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**How to commentate a soccer match in
Shipibo-Konibo (Pano)?
A first approximation to a new social function
of a Peruvian indigenous language¹**

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ABSTRACT: The present paper lists and illustrates eleven strategies that are systematically used by Shipibo-Konibo speakers in order to comment live soccer matches in the context of an indigenous soccer cup informally called “Mundialito Shipibo”. We argue that these lexical, morphosyntactic and discursive strategies can be classified into three types according to their function: iconic strategies, which attempt to present the information more vividly (onomatopoeic forms and ideophones, reduplications, parallel structures and hearsay-quotatives); emotional strategies, which are used by soccer commentators to express their emotions and their feelings (interjections, player-directed speech and diminutives); and proximity strategies, which bring the speech closer to the Shipibo-Konibo audience (lexical Shipibo-Konibo innovations, vocatives, evidential access configurations and code alternations). These various strategies are crucial for understanding the new social dynamics that the Shipibo-Konibo language is getting into as a consequence of becoming an urban language, and are clearly creating a new speech genre. The new social uses that the Shipibo-Konibo people are giving to their language and the features that the language is developing in this new social context are crucial to understand the future of Shipibo-Konibo and other minority languages in Peru.

KEYWORDS: Amazon region; Pano family; Shipibo-Konibo language; Soccer commentations; Urban indigenous languages.

RESUMEN: El presente artículo enumera e ilustra once estrategias que los hablantes de shipibo-konibo utilizan sistemáticamente para comentar partidos de fútbol en vivo en el contexto de una copa de fútbol indígena llamada informalmente “Mundialito Shipibo”. Argumentamos que estas estrategias léxicas, morfosintácticas y pragmáticas pueden clasificarse en tres tipos según su función: estrategias icónicas, que intentan presentar los eventos de manera más vívida (formas onomatopéyicas e ideófonos, reduplicaciones, estructuras paralelas y construcciones de discurso reportado); estrategias emotivas, que utilizan los comentaristas de fútbol para expresar sus emociones y sus sentimientos (interjecciones, discurso dirigido al jugador y diminutivos); y estrategias de proximidad, que acercan el discurso a la audiencia shipibo-konibo (innovaciones léxicas shipibo-konibo, vocativos, configuraciones de evidencialidad y alternancia de código). Estas diversas estrategias son cruciales para comprender la nueva dinámica social en la que se está introduciendo el idioma shipibo-konibo como consecuencia de convertirse en un lenguaje urbano, y claramente están creando un nuevo género discursivo. Los nuevos usos sociales que los shipibo-konibo le están dando a su idioma y las características que dicho idioma está desarrollando en este nuevo contexto social son cruciales para comprender el futuro del shipibo-konibo y de otros idiomas minoritarios en el Perú.

Palabras-chave: Amazonía Peruana; Familia pano; Lengua Shipibo-Konibo; Comentarios de futbol; Lenguas indígenas urbanas.

1. Introduction

The Shipibo-Konibo people (Pano) are a large Peruvian ethnic group, with more than 30,000 members (Zariquiey & Valenzuela submitted). In recent years, Shipibo-

Konibo speakers have been very successful in introducing their language into new social functions, as a strategy for their political recognition. The Shipibo-Konibo language is currently used on a regular basis in radio, television and social networks, as well as in public and political meetings. The present paper explores the use of Shipibo-Konibo for the public commentation of soccer matches, which takes place as part of the celebration of an indigenous soccer cup called “Mundialito Shipibo”. This new linguistic practice plays a main role in the configuration of Shipibo-Konibo as an urban language used in new social spaces.

Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators make use of various lexical, morphosyntactic and discursive strategies that shape their speech and make their linguistic representations of soccer matches more vivid, emotional and interactive. We argue that the systematic use of these strategies for soccer commentation is creating a new discourse genre (see Bergh & Ohlander 2012, and Lavric 2008). We believe that the study of new genres of minority languages, such as the one used and promoted by Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators, may contribute to a more accurate understanding of the close interaction between social change, linguistic variation and language contact, as well as the impact that new social uses may have on the future of minority languages. What we present here is a first approximation to the nature of this fascinating discursive practice.

