

“Para Hacer un Buen *Reentry* es Esencial que te Salga Bien el *Bottom Primero*” – The Presence of English in Portuguese and Spanish Surf Talk*

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ABSTRACT

Although modern surfing can be traced back to early 20th century Hawaii, only quite recently has surfing become a truly global phenomenon. The aim of this paper is to discuss how the arrival of such a new cultural phenomenon as surfing to the Spanish and Portuguese speaking world is managed linguistically, i.e. to account for how one goes about talking about surfing in Portuguese and Spanish. I propose to investigate how the existing surfing vocabulary in English affects surf talk in Portuguese and Spanish. On the one hand, I will determine which words are incorporated as such and which pieces are incorporated as semantic loans. On the other hand, I will describe what old, native vocabulary is adapted to fit the needs of surf talk. The results indicate that loans are used in roughly 65 per cent of the surfing terms in both Portuguese and Spanish. On a more detailed level, the surfing manoeuvres and conditions, for example, are mostly lexicalized using direct loans, as the terms *reentry* ‘re-entry’ and *bottom* ‘bottom turn’ used in the title indicate. Waves, on the other hand, are most often described by means of loan translations, i.e. using Portuguese and Spanish terms reflecting English uses. For example, the goal of any surfer is to ride a tube, *tubo* in both Portuguese and Spanish. The main difference between the two languages is found in the manoeuvre terms, where Portuguese has introduced several own expressions (e.g. *cavada* and *rasgada*) while Spanish relies almost uniquely on direct loans from English.

Keywords: surf language, direct loans, loan translations, Anglicisms, Portuguese and Spanish.



1. Introduction

The history of modern surfing can be traced back to the early 20th century Hawaii, Australia and the Californian coastline (Esparza, 2017; Finnegan, 2018), but only quite recently has surfing become a truly global phenomenon. As an example, consider the following piece of information. In a recent commercial newsletter (March 8, 2019), the Scandinavian airline SAS included as one of its offers quite a long piece (1700 words) called “Extreme surfing in Lofoten” on surfing in the exotic setting of Lofoten, a remote region in Norway, north of the Polar Circle. In the wake of globalization in the 1990s, surfing in sunny California was an activity only members of different countercultures were engaged in (as pictured in e.g. blockbuster movie *Point Break* (1991); in 2019 a major airline includes a piece on surfing in physically extreme conditions as something mainstream travellers could be interested in.

Since modern surfing has such a geographically and linguistically well-defined point of departure, almost everything related to it has been lexicalized in English, spiced with a handful of Hawaiian terms such as *aloha*, *mahalo*, and *shaka*. From a linguistic point-of-view, this means that in order to talk about surfing in other languages than English, the relevant concepts, i.e. the essential terminology, needs to be transferred by some means into the target language. This is a similar process as the one involving many specialized discourses within areas such as technology, economics, science, etc. (see Muñetón Pérez, 2011).

In this paper, I propose to investigate how the existing surfing vocabulary in English affects surf talk in Portuguese and Spanish. The overarching questions I will attempt to answer are: Which loan words are incorporated as such? Which pieces are incorporated as loan translations? And what native vocabulary (e.g. related to marine terms) is reused or recycled so as to fit the needs of surf talk? The aim of the paper is thus i) to characterize the surfing vocabulary used in Portuguese in Spanish with an emphasis on the presence of English loanwords; and ii) to account for the relationship between the use of loanwords and own expressions (reused or newly coined) for talking about surfing in Portuguese and Spanish.

It is well known through popular culture that there exists a specific surfer slang or surfer lingo in English. For example, there are dozens of web pages offering lists of the essential expressions a surfer needs to know: *Extended Glossary of Surfing Terms and Slang*, *Glossary of Surfing Terms*, *Surfing Terms, Talk, Phrases and Slang*, including a Wikipedia page *Glossary of Surfing*. For the aims of this paper, I have identified some 200 concepts central to surfing in Portuguese and Spanish.

Based on previous studies on the language of football (Bergh & Ohlander, 2012, 2017), I will describe how these concepts are lexicalized in Portuguese and Spanish. The expressions are characterized as either direct loans (adapted or not), loan translations (calques or semantic loans) (Haugen, 1950; Pulcini et al., 2012; Vega Moreno, 2016: 288–289), own expressions (i.e. Portuguese and Spanish terms acquiring a specific meaning in the context of surfing) or general expressions (Portuguese and Spanish terms which are used in the context of surfing but which maintain their general meaning).

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2 I will shortly describe the history of surfing as a global phenomenon. Section 3 introduces the theoretical framework of the paper, i.e. the central concepts concerning neologisms, linguistic borrowing, Anglicisms and sports language as a sort of specialized language. In Section 4 I describe the material gathered and the methods used to characterize the surfing vocabulary in Portuguese and Spanish. The descriptive analysis of the loanwords and own expressions used in Portuguese and Spanish is presented in Section 5. Section 6 concludes.

2. Background: surfing from underground to mainstream and commercialism

Although surfing has been considered a millennium old activity, documented observations or descriptions of surfing from before the ones made by members of the British explorations of the Pacific in the 18th century are in fact extremely rare (Esparza, 2017). In his exploration into the sources of the history of surfing, Spanish historian Daniel Esparza (2017), finds references to primitive surfing in four different areas: 13th to 16th century China, pre-Columbian Peru (4th to 15th centuries), 18th century Polynesia, and 19th century Western Africa.

According to Esparza (2017), however, with the exception of Hawaii, none of these primitive surfing traditions has any direct contact with modern surfing, which undoubtedly started in the Waikiki bay area of Honolulu at the turn of the 20th century. A major factor in the expansion of modern surfing outside Hawaii was the exhibitions given by prominent Hawaiians such as Duke Kahanamoku and George Freeth. Freeth gave an exhibition of surfing in Southern California in 1907, whereas Olympic swimming champion Duke Kahanamoku toured Australia in the 1910s giving both swimming and surfing exhibitions (Esparza, 2016a: 202).

The decisive boost in the globalisation of surfing came in the 1950s and 1960s, when new materials revolutionized the surfboard design, making them lighter and easier to produce. In Europe, surfing was introduced in England in the 1920s, where the Newquay area had an import role. It reached the continent in the 1950s, starting in the seaside resort town of Biarritz in southern France. The first surf club in France was founded in 1959, and the same year Pedro Martins the Lima was apparently also surfing in Estoril, Portugal, on a board he had bought in Biarritz (Esparza, 2016a: 203–204).

In Spain, surfing was introduced successively during the 1960s on different Atlantic beaches. Early surfers in the Basque Country were inspired by the Biarritz area, whereas in Cádiz, Andalusia, the influence came from the presence of US military at the Rota naval base (established in 1953). According to Esparza (2015: 53), the first spark to attempt surfing came from a copy of *National Geographic* (in English) that reached the hands of a group of youngsters in Cádiz. Some years later, in 1964, an originally Australian surfboard and a couple of homemade surfboards appeared on the beach of Cortadura (Cádiz) and finally enabled a local crew to attempt surfing the waves. The technique was copied from the images in the magazines. As these cases show, the

introduction of surfing in Spain, and Portugal, was clearly the result of foreign influence (Esparza, 2016b: 136).

After the pioneering attempts at surfing, the expansion was slow at first, but since the turn of the millenium the increase in popularity has been remarkable. Nowadays, the national surfing federations in Portugal (Federação Portuguesa do Surf) and Spain (Federación Española de Surf) have 2 383 and 27 624 members (the last figure doubling the approximately 14 000 members in 2010), respectively (FPS and FES). However, as Esparza (2015) indicates, with regards to Spain, the figure can probably be multiplied by ten for a more realistic approximation of the number of surfers. In Portugal, the true number lies somewhere between 150 and 250 thousand (Calheiros, 2018). A 2017 article in *O Observador* estimates the surfing industry to be the most valuable area of tourism in Portugal (Porto, 2017; see also Campos, 2016).

The presence of surfing as a professional sport in Portugal and Spain is also reflected in the many world class surfing events and contests which are organized, yearly, along the coast. Portugal's famous *Supertubos* beach break in the small town of Peniche hosts one of the eleven events on the Championship Tour of surfing, attracting all of the world's best surfers. Apart from the Meo Rip Curl Pro Portugal, the surf towns of Ericeira, Santa Cruz, Cascais and the Costa da Caparica also host international surfing contests, and the same goes for Spanish Galicia Pro at Pantín (Galicia) (see World Surf League). One must also not forget the village of Nazaré, where a deep canyon on the sea bottom regularly produces giant waves attracting professional surfers from around the world trying to push the limits of the biggest surfable waves.

3. Making sense of a new reality—neologisms, loanwords, Anglicisms and sports language

As the short overview of the introduction of surfing to the Iberian Peninsula shows, surfing is a prime example of an imported product. Given its foreign origins, when learning about surfing the pioneers were faced with a new reality, and hence had to take on the task of naming new referents, i.e. concepts and objects that did not exist previously in the Portuguese and Spanish speaking world. In fact, a standard definition of a *neologism* is precisely a term used for “putting name on new referents in an ever-changing reality “(Creus & Julià-Muné, 2015).

In the following subsections, I will briefly introduce the notions of neologisms (section 3.1), linguistic borrowing and loanwords (section 3.2), Anglicisms and the status of English as the prime international language (section 3.3.) as well as some considerations on the specifics of sports language (section 3.4).

3.1. Neologisms and lexical creativity

Following Cabré (2015: 126), “[i]t is an inherent feature of the human species that we are able to create new words in order to adapt to new realities and to simply refer to things”. And she continues:

apart from knowing an extensive list of words in the own language, a speaker is capable of increasing the list of known lexical items with new incorporations, be it as loan words from another language (used either in their original format or adapting them to meet the formal requirements of the receptor language), or by creating them according to the patterns available in the grammar s/he has interiorized. This capacity is what in linguistics is referred to as “lexical creativity”. (Cabré, 2015: 126 [my translation])

For Cabré (2015), a neologism is a novel lexical unit in a certain linguistic code («unité nouvelle de nature lexicale dans un code linguistique défini», Alain Rey, 1976: 3–17, quoted by Cabré, 2015: 133).

According to Creus & Julià-Muné (2015), there are three kinds of neologisms, which all manifest themselves in the vocabulary of surfing in Portuguese and Spanish: loanwords (*casting couch*, *business friendly*, *spam*, *reentry*...), (learned) word formation (derivation, composition, prefixation, etc.: *eurócrata*, *cibernauta*, *pranchão/tablon*, *cavada*) and hybrids (*whatsappitis*, *hackergate*, *tubaço/tubazo*). As will become evident when discussing the examples of surfing concepts, it is an undeniable fact that neologism is a highly relative concept, in the sense that the status of “new” can never be absolute, but is always tied to a certain temporal, social, geographic, functional or thematic reference point (Cabré, 2015: 127). However, when determining whether a given term is to be considered a neologism or not, an important initial criteria may its absence from a given reference dictionary or corpus (Cabré, 2015: 130; see Balteiro, 2011) for a comparison of the presence of sports Anglicism in language corpora and reference dictionaries).

In the case of surfing concepts in Portuguese and Spanish, most terms and concepts can indeed be considered neologisms when compared to reference dictionaries. However, terms such as *reentry* or *bottom (turn)* can be found in the large online corpora of both languages (see Davies, 2016 and Davies & Ferreira, 2016). When considering the status of the so-called own expressions (see Section 4, below, for details), the relative status a given surfing concept or term becomes obvious when trying to determine whether the use in the surfing context is, actually, “new”. Consider a term such as Portuguese *cavada* ‘bottom turn’, which is a nominal derivation with the literal meaning ‘a digging’ based on the verb *cavar* ‘to dig’—to what degree is this surfing-related meaning extension “new”?

