

$$\begin{array}{c}
\text{John} \quad \text{likes} \quad \text{Mary} \\
\hline
\overline{S/(S \backslash NP)} \quad \overline{(S \backslash NP_{3s})/NP} \quad \overline{(S \backslash NP) \backslash ((S \backslash NP)/NP)} \\
: \lambda p.p \text{ john}' : \lambda x \lambda y. \text{like}' xy \quad : \lambda p.p \text{ mary}' \\
\hline
\overline{S \backslash NP : \lambda y. \text{like}' \text{mary}' y} < \\
\hline
\overline{S : \text{like}' \text{mary}' \text{john}'} >
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c}
\text{John} \quad \text{likes} \quad \text{Mary} \\
\hline
\overline{S/(S \backslash NP)} \quad \overline{(S \backslash NP_{3s})/NP} \quad \overline{S \backslash (S/NP)} \\
: \lambda p.p \text{ john}' : \lambda x \lambda y. \text{like}' xy : \lambda p.p \text{ mary}' \\
\hline
\overline{S/NP : \lambda x. \text{like}' x \text{john}'} >^{\mathbf{B}} \\
\hline
\overline{S : \text{like}' \text{mary}' \text{john}'} >
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c}
\text{Mary} \quad \text{musn't} \quad \text{have} \quad \text{been} \quad \text{being} \quad \text{arrest} \quad \text{-ed} \\
\hline
\overline{(S_{\text{pres}} \backslash NP) //_{\diamond} VP_{1\text{s-g-pl}}} \quad \overline{VP_{1\text{s-g-pl}} //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{en}}} \quad \overline{VP_{\text{en,ing}} //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{ing}}} \quad \overline{VP_{\text{pass,ing}} //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{pass}}} \quad \overline{VP_{\text{inf}} //_{\diamond} NP} \quad \overline{VP_{\text{pass}} //_{\diamond} (VP_{\text{inf}}/NP)} \\
\hline
\overline{(S_{\text{pres}} \backslash NP) //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{en}}} >^{\mathbf{B}} \quad \overline{VP_{\text{pass}}} < \\
\hline
\overline{(S_{\text{pres}} \backslash NP) //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{ing}}} >^{\mathbf{B}} \\
\hline
\overline{(S_{\text{pres}} \backslash NP) //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{pass}}} >^{\mathbf{B}} \\
\hline
\overline{S_{\text{pres}} \backslash NP} >
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c}
\text{dismiss} \quad \text{-ed} \\
\hline
\overline{VP_{\text{inf}}/NP : \lambda x \lambda y. \text{dismiss}' xy} \quad \overline{(S \backslash NP_{\text{agr}}) //_{\diamond} VP_{\text{inf}} : \lambda p \lambda y. \text{past}'(Py)} \\
\hline
\overline{(S \backslash NP_{\text{agr}})/NP : \lambda x \lambda y. \text{past}'(\text{dismiss}' xy)} <^{\mathbf{B}_{\times}}
\end{array}$$