

Alliteration and Rhyme in the Traditional Kakataibo Chants of Emilio Estrella

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Abstract: This paper studies alliteration and rhyme in the traditional Kakataibo chants of Emilio Estrella Logía, one of the most important Kakataibo *sabios* of the present era. For alliteration and rhyme, consonants which are able to be in coda position according to Kakataibo syllable structure play a central role. Alliteration is sporadic and based on the repetition of fricative consonants in passages of indeterminate length. It occurs in syllable onset and freely within a line and across lines, the latter by adjacency. Kakataibo rhyme is also sporadic, its domain is the final syllable of the line and the nucleus of it; only the nasal consonant /n/ can occupy coda in end-line syllables. Kakataibo true rhyme, as opposed to rhyme in lists created by repetition or semantic parallelism, is by adjacency and within vowel passages of indeterminate length.

Keywords: alliteration, rhyme, Kakataibo, Amazonia, verbal art

We are at an early stage regarding the understanding of the verbal art of Amazonian indigenous chants and music, despite its crucial importance for current anthropological theory (Brabec de Mori, Seeger 2013; Déléage 2020; Severi 2008), contemporary basic linguistic theory and language documentation (Epps, Michael 2017). Nonetheless, we have a relatively incipient image of what is happening: the Amazon is a discursive area in which forms and processes of great diffusion converge in particular discursive genres (Beier et al. 2002). Thus, we know that poetic forms such as semantic parallelism, repetition, nonsense syllables, and others, are used among many languages of different linguistic families and in, for example, shamanic discourse, ritual salutation or chants. Little is known about many other poetic forms, whether meter, rhyme, alliteration, etc., which are discussed in the present document. Perhaps the most studied and confirmed poetic form in the Amazon is parallelism (Fox 2014; Franchetto, Stenzel 2017; Prieto Mendoza 2019). Likewise, as I have emphasized in previous works (Prieto Mendoza 2019, 2021), it has been claimed that Amerindian verbal art lacks rhyme or meter (Hymes 1977;

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Edmonson 1971; Tedlock 1977, 1983, 1987, 2010). However, this is too preliminary a claim, considering the under-researched situation of verbal art in the Americas, and recent works have argued against this (Michael 2019; Prieto Mendoza, 2021; Skilton 2017). With all this in mind, I present in this article perhaps the first case of alliteration and rhyme for a traditional chant of an indigenous or native Amazonian group. In addition, apart from the novelty of a new case with all its particularities, I discuss in the present paper the singing style and compositional individuality of a specific person: Emilio Estrella Logía (1925/1935? – 2020), *sabio* of the Yamino Native Community, who, judging by the years I have dedicated to traditional Kakataibo chant, was the most dedicated person to the Kakataibo word and its aesthetics. I hope this article serves as a tribute to his life and work, as well as the recognition of his lyrical capacity within Peruvian verbal tradition.

This paper is organized as follows: I present in § 1 some important aspects of Kakataibo phonology relative to my analysis. In § 2, I detail the origin of my data and its limitations. I offer in § 3 a brief account of Kakataibo traditional chant and I present a biographical resumé of Emilio Estrella emphasizing his work in the linguistic documentation of the Kakataibo language. § 4 is a theoretical section on alliteration and rhyme based on typological-comparative studies. I analyze in § 5 alliteration and rhyme in the traditional Kakataibo chant of Emilio Estrella based on cases from *no bana 'iti* and *ño xakwati* chants, and I discuss his use of both poetic forms in relation to the typological parameters discussed in § 4. I conclude this paper in § 6 by summarizing the main aspects of the employing and linguistic mastery of alliteration and rhyme in Emilio Estrella's composition, and offering some reflections on the presence of both poetic forms in Amazonian verbal art.

1. Some notes on Kakataibo phonology

In order to understand Kakataibo alliteration and rhyme, it is necessary to know three aspects of the phonology of the language: syllable structure and consonants in coda positions, fricative and affricate consonants, and mid vowels. I show in Tables 1 and 2 the inventory of Kakataibo consonants and vowels, respectively – < > angle brackets indicate orthographical conventions.

Table 1. Inventory of Kakataibo consonants

	Labial	Dento- alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Palatal- retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p <p>	t <t>			k <k>	ʔ <ʔ>
					k ^w <kw>	
Nasal	m <m>	n <n>	ɲ <ɲ>			
Flap		r <r>				
Affricate		ʈs <ts>	ʈʃ <ch>			
Fricative		s <s>	ʃ <sh>	ʂ <x>		
Approximant	β, 					

Table 2. Inventory of Kakataibo vowels

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

Syllables in Kakataibo are based on the shape (C)V(C), resulting in four possibilities: V, CV, VC, and CVC. All these syllables can appear in any position. Only /n/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ʂ/, and /ʔ/ in some restricted cases, can fill the coda (Zariquiey 2011, 2018). As I show in §5, /n/ and these sibilant fricatives play a central role in Kakataibo rhyme and alliteration. As regards fricatives, these appear in syllable-final, word-final, and initial positions. Of these three, /ʃ/ is the most restricted in the lexicon and usually appears next to the vowel /i/ (Zariquiey 2018: 72–77). Nonetheless, /ʃ/ does appear next to other vowels, in a few cases. The affricates /ʈs/ and /ʈʃ/ can only appear in syllable-initial position, even after a closed syllable. The phoneme /ʈs/ might be realized as [ʈʃ]; however, this latter form is unpredictable. Finally, vowels <e> and <o> are of very low productivity in the language and are recent innovations in Kakataibo. According to Zariquiey (2018), Shell's (1987) account gives only nine words with <e>; while words with <o> are relatively more numerous. Shell (1975; in Zariquiey 2018: 84) reconstructs <e> and <o> as *aya and *awa, respectively; however, there are also words that cannot be explained by such origin and have no cognates in other Panoan languages.

