ten examples in Figure 1 show that there is a tendency for "Falkland Islands Government" to be the "agentive participant" (van Leeuwen 2008: 30). Manual examination of the 81 relevant concordance lines reveals that agency is often assigned (66 out of 81) to the Falkland Islands government. Two examples extracted from the corpus are:

(1)   "The **Falkland Islands Government** governs the Falkland Islands, and the elected assembly men/women make the decisions." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

(2)   "The **Falkland Islands Government** has announced an historic referendum on the future of the islands' sovereignty." (Source: conservativehome.com)

In Examples 1 and 2, the Falkland Islands government is the agent of "governing" the Islands and "announcing" the referendum on the future of the Islands. It can be inferred from the examples that the Falkland Islands are presented as having their own governing party (viz., "internal sovereignty"), who is capable of taking action, thereby constituting a self-contained political unit. In other words, the assignment of agency to the Falkland Islands government supports the discursive positioning of the Falkland Islands as an entity with self-determination/self-governance.

The portrayal of the Falkland Islands as a distinct unit is also reinforced by the collocate "population." There are 16 co-occurrences of "population" and "Falkland Islands" in the corpus. Figure 2 shows a sample of the concordance lines.

Figure 2: Sample concordance of "population" when it collocates with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

1	would be the end of any discussion. # 1. The	**population** of the **Falkland Islands** only can vote or
2	ends up? (bearing in mind) the interests of the	**population** of the **Falkland Islands**." Argentina cares
3	resolution 1514 (XV) and the interests of the	**population** of the **Falkland Islands** (Malvinas);" So it is
4	resolution 1514 (XV) and the interests of the	**population** of the **Falkland Islands** (Malvinas)" # Thus
5	of any claim by Argentina is that the local	**population** of the **Falkland Islands** want nothing to do
6	is simply absurd.' # The **Falkland Islands** has a	**population** of around 3,000 people, with just over half

The co-occurrences of "population" and "Falkland Islands" facilitate the creation of a unified voice among the residents of the Falkland Islands, as Example 3 demonstrates:

(3)   "The underlying problem of any claim by Argentina is that the local **population** of the **Falkland Islands** <u>want nothing to do with them</u>." (Source: guardian.co.uk)

Example 3 is a manifestation of the representational strategy named "collectivization" (van Leeuwen 2008). According to van Leeuwen (2008: 37), "collectivization" is a form of "assimilation"—i.e., social actors being referred to as groups through mass nouns and the like (e.g., "the community"). In Example 3, the people living on the Falkland Islands are "collectivized" via the collocate "population." With "collectivization," a consensus among these people ("want nothing to do with them [Argentina]") can be conveyed.

Figure 3: Collocates of "population" when it co-occurs
with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)
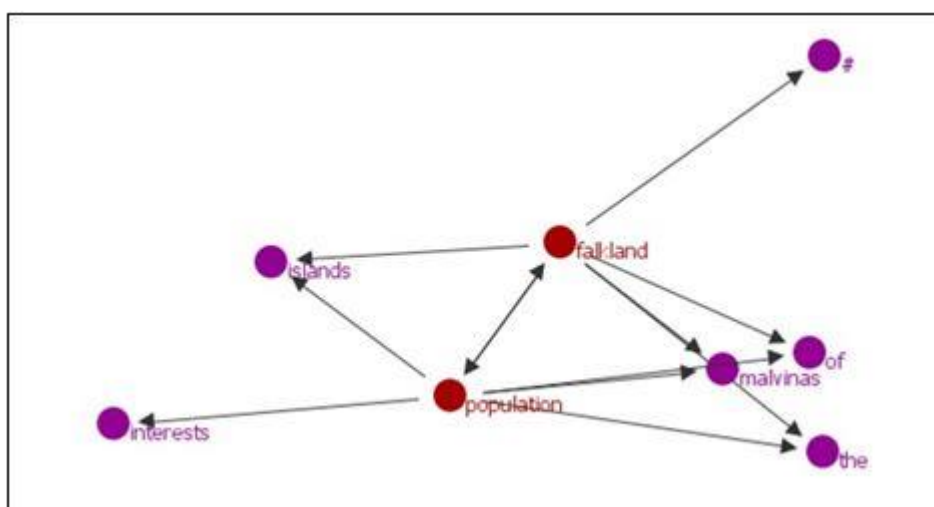
The collective voice of the people on the Falkland Islands is signaled by the cluster "interests of the population of the Falkland Islands" as well. The collocation network displayed in Figure 3 indicates that "interests" is a collocate of "population" when it co-occurs with "Falkland Islands." A study of the wider co-text of all the six relevant concordance lines shows that this cluster is uniformly used in contexts where the United Nations' (UN) recommendation on how to handle the Falkland Islands is mentioned. An example is:

(4)   "The UN 'invites the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to proceed without delay with the negotiations recommended by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the **interests** of the **population** of the **Falkland Islands** (Malvinas).'" (Source: en.mercopress.com)

As Example 4 illustrates, the collocational relations among "interests," "population" and "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus foreground the importance of the Islanders on matters related to the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands. This is in line with the British political rhetoric concerning the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands, as the co-occurrences of "sovereignty" and "Falkland Islands" have revealed:

(5)   "'Your right to self-determination is the cornerstone of our policy. We will never negotiate on the **sovereignty** of the **Falkland Islands** unless you, the Falkland Islanders, so <u>wish</u>. No democracy could ever do otherwise.'" (Source: telegraph.co.uk)

(6)   "The Foreign Office message adds that Britain has no doubts about its **sovereignty** over the **Falkland Islands** and will continue to support the <u>right</u> of the Islanders to determine their own political future." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

Examples 5 and 6 are both quotes from the British authority. While Example 5 comes from the then Prime Minister David Cameron, Example 6 cites the British Foreign Office. The voices of the British government, as conveyed by the two examples, emphasize the "wish" or the "right" of the Falkland Islanders. It can be deduced that when the British officials present their view about the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands, they do so in conjunction with the self-determination of the Islands.

"Sovereignty" is a strong collocate of "Falkland Islands" (N=41). Figure 4 is a sample of the concordance lines with the co-occurrences of "sovereignty" and "Falkland Islands." When "sovereignty" co-occurs with "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus, it tends to be embedded in quotations from British officials (20 out of the 41 co-occurrences), like Examples 5 and 6 discussed above.

Figure 4: Sample concordance of "sovereignty" when it collocates with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

Figure 5: Collocates of "sovereignty" when it co-occurs with "Falkland Islands"
in GloWbE (Great Britain)
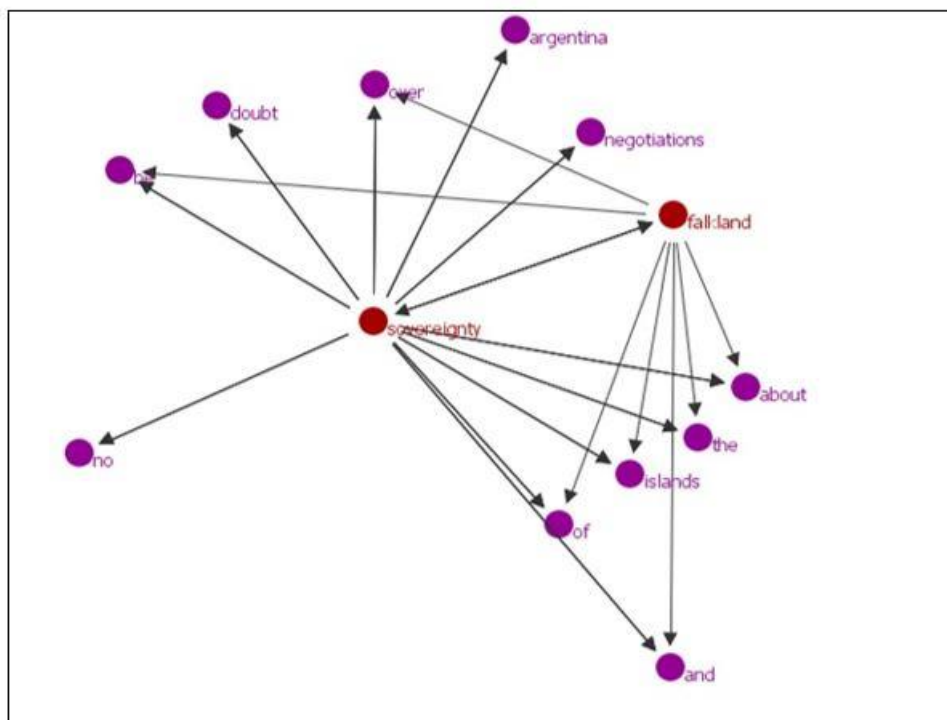
The concordance lines in Figure 4, as confirmed by the collocation network in Figure 5, show that the lexical items "doubt" and "negotiations" have a propensity to appear in the neighborhood of "sovereignty" when it co-occurs with "Falkland Islands." Here is an example from the corpus:

(7)   "Speaking in exercise of the right of reply, the representative of the UK said her country had <u>no</u> **doubt** regarding the **sovereignty** of the **Falkland Islands**. There could be <u>no</u> **negotiations** on that sovereignty <u>if the population of the Islands did not so wish</u>." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

With the negative marker "no"[8] preceding "doubt" and "negotiations," Example 7 indicates the unwavering British institutional outlook on the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands. It should be borne in mind that the conditional clause "if the population of the Islands did not so wish" highlights once again the collective voice of the Islanders, adding strength to the aforementioned finding about the importance attached to the Islanders by the British officials.

