

$$\begin{aligned}
& \llbracket \text{Bill brought the friend of hers and Sam the friend of John's that Mary thinks } \text{---} \text{ would make a good couple} \rrbracket = \\
& \left(\frac{\frac{[]}{\Downarrow}}{\left(\frac{\frac{\frac{\mathbf{1}_u []}{(\eta \text{ sm.fr.pro}_k^{\triangleright u})^{\triangleright v} \star \lambda m. []}}{m \star \lambda x. []}}{\text{brought } x \text{ b}} \right)} \right)^{\Downarrow} \wedge \left(\frac{\frac{\frac{\frac{\mathbf{1}_{u'} []}{(\eta \text{ sm.fr.j}^{\triangleright u'})^{\triangleright v'} \star \lambda n. []}}{n \star \lambda y. []}}{\text{brought } y \text{ s}} \right)^{\Downarrow} \text{that} \left(\frac{\frac{\frac{[]}{(\eta \text{ m})^{\triangleright k} \star \lambda z. []}}{z}}{\text{cpls}} \right)^{\Downarrow} \left(\frac{\frac{\frac{[]}{\text{---}_{v+v'} \star \lambda m. []}}{m \star \lambda w. []}}{w} \right)^{\Downarrow}
\end{aligned}$$