2. My data and its limitations

My data comes from two sources: the PUCP Archive of Indigenous Peruvian Languages (Zariquiey 2014) and my own fieldwork during 2013–2017. All the songs of Emilio Estrella that I analyzed were recorded during 2010 to 2017 in the Native Community of Yamino (Aguaytía district, Padre Abad province, Ucayali region). I have analysed approximately two hours of Traditional Kakataibo chants (2500 lines approximately) from four men and four women, and of the two most divergent varieties of the Kakataibo language. I highlight this relatively small corpus in order to emphasize that rhyme and alliteration, specifically alliteration, are sporadically used in Emilio Estrella's composition and, although other Kakataibos might use them, I have not documented any examples like the ones shown in this article on the composition of a different Kakataibo. In fact, my analysis of Emilio Estrella's alliteration is based on four passages of a total of 14 lines. I accept that such a situation might create a problem of limitation in my analysis; however, with the years I have dedicated to Kakataibo verbal art, I can affirm that alliteration and rhyme are sporadic for Kakataibo singing composition in general. Alliteration was part of the singing style of Emilio Estrella and he was one of Kakataibo *sabios* most dedicated to traditional singing. Finally, my examples come from *no bana 'iti* and *no xakwati* chants, and in order to fill gaps in my analysis of Emilio's alliteration and rhyme, I also present examples from two other Kakataibos: Irma Odicio and Roberto Angulo.

3. Traditional Kakataibo chants and Emilio Estrella

In previous works (2019, 2021), I have discussed different topics on traditional Kakataibo chants, such as their learning, the available recordings and databases, the number of types of chants, the principal differences across them, among other themes. Therefore, I choose only to present relevant topics to understand alliteration and rhyme in Emilio Estrella's composition. Traditional Kakataibo chants are always improvised in each different act of enunciation (Déléage 2020), which positions them along with areal trends of Amazonian singing composition (Beier et al. 2002). As Erwin Frank said, Kakataibos never “sing a song in the same manner as on other occasions [...] However, singers believe that their different versions of a song are “absolutely always the same”” (Frank 1994: 227). Thus, although the content is improvised and varies in each performance, the discursive technique remains stable across Kakataibos.

In relation to the linguistic character of the discursive technique, traditional Kakataibo chants carry a high metaphorical content, manifest reduced syntax, restricted/specialized vocabulary and formulaic expressions. They are composed using the poetic forms of semantic parallelism, enjambment, and repetition. It is of particular interest that a group of chants, in which *no bana 'iti* and *ño xakwati* are found, must follow a meter specific to each of them (Prieto 2021). I present in (1) the *no bana 'iti* and *ño xakwati* meters.

(1)

a. $\underline{\cup\cup} | \underline{\cup\cup} | (\cup) \text{--}$ *no bana 'iti*

b. $\underline{\cup\cup} | \underline{\cup\cup} | \underline{\cup\cup} | \text{--}$ *ño xakwati*

Following Prieto (2021), these meters indicate that a line or verse in a *no bana 'iti* chant, for example, is made up of three metrical subgroups and a total of eight moras. The first two subgroups can be realized in two ways: with two short vowel syllables ($\cup\cup$) or one long vowel syllable (--), while the third subgroup is realized with one short vowel syllable plus one extra-long (three mora) vowel syllable ($\cup \text{--}$) or only with this last extra-long vowel syllable and omitting the short one (--). In this way, the number of syllables can vary from line to line and, in principle, a line can be composed of at least three syllables and maximum of six, although, in general, five or six syllable lines are usual. Lastly, if the number of eight moras is not completed, vowels are lengthened following the prosody of the language (Prieto 2021).

As regards the song *no bana 'iti*, this male song is characterized by an exaltation of the singer through the figure of an *'inu* 'jaguar' that cannot be deceived, fooled or advised.¹ In addition, the singer highlights his physical abilities, his mastery with shotguns and his hunting expertise. There are autobiographical episodes that have marked the life of the singer, such as military service, travels, etc., which resembles *no bana 'iti* to the *caqui caqui* Yaminawa or *yama yama* Sharanahua, both Panoan (Déléage 2007, 2008). The mythical figure of the *'inka* plays an important role in the imagery of a *no bana 'iti*. The *'inka* is associated with metal tools, boats, planes; precious objects considered foreign and brought by *mestizos* (Brabec de Mori 2019; Frank 1990). This chant is usually sung at sunset or very early in the morning. It begins with

¹ The *'sëti* 'to advise' is one the most important cultural practices of Kakataibos, although its highly endangered. Traditionally, parents used to wake up their children at the middle of the night to teach them for hours the Kakataibo way of life (Frank 1994).

the formulaic phrase *chira bakë xanu* ‘sister’. I illustrate these points in the following excerpt (2).