What Figure 5 also displays is the salience of the lexical item "Argentina," which was found on 13 of the 41 concordance lines in question. In the vast majority of them (N=11), "Argentina" emerges in unfavorable environments, thus suggestive of a negative semantic prosody. Two examples are:

(8)   "**Argentina**'s ever more <u>aggressive rhetoric</u> <u>challenging</u> the **Falkland Islands sovereignty** underlines the significance of the right to self-determination, said Sukey Cameron." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

(9)   "Britain put itself <u>on a collision course</u> with **Argentina** over the disputed **sovereignty** of the **Falkland Islands** when it gave explicit support to a £600m plan to develop oil reserves in the south Atlantic on Wednesday." (Source: guardian.co.uk)

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8   As can be seen in Figure 5, "no" was identified by *GraphColl* as a "second-order" collocate.

Example 8 construes Argentina as the troublemaker ("challenging") and the bearer of aggression ("aggressive rhetoric"). In this example, Argentina is the agent of undesirable action. In Example 9, Argentina is not portrayed as the agent. However, a sense of unpleasantness (as triggered by the phrase "on a collision course") is present. Both examples suggest that "Argentina" is loaded with negative meanings in the British corpus. More details on this will be given in Section 4.4 when the positioning of Britain and Argentina is discussed.

The Spanish equivalent "*soberanía*" [sovereignty] is a prominent collocate of "*Islas Malvinas*" in the Argentinian corpus. There are 164 co-occurrences of "*soberanía*" and "*Islas Malvinas*" and a number of "second-order" collocates were identified by *GraphColl* (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Collocates of "*soberanía*" when it co-occurs with "*Islas Malvinas*" in Corpus del Español (Argentina)

To have a more focused analysis, I made use of *AntConc 3.5.0* (Anthony 2015) to identify common "n-grams."[9] It was found that the 2-gram "*soberanía argentina*" occurs 24 times. Two examples taken from the corpus are:

(10)   "*Los contenidos a incorporar por la Dirección General de Escuelas serían la <u>recuperación</u> del ejercicio pleno de **soberanía Argentina** sobre las **Islas Malvinas**, Georgias y Sandwichs del Sur, los espacios marítimos circundantes y el sector antártico argentino, entre otros.*" (Source: mdzol.com)
[The contents to be incorporated by the General Directorate of Schools would be the <u>recovery</u> of the full exercise of **Argentine sovereignty** over the **Falkland Islands**, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, the surrounding maritime areas and the Argentine Antarctic sector, among others.]

(11)   "*La banda irlandesa dedicó esta canción como homenaje al Almirante Brown y en apoyo al reclamo de la **soberanía argentina** sobre las **Islas Malvinas**.*" (Source: adhilac.com.ar)

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9   "N-grams" are also called "clusters"—strings or sequences of lexical items which repeatedly show up together. The letter "n" represents the number of lexical items in the sequence so a 5-gram would mean a five-word cluster (Partington et al. 2013: 18).

> [The Irish band dedicated this song as a tribute to Admiral Brown[10] and in support of the claim of **Argentine sovereignty** over the **Falkland Islands**.]

Example 10 comes from a text about educating students in Argentina on issues related to the Falkland Islands whereas Example 11 is from a website which introduces viewers to the artistic works devoted to the conflicts arising from the Falkland Islands. Unlike the use of "Argentina" in the British corpus, the 2-gram "*soberanía argentina*" in the Argentinian corpus (as shown in Examples 10 and 11) is devoid of negative evaluation. In fact, the use of this 2-gram assumes the existence of "Argentine sovereignty" (viz., "existential presupposition").[11] This assumption is sustained by the lexical item "*recuperación*"[12] [recovery] in Example 10 because the recovery of something presupposes its existence.

The two-word cluster "*soberanía argentina*" is only one of the collocational patterns which suggest that the Falkland Islands are subsumed under the ownership of Argentina. For instance, the "second-order" collocate "*nacional*" [national] also marks Argentina's possession of the Islands. One example is:

(12) "*En ese sentido, es importante que junto con el legítimo y valorable reclamo por la devolución de las **Islas Malvinas** como parte de* <u>*nuestra*</u> ***Soberanía Nacional**, se avance, por ejemplo, en la estatización del comercio exterior y la nacionalización de nuestros bienes comunes y puertos.*" (Source: frentepopulardariosantillan.org)
[In that sense, it is important that together with the legitimate and valuable demand for the return of the **Falkland Islands** as part of <u>our</u> **National Sovereignty**, progress should be made, for example, in the nationalization of foreign trade and the nationalization of our common goods and ports.]

In Example 12, "*soberanía nacional*" is pre-modified by the first-person plural possessive determiner "*nuestra*" [our]. The use of "*nuestra*" is an overt indicator of ownership. The co-occurrence of "*Islas Malvinas*" and "*nuestra soberanía nacional*" here sets up a relation of "meaning inclusion" or more specifically one of hyponymy, in which the latter includes the former. As noted by Fairclough (2003: 101), such a strategy can subvert the meaning differences between the expressions involved, building up a particular world view in discourse.

As Table 1 in Section 3 of this article reveals, "*nuestras*" [our (feminine plural)] is a collocate of "*Islas Malvinas*" in the Argentinian corpus. It was found that 37 of the 38 co-occurrences are instances of the 3-gram "*nuestras Islas Malvinas*" [our Falkland Islands]. The only exception is Example 13, where the Spanish endearment term "*queridas*" [dear (feminine plural)] appears between "*nuestras*" and "*Islas Malvinas*".

(13) "*En ese sentido, es importante que junto con el legítimo y valorable reclamo por la devolución de las **Islas Malvinas** como parte de* <u>*nuestra*</u> ***Soberanía Nacional**, se avance, por ejemplo, en la estatización del comercio exterior y la nacionalización de nuestros bienes comunes y puertos.*" (Source: frentepopulardariosantillan.org)
[Today 31 years after the warlike conflict carried out between our country and Great Britain for the sovereignty of **our** <u>beloved</u> **Falkland Islands**, in which we were active participants…]

This sentence originates from an Argentinian veteran of the Falklands War. The word "*queridas*" is emotionally charged and adds a sense of affection to Argentina's claim over the Falkland Islands.

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[10] A national figure in Argentina due to his participation in the Argentine War of Independence (Renmore History Society 2010).

[11] More information about existential presuppositions in ideological texts can be found in the work of Fairclough (2003: 56).

[12] As Figure 6 shows, the verb "*recuperar*" [recover] is a "second-order" collocate.

Other collocational patterns which exhibit the world view in which Argentina has sovereignty over the Falkland Islands are derived from the lexical items "*estadio*" [stadium] and "*aeropuerto*" [airport]. These two lexical items, when co-occurring with "*Islas Malvinas*" in the corpus, are actually names of an existing stadium and an airport located in Argentina, as is displayed by Figure 7.