This paper is organized as follows. In §2, we provide the reader with some linguistic background, commenting on the Shipibo-Konibo people and their language, as well as on the organization of the “Mundialito”. In §3, we briefly describe the methods used in this study. In §4, we list and illustrate some of the more salient features of the speech of Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators, while in §5 we further explore the functions of such features, arguing that the features under study accomplish three major ones: iconicity, emotion and proximity. We also explore the relevance of these three main functions for understanding contemporary Shipibo-Konibo. Finally, some conclusions are presented in §6.

2. Linguistic background

Shipibo-Konibo is the largest and one of the most vital languages within the Pano language family. Indeed, with more than 30,000 speakers, the Shipibo-Konibo are among the largest indigenous groups in Peru. Shipibo-Konibo people mainly live in the Peruvian Amazonia (in the regions of Ucayali, Loreto, Huánuco and Madre de Dios), but there are also large groups of Shipibo-Konibo people living in the Peruvian coast (particularly in Lima and Ica). It is estimated that around 30% of the total Shipibo-Konibo population currently live in cities (Coshikox, pc), but precise numbers are not yet available.

The Shipibo-Konibo language exhibits the phoneme inventory featured in Tables 1 and 2 (briefly adapted from Elías-Ulloa 2011). Orthographic symbols are provided in angled brackets when differing from IPA representations.

Table 1: Shipibo-Konibo consonant inventory

	Labial	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t				k	
Affricate		ts	tʃ <ch>	dʒ <r>			
Fricative	β 	s	ʃ <sh>	ʂ <x>			h
Nasal	m	n					
Approximant	w				j <y>		

Table 2: Shipibo-Konibo vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	i <e>	u <o>
Mid			
Low		a	

Shipibo-Konibo is predominantly agglutinative and in most cases if a Shipibo-Konibo word is composed of more than one morpheme, morpheme breaks are transparent. Words may be produced by the combination of two or more morphemes. The language is mainly dependent marking and exhibits ergative case on both pronouns and nouns (with some splits discussed in detail in Valenzuela 2010). Verbs in Shipibo-Konibo are often lexically transitive or intransitive with rare cases of labile verb, and the language exhibits interesting processes of transitivity harmony (see Valenzuela 2017). Word order is pragmatically-oriented, but there is a tendency for sentences to be verb-final. Within the noun phrase, most modifiers are allowed to appear after or before the nominal head. The language exhibits a complex participant agreement/switch-reference system (Valenzuela 2005) and uses grammatical nominalizations for both relativization and complementation (Valenzuela 2003a: chapter 10).

The Shipibo-Konibo people have been successful in introducing their language into new social practices in new urban contexts, among which the commentation of soccer matches as part of an indigenous soccer cup (the so-called “Mundialito Shipibo”) has become very important. Soccer is very popular and it is now a tradition among various indigenous groups of Peruvian Amazonia. Most indigenous villages in Peru include soccer matches in their celebrations. The “Mundialito Shipibo” is by far the most important indigenous soccer cup in Peru and is the only one for which soccer commentation in an indigenous language has been reported. The origins of the “Mundialito Shipibo” go back to 1992, when a group of teachers from the Instituto Superior Pedagógico Público Bilingüe de Yarinacocha (ISPPBY) organized a soccer cup with their students (Guillén 2018). This cup has been organized every year since then without interruption. The amount of public and soccer teams has radically increased in the last years and the “Mundialito Shipibo” has become one of the biggest multiethnic celebrations in Peruvian Amazonia (the 2018 version included more than 100 teams and indigenous delegations from various regions of Peruvian Amazonia).

For the Shipibo-Konibo people, the “Mundialito Shipibo” is a crucial part of their public identity. The “Mundialito Shipibo” gets coverage from the media and is used as a political platform. Indeed, for the Shipibo-Konibo people, the “Mundialito Shipibo” is both a festivity and a political strategy to become more visible. Identity is constantly negotiated in the “Mundialito Shipibo” and due to this it is not surprising that since 2013 spontaneous Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators arose. Nowadays their participation is a crucial component of the “Mundialito Shipibo”. They comment each soccer match live to the public and their performance is a source of cultural pride for the Shipibo-Konibo people (Guillén 2018).