(2)	
chira bakë xanu	sister
chira bakë xanu	sister
‘ësëtima ‘inu	I am a jaguar that cannot be advised
‘ësëtima ‘inu	I am a jaguar that cannot be advised
parantima ‘inu	I am a jaguar that cannot be fooled
[...]	
ëxira kana	I...
nirakëakën	I have gotten up
bashi ‘inu bakë	son of the jaguar of the mount
chira ‘inu bakë	son of the jaguar of the mount
ëxira kana	I...
nirakëakën	I have gotten up
nirakëakën	I have gotten up

As regards the song *ño xakwati*, this male song is sung before hunting in order to attract the *ño* ‘peccary’ and to guarantee a good hunt. Kakataibos, as other Panoan groups, raise peccaries and when these peccaries are sufficiently grown to eat, families or neighboring groups gather to kill it. During this festivity, no longer practiced, men also sing *ño xakwati* (Montalvo Vidal, 2010). In addition, the singer refers to himself through the metaphor of the *runu* ‘snake’, which is chasing the peccary and its brood across the rivers while sharpening the tips of his spears and arrows in (11), I offer a full but short *ño xakwati*.

Finally, I introduce Emilio Estrella Logía (1925/1935? – 2020), a Kakataibo *sabio* of the Native Community of Yamino, who actively worked in the documentation, maintenance, and resistance of the Kakataibo language and culture. With the advice of Emilio Estrella, the first grammar of the Kakataibo language was written, as well as dictionaries, academic articles, theses, among other works. A generation of students, linguists, and anthropologists learned from him several aspects of Kakataibo culture. In 2019, the Ministry of Culture of Peru awarded him with the recognition of *Meritorious Person of Culture*, due to his important contribution to the linguistic documentation of the Kakataibo language. Emilio Estrella was indeed a Kakataibo *sabio*, he knew his culture like no other Kakataibo and, as far as I am concerned, his chants exhibit the greatest complexity and imagery if we judge them in relation to the aesthetics of Kakataibo verbal art. Given this, I hope the present article serves as a tribute to his work and helps to recognize his voice within Peruvian verbal and literary

tradition. Emilio Estrella passed away on July 27, 2020 during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic, which tragically hit the Peruvian Amazon, the Ucayali region and the indigenous communities who live there.²

4. Typology of rhyme and alliteration

Following Fabb (1999, 2003), alliteration and rhyme are forms of sound parallelism where certain parts of the syllable are repeated according to what count as “same” in a given poetic tradition: “alliteration is repetition of a coherent sequence of segments which begins with an onset; rhyme is repetition of a coherent sequence of segments which begins with a nucleus (Fabb 1999: 227). Peust (2014) described the identity or sameness as ‘rhyme phonology’, considering that “the partitioning of the sound space implied by rhyme identity may differ from the partitioning of the sound space as normally practiced by phonologist (“ordinary phonology”) [...] in other words, [rhyme phonology] is an underdifferentiated version of ordinary phonology”. For example, in Swiss German, plosives and affricates sharing the same manner of articulation are treated as equal (Peust 2014: 366–367). Then, the identity of the segments seems to be language specific, even to the extreme of being dictated individually. In addition, Fabb (2003) summarizes various proposals about what counts as “the same”: (i) sameness can only be captured at the level of underlying phonological representations; (ii) sameness as the sharing of features, maybe involving underspecified underlying phonemes; (iii) and sameness as a way to confirm or reveal an underlying form. Another important parameter is the size of the “identical” section, which is language specific too. In any case, it is relative to the phonology of the language in question that the identity and the size of the rhymed or alliterated segments is established or broken. Besides that, rhyme can be classified in three types according to the location of the “identical segments”: initial rhyme, internal rhyme and end rhyme. All these three types are attested across world languages. Prototypical rhyme involves the nucleus plus the coda, while variants concern only the nucleus and very rarely just the coda (Fabb 1999). Peust (2014) treats alliteration as a subtype of initial rhyme; however, as Fabb (Fabb 1999, 2003, 2022) proposes, rhyme and alliteration have important differences and can be defined as two separate poetic forms. Alliteration is attested in Germanic (Goering 2016,

² The Ministry of Culture of Peru officially notified the death of Emilio Estrella on July 27, 2020. Sebastián Castañeda (2021) documented the burial of Emilio for Mongabay Latam.

2020; Jakobson 1963) Finnic (Frog, Stepanova 2011), and Somali verbal arts (Andrzejewski 2011; Banti, Giannattasio 1996; Musse Jama 2021; Orwin 2011), as in other traditions (Fabb 1999; Roper 2011). In some Somali song meters, the initial sound of at least one word is alliterated in each line and the alliterated sound must be the same throughout the entire poem. However, there are some rules such as a poet should not use grammatical words like pronouns or particles and must avoid repeating the same word in nearby lines (Banti, Giannattasio 1996: 84).

Rhyme and alliteration can be sporadic or systematic. Sporadic rhyme can be found in the situation in which “rhymed verses occur more frequently than could be expected by chance but still belong to the inventory of optional stylistic effects, whereas “systematic rhyme” means that the rhyme has become a mandatory feature of poetry” (Peust 2014: 348). Alliteration, systematic or sporadic, is much rarer than rhyme cross-linguistically (Fabb 1999: 227), maybe because rhyme is easily borrowed across verbal traditions and end-rhyme is the most common type of rhyme, conditioned by the frequency of inflectional suffixes over prefixes (Dryer 2005; Peust 2014: 358).

