

- Few people would must leave ‘Few people should leave’
 b. *Weinig mensen moeten vertrekken* Few>must; must>few
 Few people must leave ‘Few people should leave’

Indeed, Dutch *moeten* can take scope below negation when it appears under negation at surface structure in an embedded clause (even though *moeten* can never take scope below negation in main clauses where it precedes it); Dutch *zouden moeten*, by contrast, can never scope under negation.

- (10) a. ... dat Jan niet zou moeten vertrekken *Neg>should; should>neg
 ... that Jan neg would must leave ‘... that Jan shouldn’t leave’
 b. ... dat Jan niet moet vertrekken Neg>must; must>neg
 ... that Jan neg must leave ‘... that Jan shouldn’t leave’

This shows that the proposal that distinguishes between a syntactically triggered enriched exhaustifier EXH_[enr], and a pragmatically triggered ‘plain’ exhaustifier EXH, correctly accounts for the distribution of weak and strong NPIs and PPIs. This account further opens up the possibility to better understand the distinction between grammatical and extra-grammatical computation of implicatures in terms of the co-existence of pragmatic and syntactic mechanisms of triggering particular pragmatic operators in general.