Figure 7: Sample concordance of "*estadio*" [stadium] and "*aeropuerto*" [airport] when they collocate with "*Islas Malvinas*" in Corpus del Español (Argentina)

1	*El partido se jugará en el* [The match will be played in the	*estadio Islas Malvinas, ubicado en el barrio capitalino* Estadio Islas Malvinas located in the capital district]
2	*las entradas para el recital previsto en el* [the tickets for the predicted recital in the	*Estadio Islas Malvinas, el 14 de septiembre. Eran* Estadio Islas Malvinas, on 14 September. They were]
3	*El partido se jugará desde las 18 en el* [The match will be played from 18:00 in the	*estadio Islas Malvinas de Floresta, con arbitraje* Estadio Islas Malvinas of Floresta, with arbitration]
4	*la necesidad de un servicio igualitario. El* [the need for an egalitarian service. The	*aeropuerto internacional Islas Malvinas de Rosario* Islas Malvinas International Airport of Rosario]
5	*Raúl Garo, presidente de el Directorio del* [Raúl Garo, president of the Board of the	*Aeropuerto Internacional Islas Malvinas de Rosario* Islas Malvinas International Airport of Rosario]
6	*el Gobierno en obras de remodelación en el* [the government in works of renovation in the	*aeropuerto Islas Malvinas de Rosario* Islas Malvinas Airport of Rosario]

It was found that 16 of the 18 co-occurrences of "*estadio*" and "*Islas Malvinas*" are instances of the 3-gram "*estadio Islas Malvinas*." In the two exceptions, "*polideportivo*" [sport center] appears between "*estadio*" and "*Islas Malvinas*," as Example 14 shows:

(14) "*La Copa Argentina 2013 de patinaje artístico y el 'World Roller Skating Grand Prix', se llevarán a cabo en el **Estadio** Polideportivo **Islas Malvinas**, organizados por la Confederación Argentina de Patín y la Asociación Marplatense de Patín, ambos eventos contarán con la participación de destacados patinadores nacionales e internacionales.*" (Source: deporteshoy.com.ar)
[The Argentine Skating Cup 2013 and the 'World Roller Skating Grand Prix,' (which) will be held at the **Estadio** Polideportivo **Islas Malvinas**, are organized by the Argentine Confederation of Roller Skating and the Marplatense Association of Roller Skating. Both events will feature the participation of distinguished national and international skaters.]

Although "*Estadio Polideportivo Islas Malvinas*" and "*Estadio Islas Malvinas*" are different places, all instances of "*estadio*" appear in contexts where sports events are mentioned. Perhaps it is not surprising that "*estadio*" has a preference for the semantic field of sports. Nevertheless, what is worth highlighting is the representation of Argentina's sovereignty over the Falkland Islands via the practice of naming specific Argentinian sites "Islas Malvinas."

The 17 occurrences of "*aeropuerto*" [airport] all denote the same airport in Argentina, which is officially called "*Aeropuerto Internacional de Rosario – Islas Malvinas*" [Rosario – Islas Malvinas International Airport]. All the 17 concordance lines are about the renovation of the airport in 2013, as Example 15 demonstrates:

(15) "*Ramos hizo ese anuncio al recorrer las obras de refacción que el gobierno nacional realiza en el marco de su plan de inversión para el **aeropuerto Islas Malvinas**.*" (Source: elsolquil-mes.com.ar)
[Ramos made that announcement when looking around the refurbishment works that the national government carries out under its investment plan for the **Islas Malvinas Airport**.]

Since the remodeling of the airport was done as part of the national plan, the agency of the Argentinian

government is established. In some way this echoes the Argentinian government's proactive approach to claiming the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands.

4.2.   *Dispute over the Falkland Islands*
In this subsection, I will look at the collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*" which position the Islands as an object of dispute. These collocates include "claim" and "Malvinas" in the British corpus and "*cuestión*" [question], "*permanente*" [permanent] and "*territorio*" [territory] in the Argentinian corpus.

When co-occurring with "Falkland Islands," "claim" tends to be found in the vicinity of "Argentina." Figure 8 shows the collocation network generated by *GraphColl*.

Figure 8. Collocates of "claim" when it co-occurs with
"Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)
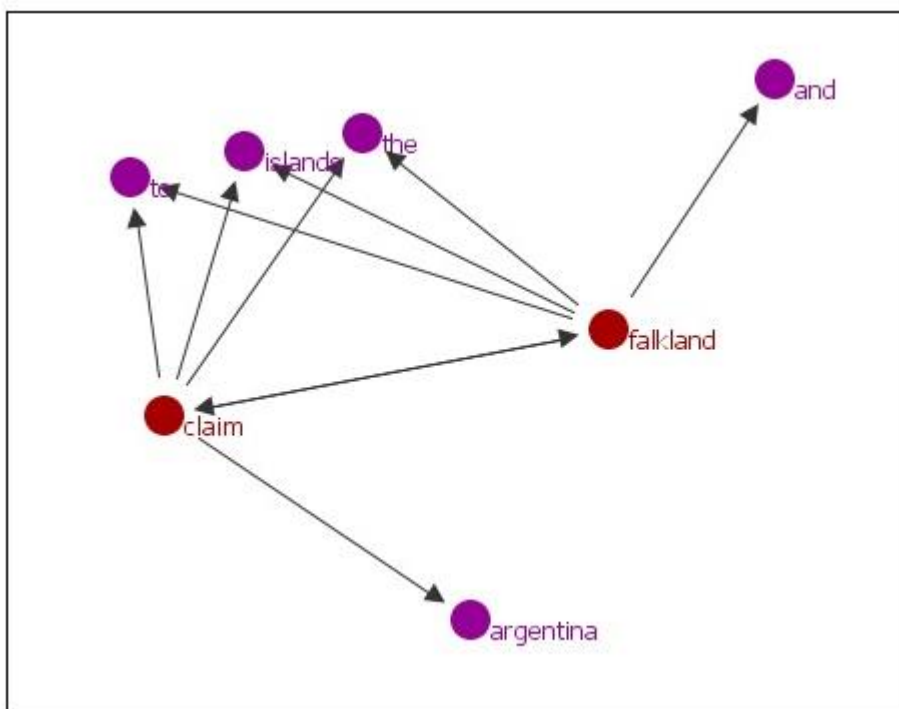
Argentina is construed as the claimant in 15 of the 19 co-occurrences of "claim" and "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus. Although the lexical item "Argentina" does not really appear in six of these 15 instances, it can be deduced from the co-text that Argentina is being referred to. Figure 9 displays a sample of the concordance lines.

Figure 9: Sample concordance of "claim" when it collocates with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE
(Great Britain)

1	# It is highly hypocritical for Argentina to	**claim** that the **Falkland Islands** is comprised of 'implanted'
2	The reasons that Argentina uses to support its	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands** are, at best, specious.
3	their problem, not mine. # Argentina's	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands** is not ridiculous, only based
4	conclusive that Argentina has no legal	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands**. End of argument... # In any
5	determination; (b) support the false argentine	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands** and territorial aggression
6	due to state, yet again, her country's dubious	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands** on the 14th to the
7	above is as far from reality as is the Argentine	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands**. I have lived in Colombia,
8	just about follow how Argentina justifies its	**claim** to the **Falkland Islands** (although I do not agree with

As can be seen in Figure 9, Argentina's claim is represented as something problematic. This is evident in the use of unfavorable evaluative lexis including "hypocritical," "specious," "false" and "dubious." The example below illustrates the explicit rejection of the validity of Argentina's claim:

(16)   "*Ramos hizo ese anu* "After signing the 'Convention of Settlement in 1850' Argentina pub-
         lished maps in the 1870s and 1880s which showed that the Falklands DID NOT BELONG TO
         ARGENTINA. The 1882 Latzina map clearly indicates this fact. It is therefore conclusive that
         Argentina has no legal **claim** to the **Falkland Islands**. <u>End of argument</u>…" (Source: en.mer-
         copress.com)

Example 16 is a comment made by a blogger. This excerpt suggests that the dispute surrounding the Falkland Islands primarily stems from Argentina's claim to the Islands and that once the claim is ruled out, the dispute will end (as hinted at by the phrase "end of argument").

In the British corpus, the lexical item "Malvinas" has in principle the same referent as "Falkland Islands." In 23 of the 33 co-occurrences, either "Malvinas" or "Falkland Islands" is enclosed in brackets, like the concordance lines in Figure 10 show.

Figure 10: Sample concordance of "Malvinas" when it collocates with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

There are 18 instances in which "Falkland Islands" comes first and "Malvinas" is placed in parentheses (e.g., Lines 1 to 7). On the other hand, there are only 5 cases where the reverse pattern is used (e.g., Lines 8 to 10). Generally, what is put in brackets is supposed to be supplementary information, which may be omitted without disruption to the overall sentence in question. It can be argued that the tendency to place the Argentina-oriented label "Malvinas" in round brackets alongside the English name "Falkland Islands" reflects the peripheral role of Argentina in British discourse about the Islands.

