Greek compound adpositions, their arguments and case

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Greek compound adpositions are combinations of a lexical adposition (P) with a functional adposition (K) which takes a DP complement. K can be either *se* or *apo* – the option mostly corresponds to a projective vs. non-projective distinction (Ramadanidis 2022) – but it can also take the form of a genitive clitic (Terzi 2010) or be used without an overt ground (Ramadanidis 2022).

Some adpositions combine only with one type of K, others combine with both. When they express Paths (routes and sources), such compound PPs can only take *apo* as K and can optionally be introduced by another instance of *apo* creating the complex structure [*apo* + P + *apo* + DP].

Genitive clitics can freely replace a *se*+DP complex, but can only replace an apo+DP complex in the locative/directional functions, not the source/route functions. The same is true for null pronouns found in structures where the ground remains covert.

The structures are summarized below:

(1)	+se	+apo	+se/apo
Locative/directional	P + se	P + apo	P + se/apo
	P + clitic	P + clitic	P + clitic
	P + Ø	P + Ø	P + Ø
Source/route		(apo) + P + apo	(apo) + P + apo
		apo + P + clitic	apo + P + clitic
		apo + P + Ø	apo + P + Ø

I present an account based on the view that *se*, *apo* and genitive are all instantiations of Case. I argue that clitics and *se* have properties in common that distinguish them from *apo*. Instead, K=apo must be a reflex of a Path-related head present in compound PP structure (see also Ramadanidis 2022). One exception to this pattern is Ps that select *apo* as K even in the non-Path-oriented frames. These are all projective Ps (Ramadanidis 2022) and the presence of *apo* is attributed to inherent requirements of the structure of these Ps. Given that *apo* is distributionally marked, I claim that *se* and genitive clitics are the unmarked option, which under certain circumstances may be used instead of the more marked *apo*. Among the two unmarked options, *se* and genitive, I show that genitive clitics must be underspecified with respect to the features realized by *apo* and potentially *se* as well.