An Uncouth Preposition

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Like all other infants, at was innocent at birth. A cognate of Latin ad, it bore mainly the same sort of spatial and directional connotations as its Latin and Germanic counterparts. In common with most other prepositions, its field of reference was anchored in the geometry of space, and its extensions were by fairly obvious metaphorical steps from the concrete world to the abstract: at the corner, at the meeting; at the door, at the fight; to shoot at, to look at. These senses are still with us: punctual location, as in at the top, destination as in to arrive at. If we say They sleep at night but not °They work at day it is probably because the night, viewed as the time of sleep, is not a period of conscious activity and is mentally shrunk to a point.

But unlike other prepositions, at has been leading toward a rather strange outcome in recent centuries, a tendency that has become pronounced in our time: it has picked up an affective nuance that shades many of its uses and has helped to render obsolete certain others that do not conform to it. In terms of Osgood's semantic scales, ¹ at has shifted toward the negative pole on the dimension of e v a l u a t i o n: if there is the possibility of a contrast between a neutral or a pleasant meaning and an unpleasant one, attends to assume the latter.

As a form becomes ungainly, it becomes more so when highlighted. The most conspicuous position for a preposition in English is at the end of the phrase; it is not only exposed there, but it takes on its unreduced pronunciation. With at, this means [æt] rather than [ət],

¹ See for example Charles E. Oscood, "Interpersonal Verbs and Interpersonal Behavior", in J. L. COWAN (ed.), Studies in thought and language, pp. 133-228, Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Press, 1970.

and many speakers avoid it who would not avoid another preposition at that spot:

> This is a good place to be in. ?This is a good place to be at.

Does the law say what subject I must talk about? PDoes the law say what speed I must pass at?

Polite English replaces the last example with Does the law say at what speed I must pass? Among the "aggressive" uses of at to be treated below, those with full [æt] are most effective, and in some cases are the only ones possible. Thus At 'im! or At the bastard! as a rallying cry to attack is normal but "At James! is worse than ?At Leander! because of the difficulty of avoiding [ət] before a following stressed syllable. Have \acute{at} [æt] 'im! is normal, but "Háve at [ət] 'im! is not, despite the absence of any general phonological restriction (cf. Lóok at [ət] 'im!).

This effect of the full vowel makes one suspect some kind of phonesthematic tie. The rivalry between [x] and [a:] is probably involved: [a:nt] is more "elegant" for aunt than [xent] is -[x] thus comes to be socially marked ². But probably the strongest contribution is gestural: [x] —and the jaw-dropping that accompanies it— is an expression of annoyance and disgust. This reinforces and is reinforced by the cluster of words riming with [xet], the majority of which have at least one sense that is negatively evaluative: bat (that old bat), fat, gat, gnat, rat, brat, drat, prat, blat, splat, etc. Even the more or less neutral ones are shaded somewhat: mat 'tangle', hat as in old-hat, to pat one on the back for lukewarm approval', pat as an adjective most often encountered in the phrase too pat, etc.

Still, the full vowel only heightens a negativity that pervades the uses of *at* regardless of its pronunciation. The vowel is reduced in the following, yet *at* is more negative than *to*:

I wondered about his acceptance of the job.

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The first could be for any condition of curiosity; the second suggests that the acceptance has aroused suspicions. Similarly, *at* contrasts with zero before *any* referring to time. It would be contradictory to say

² See Leonard FORSTER, "The Symbolic Vowel in ass, bastard, Catholic, and Others", English Studies 30 (1949), 88-91.

• Come at any old time - we'll be glad to see you.

which is normal without *at*; but *at* is normal with a negative command:

You are not to come at any time.

Consequently the traffic signs, seen in many areas, which omit at to save space, are distinctly odd: No parking any time. Compared with always and never, at all times and at no time are markedly stringent:

You must always carry your identification with you; never be without it. You must at all times carry your identification with you; at no time be without it.

For a more systematic look, it will help to key our observations to the definitions and examples provided by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). A good place to start is with definition 21, the phrases expressing 'mutual relations' – these, with their dates, almost seem designed to show the shift to negativity:

1305	all at one rede	1600	at mortal war
1369	at one accord	1671	at variance
1493	at debate	1853	at battle
1539	at contention	1868	at cross purposes
1559	at hate		

