$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle \text{every, dog, barks} \rangle \\
\dots \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAIN} & \boxed{4a}\ \text{bark} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{EXC} & \boxed{2}\ \forall x\ (\phi, \psi) \\
\text{INC} & \boxed{4}\ \text{bark(x)} \\
\text{PTS} & \langle \boxed{2}, \boxed{2a}, \boxed{2b}, \boxed{3}, \boxed{3a}, \boxed{4}, \boxed{4a} \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$\&\ \boxed{4} \triangleleft \psi$$

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

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

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle \text{barks} \rangle \\
\text{SS}|\text{L} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT}|\text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{2a}} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MAIN} & \boxed{4a}\ \text{bark} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{EXC} & \boxed{2} \\
\text{INC} & \boxed{4}\ \text{bark(x)} \\
\text{PTS} & \langle \text{bark}, \text{bark}(\boxed{2a}) \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$