# THE PERIPHRASTIC USE OF *SHALL* AND *WILL* IN MODERN ENGLISH

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One cannot read through the mass of discussions of the problem of *shall* and *will* published during the past century[1] nor even those written since 1900[2] without being impressed by the wide diversity of the points of view and the definite conflict of the opinions and conclusions thus brought together.   Even among those articles that can be grouped as expressing the conventional rules[3] there is considerable variety and contradiction, not in the general rule for independent declarative statements (that a *shall* with the first person corresponds with a *will* with the second and third) but in the other rules concerning questions, reported discourse, and subordinate clauses. That there is a considerable body of literary usage which conflicts with the conventional rules is indicated by the many pages in these articles devoted to pointing out instances in which "the best of our authors" have violated the rules.[4]

Opposed to those articles giving the conventional rules is not only this fairly large amount of usage, the number of instances pointed out as "blunders," but also the views ex-

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[1] See the Bibliographical Note on pp. 983 below.

[2] Important contributions to the *shall* and *will* problem appear in the following:

Sweet, *New English Grammar*, II, Syntax (1898), 92-96.

Krüger, *Syntax der Englischen Sprache*, IV, Zeitwort, (2nd ed. Dresden and Leipzig, 1914) 1425-1500.

*The New English Dictionary*, (article *shall*).

C. B. Bradley, "*Shall and Will—An Historical Study*," *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assn.*, 42 (1911), 5-31.

G. O. Curme, "*Has English a Future Tense?*" *J.E.G. Ph.* XII(1913), 515-539.

Ph. Aronstein, "*Shall und Will zum Ausdrucke der Idealität im Englischen*," *Anglia*, XLI, (1917), 10-93; 301-392.

[3] Compare for example the rules for *shall* and *will* as given in Blount and Northrup, *English Grammar*, Woolley, *Handbook of Composition*, Fowler and Fowler, *The King's English*.

[4] R. G. White, *Every Day English*: " . . . . I proposed to give in this chapter a long series of plain unmistakable examples of its misuse by English writers of which I have numerous memorandums scattered upon the fly-leaves of my

pressed in the more scientific contributions listed above (see note 2). These, attempting to base their generalizations and statements upon actual studies of the usage, attack not only those subordinate rules upon which the conservatives themselves are at variance but some would overturn even the first general rule for *shall* and *will* upon which the former all agree.[5] Among these more scientific studies there is also to be found

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books. But my readers I am sure will be quite content that I should spare my labor, and give only the following from Cowley, Richard Burthogge, Samuel Shaw (the Puritan divine), Steele, Addison, Swift, Samuel Palmer, Shenstone, Burke, Landor, Robert Blakey, and Sydney Smith . . . ."

Fowler and Fowler, *The King's English* (pp. 141-153) contains examples of "blunders" taken from the following: *Daily Telegraph, London Times*, Richardson, Jowett, F. M. Crawford, *Westminster Gazette*, Burke, S. Ferrier, Wilde, Stevenson, Crockett, Conan Doyle, *Spectator*, H. Sweet, Gladstone.

See also Molloy, *Shall and Will*, 85-105; and S. P. E. Tract VI, *Shall and Will, Should and Would in the Newspapers of Today.* In the latter, five pages of examples are introduced with the statement, "It is therefore the object of this paper to exhibit groups of sentences *all from newspapers of the better sort* in which one or other principle of idiom has been outraged."

[5] See, for example, the following statement by Curme (*J.E.G. Ph.*, XII, (1913), 530, 531).

"It will become clear upon reflection that the statement of the English grammarians that *shall*, not *will* expresses futurity in the first person will not hold. Here, as elsewhere, *shall* does not approach this idea as closely as *will*. *Shall* represents the speaker as planning in present time for a future act, while *will* breaks the connection with the present and in lively tone directs our attention to the future. We have here two futures, each with a distinct and useful meaning, the result of a long historical development."

It may be interesting to note here the following instances of Curme's own use of these auxiliaries. Whether they would (by the ordinary reader) be interpreted in accord with his statements of the meaning of these two words is perhaps an open question. The *we will* agrees, but does the *we shall* of the first example following convey the idea of present plan or does it indicate the inevitable result?

"It is a delicate piece of work we have before us, where we must think and feel, but it's worth all the pain and effort. *We shall* get an insight into an earnest struggle of over seven hundred years, where the English people with its characteristic dogged persistence has striven for a finer and more accurate expression of its thoughts and feelings that have reference to future time" (*Ibid.*, 516).

"If we take up a copy of the King James version of the Bible (1611 A.D.) *we will find* an exceedingly large number of cases where in all parts of the English speaking territory we today use *will* instead of the older *shall*" (*Ibid.*, 521).

much variety and conflict.[6]  In all this mass of material there

[6] Some of the outstanding conflicts in the statements concerning *shall* and *will* as they appear in the leading discussions of the present generation are:

A. Sweet, The *New. Eng. Dict.*, and Aronstein accept the usual conventional rule for independent declarative statements of a *shall* with the first person corresponding to a *will* with the second and third.  Bradley, on the other hand, insists that, outside of London, Oxford, and Boston, and those few people who have schooled themselves consciously to say *I shall*, "*will* is now the accepted auxiliary for simple prediction in all persons"; Krüger finds that many native southern Englishmen use *will* for *shall*; and Curme, in more definite fashion asserts that "the statement of the English grammarians that *shall* not *will* expresses futurity in the first person does not hold."

B. Sweet and Krüger emphasize the difference between the meaning of the strongly stressed and that of the unstressed auxiliary.  The *New Eng. Dict.*, Bradley, and Aronstein are silent in respect to the special stressing of the auxiliary, although the *New Eng. Dict.* does recognize in a limited way the meaning of determination or resolve which Sweet asserts attaches to the strongly stressed form.  Curme speaks of the strongly emphasized *shall* or *will* but insists that this emphasis does not change the fundamental ideas carried "in every instance" by these two words.

C. Sweet and Aronstein agree that *we two, we all*, etc. take *will* not *shall* for simple prediction; Krüger flatly asserts that these combinations take *shall* not *will*.

D. The *New Eng. Dict.* accepts the conventional rule for the use of *shall* in "categorical questions with the second person."  Bradley, although accepting the fact that *shall you?* is used sometimes, declares that this use is not directed by any "sentiment" for "that auxiliary which is naturally to be expected in the answer" but solely because it has "not yet been wholly supplanted by *will you?*" Aronstein adds to the usual statement of the usage in questions with the second person that *will* is used in "rhetorical questions" where no answer is expected.

E. The *New Eng. Dict.* gives as the usage in indirectly reported speech "either the retention of the auxiliary used by the speaker or the substitution of that which is appropriate to the point of view of the person reporting."  Bradley represents usage in this situation as shifting the auxiliaries to fit the grammatical persons "as they stand in the report" with the exception of an original *I shall* which is "always reported by *shall*."

F. Sweet calls the past development of the use of these two words "unmeaning fluctuation" which in Southern England has settled down into a "fixed system of complicated rules" but which in other dialects has tended to completely banish *shall*.  To Bradley this development is not "unmeaning fluctuation" but "the age long attempt of English speech to achieve a colorless statement of futurity," in which he sees the hopeless obscuring "of a singularly sound and valuable distinction" to make "an unworkable scheme for simple prediction."  Curme views the development as "an earnest struggle of over seven hundred years" in which the English people "has striven for a finer and more accurate expression of its thoughts and feelings that have reference to future

is hardly a general statement for which a direct contradiction cannot be found coming from a source that merits careful consideration. Thus after more than a century of discussion of the problem of *shall* and *will* there are no thoroughly accepted views of what the actual usage of these two words is, of the meaning and trend of the development of that usage, and of the causes which gave rise to it. Instead, the student is confronted with a multitude of articles presenting a many sided conflict of opinion.

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time." The result, in his opinion, has been a successful forming of "two futures with finely differentiated meanings." This result has not been attained in England where "a defective arrested development" still uses *I shall* in the first person to express simple futurity, nor in the Irish and the Scotch dialects where the valuable distinctive meanings of *shall* have been lost, but it has been attained in American usage where *shall* is retained whenever its indefinite meaning is appropriate but is elsewhere replaced by *will* for the sake of greater accuracy of expression and a finer differentiation of meaning. Aronstein repudiates the idea that the change shown in American usage is a *finer* differentiation of clear cut meanings and contends that it is rather a *cruder simplification* of those meanings.

G. Sweet finds an explanation for the supposed present use of *shall* and *will* in the "desire to keep the original meaning of these verbs as much as possible in the background." Krüger follows Grimm's suggestion of "courtesy" to account for the usual shift of forms in direct statements. But this "courtesy" came into conflict with ambiguity in some situations and there, as in questions with the second person, clearness of idea won out. Bradley finds the modern use to arise from a "disqualifying of *shall*" for the work of simple prediction. Three causes contributed to this "disqualifying of *shall*": (a) the rise of a new meaning in *shall* of personal compulsion which caused a reluctance to use it in connections where it might be understood as a threat; (b) the affected formalism of the eighteenth century in dealing with the second person; (c) the reduction of *will* in the spoken language to the enclitic form 'll. Aronstein finds that the two futures of the seventeenth century (an objective future with *will* and a subjective future with *shall*, having finely differentiated meanings especially in the second and third persons) have been partially wrecked in the present speech because the rationalizing tendency of the eighteenth century and the conscious analyzing of speech by grammarians have overridden this nicety of instinctive feeling and placed in its stead less discriminating conventions and rules.

H. Krüger and Bradley insist that the present usage has developed since Shakspere; Curme and Aronstein that it was already fixed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

By way of contributing toward the solution of this problem the present study aims to investigate first, the origin and development of the conventional grammatical rules concerning *shall* and *will*, and, second, the actual usage of these two words in the English drama from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present time.                                    '

## PART ONE

### *THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONVENTIONAL RULES*

In the search for the facts concerning the framing, development, and general acceptance of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will* all the available English grammars[7] published during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries and many of those of the first half of the 19th century were examined in an attempt to establish the chronology of the conventional rules for the expression of the English future tense, and also the linguistic attitude of the grammarians by whom these rules were first framed.

#### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE RULES

The list of grammars follows. Only those are included in this list in which is given some statement of *shall* and *will* as signs of the future tense.

An examination of the discussions of the English future tense as given in the grammars listed reveals the following significant facts:

1. In the grammars published before 1622 there is no indication of any distinction between the use of the auxiliaries *shall* and *will*, with any of the three grammatical persons, when joined with the infinitive to form the future tense. From the statements offered by these grammarians concerning the formation of the

[7] This term "grammars" includes dictionaries and other discussions of the language published during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.

| Date of 1st ed. | Author | Title | Text used |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1530 | John Palsgrave | L'Esclarcissement etc. | (Repr. F. Genin) |
| 1532 | Giles DuWes | An Introduction etc. | (Repr. F. Genin) |
| 1586 | W. Bullokar | Bref Grammar | (Repr. Palaestra, LII) |
| 1590 | John Stockwood | English Accidence | (1590) |
| 1594 | P. Gr. | Grammatica Anglicana | (1594) |
| 1602 | Anon. | Certain Grammar Quessions | (1602) |
| 1619 | Alexander Gil | Logonomia Anglica | (Repr. Q. P F. 90-92) |
| 1622 | George Mason | Grammaire Angloise | (Repr. Brotanek) |
| 1633 | Charls Butler | The English Grammar | (1633) |
| 1640 | Ben Jonson | English Grammar | (Repr. Waite, and Folio 1692) |
| 1641 | R. R. | An English Grammar | (1641) |
| 1653 | John Wallis | Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae | (1653) |
| 1658 | Edward Phillips | New World of Words | (6th, 1706) |
| 1669 | John Milton | Accedence Commenced Gram. | (Bohn) |
| 1671 | S. Skinner | Etymologicon | (1671) |
| 1685 | C. Cooper | Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae | (Repr. Brotanek) |
| 1706 | Richard Johnson | Grammatical Commentaries | (1706) |
| 1710 | (Anon. for Brightland) | English Grammar | (2nd, 1712) |
| 1736 | (Anon. for Hodges) | A New English Accidence | (1736) |
| ? | Thomas Dyche | English Grammar (Prefixed to Dict.) | (3rd, 1740) |
| 1745 | J. Newberry | Grammar Made Familiar etc. | (3rd, 1755) |
| 1751 | J. Harris | Hermes | (4th, 1786) |
| 1754 | Benj. Martin | An Introduction etc. | (3rd, 1766) |
| 1755 | Samuel Johnson | English Grammar | (1755) |
| 1755 | Samuel Johnson | Dictionary | (1755) |
| 1756 | V. J. Peyton | Elements of English Language | (1794) |
| 1761 | Joseph Priestley | English Grammar | (5th, 1798) |
| 1762 | Robert Lowth | A Short Introduction | (1762, and 1767) |

| Date of 1st ed. | Author | Title | Text used |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1765 | Wm. Ward | A Grammar of the Eng. Lang. | (2nd. 1767) |
| 1766 | John Ash | English Grammar | (1766) |
| 1767 | James Buchanan | English Grammar | (1767) |
| 1768 | Joseph Priestley | Notes and Observations | (1798) |
| 1780 | (Anon. for Thomas Dodson) | Comprehensive Grammar | (3rd, 1789) |
| 1782 | Ralph Harrison | Rudiments of English Gr. | (1782) |
| 1783 | James Beattie | Theorie of Language Pt. II | (1783) |
| 1784 | (Anon. for J. Norman) | British Grammar | (1784) |
| 1784 | Noah Webster | Institutes (Part 2) | (1787) |
| 1788 | Charles Coote | Elements of the Grammar of the English Language | (1788) |
| 1789 | James Pickbourn | A Dissertation on the English Verb | (1789) |
| 1789 | Noah Webster | Dissertations on the English Language | (1789) |
| 1790 | Caleb Alexander | A Grammatical System of the English Language | (7th, 1802) |
| 1791 | Joseph Hutchins | An Abstract of the First Principles of Eng. Gr. | (1791) |
| 1795 | Lindley Murray | English Grammar | (1795 and others) |
| 1795 | Alexander Miller | A Concise Grammar | (1795) |
| 1795 | Benjamin Dearborn | The Columbian Grammar | (1795) |
| 1797 | Jonathan Burr | English Grammar | (1797) |
| 1801 | David Gurney | The Columbian Accidence | (1801) |
| 1803 | Daniel Adams | The Thorough Scholar | (2nd, 1810) |
| 1808 | Adoniram Judson, Jr. | Elements of Eng. Gr. | (1808) |
| 1810 | William Hazlitt | A New and Improved Grammar of the English Tongue | (1810) |
| 1818 | William Cobbett | English Grammar | (1818) |
| 1822 | C. M. Ingersoll | Conversations on English Etymology and Syntax | (1822) |
| 1823(?) | Samuel Kirkham | English Grammar | (1829 and 35th, 1833) |
| 1824 | J. Greenleaf | Grammar Simplified | (1824) |
| 1825 | Mark Twitchell | The American Instructor | (1825) |
| 1829 | William Fowle | The True English Grammar | (1829) |

future tense one concludes that to their minds *shall* and *will* could be used indiscriminately with all three persons.[8]

[8] (a) "There be thre Tymz caled Tence. The tym that iz Now, caled the Present-Tenc': az, I lou. The tym Past, caled the Preter-Tence': as I loued. The tym Too Com caled the Futur-Tenc': az I shal or wil lou."