The literal senses (spatial nearness, approach, contact) and their close analogs do not necessarily show any evaluative contamination – like other prepositions, at is protected by being, up to a point, a formative in many fairly tight collocations; prepositions tend to resemble affixes in this respect, and not to show a consistent meaning of their own. So in addition to the purely locative at home, at a wedding, at a mother's breast, at the rear, at right angles, and the extended at breakfast, at full speed, at five dollars each, at fifty (age), we have neutral stereotypes like at hand, at law, at work, at a time (two at a time), at leisure. But without a careful study of contexts it is hard to say that even a number of these may be totally unaffected. Certainly there are a number of stereotypes that at first blush seem to be neutral but on examination turn out to be tinged with an unfavorable connotation. At ease apparently means 'relaxed', but its most familiar context of situation is as a military order, and

its most frequent verbal context is the phrase ill at ease. At liberty (You are at liberty to do as you please, The crew is at liberty) means free' but in a restricted and rather unpleasantly formal way. At least makes a grudging concession; at most and at best imply 'not as many' and 'not as good' as might be -we do not say * At best it is wonderful, but rather At best it is only fair (In his finest moments he was wonderful does not suggest the not-so-good other moments). Even the "neutral" expressions have a surprising tendency to lean leftward. A person desiring an interview who is told that the person he wishes to see is at work is less apt to insist than if told he is working: He's at work but I guess I can interrupt him is a bit incongruous by comparison with He's working but I guess I can interrupt him. (At work meaning 'away on the job' is more strongly locative.) And here we see the selective pressures that may eliminate a contrary idiom: no one would say, now, in American English, that the children are at play; we would say they are playing. (The larger expressions at work or at play and hard at work survive as sheltered collocations). The neutral at this rate in At this rate the power can be safely cut off becomes tendentious when used figuratively: At this rate it will take us all night (the favorable At this rate we'll finish in a jiffy is not quite so likely). To be priced at seems neutral, yet a bargain is more apt to be expressed with for (You can get it for fifty cents a gallon) and a stiff price with at (What do you think of milk at two dollars a gallon!); at that price is more likely an unfavorable price, whether high or low.

The more obviously unfavorable collocations are abundant. At large (apart from set phrases like delegate-at-large) is seldom used except to refer to criminals on the loose. At random suggests carelessness; there appears to be no antonym with at. At a stretch is used for an extremely unlikely possibility. At an advantage is seldom heard; at a disadvantage is commonplace. The phrases that refer to 'will or disposition' (OED definition 24) are mostly used for one person's being in subjection to another: at one's will, pleasure, mercy, disposal, command, beck and call. To set at nought is standard for 'to depreciate'; no antonym appears using at. Several expressions refer to conflict: at odds, at loggerheads, at outs, at issue, at sword's point. One may be young in heart but one is sick at heart and sick at one's stomach. One who is cornered is at bay. The seedily dressed are out at elbows and down at heels. One who is perplexed is at a loss. Desperate measures are taken at all costs, and there is no pleasure in what one is at pains to do. At that introduces a contingency that is worse than one expected (At that - even though they provided all the capital

he needed'— he made a botch of it). The pro-tobacco forces implied that the proponents of the California no-smoking initiative were up to no good in their widely displayed billboard ad: *They're at it again*. We say *Look at you*! in strong disapproval of someone's appearance or stance.

So much for stereotypes. What of the more productive uses of at^2 . These can more readily be identified through some specific content of at that contributes as much to the meaning of the verb phrase as the verb itself. Such a sense is the one defined by the *OED* (definition 13) as 'in the direction of, towards, so as to get at; often with hostile intent, "against". With to be or to keep and a personal object, this is the only meaning possible:

The midges are at me again. (OED definition 3 c). Why do they keep at me all the time?

The preposition here usually has the full vowell [æ], and the resemblance to other verb-like particles such as *Out!*, *Up!*, *Back!* is obvious (compare At 'im!, above). The same use can be found with nonpersonal objects, and this creates a potential contrast with the purely locative, where either [æt] or [ət] is normal: *He's at* [æt]*that lecture again* can mean either that he is there or that he is attacking it; *He's at* [ət] *that lecture again* can mean only that he is there.

But the main effect of this "hostile" sense of *at* is in the way it collocates with verbs that are congruent in meaning, for example

run	aim	strike
rush	let drive	kick
go	let fly	hammer
go throw	lunge	
shoot	thrust	

At is preferred by verbs that signify 'motion toward attainment' when the action is abrupt or desperate: one may *reach for* something gently, but to *reach at* it is in spite of odds —and similarly *snatch*, *clutch*, *catch at* (*OED* definition 14). At refers to aim, and the hostility arises from the intent embodied in aiming. Thus one can say

He intended the ball for the net, but accidentally hit it to the court.

but to say at the court here might be understood to contradict accidentally. Overtly physical hostility shades off to verbal, gestural, or attitudinal: one may shout to or at someone, but the less polite yell normally calls for at, and yak, scream, shriek, scold, and rail demand it (She railed at me, ^o She railed to me). One may gripe, complain, grumble, grouse, fret, fuss, fume, chafe, growl, bellyache, crab, or clamor ABOUT something TO someone, but with at the action is directed TOWARD the offending thing or person. There is a set of verbs that fall somewhere near this delocutive class which displays interesting correlations with degree of force and degree of unfavorableness. It includes laugh, smile, scowl, sneer, and their synonyms. The literally unfriendly call for at (unless they are transitive to begin with, like pan, flout, and scorn):