3.2. Linguistic borrowing and loanwords

As Creus & Julià-Muné's (2015) classification of neologisms into three types, *loans*, *own creations* and *hybrids* shows, loans constitute an important part of the “new” expressions in a language. In fact, it is a defining trait of the evolution of human societies that new fields of knowledge are successively incorporated into the minds of the speakers. Many technological and cultural innovations come from the interaction with people from the outside of the own group, i.e. they are borrowed.

As Pulcini et al. (2016: 5) note, the study of linguistic borrowing within modern linguistics started alongside the study of language contact in the early 20th century, with the work of pioneers such as Einar Haugen (1950) (see Pratt, 1980: 26–29) and Uriel Weinreich (1953). Haugen's (1950) influential paper defines borrowing as “the process that takes place when bilinguals reproduce a pattern from one language in another”, i.e. his account is based on bilingual speakers in a situation of language contact. When it comes to the spoken language of surfing in a Portuguese and Spanish speaking context, the speakers are generally not bilingual English–Portuguese or English–Spanish, so it is a question of language contact only in the sense that the one language comes into contact with words and expressions from another.

It is no easy task to determine exactly what counts as a loan word, since these can be highly divergent and thus need to be classified into different types. Often both the terms and classification used are dependent on the focus of the investigation, leading to a plethora of overlapping terms. Pulcini et al. (2012), however, establish the schematic picture reproduced in Figure 1 to describe different types of lexical borrowings. As Figure 1 shows, the division of loan words can be made on different levels. There is, on the one hand, the question of how the loan word is rendered, formally, in the recipient language, i.e. as direct or indirect reflections of the original term. On the other hand, there are, obviously, different degrees of formal complexity, i.e. the loan words can be either single word or complex, multi-word expressions.

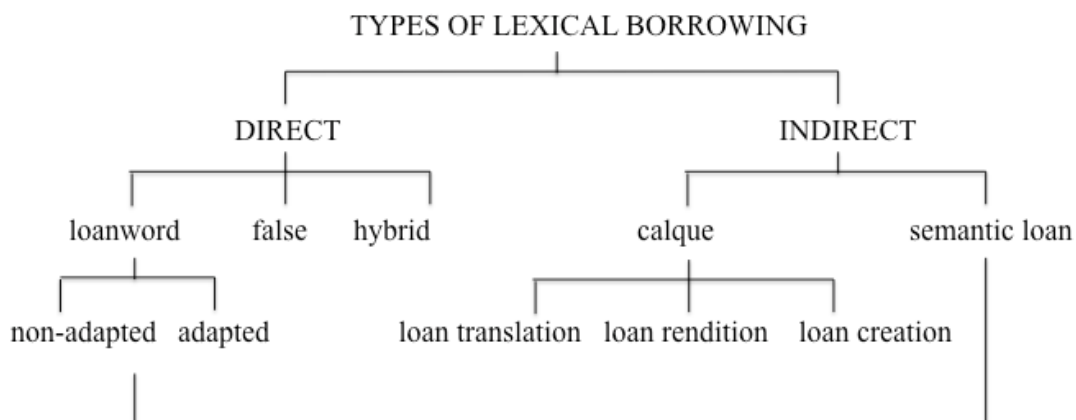


Figure 1. Types of lexical borrowings according to Pulcini et al. (2016: 6).

Reading Figure 1 from top to bottom, one can see how several important questions are, subsequently, considered: Firstly, is the source language directly reflected in the recipient language? What is borrowed can be either a form (i.e. a word or multiword expression) or a concept (or meaning). In the first case, direct borrowings, both form and meaning is transferred, that is, when a form is borrowed its meaning is usually borrowed as well, whereas in the second case (indirect borrowings) only the meaning is adopted. In the first case, the borrowing is complete, whereas when only the meaning is borrowed, it is sometimes considered incomplete (cf. Vega Moreno, 2016: 287).

Second, within the direct borrowings, Pulcini et al. (2016: 6–8) distinguish between loanwords (also called direct loans), false borrowings, and hybrids. Loanwords are terms which clearly reflect their origins, such as *airbag* and *hobby*. The direct loans can be further divided into adapted or unadapted loans.¹ In Portuguese and Spanish it is rare that an English loanword enters in a phonetically unadapted form due to the pronunciation differences between the languages. Most nominal and verbal expressions are also morphologically adapted (taking plural endings, entering the class of either feminine or masculine nouns, a Portuguese/Spanish infinitive form, and so on).

False loans are expressions which seem to be of a foreign origin, but which are not used in the concerned sense in the source language (e.g. Spanish *footing* which looks like English but is actually a loanword from French, and is never used in the sense of ‘jogging’ in English). Finally, the hybrids involve both foreign and native elements, such as Spanish *fiesta acid*.

Third, within the indirect borrowings in Figure 1, where it is mainly meaning which is transferred, Pulcini et al (2016) make a distinction between calques and semantic loans, in order to reflect whether it is a question of creating new expressions based on a foreign model (e.g. loan translations, etc. such as Sp. *rascacielos* ‘skyscraper’) or of a native word acquiring a new sense, e.g. Sp. *aplicar* ‘to apply’ instead of *solicitar* (semantic loan). Although Pulcini et al. (2016: 7–8) make a further distinction between different kinds of calques (loan translation, loan rendition and loan creation), I will not go further into this here.

In this paper I will use a classification of loan words that is a simplified adaptation of Pulcini et al.’s (2016) model. Following Bergh & Ohlander (2017: 15–17) and Vega Moreno (2016), I use two main categories, a) direct loans and b) loan translations for classifying the loan words, adding a third category for native expressions which acquire a new, specific meaning in the context of surfing. These classes are:

- Direct loans (e.g. Pt./Sp. *wipeout*, *longboard*, *tail*)
- Loan translations (Pt./Sp. *bomba* ‘bomb’, Sp. *labio* ‘lip (of the wave)’)
- Own expressions (Pt. *cavada* ‘bottom turn’)

This simplified model is motivated by the fact that this paper involves an exploratory analysis, the main purpose of which is to identify and characterize the most important surfing vocabulary in Portuguese and Spanish. This means that it does not seem purposeful to go into deeper analyses as the kind of adaptation a given English term goes through when used in Portuguese or Spanish. In Section 4, below, I will make explicit the steps involved in classifying the different surfing expressions into the above classes.

3.3. Anglicisms and English as source language

The spread of English as the main vehicle of international communication has long been acknowledged, as has its establishment as a global lingua franca (cf. Mauranen & Ranta, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011). As Pulcini et al. (2016: 2) put it: “in the 21st century no languages operating in the global market have gone unaffected by the inflow of English lexical items.” Among the reasons for the “extraordinary boost” of English the authors mention its use as “carrier of scientific and technological innovation and as the language of business, trade and especially popular culture” (2016: 2).

In line with this, Pratt (1980) discusses the Americanization of European society, referring to the omnipresence of American things such as laundromats, self-service coffee shops, discos, fast food restaurants, and supermarkets. The omnipresence of both the English language and of Anglo-American cultural phenomena has, of course, led to the spread of English terms into many realms of modern languages, including the language of business, fashion, law, medicine, science, and sports. These realms can be considered specialized languages of sorts, in the sense that they all make use of a specialized vocabulary. A specialized language usually has two kinds of elements in its vocabulary: (i) technicisms or technical terms, that is, terms which are specific to that area and (normally) not used outside it; and (ii) technical or genre specific uses of general terms. Due to the predominance of English in the realms mentioned above, Anglicisms naturally abound and can, with only little exaggeration, be considered the loanwords par excellence.

3.4. The language of sports

In the 21st century, sports are a truly global phenomenon, encompassing both a private and a public sphere: on the public level it is a prime example of popular culture (Bergh & Ohlander, 2012: 281), the major sports stars having the capability of moving masses and attracting the interest of millions of people. On the private level, never before has individual physical activity been so popular: millions of people worldwide go out for a run several times a week, organized amateur leagues of different ball sports (football, basketball, handball, volleyball, tennis, badminton, and so on) and different classes at the local gym attract thousands of middle-class citizens for weekly sports sessions; and

many more play football, basketball or cricket on an even more informal level in the parks and open terrains across the world.

In a sense, then, the global popularity of sports, in general, equals that of the English language. This is no coincidence, since, as Balteiro (2011: 30) puts it, “many sports are born and first established in England or the United States and, consequently, all the terminology appears for the first time in English, which then spreads quite soon to the rest of the world” (see also Rodríguez González, 2012: 319). Balteiro (2011: 30) also finds that “in the Spanish language of sports most foreign words come from English”.

A prime example of world dominance where English and sports go hand in hand is football. As an example, one might recall the following quote of the legendary British football player Bobby Charlton: “Football and English are the only true global language” (quoted by Bergh & Ohlander, 2012: 283). In the words of Solivellas Aznar (1987: 148) football is a “universal social phenomenon.” In the Portuguese and Spanish speaking world, football is undoubtedly the most popular sport as well, and it has a long tradition on both sides of the Atlantic. The Latin American countries are famous for their extremely skilled players, many of whom represent Spanish clubs, such as FC Barcelona and Real Madrid, which are among the top five sport clubs and brands in the world.

When talking about football, however, Portuguese and Spanish recur to English in a great number of expressions (see Solivellas Aznar, 1987: 149). According to Bergh & Ohlander (2012: 294), in Spanish 15 out of the 25 terms they investigate are direct loans (including *corner*, *gol*, *hat-trick*, *hooligan*, *penalty*, and *shoot* > *chutar*); in addition, their 2017 study on loan translations finds evidence of two cases (out of the same 25 terms) (Bergh & Ohlander, 2017: 21). Rodríguez González (2012) mentions many more: *derby*, *free kick*, *fútbol*, *off-side* and *play off* are direct loans; *balompié* ‘football’, *defensa* ‘back’, *delantero* ‘forward’, *falta* ‘foul, fault’, *linier* ‘linesman’, and *tiro libre* ‘free kick’ are loan translations.

However, the world of sports either as a professional or private physical activity goes beyond football. As the history of modern surfing shows, there is little reason to question the English speaking origins of the sport, meaning that we should expect to find a considerable portion of English terms within the Portuguese and Spanish language of surfing. The aim of this paper, as stated in the introduction, is to find out exactly what kind of English influence is found, and if the English terms are especially frequent in certain areas of the surfing vocabulary. Also of interest is to find describe what the relationship is between the foreign terms and native expressions that have been recruited into Portuguese and Spanish surf talk.

The purely descriptive objectives of this paper are a consequence of the fact that there are as of yet (as far as I am aware) no linguistic studies of the languages of surfing in either Portuguese or Spanish. Apart from football, which has been the subject of several papers (Solivellas Aznar, 1987; Castañón Rodríguez, 1991, 1992, 1993; Bergh & Ohlander, 2012, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Rodríguez González, 2012), I have found

papers on the Spanish language of baseball (Alba, 2006, 2007), boxing (Ayuso Collantes, 2018) as well as tennis (Diosdado, 2011).

And, apart from the term *surf*, which is analyzed as a false Anglicism, being a truncated or abbreviated form of English *surfing* (see Balteiro, 2011; Campos-Pardillos, 2015), the surfing terms are absent from most work on Anglicisms and loan words in Spanish, *Surf(ing)* and some of its derivatives (*windsurfing*) are the only surfing Anglicism included in Görlach's (2005) *Dictionary of European Anglicisms*², used by Bergh & Ohlander (2012, 2017) as their main source of football terms. Among the 428 sports Anglicisms analyzed by Balteiro (2011), only eight can be related to surfing: *surf(ing)*, *surfer*, *surfear* 'to surf', *surfero/surfista* 'surfer', *alley-hoop*, *chop*, and *jet-ski*.