In order to find out in which environments the lexical item "Malvinas" is primed to occur in the British corpus, I examined the 33 concordance lines. Only two of them contain clear disapproval of Argentina. One example is:

(17)   "It should be compulsory education in Argentine schools to learn about their country recent
         history, instead of teaching <u>lies</u> about the **Falkland Islands** (the <u>imaginary</u> **Malvinas**—which
         Argentina has NEVER had sovereignty over)." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

In Example 17, the adjective "imaginary" is used to pre-modify "Malvinas" when Argentina's claim over the Islands is condemned. Also, the word "lies," which evokes immorality, "delegitimizes" the Argentinian world view about the Falkland Islands.[13]

A majority of the co-occurrences of "Malvinas" and "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus

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[13]   More information about "moral evaluation legitimation" is provided in the work of van Leeuwen (2008: 110–111).

(N=26) appear in contexts where the dispute is referred to, as in Examples 18 and 19 below.

(18)   "The Principle of self-determination, enshrined in the United Nations Charter remains a prime factor in any consideration of the question of the **Falkland Islands** (**Malvinas**)." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

(19)   "When Argentina face England <u>they</u> might decide to wear a symbol commemorating the soldiers lost in the Battle for the **Malvinas**—or the **Falkland Islands**, as <u>we</u> call them." (Source: dailymail.co.uk)

Both examples touch upon the dispute arising from the Falkland Islands. Example 18 is devoted to the author's belief in how the dispute should be resolved. Example 19 does not only refer to the Falklands War, but it also draws a division between Argentina and Britain via the pronouns "they" and "we."

There are five instances in which "Malvinas" and "Falkland Islands" co-occur in texts promoting tourism. These co-occurrences can be considered neutral or general in terms of their semantic prosody. One example is:

(20)   "Most cruises depart from one of the gateway ports in southern South America, such as Ushuaia (Argentina), Punta Arenas (Chile) or Montevideo (Uruguay), to the scenic and wildlife rich northern tip of the Antarctic Peninsula. These cruises often include visits to the nearby **Falkland Islands** (Islas **Malvinas**) and South Georgia." (Source: iaato.org)

Based on what is discussed above, it can be concluded that when collocating with "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus, "Malvinas" tends to display a negative semantic prosody because of its occurrence in contexts where the dispute over the Islands is mentioned.

By contrast, the Argentinian websites represent the issue concerning the Falkland Islands in different ways. This is evident from the collocates "*cuestión*" [question] and "*permanente*" [permanent]. Figure 11 shows a sample of the relevant concordance lines.

Figure 11: Sample concordance of "*cuestión*" [question] and/or "*permanente*" [permanent] when co-occurring with "*Islas Malvinas*" in Corpus del Español (Argentina)

|		
1	*el Gobierno argentino logró que la*	*Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas pase a figurar*
	[the Argentinian government ensured that the	**Question** of the Falkland Islands proceeds to appear]
2	*en la disputa de soberanía referida a la*	*Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas, brindando un claro*
	[in the dispute of sovereignty referred to as the	**Question** of the Falkland Islands, providing a clear]
3	*disputa sobre la soberanía en relación con La*	*Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas, lo que perjudica*
	[dispute about the sovereignty in relation to the	**Question** of the Falkland Islands, which harms]
4	*tener presente que la Cuestión de las*	*Islas Malvinas figura como tema permanente*
	[remember that the **Question** of the	Falkland Islands appears as a **permanent** topic]
5	*reiteraron que la Cuestión de las*	*Islas Malvinas constituye un tema de permanente*
	[reiterated that the **Question** of the	Falkland Islands constitutes a topic of **permanent**]
6	*que establece que la Cuestión de las*	*Islas Malvinas es de interés hemisférico permanente*
	[which establishes that the **Question** of the	Falkland Islands is of **permanent** hemispheric interest]

As Figure 11 demonstrates, the dispute between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands is conceptualized as a question. It was found that 83 of the 87 co-occurrences of "*cuestión*" and "*Islas Malvinas*" are instances of the 6-gram "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas*." Another interesting pattern is that 81 of them come from the Argentinian government websites (as indicated by the domain "gov.ar"). An example is shown below:

(21)   "*La Asamblea General de la Organización de Estados Americanos ha aprobado anualmente, entre 1982 y 1992, una resolución y desde 1993 se aprueba también anualmente, una <u>declaración</u> que establece que <u>la **Cuestión** de las **Islas Malvinas** es de interés hemisférico **permanente**</u>, convoca a la Argentina y al Reino Unido a reanudar las negociaciones a fin de encontrar, a la brevedad posible, una solución pacífica y definitiva a la disputa de soberanía…*"
(Source: eaust.mrecic.gov.ar)
[The General Assembly of the Organization of American States annually approved a resolution between 1982 and 1992, and from 1993 a <u>declaration</u> is also endorsed annually stating that the **Question** of the **Falkland Islands** is of **permanent** <u>hemispherical interest</u>, calling Argentina and the United Kingdom to resume the negotiations in order to find, as soon as possible, a peaceful and final solution to the dispute over sovereignty…]

First and foremost, the cluster "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas*," which tends to crop up on official websites, seems to suggest that it is a "bona fide phraseme" in Argentinian political discourse. In fact, "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas*" is the official rhetoric adopted by the Argentinian authority to capture the discussion with respect to the Falkland Islands (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto de la República Argentina 2017). Example 21 also reveals that the reference "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas*" was established in an official document approved by the Organization of American States[14] (viz., "*declaración*" [declaration]). *GraphColl* identified "*declaración*" as one of the "second-order" collocates (see Figure 12). The strong collocational relation between "*declaración*" and "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas*" strengthens the argument that the portrayal of the dispute as "the question" is a codified practice.

Figure 12: Collocates of "*cuestión*" when it co-occurs with "*Islas Malvinas*"
in Corpus del Español (Argentina)
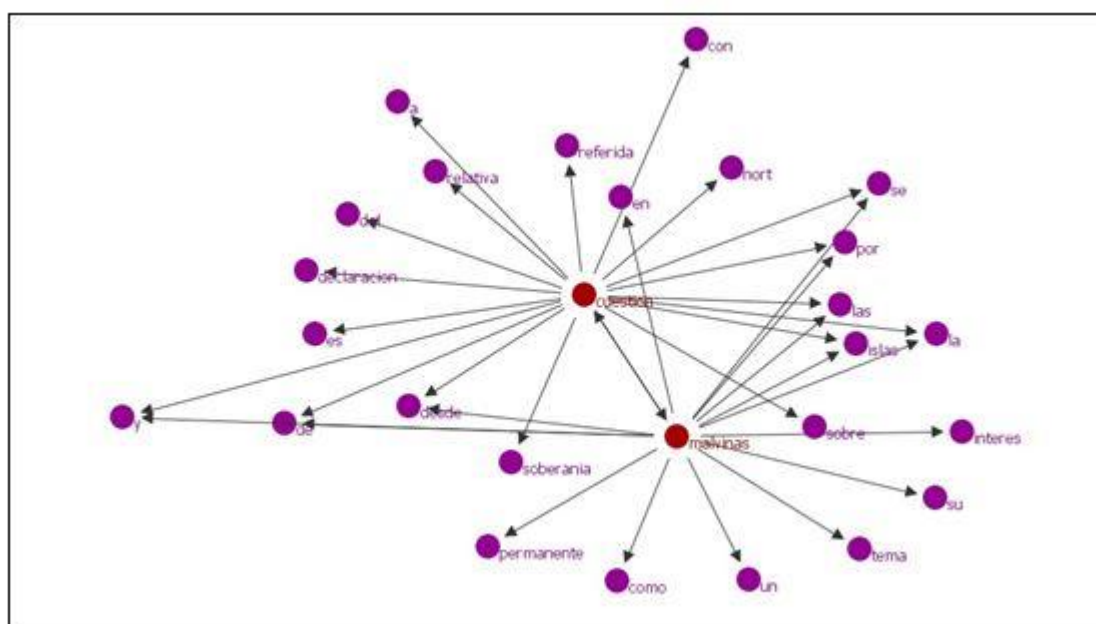
Example 21 contains another collocate "*permanente*" [permanent] of "*Islas Malvinas.*" In 13 of the 17 co-occurrences of "*permanente*" and "*Islas Malvinas*," "*Islas Malvinas*" is part of the cluster "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas.*" This means that in the Argentinian corpus, the matter about the Falkland Islands is not only conceptualized as a question, but it is also construed as ongoing and long-lasting. In Example 21, "*permanente*" is part of the 3-gram "*interés hemisférico permanente*"

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[14]   The Organization of American States (OAS) was founded in 1948 in order to enhance solidarity among the 35 countries of the Americas (OAS 2017).