Finally, alliteration should not be understood as a subtype of internal rhyme, or rhyme in itself, because both poetic forms differ in three important aspects, following Fabb (2022): (i) rhyme location tends to be fixed, but alliteration is almost always free; (ii) the rhyme pattern can intersect, but an alliteration pattern requires adjacency; (iii) and rhyme is more capable of permitting loose similarity between sounds than is alliteration.

To conclude, I use the following typological parameters to study alliteration and rhyme in Emilio Estrella’s chants: productivity (sporadic vs. systematic), location and identity of the parallel segments, and adjacency vs. intersection between lines.

5. Alliteration and rhyme in Emilio Estrella’s traditional singing

5.1. Alliteration

Following what was proposed in the previous section, alliteration is a poetic form that Emilio Estrella used as a stylistic resource, sporadically; a resource that, despite not being systematic, was available to him. It is important to emphasize that other Kakataibo *sabios* I have worked with also use alliteration in the way I show in this part; however, their use is limited to one or two lines in a whole composition, unlike Emilio Estrella’s alliteration.

5.1.1. Identity of the segments

Following Peust (2014) and Fabb (1999, 2022), the “identity” or “sameness” of the segments may differ from ordinary phonology (Peust 2014); and sameness can be sharing of features, maybe involving underspecified underlying phonemes (Fabb 1999). I consider this is the situation in Emilio Estrella’s alliteration. To support this assertion, let us look at the following passage (3). I do not gloss each line due to edition criteria.³

- (3)
 [...]

73. <i>‘ën xabun ‘ë</i>	/x/
‘my sister’	
74. <i>ushin chaxu xaka</i>	/sh/ /ch/ /x/ /x/
‘red deer skin’	
75. <i>uxu chaxu xaka</i>	/x/ /ch/ /x/
‘white deer skin’	
76. <i>‘ë xuka xuan</i>	/x/ /x/
‘peel it for me’	
77. <i>‘ë minan chaxu</i>	/x/
‘to my purple deer’	
78. <i>‘ë ushin chaxu</i>	/sh/ /ch/ /x/
‘to my red deer’	
79. <i>ushin chaxu xaka</i>	/sh/ /ch/ /x/ /x/
‘red deer skin’	
80. <i>‘ë xuka xuan</i>	/x/ /x/
‘peel it for me’	

 [...]

First of all, each line within this passage has at least one fricative consonant, the retroflex palatal <x>, /ʂ/, which is the only fricative segment appearing in every line at least once. Taking this into account, alliteration in this passage occurs interlineally, since all the lines in the example are related by the presence of the retroflex palatal fricative <x>, /ʂ/, and intralinearly in lines 74–76, and 78–80. Secondly, alliteration in this passage (3) also is connected to semantic parallelism and enjambment through lexical-phonological selection by similar identity. Let us now turn our attention to lines 74–75, which are composed by

³ I use the orthographic conventions of Table 1, section 1, to identify the alliterated consonants, instead of IPA conventions. [...] implies that there is a previous or a next line. I only mark lengthened vowels in examples (9) and (10) to illustrate the free order of alliteration.

semantic parallelism. This poetic form implies that two elements, prototypical names in Kakataibo verbal art have a semantic relationship, in this case, type of colors (Prieto Mendoza 2019). What is interesting here is that the element followed in line 75, and semantically related to *ushin* ‘red’ in line 74, also shows a fricative consonant, as is the case for *uxu* ‘white’. We can interpret this relationship not only semantically, but establishing the identity of what an alliterated consonant might be in Emilio Estrella’s singing. Thus, identity or sameness in Emilio Estrella’s alliteration is established by sharing of fricative features. This same situation happens between lines 78–79, which are composed by enjambment, having the added element *xaka* ‘skin’ in line 79 which also includes the fricative <x>, /ʃ/.

Thirdly, alliteration not only contributes to lexical selection, but is also a product of poetic forms. I say this due to the repeated lines 74–79, 76–80 and the repeated word *xaka* ‘skin’ in 74–75, 79; repetitions that create a greater alliterative sonority in (3). Note that this pair of repeated lines (74–79, 76–80) are also the ones that show a higher number of alliterative consonants in the passage. Finally, other segments show a lower degree of alliteration, as /k/ in lines 74–76, 79–80. I will explain this control of saturation in brief. See the next example (4).

- (4)
- [...]
- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| 27. <i>rëchitë bëxin</i> | /ch/ /x/ |
| ‘peeling reed’ | |
| 28. <i>bëxin bëxin okin ka</i> | /x/ /x/ /k/ /k/ |
| ‘peeling, peeling’ | |
| 29. <i>paka xëta bëxin</i> | /k/ /x/ /x/ |
| ‘peeling the tip of the bamboo’ | |
| 30. <i>bëxin bëxin okin ka</i> | /x/ /x/ /k/ /k/ |
| ‘peeling, peeling’ | |
- [...]