3. Methods

For the present paper, the performances of three Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators were recorded, transcribed, translated and analyzed. The study is based on a corpus of approximately 5 hours of HD audiovisual material, gathered during the 2018 version of the “Mundialito Shipibo” that was held at the Yarinacocha Municipal Stadium (Pucallpa, Perú) from January 20 to February 10, 2018. The filming was conducted by the first author using a Sony nXCAM camera and a Zoom H4 audio recorder, each soccer commentator formally agreed on being recorded in the frame of this research project.

The data was transcribed and translated by six (06) Shipibo-Konibo speakers majoring in education at the Universidad Nacional Intercultural de la Amazonía (UNIA), who were trained in language documentation by the first and the second authors from February to December 2018. The grammatical parsing of the relevant examples was conducted by the first author with the collaboration of a professional Shipibo-Konibo translator. The database will be fully accessible soon at the Archivo Digital de Lenguas Peruanas, held by the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP) (<http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/124179>).

4. How to narrate a soccer match in Shipibo-Konibo

Considering that soccer is the world’s most popular sport, it is not surprising that it has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention (Bergh & Ohlander 2012). The communicative events created around the world of soccer, as well as their lexical, grammatical and discursive properties have recently drawn the attention of linguists with different research interests (lexicography, corpus linguistics, construction grammar, etc.) (see Lavric 2008 for a summary), but the language of soccer has not been extensively investigated yet.

This paper explores some strategies used by Shipibo-Konibo speakers for commentating soccer matches live in the context of the “Mundialito Shipibo”.² Lexical and morphological strategies are discussed in §4.1, and grammatical and discursive strategies are presented in §4.2. Prosodic strategies are not discussed in this paper.³

² Guillén’s (2018) study is particularly important for this paper, since it also deals with soccer narration in Shipibo-Konibo (with focus on clause combining).

³ Two salient prosodic features are systematically attested in the corpus: fast tempo and extra-lengthened syllables. The former appears all over the corpus, whereas latter is found in climax situations such as goals and failed shoots.

4.1. Lexical and morphological strategies

In this section, we briefly discuss those strategies attested in the speech of Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators that operate at the level of the word. These include: lexical innovations and semantic change (§4.1.1), onomatopoeic forms and ideophones (§4.1.2), interjections (§4.1.3), reduplication (§4.1.4) and use of diminutives (§4.1.5).

4.1.1. Lexical innovations and semantic change

According to Pávic (2008: 43-52), languages often borrow soccer terminology from English or other major languages. In Shipibo-Konibo, however, soccer commentators are conscious about the importance of creating soccer neologisms, and are constantly introducing Shipibo-Konibo terminology in their speech (the exception is *gol* ‘goal’, as in example (10)). Many of the soccer-related Shipibo-Konibo neologisms are actually previously existing Shipibo-Konibo words which has undergone a semantic change to refer to various elements of soccer matches. Some examples of soccer terminology are offered in Table 3. All the examples in Table 3 are well-established Shipibo-Konibo terms, whose soccer-related meaning can be identified by most Shipibo-Konibo speakers in the urban area.

Table 3: Some Shipibo-Konibo soccer terminology

Shipibo-Konibo	Regular meaning	Soccer meaning
<i>manxan</i>	‘egret’	‘assistant referee’
<i>chopa</i>	‘clothes’	‘flag’
<i>peresh peresh</i>	---	‘soccer referee’
<i>kini</i>	‘hole’	‘soccer goal’
<i>motsati</i>	‘to crush manioc or plantain’	‘to pass the ball many times from one player to the other’
<i>winati</i>	‘to row’	‘to kick the ball’
<i>mai</i>	‘land, agriculture field’	‘soccer pitch’
<i>tsitson</i>	‘curve of a river’	‘soccer pitch side’
<i>chosko tsitsonya</i>	‘(river) with four curves’	‘soccer pitch (see <i>mai</i>)’

With the exception of *peresh peresh*, which has been reported to us as a neologism coined in the frame of soccer commentation, all the examples in Table 3 are previously existing Shipibo-Konibo words, which has been recruited for soccer commentation through semantic change.

