1. Introduction

   There seems to me to be a problem with the present minimalist model of a generative grammar. In this model, sketched in (1), the lexicon plus the morphosyntax compositionally derive a sentence construal by means of a general movement operation "move alpha".Two interpretive components, the phonology and the rules of semantic interpretation produce sound and sense.

  (1)   LEXICON
         |
       SYNTAX :move alpha
       /   \
   PHONOLOGY INTERPRETATION
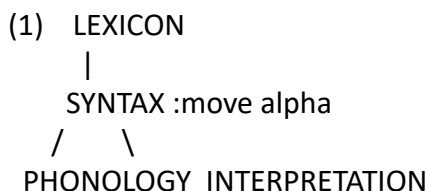
   The problem is that there exist ambiguous sentences which are lexically and syntactically identical, like (2a-f).

  (2) a. John hit Bill   (deliberately/when he fell).
      b. Max had his wisdom tooth removed (deliberately/unwillingly).
      c. The clown amused the children (deliberately/ unwittingly)
      d. This missionery sure makes a good soup (deliberately/ yum yum) said the cannibals.
      e. Beaucoup de soldats se sont blessés ici (exprès/sans le vouloir).
         (Many soldiers self wounded here (deliberately/ unwillingly))
      f. Ce malade se soulève difficilement (malgré ses efforts/ malgré tes efforts).
         (This patient self lifts with difficulty (in spite of his efforts/ in spite of your efforts))

      Such data suggest that a lexical-syntactic derivation does not suffice to determine a sentence construal. I propose that the infinite number of possible syntactic structures are inspired and filtered by a finite, perhaps small, number of conceptual configurations hard-wired in the brain. Conceptual patterns provide ready-made meaningful scenarios which trigger and filter both linguistic and, crucially, non-linguistic behavior.

2. Conceptual configurations (cc's)
2.1. *Simple ccs.*
   Two simple ccs associated with stative sentences are Predication, discussed, for example, by Williams (1980) and Rothstein (1985); and Figure-Ground, elaborated in Talmy (1978) and (2000). They are defined and associated with a small clause syntactic structure in (3) and (4).

  (I) **PREDICATION**: a definite referential DP is linked by an overt or covert F(unctional) Agr(eement) morpheme to a non-referential XP denoting a stage-level or individual level property.

  (3)   FP
        / \
      DP   FP (AGRP)
    +ref / \
        F(Agr) XP
            -ref
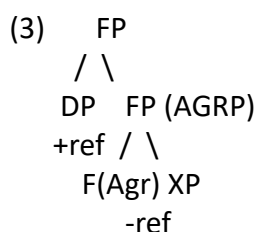
(II) **FIGURE-GROUND**: a relatively larger or more stable +ref DP construed as a GROUND is linked to a relatively smaller or more mobile +ref XP construed as a FIGURE via an F-node with spatial Prepositional-like features.

   (4)   FP
      / \
     DP   FP (+P)
    +ref / \
       F(P) XP
           +ref
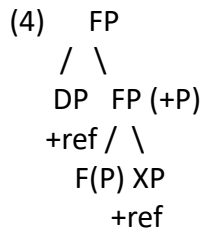
   (5) Predication
      a.Masha kracivaya.
        Masha is beautiful.
      b. I consider [sc *Emma* a good book]. (covert BE)
             Subject Predicate
   (6) Figure-Ground
      a. U menya karzandash
        To/at me a book
      b. I gave [sc Emma   a good book]   (covert HAVE)
           Ground   Figure

2.2. *complex cc's*.
   Guéron and Vogeleer (2022a) and Vogeleer and Guéron (2022b) proposed two complex conceptual scenarios associated with eventive sentences denoting a change of state.

   III. the **GOAL-DIRECTED TRAJECTORY** (**GDT**): A +hu intentional subject sets out on a trajectory aimed at realizing a change of state goal, with the aid of an instrument. This is a *prospective* trajectory: the goal may never be reached.

   (7) John is   looking for Mary. (GDT)

      ____   _____
      +hu
      +intention goal

 A GDT often includes human-to-human *targeting*.

   (8) *Targeting* is a dynamic construal relation between a referential +hu intentional subject located in Spec TP and a local +hu direct or indirect object. Targeting marks the object as sentient, definite and referential, i.e., as existing in the same space-time as the subject.

   Targeting of a +hu direct object identifies a Patient argument. Sentences (2a) and (2c) above are disambiguated by Agent to Patient targeting identifying a GDT.

   The hypothesis that only a direct object targeted by an intentional subject can be construed as definite and specific can account for the Indefiniteness Effect in unaccusative sentences.