As hinted at above, sports language can well be considered a specialized language, in the sense that there are a series of concepts central to any sport which are undeniably the same, regardless of the language used to lexicalize them. As Solivellas Aznar (1987: 148) points out in his discussion of Italian and Spanish sports terms,

"it [football] is identical when it comes to the game itself, the characteristics which make up the game and, above all, in the description one makes of it in all possible locations. it is a matter of concepts that practically mirror one another in the two linguistic environments. Messages are being transmitted with meanings which are immediately evocable."

This is a very similar situation to what one can find among physicists or astronomers, who largely share the same concepts and the names for them in the international language of these scientific areas.

Finally, regarding the formal characteristics of sports language, Balteiro (2011: 30) suggests that it is

one of the most innovative jargons as regards the use of new or uncommon morphological mechanisms in the creation of new lexical items, but also concerning the introduction and enthusiastic acceptance of loanwords.

Following Méndez Santos (2015), characteristic for the Spanish language of sports is its frequent use of certain morphological mechanisms, such as derivation. Morphemes which stand out in this sense include the action suffixes *-ada*, *-azo*, agentive suffixes such as *-ero* and *-dor* '-er', the absolute superlative *-ísimo* used for dramatic or exaggerated descriptive effects, and more general ones such as *-ismo* '-ism' and *-ista* '-ist'. Also learned prefixes such as *ex-*, *pre-*, *post-*, *sub-*, *co-*, *vice-*, *anti-*, *pro-*, *hyper-*, etc. are frequently used. As will become evident in the analysis section (see section 5), the action suffixes *-ada*, *-aço/azo* are found among the surfing expressions in both Portuguese and Spanish.

4. Material and methods

Since the purpose of this paper is to characterize surf talk in Portuguese and Spanish by means of describing the essential surfing vocabulary, the obvious starting point is to identify the most frequent and relevant surfing concepts. In order to establish a basic inventory of terms and expressions, I have gathered information from an eclectic mix of sources, including web sites, books, surf contest broadcasts, and WhatsApp conversations. The web pages, which constitute the main input, are listed in the end of the paper under the Primary references.

Most of the material is based on glossaries, vocabularies, and word lists found on the internet. There are dozens of such pages freely available, all seemingly sharing the aim of providing beginning surfers with some insights into the world of surfing, an important element of which is, surf lingo, or *a gíria do surf* in Portuguese and *la jerga del surf* in Spanish. The quotes in (1) and (2) provide representative examples of the objective of these web sites:

(1) *Yo, duuuude! Rad barrels out there!*

Surf talk has got to be one of the most unique and recognizable lingos in the English language. Countless movies have portrayed the special way surfers speak, and even cartoons are using the surf terms for comedic relief.

Case and point: Remember Crush, the turtle/laid-back surfer dude in Disney's *Finding Nemo*? He was speaking in 'surferese'!

Needless to say, though we know that not all surfers talk like Crush, there is an undeniable surf slang that one needs to know in order to understand the world of surfing. After all, you wouldn't want to go on a surf camp and not understand what your instructors are telling you. This is precisely why we've decided to come to your rescue with an extended glossary of 180+ essential surf terms!

(<https://www.booksurfcamps.com/news/surfing-terms-slang>)

(2) Ahora que tienes pensado meterte en el mundo del Surf, es importante que te vayas familiarizando con varios términos que vas a usar. Tipos de Tablas, Olas, modalidades, maniobras..... aquí os ofrecemos un poco de Vocabulario Surfista (<http://escueladesurflasdunas.com/vocabulario-surfista/>)

'Now that you have decided to get to know the world of surfing, it's important that you get familiarized with the various terms you'll be using. Kinds of boards, Waves, modalities, manoeuvres... Here we offer you some surfer vocabulary.'

In addition to the web sites, I also used the Portuguese and Spanish commentaries of the live broadcast of the final surfing contest of 2018, Billabong Pipe Masters, Hawaii as input. The terms and expressions were recorded by hand while listening to the commentaries. The commentaries of the broadcasts are made by speakers of Brazilian and Mexican origin (judging by their accents). I also checked the geographical origin of the web pages, some of which are Brazilian and American whereas others are based on the Iberian Peninsula.

The material is thus not limited to Portugal and Spain, but includes their American variants. Since it is too early to try to make geographical distinctions at this stage, and the geographical origins of the writers/speakers of a particular website is difficult to determine, it seems appropriate not to limit oneself to a certain region, but to consider Portuguese and Spanish as a whole. This, however, does not mean that there cannot be considerable differences in the surf talk in different regions of the vast Portuguese and Spanish speaking world. But investigating possible regional differences must be left to future work.

On the basis of the different sources, I established an inventory of basic concepts, amounting to what I consider an essential surfing vocabulary. This inventory has the format of a word list with four components: a conceptual level accompanied by three language specific levels, all of which may include several lexical elements for each concept. This means that the inventory allows for the existence of synonyms and referential overlaps; at this point in the research —the main purpose of this paper being to establish and describe the essential surfing vocabulary in Portuguese and Spanish— it is too early to try to capture individual, geographical or social differences in usage of the individual terms. For obvious reasons, the conceptual component is expressed using English terms, and consequently there is considerable overlap between this and the English language level. The latter will mainly serve to illustrate the existence of synonyms for certain concepts.

In the makeup of the Portuguese and Spanish vocabulary lists on which the analysis is based, I decided to respect the sources and let these guide the setup of vocabularies. This means that, instead of starting with existing surfing concepts (in practice, the English terms) and checking the Portuguese and Spanish equivalents for each concept, the lists include all the expressions found in the Portuguese and Spanish material. Accordingly, the vocabularies of the two languages do not coincide completely, but rather include different items to a certain degree. Since I used the same amount of web pages, and a similar amount of surf contest broadcast, this is an empirically more truthful option and avoids the problem of (possibly) forcing the issue by tracking and listing ‘translations’ of English concepts into Portuguese and Spanish.

In any case, in the detailed analysis (see section5) I have taken the liberty to report on the existence of additional expressions from outside the data set based on other sources (WhatsApp conversations, books, videos, personal knowledge). For example, when a given expression is only found in the data set of one of the languages, but is in general use in both, I will comment on this by mentioning the term in question. The quantitative data presented are, however, restricted to expressions found in the listed sources.

The analysis of the terms and expressions of the two data sets was done in two successive steps. First, the surfing concepts were divided into nine categories designating:³

- **actions and activities:** *to paddle out, catch a wave, wipe-out, etc.*
- **the surfboard:** *rocker, front, tail, softboard, fish, etc.*

- **surfing competitions:** QS, CT, heats, rounds, scores, etc.
- other **concepts** related to the world of surfing: *shaka, Aloha, priority, back and front side*, etc.
- surfing **conditions:** *glassy, overhead, onshore, offshore*, etc.
- surfing **equipment:** *leash, wax, board bag, wet suit*, etc.
- surfing **manoeuvres:** *cutback, tube ride, snap, bottom-turn*, etc.
- **people**, e.g. kinds of surfers: *pro, grommet, bro(ther), ripper*, etc.
- **waves:** *barrels, white water, lip, set wave*, etc.

Second, within and across each of these nine conceptual categories, all expressions in the inventory were classified according to the following criteria:

- language (English, Portuguese/Spanish, other = Hawaiian)
- true or false Anglicism
- kind of loanword: direct loan; loan translation; own expression; and general expression

The first step of this second classification was to determine whether the expressions were loanwords or not, that is, the English terms were separated from the Portuguese and Spanish ones. The English terms were then classified as either false or true Anglicisms (see Furiassi & Gottlieb, 2015). The false Anglicisms, however, were so few that this criterion is not explicitly addressed in the analysis. Finally, the expressions were divided into direct loans, loan translations, own expressions and general expressions. Together with the nine expression classes, these four expression types constitute the main dimensions of the analysis (see section 3.2, above; here I have added the fourth type of General expressions). The direct loans correspond to the English as well as the few Hawaiian terms, whereas the Portuguese and Spanish terms were assigned to one of the three remaining types.

The loan translations, naturally enough, have a clearly English origin and can be direct translations (*pillar olas/apanhar ondas* ‘to catch waves’), cognate forms (*manobra/maniobra* ‘manoeuvre’) or hybrid forms (*surfista* ‘surfer’). The difference between own expressions and general expressions is based on the observation that some of the Portuguese and Spanish terms acquire a specific meaning in the context of surfing, e.g. Portuguese *leque* ‘spray [of water produced when performing a surfing manoeuvre pushing water over the top of the wave]’ or Spanish *comer* ‘to take one on the head [used to refer to a situation in which a surfer gets overrun by a big wave]’. The general expressions maintain their meaning in the surfing context: Spanish *frenar* ‘to brake’ or Portuguese *mergulhar* ‘to dive’.

Finally, it needs to be acknowledged that the difference between what I have called loan translations and own expressions is not always clear-cut. The main criteria used to separate the two was by assuring that, in the loan translations, the semantic structure of the English expression is, in some way, visible in the PT/SP expression. In

the own expressions, on the other hand, the concept referred to is not based on English. This is shown in examples (3) to (6):

Loan translations

(3) *bomba* 'bomb'; 360 > Same word (=cognates) – same, transferred meaning

(4) PT *levar ondas na cabeça* 'to take one on the head', *ser agarrado* 'to be caught' > literal translation = Different words — same semantics

Own expressions

(5) PT/SP *quilha/quilla* 'fin' > own word in ES/PT and EN – specific, surfing-related meaning = REUSE

(6) PT *varrer* 'to sweep > clean-up wave' > own, non-equivalent word – new, surfing-related meaning = NEW COINAGE

In (3) and (4), the Portuguese and Spanish expressions mirror the English originals, either directly as cognate forms (*bomba*, 360), or indirectly, as loan translations (*levar ondas na cabeça* and *ser agarrado*), whereas in (5) and (6) *quilha/quilla* and *varrer* are Portuguese/Spanish words which are used in a sense which is unmodified by the English equivalent, while acquiring a specific surfing-related meaning. *Quilha/quilla* is a term used to designate the keel of a boat or ship, so the sense is quite naturally extended to the fins of a surfboard. *Varrer* 'to sweep' is a Portuguese metaphor, whereby the action of the wave mirrors the sweeping action of a broom. Although cleaning part of the metaphor is common to both Portuguese and English, the elements seem separate enough not to consider the case of *varrer* a loan translation.⁴ As this last example shows, however, the distinction between loan translations and own expressions is not always obvious, a fact that must be kept in mind in the analysis.

5. Analysis: Talking about surfing using surfing concepts

In this section I present the results of the analysis of the roughly 200 concepts central to surfing identified for this study. As illustrated above, the concepts were grouped into nine surf-related classes (actions, boards, manoeuvres, waves, etc.) as well as four expression types (direct loans, loan translations, own expressions, and general expressions). The overall distribution of the surfing concepts in Portuguese and Spanish are displayed in Tables 1 and 2, with a short, comparative summary in Table 3.