4.1.2. Onomatopoeic forms and ideophones

One of the most interesting features of soccer commentation in Shipibo-Konibo has to do with the intense use of onomatopoeic forms and ideophones (see *peresh peresh*

‘referee’ in Table 3, which represents the sound of the whistle). Commentators repeatedly use a large list of onomatopoeic forms in their speech. This constitutes a defining feature of the genre. Two of those ideophones are presented in (1) and (2). The first one, *poo*, denotes the sound of the ball when it enters in touch with the foot of the player, whereas the one in (2), *meex*, denotes the effort of one player to avoid that another one jumps to catch the ball.

- (1) Taen bibain poo arike ja, sere jainoa tsitsoni tonko winibainra ake.

Tae-n	bi-bain	poo	ari-ke	ja	sere	jainoa
foot-INST	get-going	IDE	INTJ-PFV	that	line	from.there
tsitsoni	tonko	wini-bain-ra	a-ke			
side	ball	PASS-going-EVI	do-PFV			

‘Then, getting the ball with his foot, *poo*, going, there, at the line, from that side, he did pass the ball.’

- (2) Choronmayamakin mex arikin nokon kaibobo.

choron-ma-yama-kin	mex	ari-kin	nokon	kaibobo
jump-CAUS-NEG-S/A>A	IDE	INTJ-S/A>A	1SG:GEN	relatives

‘He did not make (the other player) jump, *meex*, my relatives.’

In addition to *poo* and *meex*, other onomatopoeic forms and ideophones attested in the corpus are: *roo*, *raax*, *noo*, *xaax*, *xoo* and *jaan*. Their specific meanings are still to be determined and some of them seem to be exchangeable. Onomatopoeic forms and ideophones are among the most salient features of soccer commentation in Shipibo-Konibo and deserve further research. It is important to mention that all the forms of this class attested in our corpus are monosyllabic and exhibit long vowels. Valenzuela (2003a: 183) reports a class of onomatopoeic words in Shipibo-Konibo; but at least some of the ideophones and onomatopoeias attested in our corpus seem innovative. Nuckolls (2010) has reported ideophones as a widespread feature of Northern Amazonia.

4.1.3. Interjections

Soccer commentation in Shipibo-Konibo exhibits abundant use of interjections, such as *erí* ‘surprise’ and *panó* ‘be careful’ (the latter has not been documented in previous accounts of interjections in Shipibo-Konibo, see Valenzuela 2003a: 182). Interjections may appear in long chains, like the one illustrated in example (3), where we find *erí* and *panó* in a sequence. Interjections systematically surface with a final stress (stressed syllables also surface with extra-long vowels).

- (3) Taweyamawe panó eri panó!

tawe-yama-we	panó	erí	panó
harm-NEG-IMP	INTJ	INTJ	INTJ

‘Do not make a fault, be careful, oh, be careful!’

Utterances like the one in (3) with several interjection are very frequent in soccer commentation in Shipibo-Konibo. Note that in this particular example, we also find an imperative construction, directed to one of the players. Player-directed speech is also very frequent in soccer commentation in Shipibo-Konibo (see §4.2.3).

4.1.4. Reduplication

Reduplication is a core morphological process in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003a: 150-154), and is persistently used by soccer commentators, who use reduplicated constructions as one of their main expressive strategies. We find reduplicated ideophones as in (4), reduplicated bare verb roots as in (5), and reduplicated verb roots with different morphological endings as in (6). Reduplication in our data often denotes intensification and/or iterative aspect. Nouns and adjectives are also systematically reduplicated in the corpus. Note that the word *gol* ‘goal’ always appears repeated several times, as in (10).

(4) Eara nori nori ikai.

ea=ra **nori nori** ik-ai
 1SG=EVI **IDE IDE** be-IPFV
 ‘I feel very nervous.’

(5) Bechushikeanrake jain raka rakayamawe.

be-chushi-kean-ra-ke jain **raka raka**-yama-we
 face-fall-FRUST-EVI-PFV there **lie lie**-NEG-IMP
 ‘You almost fall on your face, don’t just lie there.’

(6) Menike ramara jan chipi menike jainra meniai menirake, non kaibo.

meni-ke rama=ra ja=n chipi **meni-ke**
give-PFV now=EVI 3SG=GEN aunt **give-PFV**
 jain=ra **meni-ai** **meni-ra-ke** non kaibo
 there=EVI **give-IPFV** **give-EVI-PFV** 1SG:GEN relatives

‘Now, she gave (the ball) to her aunt, giving the ball, she gave the ball again, my relatives.’