scoff	jeer	scowl
snort	gibe	frown
sneer	mock	hiss
sniff	fleer	hoot

These PROJECT an emotion (of disapproval). The others overlap with a large class defined by the OED (definition 36, but applying equally to 35) as 'introducing what is at once the exciting cause and the object of active emotions' —a cause turned backward on itself. To be angry is the paradigm case. One who is angry at something both has one's emotions aroused BY it and reflects those emotions back UPON it. And this duality is incorporated in at, whose original locative sense was adapted to the causal aspect (anger UPON THE OCCASION OF the cause) and whose aggressive tendencies have brought it increasingly toward the projective aspect. We can sti say I was startled at what they said, but the at (unlike by) suggests an attitude of rejection. This is more pronounced with the verb that are more frequent and that yield more to the popular tendency: to be surprised at can be used in almost purely a projective sense:

I'm surprised at you! How could you behave that way!

• I was agreeably surprised at her is contradictory, in spite f the fact that one can say I was agreeably surprised when I saw her performance. The purely causal They exulted at their triumph sounds a bit quaint today, and if rejoice at is close to the purely causal, one must remember that it is not a colloquial expression. Nouns such as joy, satisfaction, happiness, and pleasure seem to be restricting at ore or less to a temporal usage that relates to a point in time: ere at is better able to defend its older meaning, given the kinship between point-in-time and point-in-space. So we can say our pleasure (happiness, joy, satisfaction) at seeing them married, but our pleasure

(etc.) at their marriage is now a shade off the mark. On the other hand, as might be predicted, the negations of these are fine with noun objects: our displeasure (dissatisfaction, irritation, vexation, impatience, unhappiness, annoyance, sorrow) at their marriage. The strongest of these, annoyance and irritation, can be used with personal objects as well: our annoyance at John is sharper than our annoyance with John.

Cetting back to the *laugh-smile* class, we find these also embodying cause and projection. Since the emotion is externalized (a laugh is audible, a smile is visible), the notion of aiming it at an object -the basic directional sense of at- makes favorable as well as unfavorable senses possible:

They giggled (tittered, simpered, snickered) at the boys (at what the boys said).

Chuckle, as a less outwardly-directed manifestation of emotion, is closer to cause than to projection (They chuckled at what the boys said), and is not apt to be used with a personal object (?They chuckled at the boys). Similarly with to split one's sides. But despite the comparatively firm hold on the directional sense, there is a tendency here, too, for the verbs to be used more often for derision than for applause. Even the almost eulogistic smile can be used in this way -though She smiled at him is benign, She smiled at his awkwardness is mild ridicule. And though They laughed (guffawed) at the clowns (at the joke) is applause of a sort, They laughed (guffawed) at the boys is probably derision. Similarly We were amused at them. Here again, as with annoyed, angry, etc., with is softer: We were amused with them. In fact, with and at seem to have moved in opposite directions. With originally signified 'opposition', as it still does in some protected collocations: to fight (contend, struggle, war) with. The current state of affairs is embodied in the locution We're not laughing at you, we're laughing with you.

There remains a use of at typical of a particular verb, to play, originally employed in a neutral sense but with a developing negative bias that affects other verbs as well. This may be partly by contamination from play at, or play at may reflect what has happened to the other verbs. In any case they constitute an open class, though there are favored collocations: work at, read at, saw at, study at, etc. It appears that originally —as in French today— one might play a game, but if the name of the game was given, one played at it. The OED cites Chaucer (definition 16 of play): For fals Fortune hath pleyd a game Atte ches with me; an earlier citation (definition 17) is to play at bal. If the surviving expression Two can play at that game is an indication, at might also be used with game; and there was no negative connotation. But --probably in part at least as a form of syntactic clipping- play at in the neutral sense has now been reduced to play as a transitive verb, and play at has taken on a trifling sense:

Do you like golf? -Oh, I've played at it from time to time, but I don't take it seriously.

So one may read at a book, saw at a piece of wood, pick at one's food, write at a letter. We see here the directional sense of at, which, by signifying an a p p r o a c h to something, comes to mean no more than an approach. Not all instances are unfavorable; some are merely iterative —a manner of acting that involves repeated approaches: one who is working on a thesis is doing so with concentrated attention; one who is working at a thesis is not necessarily trifling with it but may be coming back to it repeatedly from other responsibilities, perhaps plugging away at it. But the potential for triviality is there.

Finally, *at* cements its relationship to negativity by forming part of the standard negative intensifier, *at all*:

What do you think of it? - I don't like it at all.

Running through all the senses of at is the instability of something balanced on a point, threatening to tilt one's way, to escape one's grasp, to change for the worse.

It seems that the primary senses of *at* have caused it to fall in with a rough crowd of verbs that have little respect for their objects, and this, coupled with the phonetic misfortune of its ugly vowel, has cast a pall over *at* such as afflicts no other preposition. One rather expects affective nuances among the heavy "content" words, but it is a bit surprising to discover that even prepositions are not exempt.

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