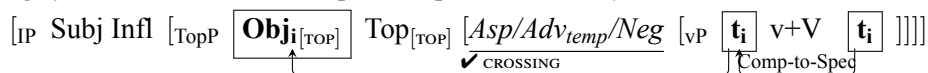


Finally, we argue that the same facilitator effects carry over to finite clauses, where we observe a contrast between IP-internal and IP-external topicalization in (7) (cf. the lack of such a contrast in (2)). Within finite clauses, IP-internal topicalization also requires the presence of either a high facilitator, such as an aspect marker (2a), a temporal adverb (8a), negation (8a), or a low facilitator, such as a VP modifier (8b). By contrast, IP-external topicalization is licit without any of the aforementioned facilitators (7b). We suggest this is because the grammatical subject in Spec, IP serves as a high facilitator.

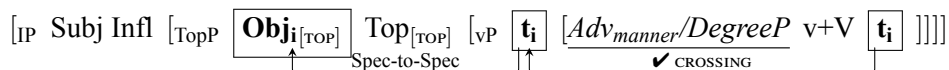
- (7) Context: *Who drinks coffee (habitually)?*
- (8) a. *High facilitators ameliorate anti-locality in finite clauses*
 banned without facilitators
 *Lisi **kafei** he ____.
 Lisi coffee drink
 'Lisi, coffee, every day/does not drink(s) (it).'
- b. *Low facilitators ameliorate anti-locality in finite clauses*
 Lisi **kafei** [he-de ____] [DegreeP de hen kuai].
 Lisi coffee drink-DE very fast
 'Lisi, coffee, drinks (it) fast.'
- a. *IP-internal topicalization in finite clauses:*
 Lisi coffee drink
- b. *IP-external topicalization in finite clauses:*
 grammatical subject as high facilitator
Kafei, Lisi he ____.
 coffee Lisi drink
 'Coffee, Lisi drinks (it).'

3. A crossing-based anti-locality account. We propose that Mandarin topicalization is regulated by the CROSSING-based view of anti-locality in (1). Furthermore, (i) V-to-v head movement expands the local domain for movement from Comp, V to Spec, vP, which follows from (1) (Newman 2020); (ii) crossing/anti-locality is evaluated not at every movement step but only once for a successive movement chain. Derivationally, we assume that both IP-internal topicalization and IP-external topicalization proceed successively through Spec, vP (for independent evidence, see e.g., Chen 2023) and terminate at an IP-internal Spec, TopP and an IP-external Spec, TopP, respectively (see e.g., Chen 2023; Paul 2002, 2005). With these components in place, the facilitator effects in Mandarin topicalization are straightforwardly derived: (9a) illustrates how the presence of an aspect marker, a temporal adverb, or negation, facilitates IP-internal topicalization (similarly, the grammatical subject in Spec, IP facilitates IP-external topicalization). In this case, while the first movement step from Comp, V to Spec, vP violates (1), the second movement step crosses a high facilitator, thereby satisfying (1) for the successive movement chain. (9b) illustrates how the presence of a VP modifier facilitates IP-internal topicalization. In this case, it is the second movement step from Spec, vP to Spec, TopP that violates (1), but because the first movement step crosses a low facilitator, (1) is also satisfied for the successive movement chain.

(9) a. *High facilitators ameliorate Spec-to-Spec anti-locality*



b. *Low facilitators ameliorate Comp-to-Spec anti-locality*



4. Further extensions. The proposal that Mandarin topicalization is regulated by the CROSSING-based view of anti-locality in (1) makes a further unique prediction that derivations involving movement from Spec, VP to Spec, vP, which violates the POSITION-based Spec-to-Spec anti-locality, would be licit as long as crossing is satisfied elsewhere in the successive movement chain. This prediction is borne out: in (10), while the first movement step from Spec, VP to Spec, vP violates (1), because the second movement step from Spec, vP to Spec, TopP crosses a high facilitator, e.g., the aspect marker in (10a), or the grammatical subject in (10b), crossing is satisfied for the successive movement chain. Furthermore, we observe that in answering polar questions, IP-internal topicalization appears to be licit without a facilitator (e.g., negation) (11a) (cf. (7a)); we propose this is because an additional PolP is involved in the movement chain, whose presence is licensed by the verum focus. By contrast, in (11b), IP-internal focalization necessitates a facilitator (e.g., negation); we consider this a preliminary indication that not only topicalization but also focalization in Mandarin is subject to the same facilitator effects.

(10) Context: *Who forced that child to read books?*

- a. Lisi **na-ge haizi**_i bipo*(-guo) ____ [PRO_i kan shu].
 Lisi that-CL child force-EXP read book
 'Lisi, that child, forced (him) to read books.'
- b. **Na-ge haizi**_i, Lisi bipo(-guo) ____ [PRO_i kan shu].
 that-CL child Lisi force-EXP read book
 'That child, Lisi forced (him) to read books.'

(11) Context: *Does Lisi drink coffee?*

- a. Lisi **kafei** [PolP (BU) HE ____].
 Lisi coffee NEG drink
 'Lisi, coffee, does (not) drink (it).'
- b. Lisi zhiyou **KAFEI** *(bu) he ____.
 Lisi only coffee NEG drink
 'Lisi, only coffee, does *(not) drink (it).'