"Verbz of the first Coniugation ar thus declyned.

| Fut. | I shal or wil | We | shal |
| tenc | thu shalt or wilt | Plu. ye or you | or    lou |
| Sing. | he shal or wil | they | wil |

The present-tenc iz som tym uzed futurly by raezn of som adverb or other spech in the sentenc shewing a tym too com: az, I ryd ten dayz hence, and my man cometh after me." Bullokar, *Bref Grammar*, (1586).

(b) "There be divers words in English, the which sometimes are signes of a verbe, and somtimes they are verbs themselves.

"Qu.  Which be they?

"An.  These among the rest: Do, doest, doth, did, diddest, have, hast hath, had, haddest, shall, shalt, will, wilt, may, can, might, would, should, ought, oughtest, am, art, are, was, wast, bin, be, and such like, the which being set before other verbs, are but signes of the verbe, and somtimes are tokens of the tense of the verbe, and somtimes are tokens of the voice of the verbe, as namely whether he be active, passive, or neuter. And sometimes they are verbs themselves, and that for the most part, being set alone." Stockwood, *English Accidence*, (1590).

(c)                          De futuro primo

"Futurum primum idem est cum Themate, post posita persona expressa, aut intellecta. ut *Hate thou, hate he.* Plu. *Hate we. Hate ye. hate they.*"

De futuro secundo

"Futurū secundū circūscribitur syntaxi infiniti & praesentis verbi *will* vel *shall* ut *I shall* vel *will hate. Thou shalt* vel *wilt hate. He shall* vel *will hate.* Plul *Wee shall* vel *will hate,* &c."

De verbo passivo

"Futurum primum: *Be thou hated, be he hated.* Plu. *Be we hated, be ye hated be they hated.*

"Futurum secundum. *I shall* vel *will be hated. Thou shalt* vel *wilt be hated, hee shall* vel *will be hated, yee shall* vel *will be hated, they shall* vel *will be hated.*" P. G., *Grammatici Anglicana* (1594), 21, 24, 25.

(d)

"Q.  Which be the signes of the tenses?

"R.  These ⎰ Do or doth
⎪ Did
⎪ Have
⎨ Had
⎪ shall or will
⎩ or hereafter

Whether anything of a discrimination between the two words is to be inferred from Gil's statement that *shal* forms the future in the Imperative (see note 8-e below), or from his use of the two words in the example "When I shal hav tauht mj skolars, I wil kum tu yü," is doubtful.

2. The first statement of a distinction of use between *shall* and *will* in forming the future tense was found in George Mason's *Grammaire Angloise* (1622):[9]

> Le signe du futur est, *shall* or *will*, mais il n'en faut pas user indifferemment: car si vous usez de ce signe, *shall*, quand il faut dire, *will*, il a mauvaise grace, oultre qu'il semblera que vous parliez d'audace: example; vous pouvez dire elegamment, *If I doe eate that, I shall be sicke, si je mange cela, je sera malade:* au lieu que si vous disiez, *I will be sicke*, il sembleroit que volontairement vous volussiez estre malade: ains vous pouvez dire: *I hope you will be my good friend, j'espere que vous me serez amy: If you doe that, you shall bee beaten or chidden. Si vous faites cela, vous serez batu ou tancé: But I shall not, mais non seray: but you shall not chuse, mais vous ne choisirez pas,* cest a sçauoir, *ce ne sera pas à vostre chois:* pour le fair court, il est malaisé d'en bailler reigle certaine, parquoy je vous r'envoye a l'usage, auquel, á fin de mieux y parvenir, nous vous proposerons la variation de certains verbes (pp. 25, 26).

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"Q.  What signe hath the Future tense?

"R.  These signes, shall or will or hereafter.

<div align="center">Anon, <em>Certaine Grammar Questions</em>, (1602) 43, 45</div>

(e)            "Formatio temporum in Activis: & Neutris.

"Futurum formatur á Praesenti, per signa *shal*, aut *wil* in Indicativo; *shal* in Imperativo; hereafter, in Potentiali, & Infinitivo."

| "I shall | luv | đou shalt | luv | hí shal | luv | amabo |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Futur    aut | tëch | aut | tëch | aut | tëch | docebo |
| wil | spëk | wilt | spëk | wil | spëk | dicam |

Plur. wi', yi', đei, shal aut wil luv, tëch, spëk"

"Modi Imperativi.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Futur. đou shalt | luv | amato | | luv | amato |
| | tëch | doceto  hi shal | | tëch | doceto ille |
| | spëk | dicito | | spëk | dicito |
| Plural yi shal | luv | amatote | | luv | amanto |
| | tëch | docetote đei shal | | tëch | docëto |
| | spëk | dicitote | | spëk | dicûto" |

Fut. I shal bi' tauħt, aut I wil bi' tauħt, docebor.

<div align="center">Gil, <em>Logonomia Anglicana</em> (1619, 1621), 63, 69, 70, 72.</div>

[9] Grammaire / Angloise / Contenant reigles bien exactes & / certaines de la Prononciation, Or / thographe, & Construction de nostre langue; / En faveur des estrangiers qui en / son desireux. / Par George Mason / Marchand de Londres. / A Londres. / Chez Nat. Butler / 1622.

This statement does not offer a specific rule but it contains the germ of the definite rules first formulated by Wallis in his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653):

> *Shall* and *will* indicant Futurum. Uret, *it shall burn, it will burn.*
>
> Quoniam autem extraneis satis est cognitu difficile, quando vel hoc vel illud dicendum est; (non enim promiscue dicimus *shall & will*); neq; tamen alii quos vidi ullas tradidere regulas quibus dirigantur; has ego tradere necessarium duxi, quas qui observaverit hac in re non aberrabit.
>
> In primis personis *shall* simpliciter praedicentis est; *will*, quasi promittentis aut minantis.
>
> In secundus & tertiis personis. *shall* promittentis est aut minantis,*will* simpliciter praedicentis.
>
> Uram, ures, uret, uremus, uretis, urent: *I shall burn, you will burn, (thou will), he will, we shall, ye will, they will burn*; nempe hoc futurum praedico: vel *I will, you shall, (thou shalt) he shall, wee will, yee shall, they shall burn*; nempe, hoc futurum spondeo, vel, faxo ut sit.
>
> *Would & should* illud indicant quod erat, vel esset, futurum: cum hoc tamen discrimine; *would* voluntatem innuit seu agentis propensionem, *should* simpliciter futurionem.
>
> Urerem; urere debebam, deberem,—volebam, vellem; *I should*, or *would, burn* (pp. 94, 95).

3. In the grammars published between 1622, the first appearance of the conventional distinction, and 1653, there is no indication of any discrimination between the uses of these two words in the formation of the future.

4. The grammars published between 1653 and 1762 either fail to indicate any distinction between the two words as auxiliaries, as did all those, except Mason's, before 1653, or (with two exceptions) they simply copy or repeat the statements appearing in Wallis.[10]

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[10] For example, no distinction is recognized in the following:

Phillips, *New World of Words* (1658)

Milton, *Accedence Commenced Grammar* (1669)

Martin, *An Introduction* etc. (1754)

The following authors repeat the statements of Wallis:

C. Cooper, *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685)

R. Johnson, *Grammatical Commentaries* (1706)

Anon. (for Brightland), *English Grammar* (1710)

Anon. (for Hodges), *A New English Accidence* (1736)

J. Newbery, *Grammar Made Familiar* (1745)

J. Priestley, *English Grammar* (1761)

The two exceptions are the books of Samuel Johnson (1755) and V. J. Peyton (1756). Peyton's grammar points out no distinction of use with the several grammatical persons but says, "*Shall* denotes necessity, and *will* the will;

**5. In 1762, in the grammar of Robert Lowth, appeared the first discussion of the uses of *shall* and *will* in interrogative**

so that, when the thing depends on the will of the agent, they use the sign *will*, and on other occasions the sign *shall*."

Samuel Johnson's grammar (prefixed to his dictionary) rather characteristically disposes of the matter by giving the conjugation of *shall* with the infinitive as forming one future, then the conjugation of *will* with the infinitive as forming a second future, and adding the remark, "By reading these futures may be observed the variations of *shall* and *will*."

The explanation given in his dictionary in the discussion of the word *shall* is somewhat more definite. "The explanation of *shall;* which foreigners and provincials confound with *will*, is not easy; and the difficulty is increased by the poets, who sometimes give to *shall* an emphatic sense of *will*: but I shall endeavour, crassa Minerva, to show the meaning of *shall* in the future tense.

"(1) *I shall love.*      It will so happen that I must love; I am resolved to love.

(2) *Shall I love?*      Will it be permitted me to love?  Will you permit me to love?  Will it happen that I must love?

(3) *Thou shalt love.*      I command thee to love; it is permitted thee to love; (in poetry or solemn diction) it will happen that thou must love.

(4) *Shalt thou love?*      Will it happen that thou must love?  Will it be permitted to thee to love?

(5) *He shall love.*      It will happen that he must love; it is commanded him that he love.

(6) *Shall he love?*      Is it permitted him to love?  In solemn language, Will it happen that he must love?

(7) The plural persons follow the signification of the singulars."

"(*To*) *will*—

(5) It is one of the signs of the future tense, of which it is difficult to show or limit the signification.

*I will come.*      I am determined to come; importing choice.

*Thou wilt come.*      It must be so that thou must come; importing necessity.

*Wilt thou come?*      Hast thou determined to come? importing choice.

*He will come.*      He is resolved to come; or it must be that he must come, importing either choice or necessity.

*It will come.*      It must be that it must come; importing necessity."

The substance of his explanations of the uses of these auxiliaries with the several grammatical persons seems to be,

*Shall*—in all persons implies necessity, obligation, permission; in the 1st person, in addition to these ideas, it may signify resolution on the part of the speaker.

*Will*—in all persons, except the 2nd and 3rd (neuter pronoun) in declarative sentences, imports determination or resolution; in these two situations he indicates that *will* implies necessity.

Johnson's illustrations (see above) omit without comment *will I come? Will he come?  Will it come?*

sentences as distinct from the uses in declarative statements. Here, however, the explanation of the distinct use of *shall* and *will* in questions is very brief, giving only the change in meaning from the declarative use of *shall* with the first person and *will* with the second. *"I shall go; you will go*; express event only; but *Will you go?* imports intention; and *Shall I go?* refers to the will of another."[11]

6. The grammar of William Ward (1765) contains the first complete discussion of the meanings and uses of *shall* and *will* with a thoroughgoing attempt to form the rules on the basis of the fundamental meanings of the two words. Here we have not only the usual meanings given to the uses of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative sentences, and in questions, as in Lowth's grammar, the meanings of *shall* with the first and third persons and *will* with the second person, but in addition the filling out of the meanings in the other possible situations in interrogative sentences, and a complete explanation of the meanings and uses in "compound sentences" and "suppositions."[12]

[11] Lowth, *A Short Introd. to Eng. Grammar*, pp. 64, 65: *"Will*, in the first Person singular and plural, promises or threatens; in the second and third Persons, only foretells; *shall*, on the contrary, in the first Person simply foretells; in the second and third Persons, promises, commands, or threatens.[8] But this must be understood of Explicative Sentences; for when the Sentence is Interrogative, just the reverse for the most part takes place: Thus, *I shall go; you will go;* expresses event only; but *will you go?* imports intention; and *shall I go?* refers to the will of another. But again, *He shall go*, and, *shall he go?* both imply will, expressing or referring to a command. *Would* primarily denotes inclination of will; and *should* obligation; but they both vary their import, and are often used to express simple event."

[8] This distinction was not observed formerly as to the word *shall*, which was used in the second and third Persons to express simply the event. So, likewise, *should* was used, where we now make use of *would*. See the Vulgar Translation of the Bible.

[12] Ward, *Gram. of the Eng. Lang.*, pp. 121-3: "Of the difference between the Future by *shall*, and that by *Will*.

    2.    The Verb by *shall*, States of fixed Order shows;
            Or States which Chance directs, as we suppose.
            And *shall* those verbal Future States declares
            Which *for itself*, an Object hopes or Fears,
            Thinks *of itself*, surmises, or foresees;
            But which for other Objects it decrees.
    3.    The Verb by *will* those Future States declares
            For others, which an Object hopes or fears,
            Of others thinks, surmises or foresees;
            But *for itself*, States which itself decrees.

In questions, in addition to the rules offered by Lowth, this grammar of Ward's first explains *shall you go* as equivalent to *Do you expect to go?*

*Will you go* as equal to *Do you resolve or determine to go?*

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"The Future by *shall* is used in sublime Language to express those States which are irrevocably fixed; as, *they* (i.e. the Heavens & the Earth) *Shall perish,* but thou (O God) *Shalt endure.* Old Test. i.e. it is irrevocably fixed that they shall perish, &c., and States which are supposed to depend on Chance are expressed by *shall;* as, *if it shall happen;* or, *if it shall come to pass that you go. Shall* is often omitted in Expressions of this Kind; as, *if it happen that you go.*

"*In simple declarative Sentences,* the Thoughts that are expressed are conceived to be those of the Speaker; therefore, as *shall* denotes a State which the Speaker, hopes, fears, or foresees concerning himself, but which he determines concerning others; the Expressions *I* or *we shall* go, are equivalent to *I* or *we foresee,* or *imagine* that we are to go: But *you, he* or *they shall go,* are equivalent to *I* or *we determine that you, he, they are to go.* But, on the contrary, *will* denotes a State which the Speaker determines concerning himself, but which he hopes, fears, or foresees concerning other Objects; And therefore *I* or *we will go* are equivalent to *I* or *we determine to go;* but *you, he, they will go,* are equivalent to *I* or *we foresee, or believe that you propose to go,* that *your going* is some way determined.

