

Importantly, ALLFTR and WSP kick in when either of the stem's last two syllables is heavy. The fact that (9a) wins over (9b) reveals WSP's dominance over TROCHEE. Nevertheless, WSP must yield to ALLFTR as exhaustive footing of heavy syllables is ruled out (9d-e).⁴ Likewise, (10) shows that undominated ALLFTR would not allow for stressed heavy syllables (10c-e), except for the one as the head of the disyllabic reduplicative trochee, as the optimal candidate (10a).⁵

(7) ALLFTR (McCarthy & Prince, 1993): Every foot stands at the right edge of a prosodic word.

(8) ('LL) reduplication: HD(*f*) >> TROCH >> IAMB, *COPY(σ) || COPYLOC(σ)

/na.lu.lu-(-)/ 'to pay attention repeatedly'	HD(<i>f</i>)	TROCHEE	IAMB	*COPY(σ)	COPYLOC(σ)
☞ a. na.lu.lu.-('lu.lu)			2	2	
b. na.lu.lu.-('lu)		W1	L1	L1	
c. na.lu.lu-(-)	W1	L	L	L	
d. na.lu.lu.-('na.lu.lu)			2	W3	
e. na.lu.lu.-('na.lu)			2	2	W1

(9) ('H) reduplication: ALLFTR >> WSP >> TROCH >> IAMB

/maχ.sjal-(-)/ 'a bit slippery'	ALLFTR	WSP	TROCHEE	IAMB	*COPY(σ)
☞ a. maχ.sjal.-('sjal)		1	1	1	1
b. maχ.sjal.-('maχ.sjal)		W2	L	W2	W2
c. maχ.sjal.-('maχ.sjal)		1	W2	L	W2
d. maχ.('sjal.-('sjal)	W1	L	W2	W2	1
e. maχ.('sjal)-(-)	W1	L	1	1	L

(10) ('HL) reduplication: ALLFTR >> WSP >> TROCH >> IAMB

/ma.χaj.ðu-(-)/ 'a bit sour'	ALLFTR	WSP	TROCH	IAMB	*COPY(σ)
☞ a. ma.χaj.ðu.-('χaj.ðu)		1		2	2
b. ma.χaj.ðu.-('χaj)		1	W1	L1	L1
c. ma.('χaj.ðu.-('χaj)	W2	L	W2	2	L1
d. ma.('χaj.ðu.-('χaj)	W1	L	W1	W3	L1
e. ma.('χaj.ðu)-(-)	W1	L		2	L

The revised TS analysis has four theoretical implications. First, TROCHEE and IAMB as defined above play crucial roles in determining the ultimate reduplicative shape. Second, both TROCHEE and IAMB may be sacrificed in favor of a reduplicative shape predetermined by the affixed template. Third, FTBIN (Prince & Smolensky, 1993/2004), whose role is subsumed by TROCHEE and IAMB, can be eliminated (cf. Lamont 2022) for more parsimonious TS. Finally, neither weight condition nor templatic allomorph is required to capture the ('H) reduplicative pattern.

Selected reference: Lin, H. S. (2019). Quantity-sensitive foot reduplication in Isbukun Bunun.

⁴ Note that (9e) also violates HD(*f*).

⁵ Like (9e), (10e) breaks HD(*f*). Note also that (10b) violates COPYLOC(σ) as well.