Class / Type	Direct loan	Loan translation	Own expression	General expression	Sum	%
Actions	4	11	12	9	36	14%
Board	9	3	6	1	19	7%
Competition	13	7	1	7	28	11%
Concepts	11	6	0	0	17	6%
Conditions	23	7	11	8	49	18%
Equipment	6	2	1	3	12	5%

Manoeuvres	10	11	9	1	31	12%
People	13	2	14	4	33	12%
Waves	9	18	10	3	40	15%
Sum	98	67	64	36	265	100%
%	37%	25%	24%	14%	–	

Table 1. Distribution of surfing concepts and loan types in Portuguese

Class / Type	Direct loan	Loan translation	Own expression	General expression	Sum	%
Actions	2	13	6	4	27	13%
Board	14	2	7	0	23	12%
Competition	1	2	1	7	11	6%
Concepts	3	5	2	1	11	6%
Conditions	19	3	9	6	37	19%
Equipment	2	1	3	0	6	3%
Manoeuvres	12	12	0	1	26	13%
People	5	3	2	5	15	8%
Waves	4	21	15	0	41	21%
Sum	62	64	45	24	195	100%
%	32%	33%	23%	13%	–	

Table 2. Distribution of surfing concepts and loan types in Spanish

Class / Type	Direct loan	Loan translation	Own expression	General expression	Sum
Portuguese	98 / 37%	67 / 25%	64 / 24%	36 / 14%	265
Spanish	62 / 32%	64 / 33%	45 / 23%	24 / 12%	195

Table 3. Comparison of loan types in Portuguese and Spanish
(X-squared = 2.2793, df = 3, p-value = 0.5165)

As the comparative figures in Table 3 indicate, there are no substantial differences in the presence of direct loans, loan translations and own or general expressions in the Portuguese and Spanish surfing vocabularies. It can, of course, be noted that there are somewhat more direct loans and own expressions in Portuguese and more loan translations in Spanish, but the figures are not statistically significant.

Formally, the surfing terms belong to four different word classes, nouns, verbs, adjectives and more complex phrasal expressions. Unsurprisingly, the nouns constitute the great majority, representing 70 per cent of all the terms in Portuguese, and 67 per

cent in Spanish. The nouns are followed by the verbs, 18 per cent in Portuguese and 15 per cent in Spanish, whereas the adjectives amount to nine and twelve per cent, respectively. The phrasal expressions, such as *Está entrando mar* ‘There’s a swell coming in’, make up only two per cent in Portuguese and six per cent in Spanish. There are hence no differences worth mentioning between the two languages when it comes to word classes.

Despite the lack of differences between the two languages on a general level, the minute counts referring to the different classes of surfing concepts show certain differences. For example, Portuguese possesses a significant amount of own expressions for talking about manoeuvres, which do not seem to have a counterpart in Spanish (10 vs. 0 cases in Tables 1 and 2).

Taking the two loan categories together, as shown in Table 4, there are differences between Portuguese and Spanish as to where most loan words are used. For example, Spanish uses more loans in the Actions and Manoeuvres classes, whereas there is a higher percentage of loans in the Competition, Concepts and Equipment classes in Portuguese. This difference seems to be statistically significant. The figures in Table 4 also reveal that the classes with most loan words in Spanish do not coincide with the ones in Portuguese: in Spanish above average loans are found in the Board, Concepts, Manoeuvres and Waves classes. In Portuguese, there are most loans in the Competition, Concepts, Equipment, Manoeuvres and Waves classes. There thus seems to be a difference between the two languages also in the Board and the Equipment classes.

Loan words	Portuguese	Spanish
Actions	15 / 42%	15 / 60%
Board	12 / 63%	16 / 70%
Competition	20 / 71%	3 / 27%
Concepts	6 / 100%	8 / 73%
Conditions	30 / 61%	22 / 59%
Equipment	8 / 67%	3 / 50%
Manoeuvres	21 / 68%	25 / 96%
People	15 / 45%	8 / 53%
Waves	27 / 68%	26 / 63%
Average	165 / 65%	121 / 61%

Table 4. Comparison of loan word percentage across classes of surfing terms in Portuguese and Spanish (X-squared = 17.464, df = 8, p-value = 0.02562)

Furthermore, within the direct loans, Spanish seems to use more Anglicisms for naming boards (14 to 9) and manoeuvres (12 to 10), whereas in Portuguese parts of the Competition (12 to 1), People (13 to 1) and Waves (9 to 4) are more often referred to with Anglicisms. Similarly, in Portuguese the Action (13 to 6), Manoeuvres (10 to 0) and People (12 to 2) classes include more Own expressions than in Spanish. In Spanish, own Board (7 to 6) and Waves (9 to 8) terms are more frequent than in Portuguese (see Tables 1 and 2).

Finally, beyond the comparison of the two languages, Tables 1 and 2 also show that some classes include more direct loans than others. For example, the concepts used for describing the surfing conditions amount to over 25 per cent of all direct loans (i.e. Anglicisms). The Board and Manoeuvres classes also show higher than average numbers of direct loans. When it comes to loan translations, the Action and Manoeuvres classes excel, with proportions above 20 per cent. Also, of all terms used to name different kinds of surfing equipment, almost 50 per cent are of foreign origin (direct loans, 8/18 expressions).

As the above discussion of the general findings shows, there are several interesting observations to be made when looking at the different loan types and classes of surfing expressions. In what follows, I will comment on each of the nine classes of expressions, contrasting the two languages and the kinds of loans and expressions used. Within each subsection there will also be space to present and comment on the vocabulary items in greater detail.

5.1. Surfing actions

The first of the nine classes of surfing terms, the surfing actions is one of the four classes with most terms. In both Portuguese and Spanish, the action terms amount to around 14 per cent of the expressions included in the two datasets. In general, it is also clear that the direct loans have a low presence among the terms used to describe surfing actions (only 10%, 6/61 terms), whereas the loan translations make up a considerable part (25/61, or 40%). Although, in general, there are no statistically significant differences in the use of direct loans or loan translations between the two languages, most action terms in Spanish are loan translations (52%, 13/25), whereas in Portuguese the own expressions are the most numerous type (39%, 14/36).

Actions term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
to pump	<u>dar passadas</u>	hacer pumps , bombear
wipe out	wipe out , <u>vaca</u> , <u>caldo</u>	wipe out , <u>revolcón</u>
to pull out	<u>sair</u>	<u>salir</u>
to take (one/a series) on the head	<u>levar/pegar/tomar</u> <u>ondas/uma na cabeça</u>	<u>comer</u> , <u>caerte una en</u> <u>la cabeza</u>
to position oneself	<u>manter o posicionamento</u>	<u>posicionarse</u>
to catch waves	<u>pegar/apanhar ondas</u>	<u>pillar/coger olas</u>
to paddle	<u>remar</u> , <u>ter remada</u>	<u>remar</u> , <u>tener remada</u>

Table 6. Shared surfing action terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As Table 6 shows, there is only one direct loan which is shared by both languages, *wipe out*, the main term used to refer to a surfer falling off the board while

surfing. Both languages have home-made synonyms for this concept, though: there is Spanish *revolcón*, a derivation based on the verb *revolcar* ‘to turn over, fall’, and Portuguese surf slang terms *caldo* ‘lit. soup’ and *vaca* ‘lit. cow’. Apart from *wipe out*, Spanish also includes the Anglicism *pump(s)*, used in combination with light verb *hacer* ‘to do’ to form a complex verbal predicate; the Portuguese equivalent uses only domestic terms: light verb *dar* ‘to give’ in combination with *passadas* ‘steps’, yielding the same meaning of stepping on the surfboard, pumping it, in order to create more speed. Spanish *bombear* is a derived verb based directly on English *to pump*.

Shared loan translations include the use of the verb *saír/salir* to render the idea of *pulling out*, or moving out of a wave, and the act of catching waves is also translated into both Portuguese and Spanish by verbs largely equivalent to English *catch*: Spanish *pillar* ‘to catch (in the act)’ and *coger* ‘to take, grab’, and Portuguese *pegar/apanhar* ‘to grab, catch’. Also the concept of taking a wave on the head, i.e. when a surfer is unable to pass either over or beneath an approaching (usually big and powerful) wave and gets smashed by it, is rendered in Portuguese and Spanish by similar light verbs roughly equivalent to English *to take*, i.e. *levar* ‘to take (with)’/*pegar* ‘to grab, catch’/*tomar* ‘to take’ in Portuguese, and *caerle* ‘to fall on someone’ in Spanish. *Comer* in Spanish is a figurative use of a verb meaning ‘to eat’.

Finally, the verb *remar* and the derived action noun *remada*, which can be made into a complex predicate, *tener/ter remada*, in combination with light verb *ter/tener* ‘to have’, are used in both Portuguese and Spanish to refer to different aspects of paddling. *Remar*, of course, is not a verb which is specific to surfing, just as English *to paddle*, but the expression *ter remada* ‘to have a good arms for paddling’ gets close. *Remada* can be used quite freely in order to create other expressions, such as *essa foi uma boa remada* ‘that was a good paddle’ or *¡Buah! ¡Qué remada más dura!* ‘Pff, what a tough paddle that was!’

Outside the set of shared terms referring to actions, there are *surfear*, *cazar olas*, *agarrar velocidad*, *combinar maniobras*, *buscar sección*, *navegar el tubo*, and *leer la ola* in Spanish, which all mirror English expressions. In Portuguese, *ser agarrado*, *pegar umas bombas* and *pular de cabeça* similarly echo English expressions. Although these expressions are only found in either Portuguese or Spanish, they have very similar equivalents in the other language. For example, Spanish verb *surfear*, built on English *to surf* with the main verb creating suffix *-ear*, is echoed by Portuguese *surfear*, which includes the suffix *-ar*. Something similar applies to the rest of the expressions: *cazar olas* ~ *caçar ondas* ‘to chase waves’; *agarrar velocidad* ~ *pegar velocidade* ‘to catch speed’; *combinar maniobras* ~ *combinar manobras* ‘to combine manoeuvres’; *buscar uma seção* ~ *procurar uma secção* ‘to look for a section’, *navegar el tubo* ~ *navegar (n) o tubo* ‘to navigate (within) the tube(ride)’ and *leer la ola* ~ *ler a onda* ‘to read the wave’. Conversely, *ser agarrado* ~ *quedar atrapado* ‘to get caught (inside); *pegar umas bombas* ~ *coger unas bombas* ‘to catch some bombs’ and *pular de cabeça* ~ *tirarse de cabeza* ‘to jump head first’.

If the loanwords are, actually, very similar in the two languages, there are more differences among the own expressions. The idiomatic use of Spanish verb *comer* ‘to

eat' was already mentioned, but it is accompanied by three verbs which do not mirror English expressions, nor are they found, as such, in Portuguese: *deslizarse por la pared* (*de la ola*), *entrar en el pico* and *remontar*. The verb *deslizarse* seems to be a Spanish equivalent, but not a loan translation, to the English verb *ride* which is used to characterize the surfer's movement along the face of a wave. The calque *cabalgar una ola* is sometimes used in Spanish, especially in translations (e.g. in the 2004 movie *Chasing giants*), but it does not occur in my dataset and I have never encountered it in spontaneous conversation, most likely because it feels much less idiomatic than *deslizarse*. A Portuguese alternative to Spanish *deslizarse* seems to be *descer* 'to descend', which is included in my dataset. *Remontar* 'lit. re-climb' refers to the act of paddling out into the line-up, where, before actually catching the waves, the surfer enters the line-up, i.e. *entrar en el pico*.