Similar to the previous example, (4) begins with a line with the retroflex <x>, which begins the chain of fricative repetitions. However, one might wonder if the affricate <ch> really participates in the alliteration as it is not properly a fricative. In this case, lines 27 and 29 of [*rëchite*] and [*paka xëta*] respectively are composed by semantic parallelism. In theory, any other word related to *rëchitë* ‘reed’ may have been used. My proposal is that alliteration conditions the selection of [*paka xëta*] as it has to continue with the “fricative identity” already established by <x> in the first and second lines, but also it must create

a fricative sonority between the slots of the semantic parallel lines – as in lines 74–75 of example (3) –, thus treating the affricate <ch> as a “fricative” in an expanded sense. At the same time, the selection of [*paka xëta*] also contributes to the control of alliteration by including the consonant <k>, thus avoiding a saturated sonority of fricatives, and creating what I propose to call “minor alliteration” as opposed to the central alliteration of “fricatives”. As in the previous example (3), other segments, apart from the obvious repetitions, might be alliterated in a passage, but with a lower degree in relation to “fricatives”. Then, the final line repeats line 28 closing the passage in a constant of sound parallelism. Now, see the next example (5).

- (5)
- [...]
- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| 36. <i>xón pacha</i> ‘ëo | /x/ /ch/ |
| ‘big red pomfret’ | |
| 37. <i>xón ruti</i> ‘ëo | /x/ |
| ‘big red pacu’ | |
| 38. <i>uxu ruti</i> ‘ëo | /x/ |
| ‘big white pacu’ | |
| 39. <i>chirimipabian</i> | /ch/ |
| ‘making them jump’ | |
| 40. <i>xón ruti</i> ‘ëo | /x/ |
| ‘big red pacu’ | |
| 41. <i>chirimipabian</i> | /ch/ |
| ‘making them jump’ | |
| 42. <i>uxu sanin chiri</i> | /x/ /s/ /ch/ |
| ‘white anchovy...’ | |
| 43. <i>chirimipabian</i> | /ch/ |
| ‘making them jump’ | |
- [...]

This third example (5) exemplifies what has been proposed up to this point. The fricatives repeated across lines and within a line create a passage of alliteration. The first line in the passage has the palatal retroflex /x/. And semantic parallelism participates in alliteration as a result of the lexical selection so producing “fricative” identity, as in lines 36–37–38. What is important in this new case is the employing of the third Kakataibo fricative <s>, which closes the set of central “fricative” consonants used by Emilio Estrella. Let us look the following fourth example in (6):

- (6)
[...]
45. *parantima baëxun* /x/
'you cannot fool me, I am brave'
46. *ësetima baëxun* /x/
'you cannot advise me, I am brave'
47. *axunima 'ikinma* /x/
'I will not do it to you, you cannot be with me'
48. *axunira 'axunwë*
'doing it right, do it' /x/ /x/

Apart from what has already discussed so far, I include this last case in the present article because with it my examples are ended. As I said in previous sections, alliteration was of very low productivity in Emilio Estrella's compositions; a few lines if we compare it with the three main poetic forms of Kakataibo verbal art, and unique to him in that only he used it as in the four cases discussed so far.

To summarize, Emilio Estrella's alliteration follows these characteristics: (i) Alliteration occurs in passages of indeterminate length. (ii) Every line must have at least one retroflex fricative <x>, /ʂ/. (iii) Alliteration treats fricative consonants <s, sh, x> and the affricate <ch> as the same. (iv) Alliteration can occur within a line and interlineally; the latter by adjacency. (v) Alliteration participates with semantic parallelism and enjambment by phonological-lexical selection. (vi) In order to avoid a saturated sonority of fricatives, other segments might be used in the alliterated periphery as opposed of central alliteration of "fricatives". Lastly, (vii) it is striking that the dento-alveolar affricate consonant <ts> did not appear in any of the documented cases; nonetheless, this situation can be due to database limitations.

5.1.2. Domain of alliteration

As for the position of the alliterated fricative consonant within the word, the segment occurs in syllable onset as can be seen in each example discussed in the present article. An important fact to take into account is that the fricative consonants <s, sh, x>, /s, ʃ, ʂ /, can appear in coda position according to Kakataibo phonology. However, they do not appear in this latter position in Emilio Estrella's alliteration. I formalize this in (7):

- (7)
 $C_1V(C)C_1 = /s, s, ʃ/, tʃ/$

Emilio Estrella's alliteration seems to be restricted only to the onset of syllables with natural or non-lengthened vowels. The only apparent "contradiction" are monosyllables with alliteration, as in <xón>, example (5). However, monosyllables in Kakataibo must be phonologically analyzed as disyllabic for stress assignment criteria (Zariquiey 2018: 127–128). This seems to confirm that every monosyllable should be represented as (U U) for metrical purposes (Prieto Mendoza 2021).

Secondly, regarding the order of the alliteration relative to the line, we need to remember the metric pattern of *no bana 'iti* and *ño xakwati* in (1, a–b). Considering this, alliteration in the *no bana 'iti* examples (3–5) appears freely in any metric subgroup and in any syllable, as shown in (8) – (*) represents an alliterated syllable:

- (8)
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| a. <i>chirimipabiaaan</i> | * |
| ‘making them jump’ | U U U U U --- |
| b. <i>uxu sanin chiriii</i> | * * * |
| ‘white anchovy...’ | U U U U U --- |
| c. <i>ë ushin chaxuuu</i> | * * * |
| ‘to my red deer’ | U U U U U --- |

It is the same situation for the *ño xakwati* examples (4–6), where alliteration appears in every metric subgroup and almost every syllable as shown in (9). However, there is no case of alliteration in the first syllable of the first metric subgroup or the fifth syllable of the third subgroup. This apparent restriction might be caused by database limitation considering that alliterations appears freely in *no bana 'iti* meter.