[permanent hemispherical interest]. It was found that "*hemisférico*" and "*interés*" are "second-order" collocates (see Figure 13). The use of "*hemisférico*" to depict the dispute over the Falkland Islands shows that in the Argentinian discourse, the interest of the hemisphere, rather than the interest of the Falkland Islanders as found in the British discourse, prevails.

Figure 13: Collocates of "*permanente*" when it co-occurs
with "*Islas Malvinas*" in Corpus del Español (Argentina)
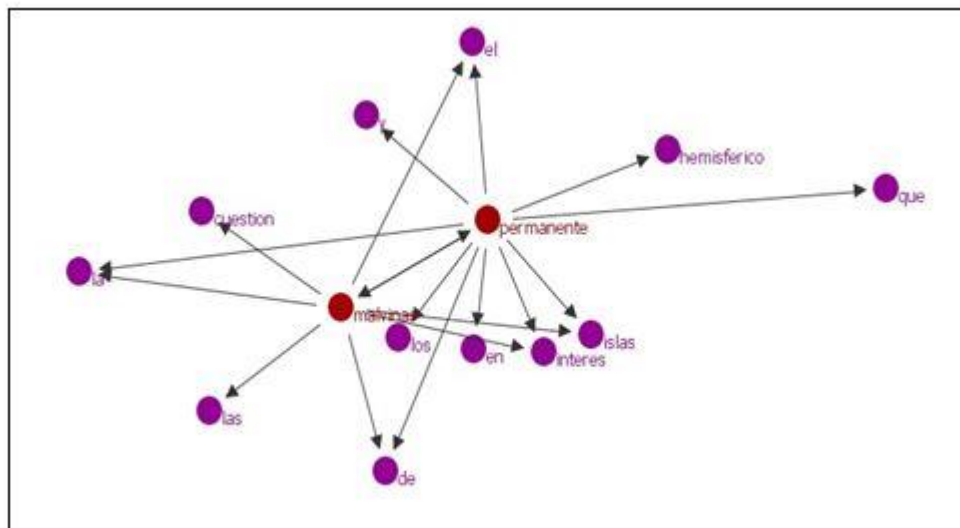
The 22 co-occurrences of the other collocate "*territorio*" [territory] and "*Islas Malvinas*" also position the Falkland Islands as a politically contentious entity. When collocating with "*Islas Malvinas*," "*territorio*" has four referents: (i) a British overseas territory (N=5); (ii) part of the Argentinian territory (N=11); (iii) mainland Argentina—i.e., the continental territory of Argentina (N=4); (iv) the territory of the Islands (N=2). An example of each referent is provided below:

(22) "*Las advertencias fueron hechas semanas antes de realizarse un referendo sobre el estatus político en las **islas Malvinas**, **territorio** <u>bajo dominación británica</u> y cuya soberanía reclama Argentina*." (Source: interdefensa.argentinaforo.net)
[The warnings had been made weeks before a referendum about the political status was carried out on the **Falkland Islands**—**territory** <u>under British rule</u> and whose sovereignty is claimed by Argentina.]

(23) "*Esto significa que, como Chile reconoce a las **Islas Malvinas** como **territorio** <u>argentino</u>, los tramos entre Punta Arenas y Río Gallegos y entre Punta Arenas y las Islas Malvinas configuran vuelos internacionales entre la Argentina y Chile…*" (Source: enaun.mrecic.gov.ar)
[This means that since Chile recognizes the **Falkland Islands** as <u>Argentine</u> **territory**, the sections between Punta Arenas and Rio Gallegos and between Punta Arenas and the Falkland Islands form international flights between Argentina and Chile…]

(24) "*Durante casi todo ese período se le reiteró a la Parte británica la dificultad creciente para la Argentina de continuar autorizando este tipo de vuelos y la necesidad de iniciar conversaciones sobre las comunicaciones aéreas entre el **territorio** <u>continental</u> y las **Islas Malvinas***." (Source: enaun.mrecic.gov.ar)
[During almost that whole period, the British side was reminded of the growing difficulty for Argentina to continue authorizing this type of flights and the need to start conversations about the aerial communications between the <u>continental</u> **territory** and the **Falkland Islands**.]

(25)   "*El 15 de octubre de 2010 el Grupo de Río emitió en Santiago de Chile una Declaración so-*
bre actividades militares del Reino Unido en las Islas Malvinas con motivo de la comuni-
cación remitida por fuerzas militares británicas a las autoridades argentinas, el 8 de octubre
*2010, por la que se informó sobre un proyecto de realizar disparos de misiles desde el **territo-***
rio** de las **Islas Malvinas." (Source: mrecic.gov.ar)
[On 15 October 2010, the Rio Group issued a Declaration about military activities of the
United Kingdom on the Falkland Islands in Santiago, Chile because of the communication
sent by British military forces to the Argentine authorities on 8 October 2010, by which a
project of carrying out missile shots from the **territory** of the **Falkland Islands** was
reported.]

With multiple referents, the lexical item "*territorio*" in the Argentinian corpus corroborates the
complexity behind the dispute over the Falkland Islands. Besides, the relatively frequent use of
"*territorio*" to represent the Islands as part of the Argentinian territory (11 out of the 22 co-
occurrences of "*territorio*" and "*Islas Malvinas*") signals the mainstream world view concerning the
sovereignty of the Falkland Islands in the Argentinian discourse, which has been reported in the
previous subsection.

4.3.   Military intervention
In this subsection, I will discuss the collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*" which position
the Falkland Islands as an item of military intervention. These collocates are "defence," "force,"
"invasion," "1982" and "governor" in the British corpus and "*recuperación*" [recovery] and "*militar*"
[military] in the Argentinian corpus.
    Figure 14 displays a sample of the concordance lines from the British corpus. Britain is
portrayed as the agent which offers protection to the Falkland Islands, as indicated by the collocates
"defence" and "force." Argentina, on the other hand, is represented as the aggressive party that
invaded them in 1982, as suggested by the collocates "invasion" and "1982."

Figure 14: Sample concordance of "defence," "force," "invasion," "1982" and "governor" when
they collocate with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

1	forces on their vital standing tasks, such as the	**defence** of the **Falkland Islands**. # The commission
2	its all doesn't matter since the UK provides	**defence** to the **Falkland Islands** and will continue to
3	since 1982, providing continuous front-line	**defence** of the **Falkland Islands** and its life-line air-
4	and routine operations, such as the crucial	**defence** of the **Falkland Islands**. He will also see that
5	by the Parachute Regiment, Royal Air	**Force, Falkland Islands** Defence **Force**, and many
6	100 infantrymen, with 200 reservists in the	**Falkland Islands** Defence **Force**. # The Royal Navy
7	Royal Air Force and a Detachment from the	**Falkland Islands** Defence **Force**. # The Band of HM
8	by representatives of the Armed Services,	**Falkland Islands** Defence **Force**, the Royal Fleet
9	restored after the break caused by Argentina's	**invasion** of the **Falkland islands** in **1982**. Relations were
10	the potential implications could be serious: the	**invasion** of the **Falkland Islands** in **1982** came about
11	Thirtieth Anniversary of the war to repel the	**invasion** of the **Falkland Islands** by Argentina, April
12	not surprising that, 30 years after the Argentine	**invasion** and occupation of the **Falkland Islands** and
13	of Samba? # If Argentina had not invaded the	**Falkland Islands** in **1982** in the first place there would
14	who resigned as Foreign Secretary when the	**Falkland Islands** were invaded in **1982**. But that was
15	that the British Military has a presence on the	**Falkland Islands** is because in **1982** it was invaded by
16	in April **1982** the Argentineans invaded the	**Falkland Islands**. The British sent a taskforce and on
17	Sir Rex Hunt, who has died aged 86, was	**Governor** of the **Falkland Islands** when Argentina
18	Foreign Secretary William Hague said: "As	**governor** of the **Falkland Islands** he served his
19	and overseas civil servant from 1951, was	**governor** of the **Falkland Islands** between 1980
20	news of the death of Sir Rex Hunt, former	**Governor** of the **Falkland Islands**, Foreign Secretary

Before specific excerpts (with the wider co-text) taken from the corpus are presented, it should be

noted that *GraphColl* identified collocational relations among these collocates. "Defence" and "force" are collocates of each other (see Figure 15); "invasion" and "1982" are collocates of each other (see Figure 16).