4.1.5. Diminutives

Diminutives are extremely frequent in Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentation. The diminutive marker *-shoko* is used expressively in order to encode positive emotions, such as empathy, politeness, compassion or love, in accordance with what has been found in other languages (see Jurafsky 1996 for a study of the universal semantic patterns associated with the diminutive; see also Valenzuela 2003a: 217 for more on the functions of the diminutive in Shipibo-Konibo). This can be seen in the example in (7), where the diminutive expresses such positive meanings (it appears in combination with the adjective *metsa* ‘beautiful’). The diminutive is also used for intensification, as can be seen in (8), where it appears with *ochoma* ‘not far’, in order to express that the player gave a very

short pass (there is also some intensification meaning in (7); the use of diminutives for intensification has been reported as cross-linguistically widespread, see Jurafsky 1996).

(7) Motsa motsa ashemanrai eri metsashokora chititai!

motsa motsa a-shaman-ra-ai eri metsa=**shoko**=ra chitit-ai
 pass.ball pass.ball do-INTF-EVI-IPFV INTJ beautiful=**DIM**=EVI stop-IPFV
 ‘Passing the ball, oh, she stops (the ball) beautifully!’

(8) Jainra menike ochomashoko.

Jain=ra meni-ke ocho=ma=**shoko**
 there=EVI give-PFV far=NEG=**DIM**
 ‘There he passed (the ball) not far.’

4.2. Grammar and discourse

In this section, we list some strategies systematically used by Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators that operate at the level of the sentence or discourse. Such strategies include the constant introduction of parallel structures (§4.2.1), the change from audience-directed to player-directed speech (§4.2.2), the use of the hearsay-quotative evidential to introduce recreated reported speech (§4.2.3), the negotiation of evidential access configurations (§4.2.4), and the pervasive presence of code mixing, as part of which Spanish and Shipibo-Konibo alternate in very interesting configurations (§4.2.5).

4.2.1. Parallel structures

Parallel structures are a stylistic strategy based on the formulation of a pair of lines which are identical with the exception of a single element. The identical part of the constructions is called “co-text”, whereas the alternating pairs are often called “parallel units” (Monod and Becquey 2008). Semantic parallelism is a widespread strategy among Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators as illustrated in (9).

(9) Peseyarakanai tiriseyarakanaí.

pese-ya-ra-kan-ai **tirise**-ya-ra-kan-ai
tremor-PROP-EVI-PL-IPFV **tremor**-PROP-EVI-PL-IPFV
 ‘We are all trembling, we are all trembling.’

In (9) we find two different roots that seem to be synonymous, *pese* and *tirise* ‘tremor’. These two roots fit the definition of ‘parallel units’. Both appear exactly with the same morphology and in the same position: before the sequence of suffixes *-ya-ra-kan-ai* ‘PROP-EVI-PL-IPFV’, which is the co-text. Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators often used this discursive pattern as a strategy to make their discourse mode vivid and attractive to the audience (see §5).

4.2.2. Vocatives

Soccer commentation as a performance is a type of non-face-to-face speech act, that assumes an audience as some sort of abstract collective addressee. Soccer commentators often use vocatives to approach their audience and make their discourse closer to it. The most widespread vocative form is *no(ko)n kaibo(bo)* ‘my relatives’, which is constantly used by the three soccer commentators in our corpus. The use of this vocative form assumes that the audience is mainly composed of Shipibo-Konibo people and has the clear function of building a joint identity. The same vocative form is found in Shipibo-Konibo radio broadcasting, as discussed by Mateo (2018). As in the case of radio broadcasting, in Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentation, the aim of these vocatives is to establish a strong connection with the audience by directly addressing it. One example of how vocatives are used is presented in (10).

- (10) Joshin xeatinin shinanbenota tonko akires nokon kaibobo, jainra karibai jaira jamatai nokon kaibobo.

