Natural language often requires speakers to infer implicit or unexpressed meanings to fully interpret a sentence. While many of these inferences are thought to arise through general pragmatic reasoning, others are argued to be grammatically determined, triggered by the requirements of combinatorial syntax or compositional semantics. This talk explores this general theme through a study of enriched meaning as found in sentences like 'The reported needed/started/enjoyed the article.' that elicit the inference of an implicit activity, e.g. 'write/read'. Linguistic theory suggests that some of these enriching inferences are derived by different grammatical operations: intensional verbs like need require the insertion of covert syntactic structure, while aspectual verbs like start require a semantic type-shift. Unlike these grammatically induced enrichment operations, the enrichment elicited by psychological verbs like enjoy appears to be pragmatic in nature. This talk examines several experimental studies that have investigated the process of enrichment with an aim to distinguish these different grammatical and extra-grammatical routes to enriched meanings. In combination with linguistic theory, these experimental studies help establish that not all inferences are born from the same source.