Figure 15: Collocates of "defence" and "force" when they
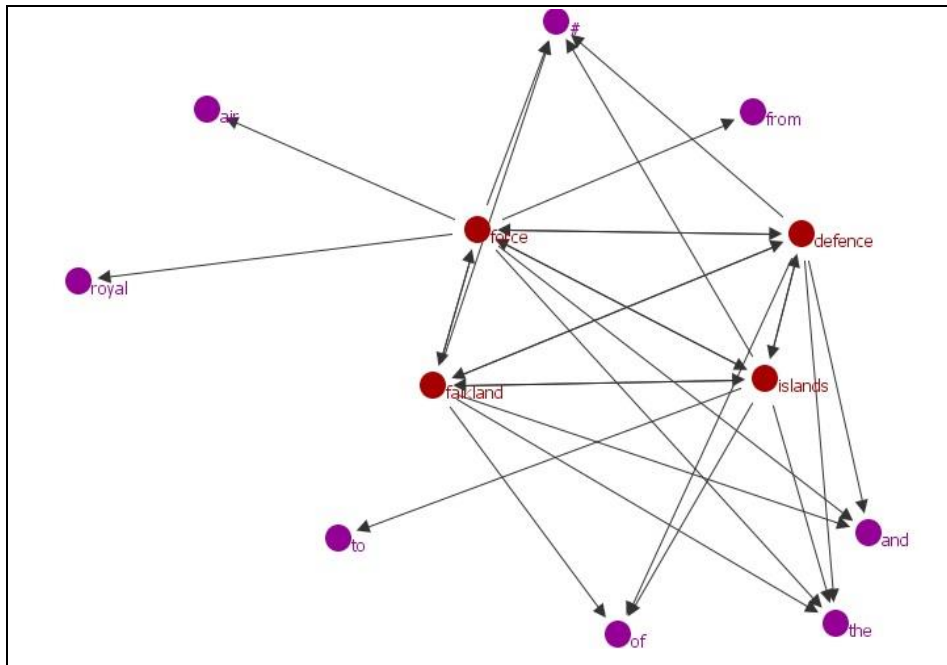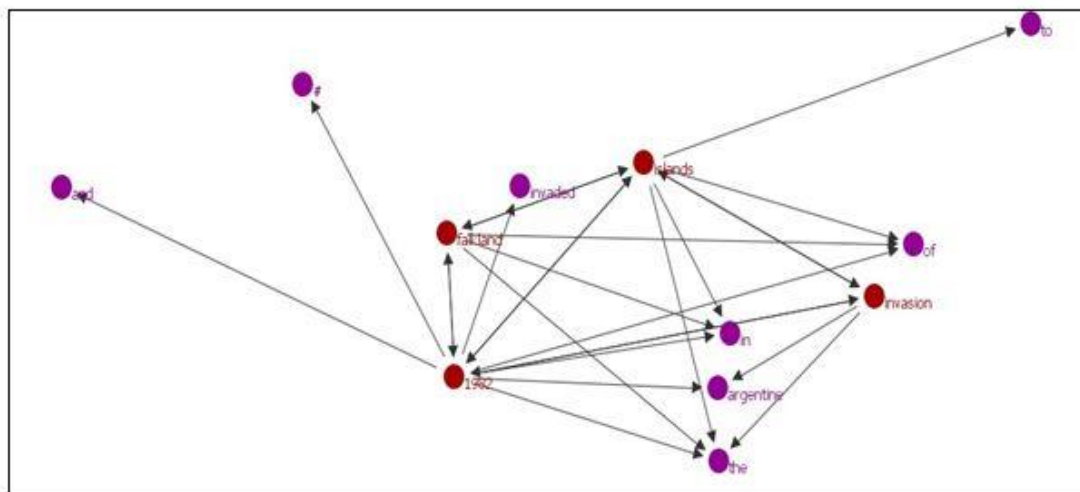co-occur with "Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

Figure 16: Collocates of "invasion" and "1982" when they co-occur with
"Falkland Islands" in GloWbE (Great Britain)

The use of "defence" within the neighborhood of "Falkland Islands" always construes the British role in providing the Islands with protection. An example is:

(26)   "In the first place, the **defence** of the **Falkland Islands**, like that of every other BOT,[15] is
         Britain's responsibility. A responsibility we are more than glad to take." (Source:

_____

[15]   An acronym for the British Overseas Territory.

en.mercopress.com)

Among the 22 co-occurrences of "defence" and "Falkland Islands," 13 of them are instances of the 4-gram "Falkland Islands Defence Force." One example is:

(27)   "Since six o'clock that morning he had braved a fierce gun battle between the paltry forces that cost-cutting British politicians had allocated to the islands, and the Argentinian invaders. The small group of 69 <u>Royal Marines</u>, together with the local **<u>Falkland Islands Defence Force</u>**, managed to fend off the first attack on his residence, Government House, in the islands' capital, Port Stanley." (Source: independent.co.uk)

The Falkland Islands Defence Force is a local defence unit comprised of volunteers who work together with the British forces to ensure the stability of the Islands (Foreign & Commonwealth Office 2012: 23). The co-text of all the instances of the 4-gram "Falkland Islands Defence Force" makes direct reference to the British military on the Islands. In Example 27, Britain (signified by "Royal Marines") is depicted as the ally of the Falkland Islands during the fight against Argentina.

All co-occurrences of "invasion," "1982" and "Falkland Islands" (N=6) refer to the Falklands War. It is evident that in the British corpus, agency is assigned to Argentina as far as the invasion of the Islands is concerned. An example is:

(28)   "That called for diplomatic relations between Britain and Argentina to be restored after the break caused by Argentina's **invasion** of the **Falkland islands** in **1982**. Relations were renewed in 1989." (Source: dsnews.wordpress.com)

Due to its literal meaning, the word "governor" may call to mind the British influence over the Falkland Islands. However, the pattern exhibited by the concordance lines is more than that. 17 of the 19 co-occurrences of "governor" and "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus are about Sir Rex Hunt, who died in 2012. In all these 17 instances (one being Example 29), his demise, along with the fact that he was the governor of the Falkland Islands when the Falklands War broke out, was mentioned. Thus it can be said that when co-occurring with "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus, the collocate "governor" tends to be associated with the Falklands War, which is a key military event in the history of the Islands.

(29)   "Sir Rex Hunt, who has died aged 86, was **Governor** of the **Falkland Islands** when Argentina invaded in 1982." (Source: telegraph.co.uk)

The collocates of "*Islas Malvinas*" in the Argentinian corpus conjure up an opposite image. Figure 17 is a sample of the relevant concordance lines.

Figure 17: Sample concordance of "*recuperación*" [recovery] and "*militar*" [military] when they collocate with "*Islas Malvinas*" in Corpus del Español (Argentina)

1	de conmemorar se el 30 aniversario de la	*recuperación* de Nuestras **Islas Malvinas** y con el objeto
	[to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the	recovery of our **Falkland Islands** and with the purpose]
2	los grandes pilotos que participaron en la	*Recuperación* de las **Islas Malvinas**. Sera todo un honor
	[the great pilots that participated in the	recovery of the **Falkland Islands**. It will be an honor]
3	aplaudiendo y apoyando su anuncio de la	*recuperación* de las **Islas Malvinas**. Luego, de que las Islas
	[applauding and supporting his announcement of the	recovery of the **Falkland Islands**. Then, that the Islands]
4	reiteraron su rechazo a la presencia	*militar* británica en las **Islas Malvinas**, Georgias del Sur
	[reiterated their rejection of the British	military presence on the **Falkland Islands**, South Georgia]
5	el conflicto iniciado en 1833 con la invasión	*militar* de las **Islas Malvinas**. La Asamblea
	[the conflict initiated in 1833 with the	military invasion of the **Falkland Islands**. The Assembly]
6	ha establecido una importante base	*militar* en las **Islas Malvinas** (Mount Pleasent)
	[has established an important	military base on the **Falkland Islands** (Mount Pleasent)]

Among the 24 co-occurrences of "*recuperación*" [recovery] and "*Islas Malvinas*," 13 are instances of the 6-gram "*la recuperación de las Islas Malvinas*" [the recovery of the Falkland Islands] and 6 are instances of the other 6-gram "*la recuperación de nuestras Islas Malvinas*" [the recovery of our Falkland Islands]. Examples are:

(30) "*El 2 de abril la Argentina inicia la operación tendiente a <u>la **recuperación** de las **Islas Malvinas**</u>. La Fuerza Aérea participa en ella y en el posterior conflicto con Gran Bretaña, que se prolonga hasta el 14 de junio.*" (Source: interdefensamilitar.com)
[On 2 April, Argentina starts the operation with a view to <u>the **recovery** of the **Falkland Islands**</u>. The Air Force participates in it and in the subsequent conflict with Great Britain which goes on until June 14.]