"When questions are asked, *shall* denotes a State which the Person of whom the Question is asked foresees concerning himself, but *determines* concerning other Objects; *will* a State which he determines concerning himself, but foresees concerning others: Therefore *shall you go?* is equivalent to *do you expect to go?* but *will you go?* to *do you resolve or determine to go?* But *shall I, he, they go?* are equivalent to *do you determine that I, he, they may go?* or *do you permit us to go?* and *will I, he, they go?* to *do you think or believe that I, he, they are determined to go?* or, *in such a situation as that our, his or their going is likely to take place?*

"*In Compound Sentences,* if a Person is represented as determining *his own* Future State, *will* is used; but, if the Future State of others, *shall* is used; as, *I resolve, determine that I will go; you, that you will, he, that he will go;* But, *I resolve, determine that you, he, they* (or anyone but myself) *shall go; you resolve, determine that I, he, they* (or any one but yourself) *shall go: he resolves, determines that I, you, we, they* (or anyone but himself) *shall go.*

"In Compound Sentences, if a Person is represented as foreseeing, believing, hoping, fearing his own Future State, *shall* is used; as, *I foresee, believe, hope, fear that I shall; we, that we shall; thou, that thou shalt; he, that he shall; you, that you shall; they, that they shall go; But, I foresee, believe, hope, fear, that you, he, they* (or anyone else but myself) *will go; you foresee,* &c. *that I, he, they* (or anyone but yourself) *will go; he foresees,* &c. *that I, you, they* (or anyone but himself) *will go.*

"In Suppositions it is often immaterial whether we use *shall* or *will,* or mention the Verb without any Sign; as, *I will meet you if my Business shall permit me;* or, *will permit me;* or, *if my Business permit me to do it.*

"*Should* and *would* are used with the same Distinctions as *shall* and *will;* as, *I determined that I would; that you, he, they* (or anyone but myself) *would go, &c.*"

*Shall I, he, they go, Do you determine that I, he, they may go?* or *Do you permit us to go?*

*Will I, he, they go? Do you think or believe that I, he, they, are determined to go?* or in such a situation as that *our, his or their going is likely to take place?*

The explanations for uses in subordinate clauses (indirect statements and suppositions) are practically those given for the rules of the modern conventional point of view.

In addition, Ward gives as other forms of the Future the phrases *to be about, being about, to be going to.* This last, however, he adds is used only in the language of conversation.[13]

7. In spite of the complete discussion in Ward's grammar (1765) which in most respects gives all the features of the received rules as set forth in modern text books, the grammars following his for many years did not usually offer a complete set of rules, and some gave statements absolutely opposed to the uses here indicated and later conventionally accepted.

(a) The following grammars simply give the rules as stated by Wallis (1653) with no consideration of *questions* or *subordinate clauses*:

> John Ash (1766).
> John Norman (1784).
> Benj. Dearborn (1795).
> Alexander Miller (1795).
> Jonathan Burr (1797).
> David Gurney (1801).
> Adoniram Judson, Jr. (1808).
> Mark Twitchell (1825).

(b) Some, in addition to the rules of Wallis (1653), repeat the meager statement of Lowth (1762) concerning the uses in interrogative sentences. E.g.:

> Joseph Priestley (*Notes and Observations*, 1768).
> Ralph Harrison (1782).
> James Pickbourn (1789).
> Caleb Alexander (1790).

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[13] "The Forms *to be about, being about,* which are set down in the Future of the Infinitive Mood, and in the Future Participle, are little used at present: For the Participle *going* is now commonly made use of instead of *about*; as, *to be going to have*: But this is only in the Language Conversation (*Ibid.* p. 46)."

(c) Three, differing from Ward, insist that we cannot *under any circumstances* ask a question with *will* in the first person.

James Buchanan (1767).

William Hazlitt (1810).

Noah Webster (*Dissertations*, 1789).

(d) Of especial interest is the statement of the grammar, 1780, Anon. (for Dodson) which insists (p. 61): "In asking a question, *will* is improper in the first (person), and *shall* in the second; as, *Will I go?* i.e., is it my own pleasure to go; *Shall I go?* i.e., is it your pleasure that I go?"

(e) Two grammars refuse to follow the general tendency in framing the rules for *shall* and *will*. Hutchins (1791), p. 143 note:

There are some cases in which it is difficult to ascertain the preference between *shall* and *will* and between *should* and *would* and in which they may be used indifferently.

Daniel Adams (1803), p. 48 note:

*Will* takes the place of *shall* and may be substituted in place of it through all the modes and tenses.

(f) None of the grammars published during the thirty years from 1765 to 1795 accept Ward's explanations of the meanings of *shall* and *will* and incorporate the rules he thus derives. Lindley Murray (1795), although his treatment of direct explicative statements and interrogative sentences is practically a copy of Lowth's, is the first to follow Ward by including a brief statement of *shall* and *will* in subordinate clauses.[14]

8. Only after the first quarter of the 19th century does the complete discussion of the rules of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative statements, in interrogative sentences, and in subordinate clauses become a common feature of text books of English grammar, and many even at this time have not adopted

[14] Murray's many editions repeat the statement of the first of 1795:

"*Will*, in the first person singular and plural, intimates resolution and promising; in the second and third person, only foretells; as, *I will reward the good, and will punish the wicked; we will remember benefits and be grateful; thou wilt, or he will, repent of that folly; you or they will have a pleasant walk.*

"*Shall*, on the contrary, in the first person, simply foretells; in the second and third persons, promises, commands, or threatens: as, *I shall go abroad; we shall*

the whole system at first published in the grammar of William Ward in 1765.

The conventional or received point of view in regard to the rules for the uses of *shall* and *will* took nearly 150 years to be fully stated and about two centuries to become commonly accepted in the text books of grammar. At least one writer of school grammars (see page 977) repudiated these rules as late as the beginning of the 19th century. The important stages in the chronology of the growth of the conventional rules of the periphrastic future with *shall* and *will* are:

(a) The indication of a difference of meaning in the use of *shall* and *will* with the various grammatical persons in Mason's *Grammar*, 1622.

(b) The framing of the first specific rules for declarative sentences, making a *shall* with the first person correspond to a *will* with the second and third, by Wallis, 1653.

(c) The uses of *shall* and *will* in questions as distinct from their uses in declarative sentences in Lowth, 1762.

(d) The full statement of the general system of the conventional rules by Ward, 1765.

(e) The common acceptance of this system of rules in the school grammars about the first quarter of the 19th century.

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*dine at home: thou shalt, or you shall, inherit the land; ye shall do justice and love mercy; they shall account for their misconduct.*

"The following passage is not translated according to the distinct and proper meaning of the words *shall* and *will*: 'Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.' It ought to be, *will follow me*, and *I shall dwell*." . . .

"These observations respecting the import of the verbs *will* and *shall*, must be understood of explicative sentences; for when the sentence is interrogative just the reverse, for the most part, takes place: thus, *I shall go; you will go;* express event only: but, *will you go?* imports intention; and, *shall I go?* refers to the will of another. But, *he shall go,* and *shall he go?* both imply will; expressing or referring to a command.

"When the verb is put in the subjunctive mood, the meaning of these auxiliaries likewise undergoes some alteration: as the learner will readily perceive by a few examples: *he shall proceed, if he shall proceed, you shall consent, if you shall consent.* These auxilaries are sometimes interchanged, in the indicative and subjunctive moods, to convey the same meaning of the auxiliary: as, *he will not return, if he shall not return: he shall not return, if he will not return.*"

## The Reasoning of the Grammarians

More important than the mere chronology of the conventional rules concerning *shall* and *will* is the attempt to understand *why* and *how* these rules came to be framed, developed, and generally accepted. Of especial value for this purpose is the evidence furnished by the prefaces and introductions of the early grammars as to the points of view and methods of work of these grammarians.[15]

This evidence from the grammars of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries shows that these books are of three classes: (1) those primarily addressed to foreigners trying to learn English, (2) those which were frankly introductions to Latin grammar, and (3) those aiming to teach English people their own language. These last appearing with increasing frequence in the 18th century are of most importance for our consideration for they are the grammars that were introduced into the schools and thus became the source of the conventionally accepted view of grammar.[16]

The authors of this third group of grammars are in somewhat surprizing agreement in respect to the purposes of their work. They very definitely turned away from *describing* the language *as it was* and usually express either or both of the following aims: (a) to reduce the language to rule, to "churn it into method," using the apparatus derived from Latin grammars as a means; and (b) to correct the *usage* of English people by making it conform to a standard of reason.[17]

[15] I give here in somewhat summary fashion what seems most directly concerned with our immediate problem of the formation of the rules for *shall* and *will*. This material is part of a larger treatment of the development of the apparatus of the accepted formal grammar in which I attempt a more complete analysis of the evidence from the prefaces and introductions to the early grammars in relation to the literary and linguistic tendencies of the times.

[16] These mid-eighteenth century grammars are acknowledged by Lindley Murray to have been the sources of his "compilation" which ran through nearly two hundred editions in the 19th century.

"It is . . . . proper to acknowledge, in general terms, that the authors to whom the grammatical part of this compilation is principally indebted for its materials, are Harris, Johnson, Lowth, Priestley, Beattie, Sheridan, Walker, and Coote." Lindley Murray, *Eng. Gram.* (1795) Introduction.

[17] (a) " . . . . I cannot but think it would be of great Advantage, both for the Improvement of Reason in General . . . . and also for the exact Use of our own Language; which for want of Rule is subject to Uncertainty, and the

As a corollary of these purposes we find one attitude of the grammarians increasingly prominent after the middle of the 18th century. It is the definite *repudiation of usage*, even that of "the best authors," as the standard of correctness—a doctrine of original grammatical sin.[18]

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Occasion of frequent Contentions. And upon this account, it has been the Practise of several wise Nations, such of them, I mean, as have a thorough Education, to learn even their own Language by Stated Rules, to avoid that Confusion, that must needs follow from leaving it wholly to vulgar Use." Richard Johnson, *Grammatical Commentaries*, (1706) Preface.

(b) [Several other grammarians] "deserved well of their Country, for their laudable Endeavours to cultivate and improve their own Native Speech, which had long lain, and is at this Day too much neglected, notwithstanding the many brave, but unsuccessful Attempts, to bring it into request, by reducing it to order, and shewing the Beauties and Excellencies it is capable of."Anon, *A New English Accidence* (1736), Introduction.

(c) "Thus have I laboured to settle the orthography to *regulate the structures*, and ascertain the signification of English words." Samuel Johnson, *Grammar*, (1775), Preface, 7.

(d) Whether many important advantages would not accrue both to the present age, and to posterity, if the English language were ascertained, and reduced to a fixed and permanent standard?" . . . .

"To compass these points . . . . has been the chief object of the Author's pursuits in life, and the main end of the present publication." Thomas Sheridan, *Dictionary*, (1780), Preface, 4.

[18] (a) "Considering the many grammatical Improprieties to be found in our best Writers such as *Swift, Addison, Pope,* etc. a Systematical English Syntax is not beneath the Notice of the Learned themselves.

"Should it be urged, that in the Time of these Writers, English was but very little subjected to Grammar, that they had scarcely a single Rule to direct them; a question readily occurs: Had they not the Rules of Latin Syntax to direct them?" James Buchanan, *Grammar*, (1767), Preface, VI.

(b) "But all this apparent difficulty arises from our utter neglect of *examining and regulating our speech*". . . . .

"Yet so little regard has been paid to it (English language) in either respect, (writing and speaking) that out of our numerous army of authors, very few can be selected who write with accuracy; and among the multitude of our orators, even a tolerable speaker is a prodigy." . . . .

"Nay it has lately been proved by a learned Prelate, in a short essay upon our grammar, that some of our most celebrated writers, and such as have hitherto passed for our English Classics, have been guilty of great solecisms, inaccuracies, and even grammatical improprieties, in many places of their most finished works." Thomas Sheridan, *Dictionary*, (1780) Preface, 1, 2.

(c) "Among the *middling ranks* of life, grammar appears to be too much disregarded. Those who are occupied in trade or manufactures, are, for the

In other words, the grammarians here pretty generally assume a certain accurate, absolute measuring rod of correctness in grammar, *rules based on "reason" or the "laws of thought,"* and repudiate all usage that does not conform to this standard of what English *ought to be.*

In this group are the grammars in which first appeared the explanations and the outlines of the full system of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will,* Lowth's (1762)and W. Ward's (1765).[19] Both of these men, in harmony with the common attitude toward correct language and the usual purposes of the 18th century grammarians, definitely repudiate usage as the standard of correctness and attempt to regulate the practice of English speakers and writers by means of rules based on "reason." The significance of this point of view for the problem of the arbitrary nature of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will* justifies my quoting at some length from the prefaces of their grammars, especially from that of W. Ward (1765) who first set forth these rules in a complete system.

Lowth, referring to Swift's statement that our language "in many instances offends against every part of grammar," says:

But let us consider, now, and in what extent, we are to understand this charge brought against the English Language:—Does it mean, *that the English*

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most part, so intent upon the consideration of *things,* that they regard *words* as almost unworthy of attention, being satisfied with rendering themselves barely intelligible.

"*The members of the three learned professions* are confessedly superior to the generality in the accurate use of their native language. But even among them, there is some deficiency in this respect . . . . . *Persons of rank and fashion,* though they generally speak with ease and elegance, are not remarkable for being *models of accurate expression.*

"*Authors are, without controversy,* the persons on whom it is more particularly incumbent both in speaking and writing, to observe a strict adherence to grammatical propriety. . . . . But this is a point to which the greater part *even of our most esteemed writers have not* sufficiently attended." Coote, *Grammar,* (1788) Preface, IV, V.

[19] The distinctions between the words *shall* and *will* as first explained in the early part of the seventeenth century (Mason, *Grammaire Angloise,* for instance) may easily have been the result of no more than the feeling for the difference between the modal and the tense uses of these auxiliaries. Whatever the fact in this respect, however, the matter of especial importance for us is the grammars in which first appeared the complete system of rules developing out of these early simple statements.

*Language,* as it is spoken by the politest part of the nation, and *as it stands in the writings of our most approved authors, often offends* against every part of grammar? Thus far, I am afraid, the charge is true. Or does it further imply, that our Language is in its nature irregular and capricious; not hitherto subject, nor easily reducible, to a System of rules? In this respect, I am persuaded, the charge is wholly without foundation.[20]

Ward quotes with approval the attitude expressed by Lowth and develops it further:

This Way of Instruction, by shewing what is wrong in English, in order to teach us to avoid it, is certainly very proper, where no Set of Rules are given that shew what is right in every Part of English Construction: But when such Rules are laid down, the Learner should be taught to refer to them continually. And if your Scholars are Children of Foreigners, you need not doubt but in their daily Exercises they will offend against almost every Rule: So that you will from their own Mistakes, have sufficient Opportunity of shewing them what is wrong, and how to correct it by the Rules. But if your Scholars are Natives of England, and grown up to Years of Consideration, false English pointed out to them may be of the greatest Use: For they are apt to follow Custom and Example even where it is faulty, till they are apprized of their Mistake: And therefore by shewing *where Custom is erroneous,* his Lordship has well deserved the Thanks of everyone who values the English Language and Literature. . . . . In short a very blameable neglect of grammatic Propriety has prevailed amongst the English Writers, and at length we seem to be growing generally sensible of it; as likewise of the Use which may be made of a Knowledge of the English Grammar, towards assisting Children to comprehend the general Import and Advantage of Rules concerning Language.