Joshin xeatinin shinanbenot-a tonko ak-i-res **nokon kaibobo**
 red drink-INST forget-NMLZ ball do-S/A>S:INTR-only **1SG:GEN relatives**
 jain=ra ka-riba-ai jain=ra jamat-ai **nokon kaibobo**
 there=EVI go-also-IPFV there=EVI shoot-IPFV **1SG:GEN relatives**
 ‘She forgot about the red drink, she is only playing with the ball, my relatives; there, she is going again, there, she is shooting the ball, my relatives.’

4.2.3. Player-directed speech

Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators often simulate to address the players directly, as can be seen in examples (3) and (5). Changing the addressee from the audience to the players is a rhetoric strategy that triggers a powerful effect: the audience perceives the commentator as highly involved in the match and this draws their attention to it.

By means of the use of player-directed speech, the Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentator features himself as emotionally close to the soccer match participants. The commentator may approach and talk to them, as they were acquaintances or even friends.

4.2.4. Use of the hearsay-quotative evidential

The hearsay-quotative *-(ron)ki* is part of the complex evidentiality system featured by the Shipibo-Konibo language (see Valenzuela 2003b). Evidentials in Shipibo-Konibo are enclitics, which appear either after the first constituent of the clause or within the verbal complex. The different positions of evidentials in Shipibo-Konibo may be associated with different pragmatic functions that still require more investigation.

The hearsay-quotative is pervasively used in soccer commentation to recreate hypothetical verbal interactions between the different actors that play a role in the match (the players and the referee). In (11) we find an instance of this use of the reportative. The soccer commentator is recreating what the referee says after the ball goes outside the

soccer field. It is not possible that the commentator overheard what the referee said and thus he is recreating this interaction to make his performance more vivid. This use of the hearsay-quotative evidential by the commentator also let him introduce himself as a more knowledgeable speech act participant from the perspective of the audience.

- (11) Jonibo ikaxbira pereshs peresh akaiton yoike peresh peresh akaitonra yoyai:
 “moaronki winoke ja jain tsiniti sere topo winobainaronki winoke”.
 joni-bo ikaxbi-ra peresh peresh ak-ai-ton yoi-ke
 person-PL then-EVI referee say-IPFV-NOMLZ tell-PFV
 ak-ai-ton-ra yoy-ai moa-**ronki** wino-ke
 do-IPFV-NOMLZ-EVI say-IPFV already-**REP** get.out-PFV
 ja jain tsini-ti sere topo wino-bain-a-**ronki** wino-ke
 this here play-NOM line field get.out-AND-NOMLZ-**REP** get.out-PFV
 ‘“Everybody!” the referee said. He is saying that it was already out (the ball), that they were playing outside the field.’

4.2.5. Evidential access configurations

In our corpus, the soccer commentators use two other evidentials to describe and present the information about the soccer match and to get the attention of the audience: *-ra* ‘direct’ (which fits the definition of ‘egophoric’, as in Tournadre & LaPolla 2014) and *-bira* ‘inferential (based on sensorial evidence)’.

In our corpus, the use of the direct marker *-ra* implies not only that the commentator has direct access to the event (commitment), but also that he is involving himself into what he is saying (endopatic use). In (10), the commentator describes the mental state of the player as having direct access to it (commitment). In (4), we appreciate the endopatic use of the direct marker, since the commentator uses it to share his inner feelings about the game. Due to its multiple functions, it is by far and not surprisingly the most widely used evidential in our corpus.

The inferential *-bira* is often used in our corpus to indicate that the commentator is making an inference (or guessing) from what he is seeing. Therefore, the use of this marker in our corpus fits what has been previously said claimed about it (Valenzuela 2003b). This is clear from the example in (12), where the soccer narrator is unsure about which part of her body a player stopped the ball with.

- (12) Wetsabiresra menike, xochinra bike, xoma namanra bibirake.
 wetsa-bi-res-ra meni-ke xochi-n-ra bi-ke
 other-EMP-just-EVI give-PFV chest-LOC-EVI stop-PFV
 xoma nama-n-ra bi-**bira**-ke
 breast under-LOC-EVI take-**INF**-PFV
 ‘She passed the ball to another player, and she stopped the ball with her chest, I think she take it under her breast.’

The sensorial inferential *-bira* may also convey a probability reading when the commentator is guessing the emotional and/or physical state of someone. See the example in (13).