As stated above, the own expressions found in Portuguese are more numerous than in Spanish. They are also more varied, as the following list shows: *arrebentar* 'to rip, surf really well', *surcar* 'to cut across', *elevador* 'elevator', *me quebrei* 'I sucked', *rabear* 'to drop in on someone, i.e. to steal their wave', *rabuda* 'robbed wave', and *varrer* 'to clean up'. All of these expressions have their origins outside the world of surfing, but have idiomatic uses for surfing activities. *Arrebentar* is an interesting case, since this verb shares the same base as the nouns *rebentação* and *arrebentação* which refer to the breaking of the waves (see Section 5.9. below). Semantically, *arrebentar* 'explode, to break with violence' is also closely related to English *rip*, and this parallel can be an explanation for it being used to refer to explosive and impressive surfing, just like English *rip* in a surfing context.

The expressions *rabear* and *rabudo* also merit a comment, both being derivations build on the base *rabo* 'tail'. The derived nominal *rabudo* includes the suffix *-udo*, indicating 'someone with a X (tail in this case)' and carrying negative connotations (i.e. carrying a tail is not seen as a positive feature). So, the terms is well suited to refer to the action of having robbed a wave from someone, a feat which is clearly outside the rules of good surfing. The verb *rabear* literally means 'move the tail', which in the case of dropping in on another person's wave, is, in a sense, inverted, since when you drop in on someone, you normally jump out in front of that person, not behind. In any case, the idea of a 'tail' is perfectly compatible with one surfer, unduly, getting onto the wave of another. The final term I want to discuss in this section is the verb *varrer* 'to sweep', which is imported to the surfing scene from the world of cleaning. This means that the same metaphor as in the English expression *clean-up wave* is involved also in the Portuguese expression, although in a different manner. What the big wave that cleans up the line-up where the surfers are sitting does in Portuguese is, quite simply, to sweep that area clean.

Another metaphor is involved in the expression *elevador* 'elevator', which is used to refer to the up-and-down-movement typical of an elevator which a surfer experiences when passing a big oncoming wave, going up on the front side of it, and down again on the back side after passing the crest. The term *surcar* appears to be a

phonetic variant of the verb *sulcar* ‘to open up; plow’, and makes reference to the surfer cutting through a certain part of the wave.

5.2. The surfboard

The second class of expressions are the ones which make reference to the surfboard or parts of it. Compared to the surfing actions, the board terms are loaned to an even higher degree, reaching 70 per cent in Portuguese and almost 75 per cent in Spanish. Apart from this, there are few differences between the two languages when it comes to the board terms. Table 7 presents the terms used to refer to nine board concepts which are found in the inventories of both languages.

Board term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
board	<i>prancha</i>	<i>tabla</i>
longboard	<i>longboard</i> , <u><i>pranchão</i></u>	<i>longboard</i> , <u><i>tablón</i></u>
ding	<u><i>bolha</i></u>	<i>ding</i>
grip, deck	<i>grip</i> , <i>gripdeck</i> , <i>astrodeck</i> , <i>traction</i>	<i>deck</i>
gun	<i>gun</i>	<i>gun</i> , <u><i>pincho</i></u>
nose	<i>nose</i> , <i>bico</i>	<i>nose</i>
outline	<i>outline</i>	<i>outline</i>
tail	<i>tail</i> , <u><i>copinho</i></u> , <i>rabeta</i>	<i>tail</i>
rail	<i>rail</i> , <u><i>borda</i></u>	<i>rail</i> , <i>reil</i> , <u><i>borde</i></u>
evolution (board)	<i>evolution</i>	<i>evolutiva</i>
fin(s)	<u><i>quilha(s)</i></u>	<u><i>quilla(s)</i></u>

Table 7. Shared board terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As Table 7 shows, most of the shared board terms are direct loans which are found in exactly the same form in both Portuguese and Spanish. The only exception is the expression *ding*, which is used in Spanish while Portuguese prefers the own expression *bolha*. The own expressions also coincide to a great degree, whereas the loan translations are slightly different. For example, apart from the shared loan translation *prancha* and *tabla*, which reflect English *board*, in Portuguese we find loan translations for both the nose and the tail of the board in *bico* and *rabeta*. In Spanish these concepts are rendered as direct loans, but instead an adapted version *evolutiva* is used for the English term *evolution*, a terms use to name a kind of board used by people who are learning to surf. Among the own expressions the augmentatives *pranchão* and *tablón* are noteworthy, as home-made derivations based on the standard *board*-terms used to refer to the bigger board called *longboard*. Also *quilha/quilla* and *borda/borde* are own expressions lacking a direct counterpart in English *fin* and *rail*. Apart from these expressions, Portuguese includes the terms, *copinho* ‘tail’ which has no equivalent in

Spanish; but Spanish introduces the own term *pincho* to refer to the big board called *gun* in English which is used to surf big waves.

Apart from the shared board terms, both languages showcase a certain number of expressions which are not found in the other. Among the direct loans, there are the terms *fish (thruster)* and *thruster*, *funboard*, *Mini-Malibu*, and *morey doyle*, which make reference to specific kinds of surf boards, in Spanish. A parallel direct loan in Portuguese is *hot dog*, which refers to a particular kind of small board. Outside the realm of board types, there are the terms *rocker*, *shape* in Spanish which are not found as such in the Portuguese dataset.

Only the Spanish vocabulary includes the loan translations *cera* and *corta*, mirroring English *wax* and ‘short board’. The term *cera* is also used in Portuguese, although it is not found in the inventory. The adjective *corta* is based on the English model *shortboard*, with the nominal element left out. This is the same situation that can also be observed with *evolutiva*, which retains only the adjective of the N+A combination. Among the own expressions, Spanish *corcho* is worth mentioning, referring to what in English is called *bodyboard*, making use of the material out of which this kind of board is often made. In Portuguese, the term *tocossauro*, including the ending *-sauro*, is used to refer to an old and worn-out surfboard.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that Portuguese *borda* seems to be used in two senses. On the one hand, it is used to refer to the rail of the surfboard, a use classified as an own expression. On the other hand, in the expression *uma borda mais grossa* ‘a thicker board’, *borda* seems to refer to the surfboard, in which case it corresponds to a loan translation, calquing the English *board* with its cognate form *borda* in Portuguese.

5.3. Surfing competitions

Another important class of surfing expressions are the ones which make reference to different elements of the surfing competitions. This is one of the classes where there is big difference in the number of expressions included in the two datasets, Portuguese presenting more than twice as many terms as Spanish. As a consequence, there are many more direct loans and loan translations in Portuguese (see Tables 1, 2, 4 in section 5.1. above). For example, Spanish only includes one direct loan and two loan translations against 13 and seven in Portuguese. For the same reason, there are only three concepts which are shared by the two languages. Of the four terms referring to these three concepts, there is one direct loan (in bold), one loan translation and two own expressions (underlined) in Spanish, whereas in Portuguese there are two direct loans and one loan translation and own expression:

- Spanish ***heat*** and *manga* vs. Portuguese ***heat*** and *bateria* for ‘heat’;
- Spanish *calificación de respaldo* and Portuguese ***back up*** for ‘back up score’;
- Spanish *calificación* vs. Portuguese *nota* for ‘score’.

The only remaining loan translation in Spanish is *batalla* ‘fight’, which is not really a term unique to surfing but a more general sports term. In fact, seven out of the eleven competition expressions in Spanish are general sports terms: *calificación* ‘score’, *clasificación* ‘classification’, *eliminar* ‘to beat/eliminate someone’, *final*, *formato doble* ‘double format’ and *mejorar una calificación* ‘to improve a score’. Also in Portuguese are there general sports competitions expressions used in a surfing context: *atuação* ‘performance’, *campeonato* ‘event’, *campeão mundial* ‘world champion’, *liderança* ‘leader(ship)’, *patrocinador* ‘sponsor’ and *vaga do ranking* ‘empty spot in the ranking’.

Furthermore, direct English loans which are found only in the Portuguese dataset are: *lay day*, *expression session*, *performance*, *ranking*, *round*, and *wild card*. As with Spanish *batalla*, which translates English *fight*, the Portuguese expressions are not all specific to surfing but used in other sports competitions as well. The same applies to the loan translations, which include expressions such as *perna europeia* ‘European leg’, *brigar pelo título* ‘to fight for the title’, *passar baterias* ‘to make it through heats’, *estar na disputa* ‘to be in the contest’, *encarimar o lugar no CT* ‘to stamp a seat on the C(hampionship) T(our)’, and *janela* ‘(event) window’.

5.4. Surfing concepts

The common denominator for the terms included in the class called surfing concepts is that they express concepts that are central to surfing (without fitting in any of the other classes). It is hardly surprising to find that the great majority of these expressions are loans, either direct ones or loan translations. In the Portuguese data set there are no own expressions categorized as concepts, whereas in Spanish two out of nine are Spanish phrases referring to surfing: *una y me salgo* ‘one more and I’m out’ and *¿tienes algo de parafina?* ‘do you have some wax?’

As the concepts are a heterogeneous class of expressions, there are few shared concepts. Among the three I have found, two are direct loans, *back side* and *front side*, and one is a loan translation, *prioridade/prioridad*, in Portuguese and Spanish, respectively. The two first expressions refer to how the surfer is riding a wave, either facing it (*front side*) or with her/his back on it (*back side*), whereas the concept of *priority* is just as central to surfing as yielding to a car approaching from the right is to right-hand side traffic. According to the unwritten rules of surfing, a surfer who is already riding a way, having stood up closer to the peak, always has priority over one who tries to catch the wave at a later point.

Among the surfing concepts only found in Spanish two adjectives stand out: *stoked* and *épico* (loan translation), both with inherited meaning but with an unadapted and an adapted form. Both adjectives refer to positive vibes and sensations related to surfing. Someone who is stoked is, simply, very happy, and this sensation is often connected with the conditions being epic, that is, of high class. There are many things which may be epic: the conditions, a specific surfing session, the preview, an event, and so on. Although *épico* is only found in the Spanish dataset, it is also used in Portuguese with much the same sense(s). In Spanish, *épico* is much more frequently used than the

direct loan *stoked*, which, being an adjective, is more difficult to introduce into normal conversation. The last Spanish surfing concept is *tribu del surf*, a calque of English *surf tribe*.

In Portuguese, both the direct loans and the loan translations are more frequent than in Spanish. Among the direct loans we find expressions of two kinds: on the one hand there are basic Anglicisms such as *quiver*, *surf trip*, and *estar show*. On the other, there are false Anglicisms such as *aloha* ‘welcome, farewell, good wishes’, *aloha spirit*, *mahalo* ‘thank you’, and *shaka* (presumably of Japanese origin, but rooted in Hawaii), which are Hawaiian in origin but have arrived in Spanish through English (cf. *OED*).

5.5. Surfing conditions

When talking about surfing, the conditions are key, for obvious reasons. If the conditions are not right, there is no surfing or the surf session is a waste of time. The class of surf conditions is the one that contains the most terms in both Portuguese and Spanish, with 18 and 19 per cent, respectively. It is also the class with the most direct loans (around 50 per cent, with 22/48 in Portuguese and 19/38 in Spanish). The 16 shared terms are presented in Table 8.