It is manifest that some Rules for the Construction of the Language must be used, and those Rules reduced to some Kind of System. . . . . It was for the Sake of gaining such definitions that I first engaged in this Work: For my Profession as a School-Master obliged me to explain the Principles of Grammar to my Scholars; and I found the Grammars commonly made use of in our Schools gave but a very imperfect Account of them. . . . . This determined me, many Years ago, to attempt a Discovery of *the Reason of every Part of Construction.* . . . . I had been accustomed to *the old geometric Analysis,* and had observed, in many Instances, its peculiar Use in discovering Mistakes. This Analysis consists in assuming some Definition or Description of what you would investigate, and in pursuing the Consequences which follow from the Assumption. If the Consequences lead to, and terminate in Truth, the Assumption is concluded to be likewise true: If they terminate in Falsehood or Absurdity follows, that Part must be rectified as exactly as may be, and the Analysis begun anew from the new Assumption, and again pursued through its Consequences. It is clear that, by proceeding continually in this Manner, we may at length discover *the most simple Principles, which will account for any Instance of known Practise;* and this not only in Grammar, but in any other Art." . . . . "Hence Use and

[20] Lowth, *Grammar,* (1762), Preface, IV, V.

Custom are considered as the only Rules by which to judge of what is right or wrong in Process. But is the Custom which is observed in the Application of any Language the Effect of Chance? Is not such Custom a *consistent Plan of communicating the Conceptions and rational discursive Operations of one Man to another?* And who will maintain, that this is, or can be, the Effect of mere unmeaning Accident? If then it be not so, it must be the Effect of the Reason of Man, adjusting certain Means to a certain End: And it is the Business of Speculative or Rational Grammar to explain the Nature of the means, and to shew how they are applied to accomplish the End proposed. If this can be done with sufficient Evidence, the most simple of the Elements of Logic will become familiar to those who engage in a Course of Grammar, and Reason will go Hand in Hand with Practice.[21]

This expressed attitude of these two grammarians toward their material—their effort to correct practice by rules and to frame the rules in accord with reason rather than usage, repudiating even the usage of "the best authors" as a standard—leads one to suspect the rules laid down by them as arbitrary. Such arbitrary rules were common in the grammars of the 18th century and also in the larger field of literary criticism. The complete conventional rules for *shall* and *will* appearing first from such a source cannot safely be assumed to represent the practice of the language. From Ward's explanations (see p. 982) it seems plainly evident that they are arbitrary at least to the extent of being the conclusions of "reason" rather than the summing up of usage.

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The discussions of the uses and meanings of *shall* and *will* seem to have had their beginnings in the search for a "rational grammar," "the attempt to give a reason for every part of construction," so prominent first in France and then in England in the latter part of the 18th century. This is the spirit which characterizes the following 19th century discussions:

Edinburgh Review, *Review of Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, XXVII(May. 1828), 492-495.

Archdeacon J. C. Hare, *On Certain Tenses Attributed to the Greek Verb*, Philological Museum, II (1833), 218-221.

Edwin Guest, *On English Verbs, Substantive and Auxiliary*, Trans. of the Philological Society, II (1846), 224-229.

Prof. DeMorgan, *On the Uses of the Verbs, Shall and Will*, Trans. of the Phil. Soc. IV (Jan. 1850), 185-187.

Hensleigh Wedgewood, *On the Use of Shall and Will*, Trans. of the Phil. Soc. VI (Nov. 1852), 1-5.

[21] W. Ward, *Grammar*, (1765), Preface, V, XVII, XXI.

R. G. Latham, *The English Language*, (London, 1855, 4th ed., 1841, 1st ed.) II, 395, 405-414.

Sir Edmund Head, *Shall and Will or Two Chapters of Future Auxiliary Verbs*, (Toronto, 1858, 2nd ed., 1856, 1st ed.), 5-120.

Dean Alford, *The Queen's English*, (London, 1864, 2nd ed.), 168-179.

Richard Grant White, *Words and their Uses*, (New York, 1870), 264-273.

Richard Grant White, *Every-day English*, (New York, 1880), XXIII, 331-358.

Gerald Molloy, *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will*, (London, 1897).

In this group of discussions we find, roughly, a general attitude of which the following are significant features:

(a) Nearly all assume very delicate distinctions of meaning between the words *shall* and *will* when used with the different grammatical persons.

(b) Many, on the basis of these assumed distinctions of meaning, attempt to give rules and principles for the *correct* use of *shall* and *will*. These rules range in number, completeness, and simplicity, from a single sentence to the 47 pages of refinements and explanations found in Molloy's book.   Not only are these rules, after being laid down, used to interpret special instances with meanings that fit the rule, but where such interpretation is absolutely impossible the usage is condemned as wrong.  Latham is the only one to raise the question of the validity of the rules as opposed to the usual judgment condemning the *incorrectness* of contrary usage.

(c) In nearly all there is the attempt to explain a priori the principles which underlie the rules, to offer philosophical reasons for the assumed shift of words with the change of grammatical persons.  Of these explanations the *courtesy theory* first developed at length by Archdeacon Hare has perhaps been repeated most frequently.

In opposition to this first group of discussions there is a second group growing out of the later 18th century interest in the past and characterized by the historical method of approach.   In this second group are included:

(I) The historical grammars—written by Germans.

Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, (1819) Vol. IV (1837) 176-189.

Grimm, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, (1848) (4th ed. 1880) Vol. II, 908.

Maetzner, *English Grammar*, (1st ed. 1865, trans. by Grece, 1874) Vol. I, 325; Vol. II, 80-85.

Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, (1st ed. 1865, 2nd ed. 1878) Vol. II, 43-45, 46, 47.

(II) Studies of the language, especially in the syntax of the verb, of particular authors and special works, of which at least 20 before 1900 and 14 after 1900 touch upon the use of *shall* and *will*. Such studies e.g. are Wulfing's *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Groszen*, (Bonn, 1892, 1897); Wandschneider's *Zur Syntax des Verbs in Langley's Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman*, (Leipzig, 1887); Zenke's *Synthesis und Analysis des Verbums im Ormulum*, (Halle, 1910).

(III) Studies devoted especially to the problem of the usage of *shall* and *will* as,

Luttgens, *Uber Bedeutung und Gebrauch der Hilfsverba im Frühen Alten-glischen-Sculan und Willan*, (Diss. Kiel, 1888).

Graef, *Das Futurum und die Entwicklung von scal und wil zu Futurischen Tempus Bildern Bei Chaucer*, (Progr, Flensburg, 1893).

Bruening, *An Illustration of the Formation of the Future Tense in the English Language*, (Progr. Lubeck, 1871).

Kujack, *On the Use of the Auxiliary Verbs in Old English*, (Progr. Lauenburg ad Elbe, 1876).

Blackburn, *The English Future: Its Origin and Development*, (Diss. Leipzig, 1892).

Of these studies,

(A) that by Blackburn, which aims primarily to discover the time at which the modern idiom arose, contains conclusions that seem to be open to question because,

(a) he *assumes* as a basis for the interpretation of his instances the conventional idea of the shift of the words *shall* and *will* with the various grammatical persons,

(b) an admittedly large subjective element of personal judgment and bias is a determining factor in the decision of whether cases should be included in his statistics as pure futures or not;

(c) the statistics for the early 17th century, upon which he concludes that the accepted modern idiom arose in the time of Shakspere and became fully established in the latter part of the 17th century, consist of a comparison of the number of occurrences in the *Faerie Queene* and the Bible of 1611 with the number from Shakspere's *Tempest*. The essential difference in the nature of the literary forms and the different distribution of the frequency of the use of the grammatical persons in drama from that in other types of literature makes these figures incapable of comparison.

(B) the other general studies of Bruening (1871) and Kujack (1876) are confessedly dependent upon the treatments contained in the grammars of Koch and Maetzner and lay no claim to originality in the interpretation of the instances given. The real value of these, as also that of most of the studies included under (II) above, and of the investigations of Luttgens and of Graef, lies in the great number and variety of instances that have there been collected.

(C) the treatments of the problem of *shall* and *will* in the grammars of Grimm, Koch, and Maetzner, which thus provided the basis for later investigations of usage, are, therefore, a valuable part of the 19th century contributions. Grimm furnished the explanation of the earliest meanings of *shall* and *will,* the explanations which were accepted and followed in later discussions. He calls *skal* a preterit of an hypothecated *skila* and attributes to this present form the meaning "I kill or wound." *Skal*, therefore, must mean "I have killed or wounded, and I am liable to pay the weregild." From this concrete meaning of pecuniary obligation there was gradually developed the abstract idea of general moral obligation so commonly expressed by this word in the older Gmc. dialects. The earliest meaning of *will* is *wish*, and Grimm insists that it never expresses

a pure future in any of the old Gmc. dialects but always retains its fundamental meaning.

All three (Grimm, Koch, Maetzner) find the beginnings of our tense use of *shall* and *will* in the gradual fading out of these root meanings of the two words. All three also accept as a fact the conventional idea of the shift from *shall* with the first person to *will* with the second and third when expressing simple futurity. Grimm suggests "courtesy" as the explanation. Maetzner, however, rejects the idea with the comment that the "pliancy of the *will* in the first person, or its inclination, might be no less urbane than its subjection to the *shall*."

Maetzners summary of the situation is probably the most important of the 19th century explanations:

"The notion *shall* pervades, even in the modern tongue, a series of gradations, which are weakened down from the expression of a compulsion, subjectively or objectively determined, to the idea of expectation and of imminence." . . . .

"*Will*, appearing in the periphrastic future, appears no less in a manifold gradation of meanings, which gradually sink from the more decided expression of the will into weaker shades of the notion." . . . .

"With the weakening of both the primitive meaning has not perished. The glimmering through of the latter gives to the modern tongue, on the one hand, occasion to avoid ambiguity, on the other, to express more delicate shades of thought, apart from the conventional distribution of the auxiliary verbs among the several persons."


## PART TWO

### *THE USAGE IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DRAMA*

If the conclusions just outlined regarding the arbitrary nature of the conventional grammatical rules concerning *shall* and *will* can be accepted as sound, this fact has considerable significance in determining the assumptions upon which instances of the use of these two words are to be interpreted. In many of the studies of their use it has been a general practice to assume that, wherever possible, instances were to be interpreted in accord with the conventional rules and only those cases needed special treatment in which the context very definitely made it necessary to put some other meaning into the *shall* or the *will*. According to this practice it is assumed that *I (we) will* imply intention or determination in every instance in which the context does not clearly exclude such an idea. In like manner unless the context unquestionably prohibits such an interpretation the *I (we) shall* and *Shall you?* are assumed to imply the pure future idea only. If these conventional rules are indeed arbitrary

in their development and have not a validity based upon usage, such assumptions would seem to be unjustifiable and conclusions from studies of the usage of *shall* and *will* which proceed from this method of interpreting the words in question are thus open to very serious criticism. Not only do these particular assumptions invalidate many of the conclusions presented but to *assume any* meanings for these much discussed words must render the results based upon such assumptions unconvincing. Much of the conflict of opinion that appears in the more scientific discussions of *shall* and *will* (see note 6, above) arises from the difference in the meanings assumed for *shall* and *will* and used as a basis of interpretation in special instances.[22]

Accordingly I have attempted to follow a method of investigation which should be as objective as possible, without depending upon any assumed meanings or rules for *shall* and *will*. The method employed is thus an effort to make the facts of the usage of *shall* and *will* in English and American drama yield whatever significance they hold without imposing upon the words any specific meanings or rules as a basis for interpretation. The scope of the investigation includes, first, a *survey* of the usage in fifty English dramas from 1560-1915; next an examination of *contemporary English usage* in eighteen English dramas from 1902-1918; and, finally, a comparison of this English usage with *American contemporary usage* in eighteen dramas from 1905-1918.

The documents studied have been confined to those in dramatic form for three definite reasons:

(1) The language of drama is probably nearer to actual usage than that of other types of literature since the drama carries its effects through the speaking of actors to actual hearers. At the least, the language of the drama is perhaps the best compromise between the living spoken English and the written English of literature.[23]

(2) But *one* type of literature is here used to permit the maximum use of comparisons both of statistics and of instances.

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[22] See e.g. Curme's use of assumed meanings for *shall* and *will*, *Jr. of Eng. and Gmc. Phil.* XII, 519, 520, 521.

[23] Prose fiction, especially realistic conversation, would perhaps serve equally or better in this respect were it not for the objection that it fails to meet the demand indicated in (3).

Because of the fact that the numerical distribution of the uses of the various grammatical persons differs in the several types of literature, statistics to be comparable must be from the same type.[24]

(3) The drama seemed the only type of literature, *approaching realistic speech*, which would furnish the desired continuity over the entire period of 350 years which the *survey* undertakes to cover.[25]

The choice of the dramatic texts to be studied was guided roughly by the following considerations:

(1) For the survey, two dramas of nearly the same date were selected for about every decade from 1550-1915.

(2) In order to eliminate from the conclusions, as far as possible, conditions due to the individual peculiarities of the authors and thus approach the general usage, the attempt was made in each case to choose two which differed widely in subject matter and style, and whose writers differed in respect to general education and training.

(3) In both the English and the American dramas used for contemporary usage a wide variety of material was sought in order to represent the general situation fairly and to eliminate individual characteristics.

The method of examination was, briefly, as follows:

(a) Every instance of *shall* and *will* was recorded, together with the circumstances under which it was used—grammatical person; independent statement, or question, or subordinate clause; kind of clause; and, in many cases, something of the context.

(b) These instances (nearly 20,000 in all) were classified and summarized for statistical study.

(c) The instances were studied in relation to their context. Here the point of view taken was not an interpretation of the context in view of a meaning assumed for the *shall* or *will* but

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[24] See above, page 985, Bibliographical note, the objection offered to the argument from statistics proposed by Blackburn. Certainly one cannot assume that under ordinary circumstances there is likely to be an equal number of the uses of the first person, for example, in Shakspere's *Tempest*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and the 1611 *English Bible*.

[25] For this reason, too, it seemed undesirable to use prose comedy exclusively for the latter half of the survey, although the language of this type of drama would perhaps have better represented actual usage.

rather an attempt to understand whatever evidence the context could afford as to the meaning or feeling which must lie in these two words.

In attempting a statistical approach to the problem I realize that if the results are to have significance, the handling of the figures must be carefully guarded; and even then the method has very definite limitations. The statistics presented include, of course, not only instances of the *tense* use of *shall* and *will* but also the so-called *colored future* or *modal use.*[26]

[26] The reduced form, always atonic and written as an enclitic 'll, is interpreted by practically all who have written of *shall* and *will*, as a contraction *for will only*. One, however, Professor G. P. Krapp, insists that "I'll, you'll, he'll may as well stand for I will, etc. as for I shall, etc." (*Modern English: Its Growth and Present Use*, p. 295.)

