

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \\ \dots \text{CONT} \\ \text{SEM} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{every, dog} \\ \text{INDEX|DR } \boxed{2a} \text{ } x \\ \text{MAIN } \boxed{3a} \text{ dog} \\ \text{EXC } \boxed{2} \forall x (\phi, \psi) \\ \text{INC } \boxed{3} \text{ dog}(x) \\ \text{PTS } \langle \boxed{2}, \boxed{2a}, \boxed{2b}, \boxed{3}, \boxed{3a} \rangle \end{array} \right\rangle \right]$$

$\& \boxed{3} \triangleleft \phi$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \\ \dots \text{CONT} \\ \text{SEM} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{every} \\ \text{INDEX|DR } \boxed{2a} \text{ } x \\ \text{MAIN } \boxed{2b} \forall \\ \text{EXC } \boxed{2} \\ \text{INC } \boxed{2} \forall x (\phi, \psi) \\ \text{PTS } \langle \forall, x, \forall x (\phi, \psi) \rangle \end{array} \right\rangle \right]$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \\ \text{SS|L} \\ \text{SEM} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{dog} \\ \text{CAT|VAL } \left[ \text{SPR } \langle \text{Det } \boxed{2a} \rangle \right] \\ \text{CONT } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{INDEX|DR } \boxed{2a} \\ \text{MAIN } \boxed{3a} \text{ dog} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{EXC } \boxed{2} \\ \text{INC } \boxed{3} \text{ dog}(x) \\ \text{PTS } \langle \text{dog, dog}(\boxed{2a}) \rangle \end{array} \right\rangle \right]$$