- (9)
- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. <i>bëxin bëxin okin kaa</i> | * * * * |
| ‘peeling, peeling’ | U U U U U U -- |
| b. <i>paka xëta bëxiin</i> | * * * |
| ‘peeling the tip of the bamboo’ | U U U U -- -- |

5.2. Rhyme

As we saw in the previous section, alliteration is a sporadic poetic form used almost exclusively by Emilio Estrella in his singing composition. On the contrary, rhyme is also sporadic in his chanting but with some levels of systematicity as I show in this section. In other words, Emilio Estrella was not the only Kakataibo that used rhyme and the principles of Emilio Estrella's rhyme can be found in every other Kakataibo performer. In this section, I explain Kakataibo rhyme with examples from Emilio Estrella and in order to fill gaps in my analysis I also discuss examples from two other Kakataibos: Irma Odicio and Roberto Angulo. Let's see the following example (10), which is a complete *ño xakwati*.

(10)

1. nukën papa mia	my father.
2. tama ruru piminun	...is going to invite you peeled peanut
3. nukën tita mia	my mother...
4. tama chankë piminun	... is going to invite crushed peanut
5. mi ini rëkwënan	come with your daughter
6. mi bakë rëkwënan	come with your son
7. shinkun runu pibëtsin	the snake is coming to eat you
8. basi runu pibëtsin	the snake is coming to eat you
9. uantia kwëchinkin	come snouting along the banks of Uantia river
10. banaoka kwëchinkin	come snouting along the banks of Banaoka river
11. kwëchinkin kwëchinkin	snouting, snouting
12. naneoka kwëchinkin	come snouting along the banks of Naneoka river
13. rëchinkin rëchinkin	sniffing, sniffing
14. naneoka kwëchinkin	come snouting along the banks of Naneoka river
15. kwëchinkin kwëchinkin	snouting, snouting
16. basi ño rëkwënan	come with your mount peccary
17. 'inu ño rëkwënan	come with your big peccary
18. shinkun runu pibëtsin	the snake is coming to eat you
19. basi runu pibëtsin	the snake is coming to eat you
20. mi ini rëkwënan	come with your daughter
21. uxu ño rëkwënan	come with your white peccary
22. bunpa ño rëkwënan	come with your dark peccary
23. mi ini rëkwënan	come with your daughter
24. mi bakë rëkwënan	come with your son
25. ñon pirui	the peccary is coming
26. ñon pirui	the peccary is coming
27. ñon piruikiri	the peccary is coming

The first aspect to highlight is that this *ño xakwati* in (10) is obviously and very productively composed according to a principle of semantic parallelism and repetition. Then, one possibility is that the end of each line might be conditioned by the use of these two poetic forms, a very common fact among Amerindian verbal art that probably has led to proposal of the absence of rhyme (Fabb 2017; Hymes 1977; Edmonson 1971). Nonetheless, if we focus our attention from line 4 to 24, we can see that the final syllable of each line has a nasal coda <n>. What is crucial is that this nasal coda <n> is not conditioned by any poetic form, apart from the obvious repetitions, because it belongs, for example, to *-nun* ‘DS/A/P: POE’ or *-bëtsin* ‘coming.trans’. In other words, the presence of this nasal coda <n> is not a product of repetition, neither of morphology, but an example of rhyme itself. Taking this into account, the first principle of Kakataibo rhyme is that only the nasal segment <n> can occupy coda at the last syllable of the line. This restriction is important considering that, in principle, <s, x, sh> can occupy this position according to the Kakataibo syllable structure, but they cannot be in coda of end-line syllables for Kakataibo rhyme purposes.

Furthermore, the last syllable of each line not only rhymes by that nasal coda, but also in other ways and parts of the syllable. For example, lines 4–5 share the same onset and coda, but not the nucleus, in a (NVN) rhyme. Similar situation between lines 8–9, which share the nucleus, <i>, plus the coda <n> in a (CIN) rhyme. I show these two cases in (11a) and (11b), respectively.

(11)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| a. 4. tama chankë pimin un | ... is going to invite crushed peanut |
| 5. mi ini rëkwë nan | come with your daughter |
| | |
| b. 8. basi runu pibëts in | the snake is coming to eat you |
| 9. uantia kwëchink in | come snouting along the banks of Uantia river |

Another point to note about (11a) and (11b) is that they both occur in contiguous lines in (11) and, as Fabb (1999) proposes, rhyme allows intersection or ABAB patterns, while adjacency is mandatory for alliteration. In the Kakataibo case, true rhyme, as opposed of rhyme in lists created by repetition or semantic parallelism, seems to be only by adjacency as in lines 4–5 and within vowel passages, as in lines 7–15. In other words, Kakataibo rhyme needs adjacency – perhaps because it is unpredictable in whether it will occur. Thus, two lines with different vowels in end-line syllables can rhyme as in (11a) and lines can rhyme over vowel passages of indeterminate length, as in 7–15 of example (10). Though there are apparent rhyme intersections these arise only as a side effect of semantic parallelism, repetition or enjambment. In any case, intersection in Kakataibo rhyme needs further investigation.

In summary, Kakataibo rhyme is of the end rhyme type. The domain of rhyme is the last syllable of the line and is centred on the nucleus of it. Only the nasal consonant <n> can occupy coda position in end-line syllables. Kakataibo rhyme needs adjacency and rhyme is possible in coda, nucleus + coda, and onset + coda. There are other rhyme possibilities, such as onset + nucleus and onset + nucleus + coda, which I present later. Now consider the next example (12) from a *no bana 'iti*.