The decision of this point is forced upon the investigator at the very beginning of any study of *shall* and *will* and, because of the following considerations, I have taken the position generally maintained, that these contractions I'll, you'll, he'll stand for contractions *of will only*.

These considerations, which seem to have been ignored by Professor Krapp, are:

(a) The very common loss of (*w*) in English unstressed syllables. Middle English examples are abundant of the loss of (*w*) both with the pronoun of the first person, with the negative particle, and other words.

ichulle wel neomen þe—*St. Juliana*, (Royal Ms.)v. 41.

(Morris, *Spec. of E.E.*)

ichulle þat he wite wel—*St. Juliana*, (Royal Ms.) v. 75.

(Morris, *Sp. of E.E.*)

þat, quaþ he nelle ich nevre do—*Floris* and *Blauncheflur*.

(Emerson, *M.E.R.* 45, 28)

þe man þe nele do na god—*Poema Morale.*

(Emerson, *M.E.R.* 180, 1)

For loss of (*w*) in more modern English see Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 296 and Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, I, 7.32.

(b) The phonetic difficulty involved in accepting I'll, you'll, etc. as a probable contraction of *I shall, you shall*, etc. For the unstressed form of *shall* in modern English see Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, I, 9.211, 10.32. In this connection one ought also to call attention to the instances given in the New English Dictionary of the reduction of *shall*, atonic, to an enclitic with an unmistakable form. These "reduced enclitic forms (all persons and numbers)" are represented as spelled in the following ways: -sh, -s, -ce, -se, -s'. Some examples of this enclitic *shall* are:

*Gammer Gurton*, I, v. 39.

Hodge.  By the masse, and she burne all *yoush beare* the blame for mee.

*Gammer Gurton*, III, iii, 44.

Gammer.  Now ware thy throte, losell, *thouse paye* for al!

*King Lear*, IV, vi, 246.

Unless one assumes some arbitrary rules for distinguishing the modal use from the tense use there are many cases in which the judgments of any two readers would differ widely. It is generally agreed, however, that the *modal use* of *shall* and *will* has had a continuous history from the earliest records of our language to the present.[27]  In this connection it ought to be noted in

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Edgar.   . . . . keep out or *I ce try* whither your Costard or my Ballow be the harder.

These considerations lead me to believe that the weight of the evidence is still in favor of interpreting I'll, you'll etc. as reductions of *I will, you will*, etc. This does not mean that it is assumed that the user is *consciously* choosing a *will* rather than a *shall* in these combinations. The lack of stress which makes the form an enclitic is evidence of a want of attention directed to this word. But it is assumed that for whatever idea may be in the user's mind he employs in the enclitic 'll the reduced form of the word *will*.

[27] Whether the *tense use* of *shall* and *will* also appears in O.E. as a possible means of indicating future time alternative with the use of the present form of the verb, is a matter of some dispute. Maetzner (I, 325) insists that these words are not used in O.E. without the recollection of their original meanings; and Blackburn (*The English Future*, 24), rather than accept the *shall* or *will* as at this date expressing simple futurity, *assumes* "intentional variation" from the original idea where Aelfred and Aelfric use a *shall* or a *will* to translate a Latin future.  On the other hand, Wülfing (*Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, 57, No. 414) and Sweet (*New English Grammar*, II, No. 2198) assert that in some instances in O.E. these words *shall* and *will* were used as tense signs to express pure futurity.

Although Ælfric, in his grammar, translates the Latin future in the usual fashion by using the present form of the verb, when he comes in the course of his discussion to set forth a general statement of the tenses (page 123), he uses the *shall* and *will* periphrasis to translate the Latin future participles (pp. 136. 150, 152, 246, 247).

The interpretaton of specific instances without allowing assumed modern use or some theory of former meanings to color our readings is extremely difficult. In the following cases, however, the context seems to exclude the modal meanings of *shall* and *will*, leaving these words to be mere signs of the future tense.

(1) "Se fore þonc is sio godcunde gesceadwisnes; sio is fæst on þæm hean sceppende þe eall fore wat *hu hit geweordan sceal* ær ær hit geweorde."
Alfred, *Boethius*, XXXIX, 5.

(2) "Gelyfst þu þæt *we sceolon ealle arisan* mid urum lichaman on domes dæge?"  ("Credis tu resurrecturos omnes nos?")
Alfred, *Bede*, 181m (Quoted Lüttgens, 47)

(3) "Hafast þu gefered *þæt þam folcum sceal Geata* leodum ond Gar-Denum sib gemæum ond sacu *restan*."
*Beowulf*, 1855.

passing that many discussions of the origin of our modern idiom
have ignored the significance of this fact. A number of the
conservative writers—e.g., Head, Dean Aford—have pointed
to instances of the *modal use* of *shall* and *will* in Shakspere and
others of his time as evidence that the *general use* of *shall* and

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(4) "Se þe getimbraþ ofer þam grundwealle treowa oþþe streaþ oþþe ceaf,
untrylice mæg witan, þæt *his weorc sceal* on þam micclum fyre *forbyrnan.*"
("Qui super fundamentum illud ligna sive foenum, sive stipulam aeificat,
indubitantor scire posset, quod opus suum in tanto igne exarserit.")
Alfred, *Bede*, 385u, (Quoted Lüttgens, 49)

(5) "Swæ swæ *sio wund wile toberan*, gif hio ne bið gewridan mid wræd, swæ
willad da synna weaxende toflowan, gif hie beod gebundne hwilum mid
stræclice lareowdome."
Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, (Sweet, E.E.T.S.) 122, 15.

(6) "donne hie gesiod dare oderra gesældo eaciende, donne *dyncd him dæt hie
willan acwelan* for dære mettrymnesse dæs odres gesæ lignesse, swæ he bid
genierwed on his mod"
Alfred, *Pastoral Care*, (Sweet, E.E.T.S.) 230, 20.

(7) "Ic wat, þæt *hit wile þincan* swyde ungeleaffulic ungelæredum mannum
gyf we secgad. . . . ."
Koch, *Historische Grammatik*, II, 43. (Quoted out of Wright, Pop.
Treat., 16).

(8) "Sodlice twegen sint gewilniende þæt *hi on us eardian wylld* ure drihten
. . . . & se swicula deoful . . . . is."
R. Brotanek, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 22, 15.

It seems impossible that the *shall* and *will* should have different meanings in
the following passage, or that they should not parallel the use of the present
form, *forlæte* in line No. 21:
(line 6) "Hwa is þæt þe eall da yfel þe hi donde wæron asecgean mæge odde
areccean? Eac *ic wille geswigian* Tontolis & Philopes þara scond-
licestena spella; hu manega bismerlica gewin Tontolus gefremede
syddan he cyning wæs; . . . ."
(line 14) "*Ic sceall eac ealle forlætan* þa þe of Perseo & of Cathma gesæde
syndon, . . . ."
(line 17) "Eac *ic wille geswigian* þara mandæda þara Lemniadum & Ponthionis
þæs cyninges, . . . ."
(line 21) . . . . ic hit eall forlaete. Eac *ic hit forlæte*, Adipsus hu he ægþer
ofsloh ge his agenne fæder, ge his steopfæder, ge his steopsunu."
Alfred, *Orosius*, E.E.T.S., I, 42.
Compare also the following from the 16th century:
"of whiche in the thryde boke *I wyl speke* in this place more at length."
(p. 104)
"very seldom used without SE before them, as *I shal* in the thryde boke in
this place more playnely declare." (p. 114)

*will* in the 16th century was like that of the present. Such instances are worthless as evidence concerning the *tense use* or even the *general use* of these two words, for they go no farther than to illustrate the continuity of the modal use of *shall* and *will*, in regard to which there is practically general agreement. If, then, in these figures this modal use of *shall* and *will* could be safely treated as a *constant element,* one could draw from these statistics more definite conclusions concerning the tense use of *shall* and *will* than I have ventured.

Although the statistical method in such a problem is much limited, the figures indicating the relative frequency of *shall* and *will* in particular situations ought to be at least a valid check upon statements of the common usage in those situations. If, for example, as Head insists, Shakspere's use of *shall* and *will* is the same as that of the English of the 19th century, then in any large amount of material of a similar nature from these two periods the percentage of the occurrences of *will* to *shall* in the first, second, and third persons, respectively, in independent declarative statements ought not to be widely different. If, on the other hand, as Bradley asserts, *will* has, since Shakspere's time gradually displaced *shall* in all three persons, then these percentages ought to show considerable difference for the past 300 years. Or, again, if, as Curme says: "Altho *shall* has thus lost some of its former territory in principal propositions, it has still kept its old distinctive meaning there and has become, perhaps, *a greater favorite in the subordinate clause than it has ever been,*" (*J. E. G. Ph.* XII, 522), then the percentages of *shall* to *will* in this situation ought to show some increase in favor of *shall*. It is to be expected, too, that in a large number of instances from the same type of literature any great shift in the meanings of the two words ought to reveal itself in the curves showing the relative frequence of these words in particular situations over a long period of years.

"as I have afore touched, whiche *I wyll also conjugate* as I have done the other verbes meanes . . . ." (p. 123)

"But of the use and signification of this verbe *I shal* more *speke* here after in the thryde boke." (p. 128)

"and howe they put *Il faict* before diverse other adjectives . . . . *I shal defer to speke of,* tyl I come to the thryde boke  in this place where *I wyll also speke* of *Il y a.* . . . ." (p. 130, 131)

Palsgrave, *L'Esclarcissement* etc. (1530) 104, 114, 123, 128, 130, 131.

## I. *SURVEY OF USAGE IN ENGLISH DRAMA* 1560-1915

The following is a list of the dramatic texts on which the survey of usage during this period is based:

| Date | Author | Title | Text |
|------|--------|-------|------|
| 1557 | ............... | *Wealth and Health*......... | Ed. J. S. Farmer |
| 1560 | ............... | *Impatient Poverty*.......... | Ed. J. S. Farmer |
| 1584? | Lyly.......... | *Alexander and Campaspe*... | Ed. Gayley (*R. E. C.*) |
| 1591? | Shakspere...... | *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.... | Neilson Text. |
| 1610 | Johnson........ | *The Alchemist*............. | Ed. H. C. Hart |
| 1611 | Shakspere...... | *The Tempest*.............. | Ed. Brooks, Cunliffe MacCracken |
| 1621 | Fletcher........ | *Wild Goose Chase*.......... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1623 | Middleton Rowley...... | *The Changeling*............ | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1636 | Cartwright..... | *The Royal Slave*........... | 1st edition 1639 |
| 1637 | Shirley........ | *Hyde Park*............... | Mermaid Series |
| 1656 | Davenant...... | *Siege of Rhodes*........... | Dramatic Wks. 1873 |
| 1661? | Cowley........ | *Cutter of Coleman Street*.... | Ed. A. R. Walker |
| 1666? | Wycherley...... | *The Plain Dealer*......... | Mermaid Series |
| 1668 | Etheredge...... | *She Wou'd if She Cou'd*..... | Wks. Ed. A. W. Verity |
| 1678 | Dryden........ | *All for Love*.............. | Ed. Tupper (*R. E. Dr.*) |
| 1682 | Otway......... | *Venice Preserved*.......... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1689 | Shadwell...... | *Bury Fair*............... | Mermaid Series |
| 1696 | Cibber......... | *Love's Last Shift*.......... | 1st edition 1696 |
| 1700 | Congreve....... | *The Way of the World*...... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1703 | Addison........ | *Cato*.................... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1713 | Rowe.......... | *Jane Shore*............... | Belles Lettres Series |
| 1714 | Centlivre....... | *The Wonder, or A Woman Keeps a Secret*.......... | Dr. Wks. London, 1872 |
| 1720 | Hughes......... | *Siege of Damascus*........ | I. Bird, Phila. 1833 |
| 1722 | Steele......... | *Conscious Lovers*.......... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1730 | Fielding........ | *Tom Thumb the Great*...... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1731 | Lillo.......... | *London Merchant*......... | Belles Lettres Series |
| 1749 | Johnson........ | *Mahomet and Irene*........ | Wks. Harper & Bro. 1861 |
| 1753 | Moore......... | *The Gamester*............. | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833 |
| 1763 | Foote.......... | *Mayor of Garratt*......... | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833 |
| 1767 | Goldsmith...... | *The Good Natured Man*..... | Plays etc. Oxford Edition |
| 1775 | Garrick........ | *Bon Ton*................ | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833 |
| 1777 | Sheridan....... | *School for Scandal*........ | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1790 | Coleman....... | *Inkle and Yarico*......... | Isaac Bird, Phila. 1833 |
| 1796 | Reynolds....... | *Fortunes Fool*............ | Plays, London, 1793-1810 |
| 1817 | Coleridge....... | *Remorse*................. | P. & Dr. Wks. Boston 1861 |
| 1820 | Shelley......... | *The Cenci*............... | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1828 | Mitford........ | *Rienzi*................... | Cumberland's Br. Theatre |
| 1832 | Knowles........ | *The Hunchback*........... | Cassel's Nat'l Lib. |

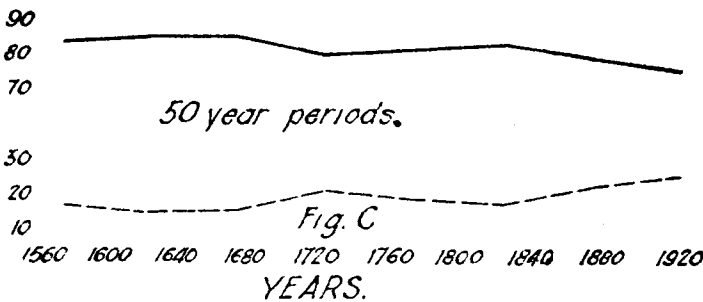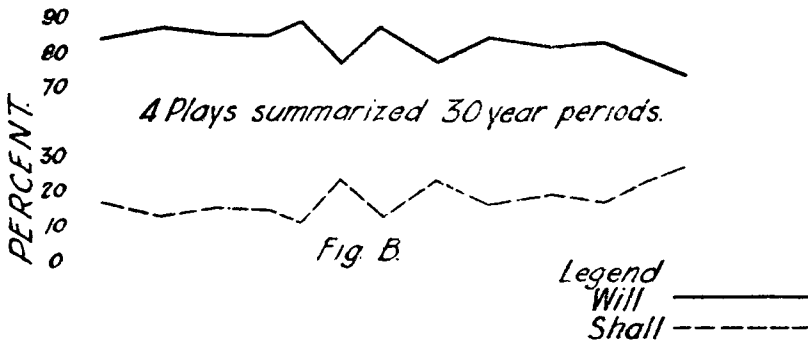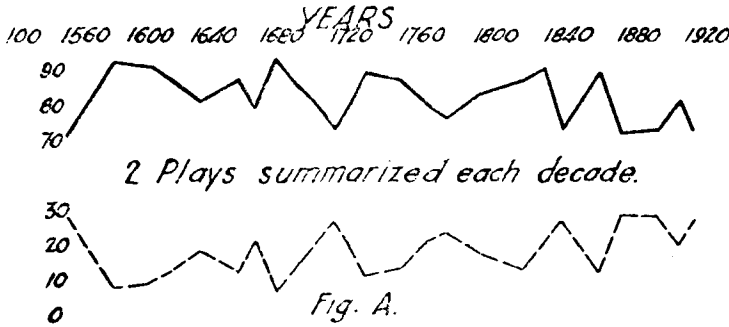| Date | Author | Title | Text |
|------|--------|-------|------|
| 1838 | Bulwer-Lytton | *Lady of Lyons* | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1843 | Browning | *A Blot in the Scutcheon* | Ed. Tatlock and Martin |
| 1860 | Taylor | *The Babes in the Wood* | Lacy's Acting Plays |
| 1862 | Burnand | *Fair Rosamond* | Lacy's Acting Plays |
| 1870 | Robertson | *The Nightingale* | Dr. Wks. London 1889 |
| 1876 | Tennyson | *Harold* | London, 1877. |
| 1893 | Pinero | *Second Mrs. Tanqueray* | Ed. T. H. Dickinson |
| 1896 | Jones | *Michael and His Lost Angel* | Ed. T. H. Dickinson |
| 1902 | Phillips | *Ulysses* | Macmillan 1902 |
| 1910 | Barker | *The Madras House* | Ed. T. H. Dickinson |
| 1910 | Galsworthy | *Justice* | Scribner's Sons, 1913 |
| 1915 | Masefield | *The Faithful* | London, 1915. |

In examining and comparing the usage in these texts with respect to *will* and *shall*, it is necessary to divide the instances into three groups: (1) *will* and *shall* in Independent Declarative Statements, (2) *will* and *shall* in Questions, (3) *will* and *shall* in Subordinate Clauses. The results for these three groups will be considered separately.

## INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

Plates I, II, and III show the curves representing the percentage of instances of *will* and *shall* in independent declarative statements for the first, second, and third person, respectively. The data represented by Figure A in each of the three plates are obtained by summarizing the numbers of instances for the two plays of each decade and casting the percentage in each case. Thus, in Plate I, Figure A, the point at 92% for 1588 indicates that, in the material examined for this time (Shakspere's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*) of every 100 cases of the first person with these two words in independent declarative statements, 92 are *I (we) will* and 8 are *I (we) shall*.

Figure B in each of the three plates represents the material summarized in larger groups, approximately 25-30 year periods; and Figure C in each of the three plates gives the material summarized in 50 year periods. These summaries were made in the belief that as more plays are considered in one group, the differences due to individual characteristics of particular plays and authors are levelled and general tendencies reveal themselves.

# Independent-Declarative Statements.

## First Person.

YEARS

100   1560   1600   1640   1680   1720   1760   1800   1840   1880   1920

2 Plays summarized each decade.

Fig. A.

4 Plays summarized 30 year periods.

Fig. B.

Legend
Will ————
Shall — — — —

PERCENT.

50 year periods.

Fig. C

1560   1600   1640   1680   1720   1760   1800   1840   1880   1920

YEARS.

Note.
From 30 to 70% is omitted in each graph.

# Independent-Declarative Statements. *Plate* ②
## SECOND PERSON.

YEARS

1560  1600  1640  1680  1720  1760  1800  1840  1880  1920

2 Plays Summarized each
Decade
Fig. A.

PERCENT.

4 Plays  Summarized
30 year periods
Fig. B.

Legend:
Will ————
Shall———————

50 year periods.
Fig. C.

1560  1600  1640  1680  1720  1760  1800  1840  1880  1920
YEARS
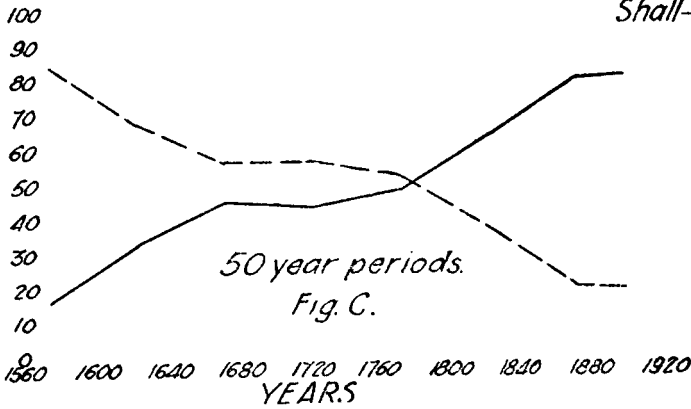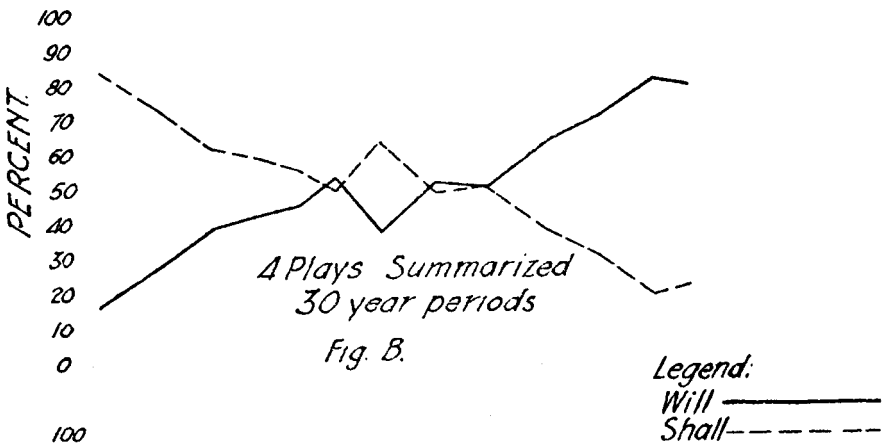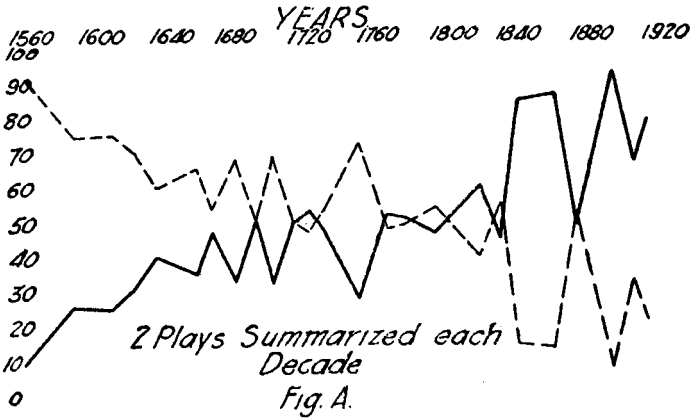
# Independent-Declarative Statements

## THIRD PERSON.

Plate ③



YEARS

2 Plays Summarized
each Decade.
Fig. A.

PERCENT.

4 Plays Summarized
30 year periods.    Fig. B.

Legend:
Will———
Shall— — — —

50 year periods.

Fig. C.

YEARS.
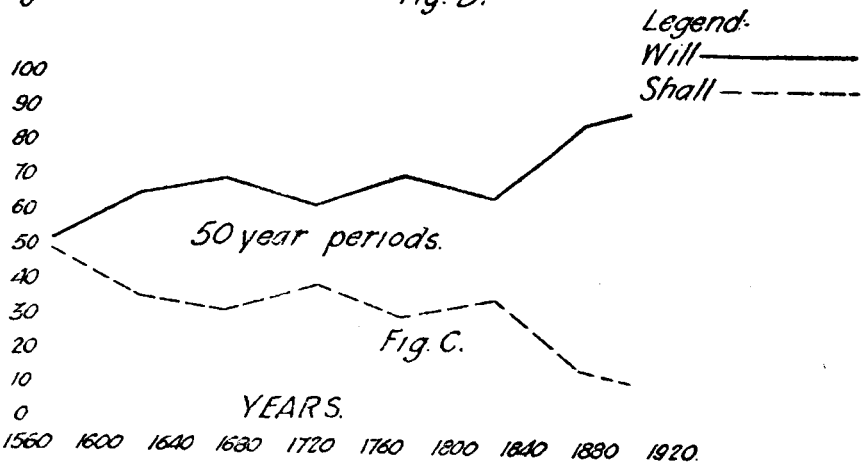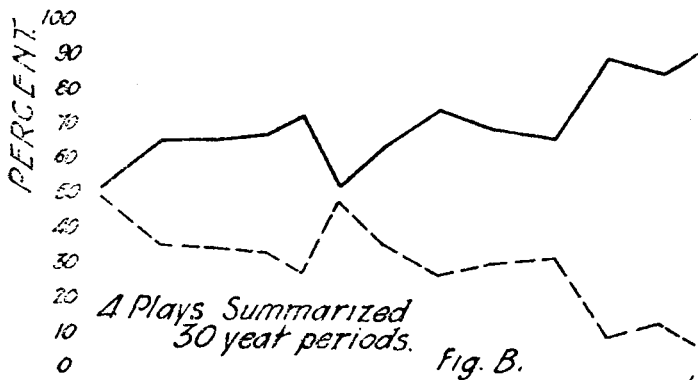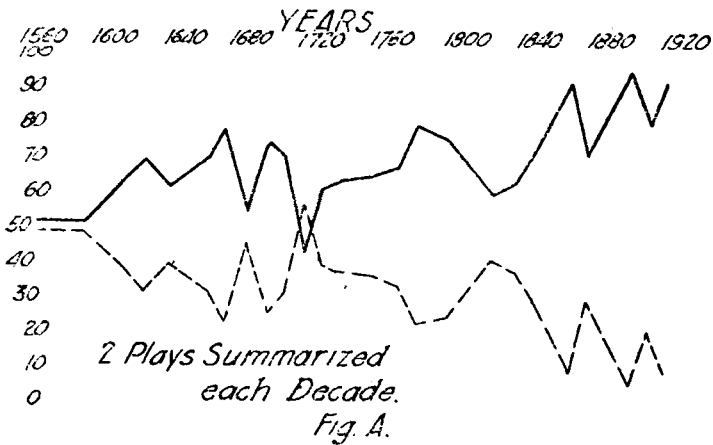
A study of these charts seems to yield the following significant facts concerning the use of *shall* and *will* in independent declarative statements:

A. *With the First Person.*

(1) The approximate stability of the relation of *shall* to *will* indicates that there has been no great change of use in the first person from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present time.

(2) *Will* with the first person has, during all this time, always been more frequently used than *shall*. (*I (we) will* from 70% to 93% and *I (we) shall* from 7% to 30%.)[28] These figures seem effectively to dispose of Hare's "Courtesy theory" (see Bibliographical note) that the English in the first person use *shall* to "refrain from thrusting themselves forward."

B. *With the Second Person.*

(1) In contrast to the approximate stability of the relation of *will* to *shall* in the first person for the past 350 years, with the *second person* there has been practically a complete reversing of the situation existing in the 16th century. In the 16th century *shall* predominated, being used in more than 80% of the cases, *will* correspondingly being used in less than 20%. Throughout the 18th century the two words seem to have been used with the second person about equally—the curves approach the 50% line. During the 19th century, however, the *will* with the second person has more and more displaced the *shall* so that it now is used in about 80% of the cases and *shall* in about 20%.

(2) If the modal use of *shall* and *will* can be regarded as approximately constant, this shift in the second person has special significance for the development of the tense use of *will* in this situation.

C. *With the Third Person.*

(1) With the third person also the relation of the *shall* and *will* has not been stable. As in the second person the *will* has tended to displace the *shall*, being now used in about 85% of the cases with *shall* in but 15%.

[28] The figures given seem also to indicate no ground for the statements of a difference in use between the first person singular and the first person plural. See Bruening, *Formation of Future Tense in English*, 46.

(2) The development with the third person as indicated by the charts, however, has not been, as with the second person, a complete reversing of the situation existing in the 16th century with the approximate 50% point in the 18th century. With the third person the 50% point appears in the 16th century with a gradual rising of the frequency of the *will* and a sinking of the *shall* to the present 85% to 15% relation.[29]

(3) Again if the modal use of the two words can be regarded as practically constant the development shown has especial significance for the tense use of *will* with the third person.

## QUESTIONS

The instances of *shall* and *will* in direct questions occurring in these plays covering a period of three hundred and fifty years reveal no real shift in usage for any of the three grammatical persons. The following tabulation exhibits the total number of cases, subdivided into chronological periods of approximately a half century each:

|  | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1557-1637............ | 3 | 69 | 125 | 2 | 38 | 17 |
| 1656-1703............ | 1 | 105 | 129 | 1 | 35 | 10 |
| 1713-1768............ | 1 | 80 | 51 | 1 | 40 | 19 |
| 1775-1843............ | 4 | 63 | 73 | 3 | 36 | 12 |
| 1860-1915............ | 3 | 78 | 127 | 0 | 22 | 7 |
| Total............ | 12 | 395 | 505 | 7 | 171 | 65 |

Contrary to the situation found in independent-declarative statements *shall* never was common in second person questions even when it was used in more than 80% of the cases of the second person in direct statements. With the first person, on the other hand, *shall* has overwhelmingly predominated in questions although *will* has always been more frequently used in independent declarative statements.

[29] The apparent return to the 50% relation indicated for 1713 in Figures A and B of Plate 3 seems to be explained by the individual characteristics of the play *Jane Shore* by Nicholas Rowe. The situation in this play leads rather naturally to the using of an excessively large number of unmistakably modal *shalls* with the third person.

The percentages of the cases of *shall* and *will* in questions for the entire period reveal some facts of real significance:

|  | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number............... | 12 | 395 | 505 | 7 | 171 | 65 |
| Per Cent.............. | 2.9 | 97.1 | 98.7 | 1.3 | 72.5 | 27.5 |

From these figures two conclusions seem evident:

1. The usual statement that *will* is *impossible* in questions with the first person is inaccurate, although it is true that *will* is seldom used in this situation. About 3% of the instances in the first person appear with *will*.[30] Of these twelve instances, eight (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, and 11) can be classed as "echoes"— the repeating of the *will* of the question just preceding. The

[30] I give here the twelve instances which occur in the plays examined:

(1) *The Alchemist* (1610), I, 1, 222.
    Dapper—You know, I shewed the statute to you.
    Face—                       You did so,
    Dapper—*And will I tell, then?* By this hand of flesh,
            Would it might never write good court-hand more,
            If I discover.

