$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle \text{every, dog} \rangle \\[4pt]
\text{... CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX}|\text{DR} & \boxed{2a}\ x \\ \text{MAIN} & \boxed{3a}\ \text{dog} \end{bmatrix} \\[12pt]
\text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{EXC} & \boxed{2}\ \forall x\ (\phi,\psi) \\ \text{INC} & \boxed{3}\ \text{dog(x)} \\ \text{PTS} & \langle \boxed{2}, \boxed{2a}, \boxed{2b}, \boxed{3}, \boxed{3a} \rangle \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

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

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle \text{every} \rangle \\[4pt]
\text{... CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX}|\text{DR} & \boxed{2a}\ x \\ \text{MAIN} & \boxed{2b}\ \forall \end{bmatrix} \\[12pt]
\text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{EXC} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{INC} & \boxed{2}\ \forall x\ (\phi,\psi) \\ \text{PTS} & \langle \forall,\ x,\ \forall x\ (\phi,\psi) \rangle \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PHON} & \langle \text{dog} \rangle \\[4pt]
\text{SS}|\text{L} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT}|\text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \text{Det}_{\boxed{2a}} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \\[10pt] \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{INDEX}|\text{DR} & \boxed{2a} \\ \text{MAIN} & \boxed{3a}\ \text{dog} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\[18pt]
\text{SEM} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{EXC} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{INC} & \boxed{3}\ \text{dog(x)} \\ \text{PTS} & \langle \text{dog},\ \text{dog}(\boxed{2a}) \rangle \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$