(12)

1. chira bakë xanu	sister
2. chira bakë xanu	sister
3. 'ësëtima 'inu	I am a jaguar that cannot be advised
4. 'ësëtima 'inu	I am a jaguar that cannot be advised
5. parantima 'inu	I am a jaguar that cannot be fooled
[...]	
60. xanun tuama ka	not the son of another woman
61. ëxira kana	I...
62. nirakëakën	...have gotten up
63. bashi 'inu bakë	son of the jaguar of the mount
64. chira 'inu bakë	son of the jaguar of the mount
65. ëxira kana	I...
66. nirakëakën	...have gotten up
67. nirakëakën	...have gotten up

As in the previously discussed song *ño xakwati*, in this song *no bana 'iti*, the coda position is reserved for the nasal consonant <n> in end-line syllables and, apart from identical end-line syllables by repetition, rhymes occur within vowel passages as in lines 1–5, 60–61, and 62–64. For example, the u-vowel passage in lines 1–5 shows identical rhyme between *xanu e 'inu* in lines 1–2 and 3–5, being of the type onset + nucleus. The same situation holds for lines 60–61 and 62–64, whose end line syllables rhyme in onset + nucleus. It is important to note these three group of lines rhyme without being conditioned by repetition, as in example (10), confirming that end line syllables rhyme independently of other kinds of parallelism. See the next example (13) from a *no bana 'iti*.

- (13)
 [...]
 79. ushin chaxu xaka red deer skin
 80. 'ë xuka xuan to me red deer
 81. bëtsi baka uka to another river
 82. bëtsi me uka to another land
 83. suñuanën 'apa the strong wind...
 84. 'apaakexa took him
 85. puna puna buan the strong wind
 86. buankëxa brought him
 87. bakëxunbi ka being a child
 88. tuaxunbi ka being baby
 89. buankëxa brought him
 90. bëtsi me uka to another land
 91. buankëxa brought him
 92. suñuanën nua the strong wind
 93. nuamiakëxa made him flight
 [...]

Kakataibo true rhyme within vowel passages can involve more than a few lines as shown in example (13). Apart from the repetitions and semantic parallelisms in (13), end-line syllables rhyme in the nucleus. Thus, apart from the minimum rhyme of vowel passages and nasal codas, I have presented the following rhyme types: (i) onset + nucleus, (12); onset + coda, (11a); and nucleus + coda, (11b). As we have seen, Kakataibo rhyme demands full identity of whichever segments are involved. It is important to note that there is no case of onset + nucleus + coda rhyme type that does not involve repetition in the chants of Emilio Estrella at my disposition, but this may be due to a database limitation.

In order to conclude this section, I summarize in the following Table 3 the principal characteristics of Kakataibo rhyme and alliteration according to the typological parameters discussed in section 4.

Table 3. Emilio Estrella's rhyme and alliteration according to typology

	Rhyme	Alliteration
<i>Line domain</i>	end-line syllable	free
<i>Syllable domain</i>	nucleus (+ n)	onset
<i>Identity</i>	identical segments	fricatives and <ch>
<i>Pattern</i>	adjacency	adjacency

5.2.1. Mid vowels and possible counterexamples

As I discussed in § 1, Kakataibo mid vowels <e, o> are of very low productivity, perhaps only a few cases in the entire lexicon. This situation also happens in Kakataibo traditional chats. In all my data from Emilio Estrella or any other Kakataibo, there is not a single case of an end-line syllable with an <e> nucleus – there are a few cases with <o>- and there is no case of a vowel passage of <e> or <o>. Nonetheless, both vowels do appear normally in other positions. Cases with end-line syllable with <o> are *ó* ‘tapir’, *no* ‘foreigner, enemy’, *ëo* ‘big’, *tsoo(t)*- ‘to.live’, *kon-* ‘to.get.used’, *pënpëro* ‘butterfly’, and *íó* ‘new’. Of these, the first two are innovations produced by the contraction of *aw(a)>o (Shell, 1975). The third one is reconstructed by Olivera (2014) as *?iwa*. Words *tsoo(t)*- ‘to.live’ and *kon-* ‘to.get.used’ are cases of enjambment, so their use is conditioned by meter as the line needs to be broken. Lastly, there is no reconstruction for *pënpëro* or *íó* and I do not know if they have cognates in another Panoan language. Considering this, the only productive vowels for Kakataibo end rhyme are <a, i, ë, u>, making it like the protoPanoan vowel inventory (Shell 1975). Is it possible that <o> behaves like <a> in end-line syllables? In any case, Kakataibo mid vowels need more research.

Regarding the restriction of nasal <n> coda, I have only identified in my entire database four lines with a different coda, <x>, in a *bana tuputi* by Irma Odicio, as shown in (14). I do not interpret this case as a counterexample but as a case of stylistic deviation that endows the composition with originality.

(14)

7. ura bakanuax
 ura baka-nu-ax
 far river-LOC-PA:S
 ‘along that distant river’

8. ura menuax
 ura me-nu-ax
 far land-LOC-PA:S
 ‘along that distant land’
 [...]