Conditions term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
beach break	<i>beach break</i>	<i>beach break</i>
bottom	<i>bottom</i> , <u><i>fundo</i></u>	<i>bottom</i> , <u><i>fondo</i></u>
choppy	<i>choppy</i>	<i>choppy</i>
crowd	<i>crowd</i>	<i>crowd</i>
flat	<i>flat</i>	<i>plato</i> , <i>mar plato</i>
glass	<i>glass</i>	<i>glassy</i> , <u><i>sin viento</i></u>
line up	<i>line up</i>	<i>line up</i>
offshore	<i>offshore</i>	<i>offshore</i>
onshore	<i>onshore</i>	<i>onshore</i>
outside	<i>outside</i>	<i>outside</i>
point	<i>point</i>	<i>point</i>
point break	<i>point break</i>	<i>point break</i>
reef	<i>reef</i>	<i>reef</i>
reef break	<i>reef break</i>	<i>reef break</i>
spot	<i>spot</i>	<i>spot</i>
swell	<i>swell</i>	<i>swell</i>
messy	<i>mexido</i>	<i>messy</i> , <i>mezclado</i> , <u><i>revuelto</i></u> , <u><i>tocado</i></u>

Table 8. Shared conditions terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As Table 8 indicates, the terms referring to surfing conditions which appear in the datasets of both Portuguese and Spanish are almost identical in both languages, with

the direct loans constituting the great majority. The only differences are the expressions *flat*, i.e. an ocean with no waves whatsoever, where Portuguese uses the English term whereas Spanish has two translations: *plato* and more explicit *mar plato*; and *messy*, referring to an ocean with unorganized waves, affected by the wind, leading to bad surfing conditions, where the Portuguese data only includes the loan translation *mexido*, whereas Spanish, besides the equivalent loan translation to Portuguese *mexido*, i.e. *mezclado*, has both the Anglicism *messy* and two own expressions: (*mar*) *revuelto y tocado* ('unorganized' and 'touched', respectively).

Although the great majority of direct loans are shared by both languages, there are a few direct loans in each language which are not encountered in the other. These are *cross shore*, *inside*, *secret point*, *secret spot*, *storm* and *gringo* in Portuguese, and *outline* and *side shore* in Spanish. Curiously, *cross* and *side shore* are almost synonyms, referring to a wind blowing neither on nor off shore (i.e. towards or away from the beach) but from either side (*cross* or *side*). It is also probably due to the configuration of the data set that *inside* is not encountered in Spanish (while *outside* is, see Table 8). The absence of *secret point* or *secret spot* in Spanish is also probably a question of the data set, since both *point* and *spot* are used. For *storm* the own expression *temporal* is often used in Spanish (although it is not included in the data set); indeed, as a general term with little special surfing meaning added to it, it makes little sense to borrow it.

Finally, the Portuguese expression *está gringo* 'it's pumping' warrants a comment. The originally Spanish loanword *gringo*, which is used to refer to excellent surfing conditions when the waves are 'pumping' and surf is on, can probably be considered a false Anglicism, since the term seems to be ironically motivated. *Gringo*, as is well known, is a Spanish euphemism frequently used in Latin America to refer to US tourists and white people in general (see *DRAE* and *DPLP*, v.g. *gringo*). The move from a pejorative meaning to a positive, jocular one is not hard to imagine: since surfing is an importation from the Anglophone world, good surfing has long been associated with famous US regions such as California and Hawaii, i.e. where the gringos come from. As a consequence, up until five years ago, when Brazilian surfer Gabriel Medina became the first non-Anglo world champion of surfing in 2014, almost all world-famous surfers were either of Australian, Hawaiian or US origins (see World surf league for statistics). So, from a Latin American, and more precisely Brazilian, perspective, what comes from the US, i.e. is *gringo*, and is related to surfing, must be of high quality. Hence, the originally pejorative *gringo* can be used in several positive contexts: *a prancha é gringa*, *o surf dele é de gringo*, etc. (cf. Lobo, 2009).

When it comes to loan translations, there are only three cases in Spanish, all included in Table 8 (*mezclado*, *mar plato*, *plato*). But in Portuguese, apart from *mexido* 'messy' included in Table 8, there are six further terms which calque English expressions: *bancada* '(sand)bank', (*mar*) *grande* 'big swell', *direção da ondulação* 'swell direction', *direção ideal* 'ideal (swell) direction', *a linha de rebentação* 'line up', and *clássico* 'classic (conditions)'. Three of these are adjectives, *grande*, *ideal* and *clássico*, which are obviously used in Portuguese outside the world of surfing as well. However, in the context of surfing, one can consider *big swell*, *ideal swell direction* and

classic conditions semi-fixed expressions, or collocations, with a specific meaning. This gives them a different status, which is shown also in the Portuguese terms, where the N+A combinations are highly reminiscent of the English collocations. The remaining three nominal compounds also mirror English complex concepts which are typical for talking about surfing conditions, which is why they are included here: *bancada de areia*, *direção da ondulação*, and *linha de rebentação*.

The own expressions show even larger differences between the two languages. The datasets include ten expressions in Portuguese and nine in Spanish, none of which coincide. Apart from the expressions themselves being different, there is also a difference in the kind of expressions—in Portuguese all ten terms are words (nouns or adjectives) which have been reused, acquiring a special sense in the context of surfing, whereas in Spanish there are only four such reused expressions, the remaining five being new expressions with specific reference to surfing. The expressions in question are presented in Table 9.

Expression type	Portuguese	Spanish
Reused	<i>noronha</i> , <i>mormaço</i> , <i>marola</i> , <i>terral</i> , (<i>mar</i>) <i>forte</i>	<i>merreca</i> , <i>maral</i> , <i>maroleiro</i> , <i>demarcação</i> , (<i>surf</i>) <i>gordo</i>
New	–	<i>tocado</i> , <i>revuelto</i> , <i>bañazo</i> , <i>está</i> <i>entrando mar</i> <i>rompebrazos</i> , <i>salen</i> <i>tubos</i> , <i>alguna sale</i> , <i>baño</i> <i>quitamonos</i> , <i>está para corto</i>

Table 9. Own expression for surfing conditions in Portuguese and Spanish

Among the Portuguese terms, there are two morphologically and semantically related pairs, *maral* – *terral* and *marola* – *maroleiro*. The first two are home-made equivalents—derived from the words *mar* ‘sea’ and *terra* ‘land’, respectively—of the English concepts *onshore* and *offshore* when referring to the direction of the wind. The root *mar* seems to be involved also in the pair *marola* – *maroleiro*, the noun *marola* referring to small conditions, i.e. a sea with small, barely surfable waves. Its derivative, the adjective *maroleiro* enhances the negative connotations of small conditions, and can be used to refer to unsurfable conditions, in general. The three expressions *noronha* ‘bad spot’, *merreca* ‘small and unimpressive conditions’ and *mormaço* ‘crowded, packed’, also bear negative connotations, which can be inferred especially by the derivative suffixes *-ca* and *-aço*. They are, however, also used outside the world of surfing, with similar meanings: *merreca* (adj.) ‘very small, unimpressive’, *mormaço* ‘excessive heat; excessively hot day’ and *noronha* ‘nickname, apellative’.

The remaining three expressions, *demarcação* ‘lines’, *forte* ‘strong’, and *gordo* ‘big, fat’, include a general noun which has a particular interpretation when referring to the wave lines one can see on the sea. *Forte* and *gordo* are highly frequent adjectives,

which acquire a particular meaning when applied to surfing conditions: *um mar gordo*, lit. a fat sea refers to big conditions, with massive waves, whereas *um surf forte* makes references to a strong, impressive surfing performance.

As stated above, among the Spanish expressions there are four which are reused in the surfing context: the adjectives *tocado* ‘touched’ and *revuelto* ‘unordered, unruly’ have already been referred to in Table 8, above. *Rompebrazos* ‘arm-breaker’ seems to be a new coinage, making explicit reference to surfing conditions so hard that the paddling effort is harsh enough to ‘break your arms’. The phrase *está entrando mar*, on the other hand, makes use of the general verb *entrar* ‘to enter, come in’, which in combination with *mar* makes reference to an approaching swell, that is, the building up of bigger, more challenging waves (cf. the mention of Portuguese *entrar* with a similar, approaching meaning in relation to the noun *waves* in Section 5.9. below). The idea, here, is that *entra mar* ‘a swell is approaching’ makes up a specific, complex concept in the world of surfing, the building up of bigger surfing conditions, which is why this expression has been classified as pertaining to the class of Conditions.

The six remaining expressions, which have been characterized as new expressions (in contrary to the reused ones), make reference to quite heterogeneous aspects of surfing conditions. There are three phrasal and three nominal expressions. Two of the phrases include the verb *salir* ‘to go out’, *salen tubos y alguna sale*, making reference to the fact that there are either ‘barrels’ or ‘(some) waves’ on offer. *Está para corto* ‘It’s good for (a) short (wetsuit)’ includes the truncated term *corto*, based on the compound *traje (de neopreno) corto* ‘short(-sleeved) wetsuit’, and makes reference to conditions in which the water has, finally, after a long winter, become warm enough.

Two of the three nominal expressions, *bañazo* and *baño quitamonos* include the noun *baño* ‘bath’, which is used idiomatically in Spanish to refer to a surfing session. When used with the augmentative suffix *-azo* it refers to a good session, where a surfer has performed well and is stoked, or highly pleased with her/himself. Another form of surfing session is *baño quitamonos*, where the compound *quitamonos—quitar* ‘get rid of’ and *mono* ‘urge to do something’—makes reference to ‘a session where one has finally managed to get rid of a pressing need to surf after a long wave-less period’.

5.6. Surfing equipment

Besides the surfboard, there are a number of other items which are involved in the surfing activity, such as board bags, wetsuits, and so on. As shown in the general tables presented above, the equipment terms are relatively few, especially in Spanish, where only five concepts are found compared to eleven in Portuguese. As such, there is only one shared concept in the respective vocabularies, *leash*, i.e. the strap which attaches the surfboard to the surfer’s leg:

- (1) Portuguese: *leash, shop, strap, fio*
- (2) Spanish: *leash, agarradera, invento*

As the expressions in a) indicate, both languages use several terms to refer to the same concept. In Portuguese three different direct loans as well as one own expressions are used; this can be compared to one direct loan in Spanish, accompanied by two own expressions. In Peninsular Spanish, the own term *invento* is the most frequently used.

Apart from the leash, in the Spanish dataset there is only one other concept, i.e. *wax*, which is referred to either by the direct loan *wax* or by the own expression *parafina*. Often, a short version *parafa* can be heard in spontaneous conversation. Although neither term is listed, as such, in the Portuguese dataset, both are used indirectly (in the explanations of other terms), meaning that one can talk about *wax* and *parafina* in Portuguese just as well as in Spanish.

On the other hand, although only the Portuguese data set includes terms for the wetsuit, direct loans *john*, and *longjohn* as well as the loan translation *fato* ‘suit’, the concept obviously exists in Spanish as well: the hybrid expression *traje de neopreno* ‘neoprene suit’, consisting of the loan translation *traje* ‘suit’ combined with the morphologically adapted loan word *neopreno*, a term referring to the material used in manufacturing wetsuits. The wetsuit is often made reference to in a simplified manner, using either *el neopreno* or *el traje*, the last one mirroring Portuguese *fato*. Another related term which is only included in the Portuguese dataset is the direct loan *lycra* ‘rash guard’, a term referring to the material used for making the t-shirts used as protection when surfing without wetsuit; the same term is frequently used in Spanish as well: *licra* or *lycra*. The Portuguese dataset also includes a loan translation for the boardbag, *camisinha* ‘boardbag; condom’. This is an interesting case, being a translation of the English term *rubber* in the sense of ‘condom’. In the surfing context, however, only the boardbag sense is activated. The word play involved, however, may be seen as typical of surf lingo.

5.7. Surfing manoeuvres

The terms used to describe the several manoeuvres surfers perform while riding down the shoulder of a wave is the one class of expressions where there is a clear difference between Portuguese and Spanish. Although both languages share a similar number of direct loans and loan translations, in Spanish there are no own expressions for surfing manoeuvres, where the Portuguese data set includes ten. As will become evident shortly, Portuguese seems to have come up with a series of own terms which act as synonyms to the English loanwords, e.g. *cavada* for *bottom-turn*, *batida* for *re-entry* or *hack*, and *rascada* for a *carve*.

