Comparative Markedness (McCarthy 2002 ms., available on ROA)

Split each markedness constraint into one that counts "old" violations (those present also in the fully faithful candidate) and one that counts "new" violations (those not present in the fully faithful candidate, for IO_N, or not present in the related output form, for OO_N).

If the "new" version of the constraint, $_NM$, is ranked higher, then you get avoidance of derived violations, but not repair of underlying ones (i.e., derived environment effects).

If the "old" version, ₀M, is ranked higher, then you get repair of underlying violations, but not of derived ones—i.e., counterfeeding opacity:

/æiti/	*e#	OO _N *TI	IO _N *TI	IDENT(cont)	IO ₀ *ti	IDENT(hi)
🖙 FFC æiti					*	
æisi				*!		
/halut+i/, cf. [haluta]	*e#	OO _N ∗ti	IO _N *ti	IDENT(cont)	IO ₀ *ti	IDENT(hi)
FFC haluti		*!				
🖙 halusi				*		
/vete/	*e#	OO _N ∗ti	IO _N *ti	IDENT(cont)	IO ₀ *ti	IDENT(hi)
FFC vete	*!					
veti			*!			*
🖙 vesi				*		*

Arabic:

/katab/	oGLIDEISV-	NGLIDEISV-	$_{0}[a]Is_{C}(C,\#)$	IDENT(high)	$_{N}[a]Is_C{C,\#}$
	ADJACENT	ADJACENT			
katab			*!		
🖙 kitab				*	

/badw/	oGLIDEISV-	NGLIDEISV-	$_{0}[a]Is_{C}(C,\#)$	IDENT(high)	$_{N}[a]Is_C{C,\#}$
	ADJACENT	ADJACENT			
badw	*!				
🖙 badu					*
bidu				*!	