(2) *The Alchemist*, II, 1, 536:
    Mammon—And wilt thou insinuate what I am, and praise me,
  And say I am a noble fellow?
    Face—                   O, what else, sir?
            And that you'll make her royal with the stone,
            An empress; and yourself king of Bantam.
    Mammon—Wilt thou do this?
    Face—         *Will I, sir?*

(3) *Hyde Park* (1637), V, 1, 250:
    Miss Carol—Because, forsooth, I do not love you, will you
           Be desperate?
    Fairfield—         *Will I be desperate?*

(4) *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661), I, 2, 271:
    Servant  —It should be Mrs. Lucia by her voice, . . . . Will you please
           to see her, Sir?
    Truman— *Will I see her, Blockhead?* Yes; go out and kneel to her and
           pray her to come in.

(5) *The Wonder* (1714), V, 1, 65:
    Felix—    Give me your hand at parting, however, Violante,
           won't you—won't you, won't you—won't you?
    Violante— (Half regarding him) *Won't I do what?*

other four, however, cannot be so explained. It is indeed hard to see how *shall* could be used with the first person in such a question as the following:

*The Witching Hour*, Augustus Thomas, I, 1, 321 (b):

Viola—Haven't you seen the house, Mrs. Whipple?
Helen—Not above this floor.

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(6) *Bon Ton* (1775), I, 1, 416 (a):
Miss T—      my uncle is in an ill humour, and wants me to discard you, and go with him into the country.
Col. T— And will you, Miss?
Miss T—*Will I?*—no, I never do as I am bid.

(7) *Fortune's Fool* (1796), IV, 1, 46:
Sir Bamber—. . . . She has no home, I tell you; and as I heard you were going to your lodgings, will you take her under your arm?
Ap-Hazard—*Will I not?*—My dear Bam, always put yourself in Fortune's way.—Madam!

(8) *Fortune's Fool*, IV, 2, 55:
Sir Bamber—There! now haven't I been libel'd?—hasn't Miss Union been lampoon'd? and *won't I have* you pilloried, sir, for saying that volume of virtue was in these apartments?

(9) *The Hunchback* (1832), II, 2, 41:
Julia—             At town
Or country ball, you'll see me take the lead,
While wives that carry on their backs the wealth
To dower a princess, shall give place to me;—
*Will I not profit*, think you, by my right?
Be sure I will!

(10) *Babes in the Wood* (1860), I, 1, 15:
Lady Blanche—Will you have a sugar plum? (putting up her mouth)
Rushworth—    *Won't I?* (kisses her)

(11) *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1893), II, 52. (a):
Mrs. Cortelyon—     —Come, Mrs. Tanqueray, won't you spare her?
Paula—*Won't I spare her?* (Suspiciously) Have you mentioned your plan to Aubrey—before I came in?

(12) *The Faithful* (1915), II, 1, 78:
Kurano— Shall we pour the wine on our heads first?
Captain—No, afterwards, when we are hot.
Kurano— *But we will?*
Captain—Yes; oh yes?
Kurano— Yes, we will pour the wine on our heads. We are going to pour the wine on our heads.

Alice—Would it interest you?
Helen—Very much.
Alice—(To Helen) *Will I do as you guide?*

2. The common statement regarding second person questions, for example that in the *New English Dictionary*, that in the second person "in categorical questions" *shall* is "normal," is, according to these figures, plainly inadequate. Of the 512 questions in the second person but 7 or 1.3% use *shall*; all the rest employ *will*. Certainly *Shall you?* with its 7 cases out of 512 second person questions is no more "*normal*" than *Will I?* having 12 instances out of a total of 407 first person questions.[31]

More than that; of these 7 instances of *shall* with the 2nd person, two (3, 4) are plainly "echoes"; one (5) seems, by the

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[31] I give here the seven instances of the second person questions using *shall*:

(1)   *Wealth and Health* (1557) 279.
      Health—If these goods came with wrong-doing
              *Shall ye have* heaven for so spending,
              Or yet any meed?

(2)   *Hyde Park* (1637), V, 1, 246.
      Lord B—Do I not make a reasonable motion?
              Is't only in myself? *shall you not share*
              I' the delight? or do I appear a monster
              'Bove all mankind, you shun my embraces thus?

(3)   *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661), V, 6, 329.
      Tabitha—    —Oh! my Mother! what shall I do? I'm undone,
      Cutter— *What shall thou do?* why, thou shalt Dance—

(4)   *Siege of Damascus* (1720), II, 1, 732. (b)
      Eumenes.—O, I could curse the giddy changeful slaves,
              But that the thought of this hour's great event
              Possesses all my soul.—If we are beaten!
      Herbis.—  The poison works; 'tis well—
              I'll give him more. (aside)

              True, if we're beaten, who shall answer that?
              *Shall you, or I?*—Are you the governor—
              Or say we conquer, whose is then the praise?

(5)   *The Hunchback* (1832), I, 2, 19.
      Helen.—    —Would you be more rich,
              More wise, more fair? the song that last you learned
              You fancy well; and therefore *shall you learn*
              *No other song?*

context, to be definitely colored with the meaning of "wish," or "desire," or "intention"; two (6, 7)—which are indeed but *one* question—seem to ask concerning the "will" or "purpose" of the one addressed.    But two instances are left to fit the common rule, one from a play dated 1557 and the other from one dated 1637.

One ought also to add here that there are a number of examples of *Will you?* in which the context seems to exclude from the word *will* the idea of "wish" or "resolve."[32]

### Subordinate Clauses

The instances of *shall* and *will* in subordinate clauses afforded by the plays examined for the entire period indicate no development or marked shift in usage in this respect during the past 350 years.    Five classes of subordinate clauses were separately

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(6, 7) *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* (1843), III, 1, 802.  (b)
    Guendolen—Where are you taking me?
    Tresham—               He fell just here.
           Now answer me. *Shall you in your* whole life
           —You who have nought to do with Mertoun's fate,
           Now you have seen his breast upon the turf,
           *Shall you e'r walk this way if you can help?*

[32] The following are a few examples:
(1) *The Tempest* (1611), III, 2, 43:
    Calaban—I thank my noble lord. *Wilt thou be pleased* to hearken once
           again to the suit I made thee?

(2) *Cutter of Coleman Street* (1661), I, 2, 271:
    Truman Jr.—With me?  who is it?
    Servant—    It should be Mrs. Lucia by her voice,
           Sit, but she's veil'd all over.
           *Will you please to see her, Sir?*

(3) *Bury Fair* (1689), II, 1, 383:
    Goldsmith—*Will you please to raffle* for a teapot, a pair of candlesticks
           a couple of sconces?

(4) *She Wou'd if She Cou'd* (1668):
    Lady Cockwood—*Will you be pleased to repose, sir?*

(5) *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* III, 1, 811:
    Tresham—*But will you ever so forget his breast*
           As carelessly to cross this bloody turf
           Under the black yew avenue?

investigated, but the figures disclose no reason why some of these groups should not be com'>ined.[33] The totals for the five classes of clauses are as follow: ·

|  | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Noun Object Clauses* ......... | 59 | 79 | 153 | 33 | 316 | 61 |
| *Per Cent* .................. | 42.8 | 37.2 | 82.2 | 17.7 | 83.8 | 16.2 |
| *Conditions* ................. | 3 | 2 | 102 | 3 | 42 | 9 |
| *Per Cent* .................. | 60 | 40 | 97.2 | 2.8 | 82.3 | 17.6 |
| *Adverbial Clauses—* | | | | | | |
| (Time, place, cause, etc.) .... | 32 | 19 | 29 | 25 | 55 | 65 |
| *Per Cent* .................. | 62.8 | 37.2 | 57.8 | 48.2 | 45.9 | 54.1 |
| *Result Clauses* ............. | 8 | 15 | 3 | 4 | 22 | 10 |
| *Per Cent* .................. | 34.17 | 65.13 | 42.8 | 57.2 | 68.8 | 31.2 |
| *Adjective Clauses* ........... | 18 | 22 | 20 | 16 | 194 | 122 |
| *Per Cent* .................. | 45 | 55 | 55.6 | 44.4 | 61.4 | 38.6 |
| *Totals* ................. | 120 | 137 | 307 | 81 | 629 | 267 |
| *Per Cent* .............. | 46.6 | 53.4 | 79.1 | 20.9 | 70.2 | 29.8 |

Points of significance in these figures are:

1. In conditions (in opposition to the usual rule offered) *will* is the usual auxiliary, very few cases of *shall* being found in any of the three persons. In the first person very few cases with either *will* or *shall* appeared; only a total of 5 instances in all— 3 with *will* and 2 with *shall*.[34] In the second person *will* was

[33] The numbers for the adverbial clauses, the result clauses, and the adjective clauses are considered together. There is also no separate group for the uses in indirect discourse as such. These cases are included in the group marked *noun object clauses*, a group made up of all the noun clauses, objects of such verbs as say, think, know, swear, believe, promise, pray, declare, hope, expect, assure. To separate artibrarily, "He *says* that he will come," from "He *promises, swears, declares, assures me*, or *thinks* that he will come," seemed to be artificially excluding from the totals many cases which had an obvious bearing as evidence.

[34] The three instances of conditional clauses in the first person with *will* are: (1) *Way of the World*, Congreve (1700) II, 1, 511 (a):

Mrs. Fainall—Ay, ay, dear Marwood, *if we will be happy*, we must find the means in ourselves, and among ourselves. Men are ever in extremes; either doting or averse. While they are lovers, if they have fire and sense, their jealousies are

found in 102 cases (97%); in the third person 42 cases used *will* (82.3%).

2. In the *Noun Object Clauses* (the indirect discourse group) *will* predominates with the second and third persons: with the second person, 82.2%; with the third person, 83.8%. In the first person, however, *shall* is a bit more frequently used—57.2% with *shall* to 42.8% with *will*.

3. In the other three kinds of subordinate clauses (*Adjective, Result, Adverbial*) the total figures show a slight predominance

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       insupportable; and when they cease to love (we ought to think at least) they loathe.

(2) *Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, Browning (1843) II, 1, 796 (a):

    Tresham—I have despatched last night at your command
            A missive bidding him present himself
            Tomorrow—here—thus much is said; the rest
            Is understood as if 'twere written down—
            "His suit finds favor in your eyes." Now dictate
            This morning's letter that shall countermand
            Last night's—do dictate that!
    Mildred—                   But Thorold—*if*
     *I will receive him* as I said?
    Tresham—               The Earl?
    Mildred— I will receive him.

(3) *The Madras House*, Barker (1910) IV, 203 (b):

    Philip—(summing up) Then there's precious little hope for the Kingdom
           of Heaven upon earth. I know it sounds mere nonsense, but I'm
           sure it's true. If we can't love the bad as well as the beautiful—
           *if we won't share it all now*—fresh air and art—and dirt and sin—
           then we good and clever people are costing the world too much.

The two instances with *shall* (neither case *after 1700*) are:

(1) *Way of the World*, Congreve (1700) IV, 1, 531 (a):

    Petulant—If I have a humor to quarrel, I can make less matters conclude
           premises,—if you are not handsome, what then, if I have a
           humor to prove it? *If I shall have my reward*, say so; if not,
           fight for your face the next time yourself—I'll go sleep.

(2) *Plain Dealer*, Wycherley (1666) IV, 1, 458:

    Sailor—   Here are now below, the scolding, daggled gentlewoman, and
           that Major Old—Old—Fop, I think you call him.
    Freeman—Old fox;—prithee bid 'em come up, with your leave, captain,
           for now I can talk with her upon the square, *if I shall not
           disturb you.* (Exit Sailor)
    Manly—  No; for I'll be gone, come, volunteer.

of *will* in all three persons—very slight in the first person, 50.8%; in the second, 53.6%; in the third, 57.9%.

4. The common statement that in subordinate clauses in general *shall* has always predominated with all three grammatical persons is not verified by these figures.[35] The general totals of all classes of subordinate clauses show a decided predominance of *will* with the second and third persons (2—W. 79.1% to 2—Sh. 20.9%; 3—W. 70.2% to 3 Sh. 29.8%) but with the first person a slightly larger use of *shall* (1—W. 46.6% to 1—Sh. 53.4%).

A general view of the figures of the survey shows a decided development or change of use in the words *shall* and *will* from the 16th century to the present *only with the second and third persons in independent-declarative statements*. In these two situations the older more frequent use of *shall* has been displaced by a decidedly greater use of *will*. With the first person in independent-declarative statements the relation of *shall* to *will* as expressed by the percentages seems to have been fairly constant throughout the 350 years of the survey. In this situation *will* has always been used in more than 70% of the instances. The total figures for questions and subordinate clauses show the predominance of *shall* only with the first person. (Questions—1 Sh. 97%; subordinate clauses—1 Sh. 53.4%) With the second and third persons in questions and subordinate clauses *will* very obviously predominates. (Questions—2W. 98.6%; 3W. 72%; subordinate clauses—2W. 83.4%; 3W. 70%).

## II. *USAGE IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH DRAMA*

We proceed next to a more particular study of existing usage by noting the occurrences of *will* and *shall* in contemporary drama. As the material to be examined I have selected eighteen plays written in England between 1902 and 1918. The results gained from these plays will then be compared (see Plate IV) with those which appear from examining an equal number of American plays written during the same period.

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[35] "Altho *shall* has thus lost some of its former territory in principal propositions, it has still kept its old distinctive meaning there and has become, perhaps a greater favorite in the subordinate clause than it has ever been" (Curme, *J.E.G. Ph.* XII, 522).

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN CONTEMPORARY USAGE

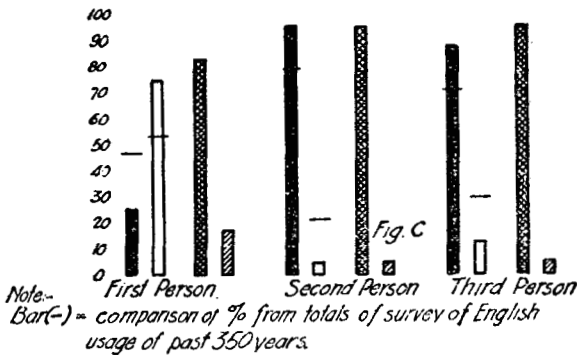*INDEPENDENT-DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS*



Fig. A.