Manoeuvres (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
bottom-turn	<i>bottom turn</i> , <i>cavada</i>	<i>bottom turn</i>
cutback	<i>cutback</i>	<i>cutback</i>
Drop	<i>drop</i>	<i>drop</i>
floater	<i>floater</i>	<i>floater</i>

Manoeuvres (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
take-off	takeoff	takeoff
to be deep (in the barrel)	<i>estar deep</i>	<i>estar profundo</i>
360	<i>360^o</i>	<i>360 grados</i>
manoeuvre	<i>manobra</i>	<i>maniobra</i>
aerial	<i>aéreo</i>	<i>aéreo</i>
barrel, tuberide	<i>tubo</i>	<i>tubo</i>
great tuberide	<i>tubaço</i>	<i>tubazo</i>
to go to the air	<i>ir para o ar</i>	<i>ir al aire</i>
re-entry	<u><i>batida</i></u>	r(e)entry
behind the curtain	<u><i>dentro da bancada</i></u>	<i>detrás de la cortina</i>

Table 10. Shared manoeuvre terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

Table 10 lists the shared terms which are found in both languages, displaying two of the above home-made manoeuvre terms, *cavada* and *batida*, in Portuguese. A significant number of the basic surfing manoeuvres are referred to by using borrowed expressions, either direct loans or loan translations. Among these *take off*, *drop*, *bottom turn*, *cutback* and *tubo* need mentioning, since they are essential for surfing. The *take-off* is when a surfer stands up on his board, the *drop* refers to him/her riding down the wave for the first time, the *bottom turn* is the first turn the surfer makes in order to start following the shoulder of the wave, a *cutback* is the first major manoeuvre a surfer learns to do, implying a 180 degree turn towards the whitewater followed by another 180 degrees turn to start facing the shoulder of the wave again, drawing up the infinitum sign on the face of the wave. Finally, the *tube*, or barrel, is the most spectacular, advanced and dangerous manoeuvre of surfing. Among these basic manoeuvres, then, only Portuguese *cavada* stands out as an own expression among the Anglicisms.

Apart from the shared manoeuvre terms, the data sets of both languages present several direct loans and loan translations which are not encountered in the other language. Examples of Portuguese direct loans which, for some reason, are not found in the Spanish data set are *doggy door*, *drop in*, *grab rail* and *tail slide*, whereas the Spanish data includes *drop knee*, *hang five/ten*, *rodeo flip*, *roller* and *snap*. Compared to the shared list, however, these are more specific and rare manoeuvres.

Among the loan translations Portuguese includes *pegar na prancha* ‘grab the board’, *botar fora* ‘pull out’, *belo tubo* ‘beautiful tube(ride)’ and *descer numa bomba* ‘ride down a bomb’. The first and third expressions seem quite transparent, referring to the rider grabbing his board during a manoeuvre, or a beautifully executed tube ride. *Botar fora* is when a ride is interrupted and the surfer kicks out by crossing the lip of the wave and starts paddling towards the line of incoming waves, and a *bomb* is a gigantic wave, the size of which enhances the downward movement (see section 5.9 below).

Spanish loan translations are *estar profundo en el tubo* ‘to be deep in the barrel’, (*hacer el*) *pato/patito* ‘(do a) duckdive’, *flotar la última sección* ‘to float the last section’, and *drop vertical* ‘vertical drop’. To float a section (of a wave) refers to passing on top of the foaming lip instead of surfing beneath or in front of it, and a *vertical drop* is similar to *descer numa bomba*, referring to a steep wave which forces the takeoff to be made on an (almost) vertical surface, with little or no contact between the board and the water, making the move much more critical.

The most noteworthy term in the Spanish list is *hacer el pato* which translates English’ (*to*) *duckdive*, that is, to pass beneath an oncoming wave—much like a duck dives, head first, under water—on the way from the beach to the outside where the waves are breaking. This is an essential move in surfing, and the English *duckdive* is, as is often the case in Spanish, rendered by combining an essential part of the original expression, *duck* in this case, with light verb *hacer* ‘to do’ in order to create a complex predicate: *hacer el pato*. The nominal concept, duckdive, is rendered simply by the noun *pato*, or its diminutive form, *patito*. Although the Portuguese data does not include reference to this concept, it uses the same strategy as Spanish: *fazer o patinho* (with the diminutive form of *pato* ‘duck’), or, alternatively the more explicit form (*fazer o*) *bico do pato* ‘duck’s beak’.

As stated above, in Spanish there is only one manoeuvre term which is not an Anglicism, namely *girazo* ‘great turn’, based on the general sports term *giro* ‘turn’ by adding the augmentative suffix *-azo*, referring to a great turn in a generic fashion (that is, it could be a *re-entry*, a *snap*, or a *cutback*). In Portuguese, on the other hand, there are several home-made terms for the manoeuvres, such as *batida* ‘re-entry, hack’, *leque* ‘spray’, *cavada* ‘bottom-turn’, *demorar na/fazer a cavada* ‘to bottom-turn (too slowly)’, and *rascada/rasgada* ‘carve’. Especially *batida*, *cavada* and *leque* are important, since these expressions make reference to central concepts of surfing. As indicated in Table 11, *cavada* is a Portuguese term for the *bottom-turn*, i.e. the first turn a surfer makes in the lower part of the wave (hence the term *cavada*, derived from the ver *cavar* ‘to dig’) in order to set the direction and get going on the rest of the wave. As was the case with *hacer el pato/o patinho*, above, Portuguese uses the same strategy as Spanish in creating predicates, i.e. the light verb *fazer* ‘to do’ is combined with a nominal element to create a compound predicate of the format V+N. Of course, when need be, the noun *cavada* can also be combined with a more specific verb, such as *demorar* ‘to take time’.

A truly competitive manoeuvre, *batida* is derived from the ver *bater* ‘to hit’ using the *-(i)da* suffix for indicating (violent or sudden) actions, in this case, hitting the wave. Uma *rascada/rasgada* is similar, derived from two near synonymous verbs, *rascar/rasgar* ‘to scrape/to tear; to plow’ by the same action-suffix *-ada*, these terms are used to describe the manoeuvre where a surfer makes a long, powerful carving turn across the shoulder of the wave, thus mirroring the actions of carving into the wave. While performing either a *batida* or a *rascada*, a surfer probably will also create a *leque* ‘fan’. This figurative expression captures the form the spray makes when a surfer doing a turn pushes back the water with the board.

5.8. Surfers and people

The terms used to refer to the people involved in surfing are many, some of which are not exclusive to surfing but which nevertheless have a significant role in surf talk, such as *bro*, *pro*, *grom*, (*surf*)*rider*. A significant portion of these terms is found as direct loans in both Portuguese and Spanish, but there are also a large number of own expressions in Portuguese but not in Spanish. This situation is reflected in the fact that there are over 30 terms included in the Portuguese dataset, but only 15 in Spanish. All in all, the main difference between the two languages resides in the larger portion of own expressions among the terms referring to people involved with surfing in Portuguese. The loan translations, on the other hand, are few.

Table 11 presents the shared items in both the Portuguese and Spanish datasets, which, actually, reflect the distribution just mentioned quite accurately, including some five direct loans (in bold), a single loan translation and three or four own expressions (underlined):

People (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
Rider	(big) rider	rider
goofy	goofy	goofy
grummet	grommett	gremmie
regular (footer)	regular footer , <i>regular</i>	<i>regular</i>
shaper	shaper	shaper
surfer	<u>surfista</u>	<u>surfista</u>
beginner	<u>iniciante</u> , <u>jojolão</u>	<u>novato</u> , kook
one who steals waves	<u>queixão</u>	<u>buitre</u> , <u>lancero</u>

Table 11. Shared people terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold face letters, own expressions are underlined, and loan translations in normal font)

As the examples show, the direct loans are almost identical, with some minor spelling variations in *grommett*, *gremmie* and the presence of English *big* in Portuguese *big rider* and *footer* in Portuguese *regular footer* vs. the loan translation *regular* which is found in both Portuguese and Spanish. Among the own expressions, the two languages share the form *surfista* ‘surfer’, in which the autochthonous nominalizing-agentive suffix *-ista* is preferred over the possible, more English-like *-eiro/ero* ‘-er’. The remaining expressions, referring to a beginning and badly behaving surfer, respectively, are formally distinct sharing only their meaning: Portuguese *iniciante*, *jojolão* ‘beginner’ vs. Spanish *novato* and Portuguese *queixão* vs. Spanish *buitre*, *lancero* ‘one who steals waves from other surfers’.

Outside the shared direct loans, Spanish only includes one term which is not included in the Portuguese inventory, *kook* ‘one who’s is not very good’ (this term is, of course, related to the terms for beginner, but has a bit wider meaning range, which is why it is considered an expression of its own). In Portuguese, on the other hand, there

are several direct loans apart from the ones included in Table 11: *Aussie*, *brother*, *free surfer*, *pro*, *tube rider*, and *haole*. Of these, *brother* is, of course, not unique to surfing, but it has a distinguished place in making reference to a member of the surfing community. Although unattested in the Spanish dataset, *brother* and its short form *bro* are quite frequently used in Spanish. *Haole* needs a special mention, being one of the few false Anglicisms in the data set, along with *aloha*, *mahalo* and *shaka* mentioned earlier (see section 5.4, above).

The only loan translation which is not included in Table 11 is *local/locais*, making reference to the people who are local to a certain surf spot or region. Although the equivalent Spanish expressions *local*, *locales* are not included in the dataset, they are, however, in frequent use in Spanish as well.

The kind of expressions where there are most differences between Portuguese and Spanish are the own expressions, where Spanish includes the two terms *buitre* and *lancero* included in Table 11. In Portuguese, however, there are thirteen own expressions which are not paralleled in Spanish: *merrequeiro* ‘one who surfs on the inside, where the waves are smaller’, *bóia* ‘a surfer who’s out in the lineup but catches no waves’, *jaca* ‘= *bóia*’, *pangas do pantano* ‘one who lives close to sea but is afraid of the ocean’, *ramado* ‘local’, *maria-parafina* ‘girl who is a big surf fan’, *casca grossa* ‘ripper, very good surfer’, *prego* ‘ripper’, *paraíba* ‘= *merrequeiro*’, *juaca* ‘tube riding wizard’, *cabrerão* ‘surfer who is afraid of the waves’, and *cabuloso* ‘strange, wierd person’.

Among these expressions, *maria-parafina* is worth mentioning because of the second element of the compound, *parafina*, a term used to refer to the wax used on the surfboard. Another noteworthy term among the Portuguese own expressions is *bóia*, a maritime term put to a special use in the surfing context: used metaphorically, *boia* refers to surfers that are not catching any waves, i.e. just floating around in the line-up as a buoy without actually surfing.

In Spanish, finally, there are also a couple of own, general expressions which are put to a special use within the world of surfing: *caganet* ‘one who shits him/herself’, *peligro* ‘danger’ and *suicida* ‘suicide’. The first term is, actually, a mythical, Catalan character, *el caganet*, or *caganer*, referring to a simple peasant doing his needs in a squatting position above a log, but the figurative sense which is activated here is the one making reference to somebody who is scared of the waves and the ocean. The semantic association between being scared and shitting oneself is, of course, present in many languages and cultures. *Peligro* and *suicida*, on the other hand, are general terms which can be used to describe a certain, excessively dangerous behaviour in the water, i.e. people who do not take much care either for other surfers’ (*peligro*) or for their own safety (*suicida*).