(31) "*Al finalizar todos los desacuerdos de límites entre Argentina y Chile hoy podemos contar con el apoyo de Chile en la lucha (pacífica) por <u>la **recuperación** de nuestras **Islas Malvinas**</u>.*" (Source: desarrolloydefensa.blogspot.com)
[After all the border disagreements between Argentina and Chile today we can count on Chile's support in the (peaceful) struggle for <u>the **recovery** of our **Falkland Islands**</u>.]

In Example 30, the Falklands War in 1982 is construed as an event to "recover" the Falkland Islands. This is in stark contrast to the aforementioned image projected in the British corpus. In Example 31, the same "recovery" motif is employed to represent Argentina's attempt to claim sovereignty over the Falkland Islands.

The collocate "*militar*" [military] tends to refer to the British military on the Falkland Islands. Two examples are:

(32) "*El 29 de octubre de 2011, en Asunción, Paraguay, los estados miembros de la UNASUR, ... reiteraron su rechazo a la presencia **militar** británica en las **Islas Malvinas**, Georgias del Sur y Sandwich del Sur y los espacios marítimos circundantes…*" (Source: enaun.mrecic.gov.ar)
[On 29 October 2011, in Asunción, Paraguay, the USAN[16] member states … reiterated their rejection of the British **military** presence on the **Falkland Islands**, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands and the surrounding maritime areas…]

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[16] An acronym for the Union of South American Nations (*la Unión de Naciones Suramericanas*).

(33)   "*Asimismo, el Canciller Timerman llamó la atención sobre la violación del Reino Unido de las cerca de 40 resoluciones de las Naciones Unidas que convocan al diálogo entre ese país y la Argentina para resolver pacíficamente el conflicto iniciado en 1833 con la invasión **militar de las islas Malvinas**.*" (Source: mrecic.gov.ar)
[Also Chancellor Timerman drew attention to the United Kingdom violation of the nearly 40 United Nations resolutions which call for a dialogue between that country and Argentina to peacefully resolve the conflict that began in 1833 with the **military** invasion of the **Falkland Islands**.]

In Example 32, the British military presence on the Islands is criticized. Example 33 suggests that Britain was originally the attacker more than 150 years ago (i.e., in 1833). There is no mention of the British troops being the protectors. While Argentina is depicted as the invader in the British corpus, Britain takes up this demonized role in the Argentinian corpus.

The examples in this subsection show that a historical event can be given different descriptions which trigger differing connotations. In fact, such discursive practice is not uncommon. A well-known example is the report of what happened when the Japanese army occupied the Chinese city called Nanjing during the Second World War. As Askew (2004: 2) put it, this historical event is labeled "Nanjing Massacre" in the Chinese discourse whereas the Japanese discourse prefers the term "Nanjing Incident." This is reminiscent of the different ways the Falklands War is conceptualized on British and Argentinian websites.

4.4.   Positioning of Argentina and Britain

In this subsection, I will examine the collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*" which denote Argentina and Britain. I will pay specific attention to how these two countries are discursively positioned. The collocates chosen for discussion are "Argentina," "Argentine," "British," "Britain," "*argentinas*" [Argentinian (feminine plural)], "*argentinos*" [Argentinian (masculine plural)], "*argentino*" [Argentinian (masculine singular)] and "*británica*" [British (feminine singular)].

To facilitate my analysis, I utilized *GraphColl* to identify the salient "second-order" collocates. The results are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Collocates of "Falkland Islands"/"*Islas Malvinas*" which denote Argentina and Britain

	Collocate[17]	**Salient "second-order" collocate**
Corpus of Global Web-Based English (Great Britain)	Argentina	invaded (N=6)
	Argentine	invasion (N=5)
	British	overseas (N=5), territory (N=7)
Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects (Argentina)	*Argentinas*	*son* [be (third-person plural)] (N=15)
	Argentines	*derechos* [rights] (N=7)
	Argentine	*territorio* [territory] (N=18), *continental* [continental] (N=9)

Table 4 demonstrates once again that in the British corpus, Argentina is positioned as an invader. This is evident in the concordance lines with the "second-order" collocates "invaded" and "invasion." Two

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17   The two collocates "Britain" and "*británica*" [British (feminine singular)] are not included because the "second-order" collocates identified by *GraphColl* are only function words that do not indicate explicitly how Britain is discursively positioned. I decided to examine the concordance lines manually in order to find out meaningful patterns.

examples are:

(34)   "The UK refusing to negotiate can be in no way called bullying, it is simply refusing to co-operate which isn't bullying. Neither can the warship be called bullying, its the same patrol the UK has carried out since **Argentina** illegally **invaded** the **Falkland islands** so essentially nothing has changed." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

(35)   "THE British Governor of the **Falkland Islands** during the 1982 **Argentine invasion** Sir Rex Hunt has died at the age of 86." (Source: thesun.co.uk)

On the other hand, Britain is positioned as the country with jurisdiction over the Islands. This is supported by the use of the 3-gram "British overseas territory." An example is:

(36)   "Look, the situation is like this. The **Falkland Islands** ARE currently a **British Overseas Territory**. That cannot be argued." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

Besides, among the 27 co-occurrences of "Britain" and "Falkland Islands," 12 are instances in which Britain is positioned as being compatible with the Falkland Islands. Three examples are:

(37)   "As in **Britain** and the **Falkland Islands**, the <u>Queen</u> is our Sovereign." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

(38)   "**Falkland Islands** have agreed with **Britain** on a new Constitution to take affect by January 1 2009, replacing a charter adopted in 1985. The new document approved by Queen Elizabeth 2, formalizes the system of self government on the South Atlantic Archipelago while giving Britain the final say on Foreign Policy, Policing and the Administration of Justice according to a joint statement." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

(39)   "<u>Argies</u> contaminate air. Neither **Britain** nor the **Falkland Islands** recognise any dispute. And there is no binding UN resolution that says otherwise." (Source: en.mercopress.com)

In Example 37, the author uses the Queen to establish commonality between Britain and the Falkland Islands. Examples 38 and 39 show a consensus of opinion which Britain and the Falkland Islands have. It should be noted that in Example 39, Argentina is referred to as "Argies"—a somewhat offensive term coined during the Falklands War (Wilton 2012). Also, the word "dispute" here denotes Argentina's claim over the Falkland Islands. From the author's perspective, the claim is subject to rejection from both Britain and the Falkland Islands, which reinforces the argument that Britain and the Falkland Islands are positioned as being on the same wavelength in the British corpus.

The Argentinian corpus displays different patterns of positioning. The collocate "*argentinas*" [Argentinian (feminine plural)] tends to co-occur with "*son*" [be (third-person plural)]. 12 of the 15 co-occurrences are instances of the 5-gram "*las Islas Malvinas son argentinas*" [the Falkland Islands are Argentinian]. One example is:

(40)   "*Acá hay argentinos que no olvidan. Porque las **Islas Malvinas son argentinas** y los ingleses se tienen que ir*." (Source: tuesdelteatrocolon.wordpress.com)
       [Here are Argentinians who do not forget. Because the **Falkland Islands** are **Argentinian** and the English have to go.]

The 5-gram "*las Islas Malvinas son argentinas*" is an open assertion of Argentina's ownership of the Falkland Islands. In line with the findings reported in Subsection 4.1, Argentina is positioned as the owner of the Islands while Britain is an unwelcome guest (viz., "the English have to go").

When collocating with "*Islas Malvinas*," the lexical item "*argentinos*" [Argentinian (masculine plural)] has a tendency to co-occur with "*derechos*" [rights]. All the 7 co-occurrences concern the proposition that Argentina has the rights to the Islands, like Example 41 demonstrates:

(41) "*Los jefes de Estado de la región brindaron hoy un respaldo rotundo a la Argentina sobre sus **derechos argentinos** sobre las **Islas Malvinas** y recordaron 'el permanente interés regional' de que los gobiernos de Argentina y de Gran Bretaña reanuden las negociaciones.*" (Source: blogger.loboalpha.com.ar)

[Today the heads of state of the region gave complete support to Argentina on their **Argentinian rights** over the **Falkland Islands** and recalled the 'permanent regional interest' that the governments of Argentina and Great Britain resume the negotiations.]