18. ënë bakanuax
 ënë baka-nu-ax
 this river-LOC-PA:S
 ‘along this river’

19. *ënë menuax*
ënë me-nu-ax
 this land-LOC-PA:S
 ‘along this land’

5.3. Mid rhyme and Emilio Estrella

To end this article, I would like to discuss one last example of a *ño xakwati* chant by Emilio Estrella, a unique example that illustrates his linguistic mastery.

(15)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>47. <i>‘axunima</i>
 <i>‘a-xun-i-n=ma</i>
 to.do-BEN-IMPF-1/2P=NEG
 ‘I will not do it to you, you cannot be with me’</p> | <p><i>‘ikima</i>
 <i>‘i-kin=ma</i>
 to.be-ASSO=NEG
 ‘I will not do it to you, you cannot be with me’</p> |
| <p>48. <i>‘axunira</i>
 <i>‘a-xun=ira</i>
 to.do-BEN=INTF
 ‘doing it right, do it’</p> | <p><i>‘axunwë</i>
 <i>‘a-xun-wë</i>
 to.do-BEN-IMP
 ‘doing it right, do it’</p> |

Let us recap what this example offers us. Lines 47–48 are part of the alliterative passage analyzed in (6), in which the retroflex palatal fricative <x> is repeated intralinearly (as in the case of line 48) and interlinearly. Now, considering only line 47, this line shows two similar segments [nima] – /ninma/ and [kima] – /kinma/, which are only distinguished by the initial consonant /n/ or /k/ and whose similarity is not given by repetition of suffixes (except for the suffix =ma ‘NEG’). Then, lines 47–48 repeat a similar segment now through [nima] – /ninma/ and /nira/, which in their phonetic realization end up being [nima] – [nira] and so more alike; these latter two segments do not resemble each other by repetition either. This is a fact that illustrates a game of rhymes both phonologically and phonetically. Likewise, if we look at the position of such segments in lines 47–48, the similarities continue since the segments in question are in exactly the same position. I formalize this in (16) – I have underlined the parts of the similar segments.

(16)

ʊʊ|ʊʊ|ʊʊ| -
 'axu/nima / 'iki/maaa

ʊʊ|ʊʊ|ʊʊ| -
 'axu/nira / 'axun/wëë

Lastly, in order to avoid a saturated sonority, since all the words end in a similar way, Emilio Estrella breaks the repetition in the last part of line 48 by using the Shipibo-Konibo suffix *-wë* 'IMP'.⁴ Thus, this final example shows that Emilio Estrella can rhyme a segment in the middle of a single line and continue to rhyme that segment in the next line and in the same mid position; this opens up the creative possibilities of Kakataibo rhyme.

6. Final remarks

As far as I am concerned, this is the first documented case of alliteration and rhyme for an indigenous Amazonian group, despite its previously postulated absence (Hymes 1977; Edmonson 1971). Apart from the novelty, Amazonian verbal art is still an under-researched area in modern linguistics, so we do not know how common or uncommon are alliteration and rhyme in Amazonia, or more generally in the Americas. I hope this article opens up new horizons in verbal art typology and Amazonian linguistics. My principal findings are as follows. For both poetic forms, Kakataibo consonants that can appear in coda position according to the syllable structure of the language play a central role in Emilio Estrella's alliteration and Kakataibo rhyme. On one hand, alliteration is sporadic and Emilio Estrella is mainly the only Kakataibo that employs it in his composition. Furthermore, it is based on the repetition of an expanded notion of "fricative" consonants in a passage; the fricative consonants <s, sh, x> and the affricate <ch> count as the same. In this passage of alliteration, every line must have at least one retroflex fricative <x>. Alliteration occurs in syllable onset and freely within a line and across lines, the latter by adjacency. However, it seems to be restricted only to the onset of syllables with natural or non-lengthened vowels. In order to avoid a saturated sonority of "fricatives", other consonants or vowels are used in what I call minor alliteration

⁴ Kakataibo traditional chants shows an important lexical and morphological Shipibo-Konibo imprint (Prieto Mendoza, Zariquiey 2018).

as opposed to the central alliteration of “fricatives”. Finally, the dento-alveolar affricate consonant <ts> did not appear in any of the documented cases; nonetheless, this situation can be due to data base limitations. On the other hand, Kakataibo rhyme is also sporadic, but other Kakataibos tend to use it. Its domain is the final syllable of the line and the nucleus of it; only the nasal segment <n> can occupy the coda in a rhyme, and there is a unique case of mid-line rhyme. Kakataibo true rhyme, as opposed to rhyme in lists created by repetition or semantic parallelism, seems to be by adjacency and within vowel passages of indeterminate length. I have identified the following rhyme types: coda, nucleus + coda, and onset + coda. Intersection and the role of mid vowels in Kakataibo rhyme needs further investigation. To conclude, I hope the present article serves as a tribute to Emilio Estrella Logía as to Roberto Angulo and Irma Odicio, and to recognize their verbal art within Peruvian lyrical tradition.⁵

Glosses

1	‘first person’
2	‘second person’
ASSO	‘associative’
BEN	‘benefactive’
DS/A/P	‘different subjects and objects’
LOC	‘locative’
IMPF	‘imperfective’
INTS	‘intensifier’
NEG	‘negative’
PA:S	‘participant agreement oriented to S’
POE	‘posterior dependent event’
trans	‘transitive’

⁵ I would like to thank Prof. Nigel Fabb for his useful comments and grammatical checking of this article, as well to the anonymous readers.

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