5.9. Waves

When it comes to talking about waves, perhaps the single most essential part of surfing, both Portuguese and Spanish make use of direct loans, loan translations and own

expressions. In the basic inventory of surfing terms managed in this study, there are 33 Portuguese wave terms and 26 in Spanish. Of these, 17 constitute shared concepts, i.e. terms which are found in the inventory of both languages. Of these 17, Portuguese has five direct loans, nine loan translations and three own expressions, whereas in Spanish the corresponding figures are: four direct loans, nine loan translations, and four own expressions, meaning that the distribution is essentially the same. The seventeen common terms are presented in Table 12.

Wave term (English)	Portuguese	Spanish
back door	<i>back door</i>	<i>back door</i>
bomb	<i>bomba, <u>morra</u></i>	<i>bomba</i>
close-out	<i><u>quebradeira</u>, <u>fechadeira</u></i>	<i><u>barra</u>, <u>cerrón</u></i>
foam ball	<i>foam ball</i>	<i>foam ball</i>
Left	<i>esquerda</i>	<i>izquierda</i>
Lip	<i>lip</i>, <i>crista</i>	<i>lip</i>, <i>labio</i>, <i>cresta</i>
Peak	<i>pico</i>	<i>pico</i>
Right	<i>direita</i>	<i>derecha</i>
section	<i>secção</i>	<i>sección</i>
series	<i>série</i>	<i>serie</i>
two feet	<i><u>meio metrim</u></i>	<i><u>medio metro</u></i>
Wall	<i>parede</i>	<i>pared</i>
white-water	<i>white water</i>, <i>parte branca</i>	<i><u>espuma</u></i>
Set	<i>set</i>	<i>Set</i>

Table 12. Shared wave terms in Portuguese and Spanish (direct loans are marked with bold, own expressions are underlined, and direct translations in normal font)

As Table 12 shows, the two languages show little differences when it comes to the shared wave terms. *Back door*, *foam ball*, *lip* and *set* are direct loans in both Portuguese and Spanish, whereas *bomba*, *esquerda/izquierda*, *crista/cresta*, *pico*, *direita*, *secção/sección*, *série/serie*, *parede/pared* are loan translations. Finally, Portuguese *morra*, *quebradeira/fechadeira* and *meio metrim* are own expressions, as are Spanish *barra/cerrón*, *medio metro* and *espuma*. The main differences are that Spanish has only one term for the concepts *bomb* and *white water* where Portuguese has two, adding the own expressions *morra* and *parte branca* to the Anglicism and direct translation. Spanish, on the other hand, has a third term for the lip of the wave, the loan translation *labio*, apart from shared Anglicism *lip* and *cresta* (cf. English ‘crest’).

Beyond the shared concepts, there are also several surfing terms which are only encountered in one of the languages. In Portuguese, three Anglicisms, *back wash*, *bone crusher*, and *double up* are not encountered in my Spanish data (although the first is often known as a *contraola*, i.e. an own expression). There is a series of verbs describing wave actions which have been classified as loan translations, e.g. *rebentar* and *quebrar* which calque English *a wave breaks*, as well as *reformatar* (*a onda*), *fechar* (*a onda*), and *espremer* (*a onda*) which mirror English’ *reform*, *close (out)* and *spit*.

Finally, four own expressions referring to waves are encountered: *the incoming waves* are expressed in Portuguese by the verb *entrar* ‘to enter’ and the build-up or forming of a wave is referred to by *levantar* ‘to rise, get up’; the back-wash, or water moving out to sea again, encountering the waves approaching the shore, is also known by the autochthonous term *pororoca*; and a big so-called clean-up wave breaking outside the line-up where the surfers are waiting for a surfable wave, is sometimes called *quebracoco* ‘head breaker’.

Although these expressions are not part of the inventory of Spanish surfing terms managed in this paper, the Portuguese verbs *rebentar*, *quebrar* have Spanish equivalents in *reventar* and *romper* ‘to break’, and the same goes for *reformatar*, *fechar*, and *espremer* which are rendered in Spanish by *reformatar*, *cerrar* and *escupir*.

The wave terms only found in the Spanish dataset include twelve expressions, six loan translations and six own expressions. The loan translations include *cortina* ‘curtain’, used in order to describe the position of a surfer inside a barrel, behind the curtain of water falling from the breaking wave, and *brazo* ‘shoulder’, used to refer to the part of the wave that is not yet breaking. Apart from these two concepts describing parts of a wave, there are two descriptive adjectives referring to its size: *olas medianas*, *normales* ‘medium and normal sized waves’ which calque English expressions.

The own expressions, on the other hand, include three measures of wave size according to the metric system: *olas de metro* ‘waist-high or three-to-four feet’, *metro y medio* ‘chest or head-high or six-to-eight-feet’ and *metro pasado* ‘head-high’, as well as two adjectives describing its (lack of strength), *fofa* ‘slow, powerless’ and form, *cóncava* ‘hollow’. Finally, there is the verb *apachurrarse* ‘flatten out’, referring to when a wave starts to lose strength and speed as it moves towards the shore (often due to lack of size and too much water underneath it).

Although not included in the Portuguese inventory, the adjectives *mediana* and *normal* can be used. The same applies to the metric measures used to describe wave size, where expressions such as *ondas de (um) metro* and *de metro e meio* ‘meter-high and one-and-a-half-meter-high waves’.

In order to end this subsection, a last series of concepts merit a short comment, namely those referring to wave size. Wave size is a hot topic among surfers, since it is a well-known fact, or legend, that the bigger the wave you manage to ride, the better you surf. So surf stories describing the sensation of riding a particularly intense or intimidating wave tend to include somewhat exaggerating characterizations of wave size. At the same time, when conditions are clearly not impressive, understatements regarding wave size are equally common. When to this one adds the fact that it is notoriously difficult to actually determine the size of a breaking wave, it becomes obvious that talking about wave size is a highly subjective and speculative endeavour. This is reflected in surfing terminology, as well.

In English, following William Finnegan’s account in his autobiographical book *Barbarian days* (2015: 326–330 [391–396]), there are different cultures when it comes to talking about wave size, meaning that Hawaiians, West-coasters and East-coasters use different terms and different scales to measure and refer to wave size:

Wave size ends up being a matter of local consensus. A given wave, transferred intact somehow from Hawaii, where it was considered six feet, to Southern California, would be called ten there. In Florida it would be twelve, maybe fifteen. In San Francisco, when I lived there, a double-overhead wave was reckoned, for no good reason, to be eight feet. A triple-overhead wave was ten feet. A wave four times the height of the rider was twelve feet. Five times was fifteen feet, more or less. Beyond that, the system—if you could call it a system—disintegrated. (Finnegan, 2015: 327–328)

Being a subjective matter, it is hardly surprising that the Ibero-Romance languages Portuguese and Spanish should make use of one of their trademarks, the diminutive and augmentative suffixes, in their wave description. An example included in the inventory of Portuguese surfing terms is *meio metrim*, with its distinctive *-im* ending indicating an understatement regarding the size and importance of the wave. Although its Spanish counterpart in my data set, *medio metro*, includes no diminutive, expressions such as *medio metrín* ‘half a meter’, *un metrín*, *un metrío* ‘a meter’, *un metrazo* ‘a big meter’ are frequent in Spanish surf talk. Recall the use of the augmentative in the term *tubaço/tubazo* used to indicate a thrilling, spectacular barrel-ride (not just a big barrel, which is why this term was analyzed as a manoeuvre, not as a wave description).

6. Conclusions

In this paper I have provided an account for the presence of English loan words in the Portuguese and Spanish language of surfing, focusing on a set of some 200 surfing terms in both languages. The different concepts, and the terms used to refer to them, were divided into nine classes, designating different aspects of the world of surfing, the most prominent which are surfing actions, conditions, manoeuvres as well as boards and waves. The expressions were also divided into four types, two representing loan words (direct loans and loan translations, respectively) and two representing own expressions (own expressions and general expressions).

Comparing the two Ibero-Romance languages, the results presented in this paper reveal that there are only minor differences Portuguese and Spanish when it comes to the surfing vocabulary. Thus we find that 62 and 65 per cent of the surfing terms investigated are of foreign origin, mainly English. Given that modern surfing was made known world-wide through the medium of the English language, starting its development in the early 20th century in areas such as Hawaii, Australia and California, this predominance of English terminology was to be expected.

The results also show that the loan words (direct loans and loan translations) are most frequent in the following classes: surf concepts (*aloha*, *backside*, *frontside*), surfing manoeuvres (*cutback*, *floater*, *take off*) and waves (*tubo* ‘tube’, *back door*, *bomba* ‘bomb’, *pico* ‘peak’). On the other hand, the analysis also shows that within the own expressions, Portuguese and Spanish surf language makes use of similar morphological resources as sports language in general, such as diminutives (*-(z)inho/-(-c)ito*, *-im*), augmentatives (*-ão/-ón*) and different action suffixes

(-aço/azo, -ada) (see Méndez Santos, 2015). Some examples are: *patito/patinho*, *tubaço/tubazo*, *meio metrim*, *fechadeira*, *batida*, *cavada*, *cerrón*, *olón/olaza*, *ola quedona*, *revolconazo*, *tabla/tablón*, etc.

Although the two languages show more similarities than differences, there are some aspects that are worth underlining. For example, in Portuguese there is an above average presence of loans in the terms referring to surfing contests, surfing concepts, the equipment, manoeuvres and waves. Among the manoeuvres, Portuguese uses several home-made expressions which are not found in Spanish, such as *cavada* vs. *bottom* and *batida* vs. *reentry*. In Spanish there are above average numbers of loan words in the board, general concepts and manoeuvres classes.

Having said this, it needs to be underlined that the results presented in this paper are based on a rather eclectically collected material. This is reflected in considerable differences among the terms included in the Portuguese and Spanish datasets. Considering that one of the aims of the paper was to establish a basic inventory of surfing terms, this aim can be considered to be satisfactorily met. However, the uneven but empirically authentic setup of the datasets means that the comparison between the two languages in terms of presence vs. absence of English loans is not as precise as it could have been, had I chosen to only focus on the shared concepts and ignore the others.

Being a first, exploratory study, the results of this paper actually give rise to many new questions. There are thus several aspects left to investigate in the future, of which I will name only a few in order to set the stage for following studies:

On the formal, or grammatical side, one might consider looking into the phonetic and morphological integration of the direct loans (see Freitas, 2003), or the variation or alternate use between loan words and own expressions when both are available. Another interesting aspect would be to look into the morphological mechanisms used when creating forms such as *tubaço/tubazo*, *revolconazo*, *bañazo*, *tablón*, *um metrim*, *rascada*, etc., or the lexical creativity that the compounds and other morphological adaptations showcase.

On a more sociolinguistic level, there are of course geographical and regional differences to look into. Are there, for example, more loan words in some varieties of Portuguese and Spanish than in other? What differences are there between European and American varieties of Portuguese and Spanish surfing concepts? To what degree does the surf tribe actually identify itself linguistically, i.e. what indexes of social meaning are established and identified by the surfing community?

Notes

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1. Balteiro (2011: 33) distinguishes between unadapted, adapted and morphologically adapted loans, making reference to different levels of the receptor language.

2. The terms offshore and onshore are included in Görlach (2005), but in senses unrelated to the two wind directions which the terms indicate in the surfing world (i.e. onshore vs. offshore winds).

3. The order is alphabetical, according to the bold face terms.

4. Note also that the Pt. expression is a verb whereas the English clean-up wave is a compound noun.

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