

	i	ɨ	ü	u	e	a	ö	o
high	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
back	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
rounded	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+

Suffixes: genitive: /-in ~-ɨn ~-ün ~-un/
 plural: /-ler ~-lar/

Rules:

1. The vowel in the genitive suffix takes the features of [± back] and [± round] from the vowel of the preceding syllable (vowel harmony). The vowel in the genitive suffix is [+ high] in contrast to the vowel in the plural suffix, which is [- high]. So:

[+syllabic, +high] → [α back, β round] / [+syllabic, α back, β round] C₀ + _____

2. The vowel in the plural suffix takes only the feature [± back] from the vowel of the preceding syllable.

[+syllabic, -high] → [α back] / [+syllabic, α back] C₀ + C₀ _____

3. Some additional observations.

Note that in both suffixes, the vowels adjust for [± back]. This suggests that there is one rule that applies generally to suffix vowels for this feature. That is, we can “factor” out of both rules a single rule to adjust [± back]:

1a. [+syllabic] → [α back] / [+syllabic, α back] C₀ + C₀ _____

Then we are left with a single, simpler rule that adjusts the high vowel for [round].

2a. [+syllabic, +high] → [α round] / [+syllabic, α round] C₀ + _____

This solution has the advantages of (1) being slightly simpler than the first, but also (2) it distinguishes what the two suffixes have in common (harmony for [± back]) from what differentiates them (harmony for [± round]).