(9) a. Il est venu trois/*les hommes.
    (It is come three/*the men)
  b. There is a man/*the man in the garden.
  c. It is raining cats and dogs/* the cats and the dogs.
  d. There were many people/*the people deported.
  e. Il a été lavé beaucoup de chemises/*les chemises.
    (There have been washed many shirts/*the shirts.

   Indirect objects are syntactically or lexically marked with a P feature. Targeting of a +hu indirect object produces a +hu Ground, identified as a Benefactive argument. Targeting of a Dative nominal is overtly marked by the prepositional particle **a** in the Spanish clitic-doubling structure in (10) and by the prepositional particle **à** in causative and inalienable possession structures in French (10) and (11), respectively.

  (10) Le di un caramelo **a** Mafalda.
    (to her I gave a candy to Mafalda)

  (11) J'ai fait laver la vasselle **à** Jean.
    (I made wash the dishes to" Jean)

    Je lui ai fait laver la vaisselle.
    (I to-him made wash the dishes)

  (12) J'ai pris la main **à** la petite fille.
    (I took the hand "to" the little girl)
    Je lui ai pris la main.
    (I to-her took the hand)

  A non-culminated accomplishment, studied by Martin (2015), is a GDT. In (13), the subject has the goal of imparting knowledge of French to a targeted learner;a Goal is by definition not attained at the Reference time.

(13) Marie taught John French, but he learned nothing.

   Every syntactic sentence or CP is associated with a GDT in which an intentional +hu speaker targets a +hu hearer, thus situating the hearer in the reference space-time, while aiming at a goal defined in its Force Phrase.

  IV. The **Result-Cause Trajectory** (RC).
   The second important complex configuration is the Result-Cause trajectory (R-C). While the GDT denotes a prospective physical trajectory in the scope of a subject, the Result-Cause (R-C) scenario is a *retrospective* mental trajectory in the scope of a speaker or other subject of consciousness. When the speaker, perceiving a new state, identifies it as a result state, she undertakes a mental trajectory whose goal is to discover its cause. An R-C is an inverse GDT, with a *retrospective Cause* rather than a *prospective change of state* as its goal.

   A GDT has a +hu intentional subject while a Result-Cause scenario need not have a human subject and even if it does, the human subject is a metonym for a causal situation., as in (2c).

(2c) This missionery sure makes a good soup.

   Verbs like *destroy* or, in English*, kill* can trigger a retrospective Result- Cause scenario with an inanimate causal subject.

   (14) a. The storm [destroyed the city].
         CAUSE   RESULT
       b. The heat/the drought [killed the flowers].
         CAUSE   RESULT

3. Let us call the pair consisting of a syntactic phrase associated with a conceptual configuration an IMAGE. A successful use of Images must meet certain conditions.

   (15) A sentence is "strong" if combines several IMAGES.

   In (16), a small clause realizing a Figure-Ground configuration in VP is embedded in a larger Figure-Ground configuration in TP.

 (16) John has a book in his hand.

   [TP John T [VP has [sc a book in his hand]]]
            ‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
              FIG   GROUND

    ‾‾‾‾‾‾ ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
     GROUND   FIGURE

   Alternatively, a stative Figure-Ground configuration may embed an event description. Benveniste (1966, p.200) famously analysed a perfect past participla structure as a possessive structure.

   (17) "Le parfait présente l'auteur comme possesseur de l'accomplissement" .
      (The perfect structure presents the Agent [of the action] as the possessor of the accomplishment)

   (18) a. Jean a un livre. (French)
       b. Jean a vu Mary
   (19) a. John has a book. (English)
       b. John has seen Mary.
   (20) a. Nora tun e   (Armenian)
          his house is
          (he has a house)
       b. Nora teseal e
           his seen is
           (he has seen)

    (21) The IMAGES which contribute to a sentential construal must be linked by dedicated grammatical mechanisms.

Anaphora is a grammatical mechanism which identifies a Figure-Ground IMAGE embedded within an event description.

(22) a. Je lui ai pris la main.
     Je lui_i ai pris [pro_i la main t_i]

   b. $John_i$ *seated Mary next to* him(self)$_i$.

(23) a. $John_i$ had [TP his$_i$ wisdom tooth removed]. (Ambiguous: Figure-Ground or Causal.)
     b. John had [TP Mary's wisdom tooth removed]. (only causal)

3. Ambiguous sentences vs Palimpsests.

 An ambiguous sentence has two incompatible construals.

(24) Storms arise in this part of the Atlantic.

But a sentential palimpsest is simultaneously associated with two or more ccs. In Guéron (1992,1994) I identified the inverse copula sentence in (25b) as a Palimpsest.

(25) a. John is my best friend.
     b. My best friend is John.