- (13) pechairake jabe jueganaibetan tsakananrake jabe juaganaibetan, kikini jaoskarabirake tsiskekairabirake
 pecha-ira-ke jawen juegan-ai-betan tsaka-nan-ra-ke jawen juegan-ai-betan
 fall-EMP-PFV his play-NOMLZ-COM hit-MAL-EVI-PFV his play-NOMLZ-COM
 kikin-i jaoska-ra-**bira**-ke tsiskekai-ra-**bira**-ke
 really-S/A>S get.hurt-EVI-EVI-PERF break-EVI-INF-PFV
 ‘He fell down with his partner and hit him. It seems that he got really hurt, he broke something.’

4.2.6. Code alternation (Spanish-Shipibo-Konibo)

Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators use long Spanish fragments in their speech. Interestingly, code mixing with Shipibo-Konibo is pervasive in those fragments. While using Spanish, the commentators often introduce a few Shipibo-Konibo words and affixes into long Spanish fragments, as an attempt to make those Spanish fragments a bit “more Shipibo-Konibo” (see Mateo 2018 for a similar situation in Shipibo-Konibo radio shows). This is not surprising if we take into consideration that Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators are aware that their performances are crucial for the public recognition of the Shipibo-Konibo language and identity. They do not want to speak in Spanish but sometimes some topics are easier to deal with in this language. Even when this is the case, the Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators are keen to introduce some Shipibo-Konibo forms and claim that they are in fact speaking in Shipibo-Konibo. One example of code mixing from our corpus follows in (14), where the Shipibo-Konibo forms appear in bold.

- (14) **Soi Noma** [team name], **Soi Nomara** [team name+evidential] ya con **westiora** [one] refuerzo que **ike** [copula] con el número 14 aprovechanke [**perfective**] la oportunidad de avanzar y también dominar **jan** [**his**] pelota
 ‘Soi Noma already with one new player, with the number 14 takes advantage to go attack and keep the ball’.

5. Discussion

In section 4, we have listed and briefly illustrated some of the main strategies that Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators use in their performances. We argue that our findings point towards the idea that Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators make use of lexical, morphological, grammatical and discursive strategies that make their speech more iconic (as a strategy for making it more vivid), more expressive and more proximal to their Shipibo-Konibo audience. In Table 4 we propose a first classification of the strategies presented in §4 in terms of the function that they seem to accomplish.

Table 4: On the functions of the main strategies of Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentation

Section	Strategy	Iconicity	Emotion	Proximity
4.1.1	Lexical innovations and semantic change			√
4.1.2	Onomatopoeic forms and ideophones	√		
4.1.3	Interjections		√	
4.1.4	Reduplication	√		
4.1.5	Diminutives		√	
4.2.1	Parallel structures	√		
4.2.2	Vocatives			√
4.2.3	Player-directed speech		√	
4.2.4	The hearsay-quotative	√		
4.2.5	Other evidential access configurations			√
4.2.6	Code mixing			√

Iconicity is a main feature of Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentation. Four of the strategies discussed in this paper are clearly related to the idea of making Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentation more iconic or vivid: onomatopoeic forms and ideophones, reduplication, parallel structures and the use of the reportative to recreate verbal interactions in the soccer field. The first strategy (the use of onomatopoeic forms and ideophones) features sounds that imitate the events that are happening in the soccer field with different degrees of similarity. Reduplication and parallel structures encode iterative aspect, sequences of events and rapidity by means of quick repetitions of roots (reduplication) or co-textual elements, which are combined with parallel units (parallel structures). The quotative, in turn, is used to recreate verbal exchanges that expected to have happened in the soccer field.

At least three of eleven strategies documented in this paper are expressive in the sense that they do not introduce information about the soccer match but are used by the commentator to express his own feelings about it. Interjections, diminutives and player-directed speech are clearly related this function and relate to different domains of linguistic structure (lexical, morphological and discursive).

Finally, four of the strategies discussed in this paper are clearly oriented towards the Shipibo-Konibo audience and are devoted to create an intimate relation between the audience and the soccer commentator. The effort for innovating Shipibo-Konibo soccer terminology, the use of vocative and evidentials and the introduction of Shipibo-Konibo roots and bound morphemes in Spanish fragments clearly constitute strategies that are devoted to attract the attention of the audience and make explicit their shared Shipibo-Konibo identity.

