

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

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

$$\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \\ \dots \text{CONT} \\ \text{SEM} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{every, dog} \\ \text{INDEX|DR } \boxed{2a} x \\ \text{MAIN } \boxed{3a} \text{ dog} \\ \text{EXC } \boxed{2} \forall x (\phi, \psi) \\ \text{INC } \boxed{3} \text{ dog}(x) \\ \text{PTS } \langle \boxed{2}, \boxed{2a}, \boxed{2b}, \boxed{3}, \boxed{3a} \rangle \end{array} \right\rangle \right] \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \\ \text{SS|L} \\ \text{SEM} \end{array} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{barks} \\ \text{CAT|VAL } \left[ \text{SUBJ } \langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{2a}} \rangle \right] \\ \text{CONT } \left[ \text{MAIN } \boxed{4a} \text{ bark} \right] \\ \text{EXC } \boxed{2} \\ \text{INC } \boxed{4} \text{ bark}(x) \\ \text{PTS } \langle \text{bark, bark}(\boxed{2a}) \rangle \end{array} \right\rangle \right] \end{array}$$

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