Unlike the English verb *kill*, which is compatible with a Result-cause configuration with inanimate subject as in (26a), the verb *murder* lexically triggers a palimpsest. In (26b) the goal of the intentional subject of the GDT is identical to the result of the murder event. The material instrument of the GDT murder is also evidence which identifies its intentional causer.

(26) a. Drought killed the plants. (= (14b))
     b. Macbeth murdered Duncan/*the plants (with this knife)

The psych verbs in (27a) trigger an R-C. But (2c) repeated in (27b) is ambiguous between the R-C construal with a non-intentional causal subject as in (27a) and a palimpsest in which a causal R-C is also construed as a GDT with an intentional goal-oriented subject.

(27) a. The book amused/intrigued/pleased/ disgusted Mary.
     b. The clown amused the children. (= 2c)

As a grammar evolves, syntactic changes trigger changes in the associated cc.

(28) Host. How do you man, the music *likes* you not.
     Julia. You mistake; the musician *likes* me not.

Causative verbs define an R-C with an inanimate subject and a GDT-RC palimpsest with an intentional subject.,

(29) The noise/Bill made Sue leave the room.

The interesting contrast in (30) from Kayne (1975), has so far not been accounted for to my knowledge.

(30) a. * Je ferai construire cette maison *à* mes arrière-petits-enfants.

   b. Je ferai construire cette maison *par* mes arrière-petits-enfants.

(30b) is an R-C in which the "par NP" phrase is an adjunct to the the VP headed by the verb *construire* which denotes the means by which a result will be attained. But in (30a) the "à NP" phrase is an adjunct of the matrix verb *faire* which signals local targeting of an indirect object by an intentional subject.

The sentence with a resultative small clause in (31b) is a palimpsest which depicts a bidirectional trajectory. It describes a result-cause configuration whose cause is the activity of an intentional subject. In (31b) every subevent of the subject's prospective path is also a subevent of a retrospective mental path culminating in the identification of the cause of a change of place.

(31) a.* John walked [Mary in the house].
   b. John walked [Mary home].

4. Modals
4.1. A modal verb triggers a GDT.
Since   modal auxiliaries, like all other auxiliaries, are unaccusative - they select no subject – their associated Goal cannot be that of the subject. Rather, the speaker uses a modal to convey what she takes to be the goal of the alethic world order. The speaker is the self-designated instrument of that world order.

(32) The time is out of joint, O cursed spite,
   That ever I was born to set it right. (*Hamlet* 1,5,188).

(33) a. John must leave now.
      John$_i$ must [vP t$_i$ leave now]
   b. You must be 18 years old to vote.
      You$_i$ must [t$_i$ be 18 years old to vote]
   c. It can rain without snowing.
   d. it must rain or the crops will rot.
   e. There must be 40 chairs in this room by tomorrow.

4.2. Modality and aspect

Hacquard (2006) discusses contrasts like (34a-b)

(34) a. Hier, Marie pouvait/devait traverser cette rivière à la nage (mais elle ne l'a pas fait).
   (Yesterday Marie could$_{IMP}$/had to$_{IMP}$ swim across the river (but she didn't do it))

   b. Hier, Marie a enfin pu/dû traverser la rivière à la nage (* mais elle ne l'a pas fait).
   (Yesterday Marie finally managed to$_{PF}$/had to$_{PF}$ swim across the river (* but she didn't do it))

   (34a) with *Imperfect* aspect, is a simple GDT. The goal is that of the ongoing world order as

interpreted by the speaker. This goal is not necessarily shared by Marie with *pouvoir* and certainly not with *devoir*.

  Perfective aspect introduces the retrospective point of view of the speaker,; it indicates that an action culminated. (34b) introduces a simple result-cause configuration; it has no goal-oriented modal construal.

  While (35a) is a GDT with non attained goal, (35b) is a palimpsest. It is construed both as an R-C asserting the existence of a result state - John learned French – and as a GDT because that result was precisely Mary's initial goal.

  (35) a. Marie taught John French for two years,but John learned nothing.
      b. Marie taught John French in 2 years (* but John learned nothng)

  (36) Every culminating GDT is a palimpsest in which a GDT and an R-C occupy the same time span.

5. Conclusion.
  Palimpsests such as are illustrated by one construal of (2c), and by (26c) and (35b), are favored in languages. They are very informative. Since a single sentence participates in more than one IMAGE, a palimpsestic sentence means more than the sum of its parts.
  Above all, people love and remember stories. The inclusion of a GDT in the scope of an intentional subject also identified as an R-C in the scope of a perceptive speaker, creates a story about a subject told by a speaker. Like two eyes converging to register a single image, the story situates the subject's prospective point of view and the speaker's retrospective point of view at the two boundaries of an identical event-time span, creating a sentential version of *le temps retrouvé.*

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