In Example 41, "*los jefes de Estado de la región*" are the various national representatives of the Union of South American Nations (*la Unión de Naciones Suramericanas*). By incorporating the voices of the people with institutional authority into the positioning of Argentina, the author makes use of what van Leeuwen (2008: 106) called "personal authorization" to legitimize Argentina's entitlement to the Islands.

The lexical item "*argentino*" [Argentinian (masculine singular)], as a collocate of "*Islas Malvinas*," tends to co-occur with "*territorio*" [territory] and/or "*continental*" [continental]. In fact, the 4-gram "*el territorio continental argentino*" [the Argentinian continental territory (mainland)] appears 9 times. One example is:

(42) "*Acuerdo por Canje de Notas del 23 de febrero de 2001: Aplicación de la fórmula de soberanía a la navegación y aeronavegación privadas entre el **territorio continental argentino** y las **Islas Malvinas**.*" (Source: eaust.mrecic.gov.ar)

[Agreement by Exchange of Notes on 23 February 2001: Application of the sovereignty formula for the private navigation and air navigation between the **Argentinian continental territory (mainland)** and the **Falkland Islands**.]

In Example 42, Argentina is positioned as the mainland ("*el territorio continental argentino*") when its connection with the Falkland Islands is highlighted. It can be argued that the co-occurrences of "*el territorio continental argentino*" and "*Islas Malvinas*" suggest a domestic relationship between Argentina and the Falkland Islands, rather than one involving two nations.

In the Argentinian corpus, Britain is construed negatively as the intruder. Eight of the 18 co-occurrences of "*británica*" [British (feminine singular)] and "*Islas Malvinas*" display an unequivocally bad image of Britain. Two examples are:

(43) "*Dado las tensiones entre los dos gobiernos en relación a la presencia ilegal **británica** en las islas Malvinas, Georgias del Sur y Sándwich del Sur, junto a las restricciones de adquisición de equipamiento militar por parte de Argentina en el Reino Unido, genera dudas sobre la situación en relación a la adquisición de repuestos para los citados buques…*" (Source: aviacionargentina.net)

[Given the tensions between the two governments in relation to the illegal **British** presence on the **Falkland Islands**, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands, together with the restrictions on acquisition of military equipment by Argentina in the United Kingdom, it raises doubts about the situation in relation to the acquisition of spare parts for the aforementioned vessels…]

(44) "*Al conmemorarse 180 años de la ocupación ilegal **británica** de las **Islas Malvinas**, la Representante Permanente de la Argentina entregó al Vicesecretario General copia de la nota de la Presidenta Cristina Fernández de Kirchner dirigida al Primer Ministro del Reino Unido.*" (Source: enaun.mrecic.gov.ar)

[At the commemoration of 180 years of the illegal **British** occupation of the **Falkland Islands**, the Permanent Representative of Argentina gave the Assistant Secretary-General a copy of the note from President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner addressed to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.]

In both examples, Britain is negatively evaluated. In accordance with the taxonomy of evaluation stipulated by Martin & White (2005: 53), the adjective "*ilegal*" [illegal, unlawful] is a marker of impropriety (viz., "negative social sanction"). Via such evaluative lexis, Britain is positioned in the Argentinian corpus as the illegitimate party on matters related to the Falkland Islands.

5. Conclusion

In the present research, a politically contentious place—the Falkland Islands—was chosen as the subject matter. To investigate how the Islands are "discursively positioned" in British and Argentinian discourses, the British section of the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE) and the Argentinian section of the Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects were consulted. In the analysis, I concentrated on the most frequent collocates of the terms "Falkland Islands" and "*Islas Malvinas*" in the two corpora. Concordance lines were checked in order to gain insights into the "discursive positioning" of the Falkland Islands. Further techniques including analysis of collocation networks, semantic prosody and word clusters were employed as well.

The findings have demonstrated that certain collocates are unique to one of the two corpora. These collocates help to position the Falkland Islands in a way which echoes the conventional rhetoric of the British and the Argentinian political leaders. The collocates "government" and "population" (plus the "second-order" collocate "interests") of "Falkland Islands" in the British corpus, coupled with the fact that agency is constantly assigned to the Falkland Islands government, position the Islands as a territory with "self-determination." On the other hand, the collocates "*nuestras*" [our (feminine plural)] (as in the ubiquitous 3-gram "*nuestras Islas Malvinas*"), "*territorio*" [territory] and "*recuperación*" [recovery] of "*Islas Malvinas*" in the Argentinian corpus construe the Falkland Islands as a possession of Argentina. Also, in the Argentinian corpus the collocates "*estadio*" [stadium] and "*aeropuerto*" [airport] are actually names of constructions located in Argentina ("*Estadio Islas Malvinas*" and "*Aeropuerto Internacional Islas Malvinas de Rosario*" [Rosario – Islas Malvinas International Airport]), suggesting Argentina's sovereignty over the Islands. What's more, the contrasting world views with respect to the status of the Falkland Islands are discursively realized in the collocational patterns of the lexical items "sovereignty" and "*soberanía*" [sovereignty]. In the British corpus, "sovereignty" tends to co-occur with "no doubt" or "no negotiations," thus conveying an unambiguously firm stance of the British political institution on maintaining the status quo. In the Argentinian corpus, "*soberanía*" is inclined to collocate with "*argentina*" [Argentinian (feminine singular)]. This results in the 2-gram "*soberanía argentina*," which embodies Argentina's unquestioned assumption about its sovereignty over the Islands.

One interesting pattern which emerges from the Argentinian corpus is the preponderance of the 6-gram "*la Cuestión de las Islas Malvinas*" [the Question of the Falkland Islands] and the 3-gram "*interés hemisférico permanente*" [permanent hemispherical interest]. Coming predominantly from the government websites, the former conceptualizes the dispute over the Falkland Islands as a question. The latter construes the issues related to the Islands as ones which are of perpetual interest to the hemisphere.

Furthermore, examination of the concordance lines has shown that "discursive positioning" is applied to the two political parties (Argentina and Britain) as well. It was found that positioning of these two countries in the corpora reflects the strategy of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (van Dijk 2011). In the British corpus, the collocates "defence," "force" and "Britain" portray Britain as the protector or a compatible companion of the Islands while the collocates "claim," "invasion," "1982," "Argentina" and "Argentine" are used to demonize Argentina as a problematic country or an invader. In the Argentinian corpus, Britain is positioned as the party that first launched the intrusion many years ago, as is seen from the concordance lines with the collocates "*militar*" [military] and "*británica*" [British (feminine singular)]. With the 5-gram "*las Islas Malvinas son argentinas*" [the Falkland Islands are Argentinian] and the co-occurrences of "*derechos*" [rights] and "*argentinos*" [Argentinian (masculine plural)], Argentina is positioned as the rightful owner of the Falkland Islands. Besides, the cluster "*el territorio continental argentino*" [the Argentinian continental territory (mainland)] appears to indicate an intra-national (rather than an

international) relation between Argentina and the Islands.

Given the size of the two corpora under investigation in this study, the results obtained from the collocation analysis are deemed generalizable. They constitute solid empirical evidence on the "discursive positioning" of the Falkland Islands (as well as Argentina and Britain) in Argentinian and British discourses. In line with what Potter (1996) stated, the current research has shown that the same object or entity can be "categorized" very differently, depending on the ideological positions of the discourse producers. The findings also underpin Bourdieu's argument vis-à-vis the social phenomenon of "classification," viz., "a vision of the world is a division of the world" (1990: 210). Of course, studies based on large reference corpora may be criticized for overlooking the particular contexts in which the concordance lines are located (Kong 2013: 317). I believe that many discourse analysts have encountered the difficulty in keeping a balance between the size of their data and the quantity of attention paid to the contexts of individual discourse events in their analysis. Regarding this issue, there have been no hard and fast rules for researchers. In this study, I have employed several other techniques like collocation networks and semantic prosody to mitigate the effects of relying on concordance lines for data analysis. As I mentioned earlier, the present study is an example of CADS. In my opinion, it can serve as a springboard for future research which focuses on various specific circumstances under which discourses about the Falkland Islands are generated.

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