Some of the strategies described here may indeed be calques from soccer commentation in Spanish. In our experience, interjections, diminutives, parallel structures and vocatives are often used by Spanish soccer commentation and they may have been

transferred to soccer commentation in Shipibo-Konibo.⁴ Some of the strategies discussed in this paper, in turn, are deeply rooted into the typological profile of Shipibo-Konibo and therefore constitute truly creative mechanisms that have been developed by Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators as an strategy to accomplish the three functions proposed in Table 4. Standard varieties of Spanish used in media do not have evidential markers nor reduplication of the sort attested in Shipibo-Konibo. Furthermore, Spanish soccer commentators do not use onomatopoeic forms very often. These is even clearer in the case of lexical innovations and code alternations: none of them has anything to do with what the Spanish soccer commentators do.

Either calqued from Spanish or creatively developed by Shipibo-Konibo soccer commentators, the features listed and discussed in this paper are crucial for understanding the new social dynamics that the Shipibo-Konibo language is getting into as a consequence of the drastic social change that many of their speakers are currently experiencing. Although there are no official figures, at least a third of the total Shipibo-Konibo population lives now in urban areas (Ronald Suárez, pc) and what they are currently doing with their language is crucial to understand the future of Shipibo-Konibo.

The introduction of minority (formerly rural) languages in new social contexts and the grammatical and discursive strategies that these new uses may trigger are relatively new research topics, linked to the also poorly investigated field of variation in minority languages (see, for instance, Nagy 2009; Mansfield 2015 or Zariquiey 2015). In their introduction to a recent special issue of *Language Documentation & Conservation*, Hildebrandt; Jany & Silva (2017) convincingly argue that the fiction of homogeneity has had a robust impact on the description of poorly documented languages, which are often described as homogeneous systems. Field linguists consciously or unconsciously tend to work with elderly speakers for whom the impact of national languages may be less significant, and often privilege their grammatical uses in published descriptive grammars. This fiction has enormously limited our understanding of those languages and their social dynamics. In this context, we have attempted to offer a first approximation to the grammatical and discursive strategies that some Shipibo-Konibo speakers are developing in order to use their native language in a new social function: the public commentation of soccer matches in the context of indigenous soccer cups.

6. Conclusions

The present paper has listed an illustrated eleven strategies associated with different linguistic domains (lexical, morphological, syntactic and discursive) which are systematically used by Shipibo-Konibo speakers in order to comment soccer matches live in the context of an indigenous soccer cup informally called “Mundialito Shipibo”. The strategies discussed are following: onomatopoeic forms and ideophones, reduplication, parallel structures and some special uses of the hearsay-quotative marker (which are stylistic strategies that attempt to make the presentation of the information more vivid); interjections, diminutives and played-directed speech (which are emotional

⁴ This is also true for the prosodic features listed in footnote 3: fast tempo and extra-lengthened syllables.

strategies directly related with the expression of the commentator's own feelings about the match); and lexical innovations, vocatives, evidential access configurations and code mixing (which are directly related to bringing the information closer to the audience and reinforced a shared Shipibo-Konibo identity).

These various strategies are crucial for understanding the new social dynamics that the Shipibo-Konibo language is getting into as a consequence of its becoming an urban language. The new social uses that the Shipibo-Konibo people are giving to their language and the (potentially innovative) features that language may be developing in this new social context are crucial to understand the future of Shipibo-Konibo and other minority languages in Peru. We encourage other scholars to conduct research on other new social uses that minority languages may be developing. In this way, we may get a proper understanding of variation in those languages and we may make the efforts to keep their languages alive that indigenous communities are conducting more visible. We believe that the stylistic preferences attested in new genre are crucial to predict and understand the future of indigenous languages in new urban contexts.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
3	third person
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
DES	desiderative
DIM	diminutive
DS/A	different subjects
EMP	emphatic
EVI	evidential
FRUST	frustrative
GEN	genitive
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INST	instrumental
INTJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
INF	inferential
INTF	intensifier
LOC	locative
MAL	malefactive
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
ONO	onomatopoeia
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROP	propriative
REP	reportative
S/A>A	from subject to A
S/A>S	from subject to S
SG	singular

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