QUESTIONS



Fig B.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES



Fig. C
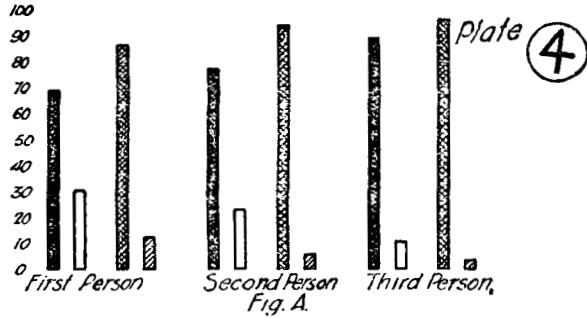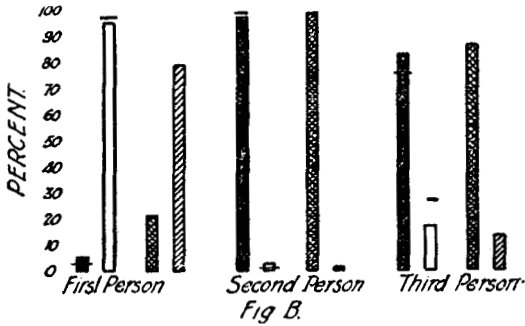
Note:-
Bar(-) = comparison of % from totals of survey of English
usage of past 350 years.

Legend.
English    American.



will  shall    will  shall.

The list of English plays taken as the basis for this comparison is as follows:

| Date | Author | Title | Text |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1902 | S. Phillips | *Ulysses* | Macmillan |
| 1909 | S. Houghton | *The Younger Generation* | Constable |
| 1910 | G. Barker | *Madras House* | Dickinson |
| 1910 | J. Galsworthy | *Justice* | Scribners |
| 1910 | A. Bennett | *The Honeymoon* | Geo. Doran & Co. |
| 1911 | M. Baring | *The Double Game* | Constable |
| 1913 | G. B. Shaw | *Great Catharine* | Brentano |
| 1914 | H. A. Jones | *The Lie* | Geo. Doran & Co. |
| 1915 | J. Masefield | *The Faithful* | William Heinemann |
| 1918 | J. Barry | *Quality Street* | Scribners |
| 1907 | C. Gordon Lennox | *The Impertinence of the Creature* | Clark |
| 1908 | Gertrude Robins | *Makeshifts* | Clark |
| 1908 | St. J. Hankin | *The Burglar who Failed* | Martin Sedser |
| 1910 | G. Cannan | *James and John* | Clark |
| 1910 | Elizabeth Baker | *Miss Tassey* | Clark |
| 1911 | Alfred Sutro | *The Man in the Stalls* | Clark |
| 1911 | Oliphant Down | *The Maker of Dreams* | Clark |
| 1912 | Arthur Pinero | *The Widow of Wasdale Head* | Clark |

INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

The development indicated in the previous charts (See Plates 1, 2, and 3) seemed to point to an equal predominance of *will* for all three grammatical persons in independent declarative statements. The larger amount of English dramatic material examined for the present generation confirms that conclusion. As indicated on Plate IV the percentages of frequency of *shall* and *will* in independent-declarative statements are:

<div style="text-align:center">

1st person—c. 70% *will* to c. 30% *shall*
2nd person—c. 78% *will* to c. 22% *shall*
3rd person—c. 90% *will* to c. 10% *shall*

</div>

In the face of these figures, it is hard to see how the rule for the simple future tense, that a *shall* with the first person corresponds in meaning to a *will* with the second and third, can be held to represent actual English usage.[36] One can only

[36] It must be borne in mind, of course, that the figures given are the totals for a large body of material in which the usage of the individual writers differs considerably in a few cases. It would be strange indeed if the influence of the schools and a century of teaching should not noticeably affect the usage of a few. An example of such difference taken from the dialog of fiction rather than

adjust these figures to this common grammatical rule by *assuming* that with the first person the "simple future" is seldom used while with the other grammatical persons it is used very frequently.

## QUESTIONS

The actual number of instances of *shall* and *will* in direct questions appearing in the English contemporary plays examined may be tabulated as follows:

|  | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number............. | 4 | 71 | 160 | 4 | 24 | 5 |
| Per Cent............. | 5.3 | 94.7 | 97.5 | 2.5 | 82.8 | 17.2 |

These percentages are represented graphically in Figure B on Plate IV. In order to facilitate comparison the percentages of *will* and *shall* in questions for the whole period of 350 years, as ascertained from the survey, are marked on the chart by black cross bars.

In direct questions as in Independent Declarative Statements, the figures for the present generation reinforce the conclusions drawn from the total figures of the survey. Especially is this evident in respect to the overwhelming use of *will* to the ex-

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from drama is the following comparison of the use of *shall* and *will* with the first person in independent-declarative statements in Wells' *Ann Veronica* and in Marshall's *The Old Order Changeth:*

(Wells)—1st person with *will* 75%; with *shall* 25%.

(Marshal)—1st person with *will* 54%; with *shall* 46%.

The figures for Wells are quite normal; those for Marshall are perhaps the most extreme variation from the usual situation for any large number of instances. The attempt here has been to examine enough material so that these individual characteristics will be subordinated to a representation of the more general usage.

It seems impossible to suppose a difference in meaning for the auxiliary with the several grammatical persons in the following example:

*The Faithful* (1915), II, 1, 77.

Captain—Yes. First, let us all three be drunk.

Kurano— All be drunk. I'll be drunk, you'll be drunk, she'll be drunk. We'll be drunk, you'll be drunk, he'll be drunk. We'll all be drunk. Let us see who'll be drunk first.

clusion of *shall* with the second person.[37]  Of these instances the fourth should probably be classed as an *echo*, and in interpreting the other three questions, unless one *assumes* the conventional rule, it is hard to exclude the idea that the speaker is inquiring concerning the *purpose, intention,* or *determination* of the one addressed.

With the third person the figures for the present generation show a 10% increase of the *will* forms over the percentage for the same situation in the survey.

### SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The full number of instances of *shall* and *will* occurring in subordinate clauses in the English contemporary plays examined may be tabulated as follows:

|  | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noun-Object...................... | 16 | 39 | 53 | 2 | 79 | 7 |
| Conditions....................... | 1 | 1 | 26 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Adjective Cl...................... | 0 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 18 | 5 |
| Result Clause..................... | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Adverbial (time, place, etc.)........ | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 3 |
| Total........................ | 18 | 52 | 85 | 4 | 116 | 15 |

[37] I give here the four instances of *shall you?* found in this material:

(1) *Younger Generation,* p. 193.

Mr. Kenyon (taking it from her)—No, no; we'd better not do that.

Mrs. K.—*What shall you do then?*

Mr. K.— I shall ask Grace to show it to me.

Mrs. K.—Suppose she refuses?

Mr. K.— Then I shall *make* her show it to me.

(2) *The Lie,* p. 24.

Elinor— . . . .*Shall you be down here much* before you go back to Egypt?

(3) *The Double Game,* p. 270.

Nielson— I see our author has published a new book.

Elizaveta—Who, Rakint?

Nielson— Yes. It's called "Giordano Bruno and the Movement of Liberation." *Shall you read it?*

Elizaveta—I haven't time to read his books.

(4) *The Honeymoon,* p. 33.

Cedric—I shall always be your grandstand.

Flora— *Shall you?* I can only do my best when I've got the undivided attention of my audience.

In the graphic presentation of percentages in Figure C on Plate IV the figures for all five types of subordinate clauses have been combined. Comparison with the figures in the table shows that for the second and third persons the percentages in the chart fairly represent the situation for all the groups of subordinate clauses. In the case of the first person, however, the percentage in the chart is mainly determined by a single group: viz., the Noun-Object Clause—the reported speech or indirect discourse group.

From these figures two significant facts emerge:

(1) With the 2nd and 3rd persons the overwhelming use of *will* to the exclusion of *shall*. In both these cases there is more than a 15% increase in the uses with *will* over the total figures found in the survey for these situations.

(2) With the first person in indirect discourse or reported speech clauses *shall* very definitely predominates in the English material for the present generation. In this case it is to be noted that the figures for the present generation show a 20% *increase of shall* over the figures for the survey. This seems to be the only situation in which a comparison of the figures for English contemporary usage with those of the survey reveal a *definitely marked increase of the shall forms.*

### III. *CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN USAGE COMPARED WITH THAT IN ENGLAND*

With the results obtained from the study of contemporary drama written in England we proceed, finally, to compare the instances of *shall* and *will* to be found in a series of eighteen American plays dating from 1906 to 1918. The following is a list of the plays selected for comparison:

| Date | Author | Title | Text |
|------|--------|-------|------|
| 1906 | L. E. Mitchell | *The New York Idea* | Quinn |
| 1906 | C. Fitch | *The Truth* | Dickinson |
| 1906 | W. V. Moody | *The Great Divide* | Dickinson |
| 1907 | A. Thomas | *The Witching Hour* | Quinn |
| 1908 | E. Walter | *The Easiest Way* | Dickinson |
| 1909 | E. B. Sheldon | *The Nigger* | Macmillan |
| 1910 | P. Mackaye | *Anti-Matrimony* | F. A. Stokes & Co. |
| 1911 | D. Belasco | *Return of Peter Grimm* | Baker |
| 1912 | R. Crothers | *He and She* | Quinn |
| 1915 | L. K. Anspacher | *The Unchastened Woman* | Baker |

| Date | Author | Title | Text |
|------|--------|-------|------|
| 1916 | Doris Halman.... | *Will o' the Wisp*............... | Mayorga |
| 1916 | G. Middleton.... | *A Good Woman*................ | Mayorga |
| 1916 | P. Wilde........ | *A Question of Morality*......... | Mayorga |
| 1917 | G. C. Cook | *Suppressed Desires*............. | Mayorga |
|      | (Susan Glaspell) | | |
| 1917 | Sada Cowan..... | *Sintram of Skagerrak*........... | Mayorga |
| 1917 | Esther Galbraith. | *Brink of Silence*............... | Mayorga |
| 1918 | Rita Wellman.... | *Funiculi Funicula*............. | Mayorga |
| 1918 | E. Pillot........ | *Hunger*....................... | Mayorga |

The percentages of *will* and *shall* established by a count of
the instances in these plays are indicated graphically by the
blocked and shaded columns in the chart on Plate IV, side by
side with the black and white columns representing the English
plays of the same period.

INDEPENDENT DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

The number of instances of *shall* and *will* in independent
declarative statements in these American plays is as follows:

| 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 763 | 119  | 208 | 14   | 389 | 15   |

The following comparative table shows the percentages of
*will*-forms in each of the three persons for both English and
American plays.

> 1st  person, English 70%; American 87%
> 2nd person, English 78%; American 94%
> 3rd person, English 90%; American 96%.

As these figures show, the *shall*-forms have been almost
eliminated from American usage with all three grammatical
persons.  In contemporary English usage the *shall*-forms are
somewhat more frequent and the *will*-forms correspondingly
less frequent.

But this difference between American and English usage is
*not confined to the first person,* as has frequently been asserted.
Indeed, in independent declarative statements the degree of
difference between American and English usage is practically
the same with the second person as with the first.

In independent declarative statements, then, so far as these
figures disclose the situation, no marked difference in usage

appears between Americans and Englishmen; American usage seems merely to show with all three grammatical persons a greater elimination of *shall*-forms and a corresponding increase of *will*-forms.

## QUESTIONS

The following is the result of the count of *shall* and *will* in questions in the American plays:

| 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 8 | 30 | 143 | 2 | 25 | 4 |

These figures show a close agreement between the American and English use of *shall* and *will* in questions. Especially is this noteworthy in respect to the second person. In both English and American usage there is the same overwhelming use of *will* in second person questions to the practical exclusion of *shall*.[38]

With respect to the first person, the 15% difference between American and English usage indicated by the chart is much less significant than it first appears to be. The total number of instances of *shall* and *will* in questions with the first person in the American material is only *half* the total number with the first person in the contemporary English dramas. As a result the very few more instances with *will* found in the American plays have undue weight in determining the percentage. These instances,[39] however, serve to confirm our earlier

[38] I quote here the only two instances of *shall* with the second person:

(1) *The Easiest Way*, 179, a:

Laura—Mr. Madison is coming up the path.
Mrs. Williams (off stage) That's good.
Laura—*Shan't you come and see him?*
Mrs. Williams (same)—Lord, no! I'm six dollars and twenty cents out now, and
up against an awful streak of luck.

(2) *The Truth*, 259, a:

Becky— *Shall you speak* to Mr. Linden about them?
Warder—No. I wouldn't insult you by discussing you with Linden, unless I
was convinced every word and more here was true.

[39] I give here the instances from the American dramas of questions using *will* with the first person.

(1) *New York Idea*, 731, b:

John—The case meant a big fee, big Kudos, and in sails Cynthia, Flashlight
mad! *And will I put on my hat and take her?* No—and bang she goes off
like a stick o' dynamite.

conclusion that *will* is sometimes possible in questions with the first person.[40] It is to be noted, too, that the third, fourth and sixth examples, and possibly also the seventh, are neither "echoes" nor rhetorical questions.

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### (2) *The Nigger*, 128:

Phil.—    Run down an' choke him—quick. Take his papahs.

Barrington—*Will I?* Oh Lord! Honest, I pity that kid from the bottom o' my tendah hea't. Just you wait.

### (3) *Unchastened Woman*, II, 412:

Hildegarde—I'd play the game out for all it's worth. It's no use weakening now.

Lawrence (pointing to bills)—*What will we do with these?*

Hildegarde (encouragingly)—We'll meet them with your first installment

### (4) *Witching Hour*, 771, b:

Viola—  Haven't you seen this house, Mrs. Whipple?

Helen—  Not above this floor.

Alice—  Wouldn't it interest you?

Helen—  Very much.

. . . . . . . .

Alice—  *Will I do as your guide?*

### (5) *Witching Hour*, 773, b:

Clay —. . . . Always you when I think about a real house, you bet—a house for me—and you'll be there, won't you?

Viola—  *Will I?*

Clay—  Yes, say, "I will."

### (6) *Witching Hour*, 786, b:

Prentice.—. . . .When in your own mind your belief is sufficiently trained you won't need this. (another slight pass)

Jack—*I won't?*

Prentice—No.

Jack—*What'll I do?*

Prentice—Simply think . . . .

### (7) *Witching Hour*, 800, 9:

Jack—  No, you stay here.

Alice—  That's scandalous.

Jack—  But none of us will start the scandal, *will we?*

[40] See page 1000.

## SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The following are the statistics for the use of *shall* and *will* in subordinate clauses:

|  | 1-W | 1-Sh | 2-W | 2-Sh | 3-W | 3-Sh |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noun-Object..................... | 53 | 8 | 59 | 3 | 91 | 2 |
| Conditions...................... | 1 | 0 | 35 | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| Adj-Clause...................... | 0 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 21 | 2 |
| Result Clause................... | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| Adv. Clause (time, place, etc.)..... | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 1 |
| Totals...................... | 57 | 12 | 105 | 4 | 141 | 7 |

For the second and third persons these figures, with the great preponderance of *will* in all types of subordinate clauses, exhibit a marked agreement with English usage. The comparative percentages are as follows:

> 2nd person with *will*, American 96.4%; English 95.6%
> 3rd person with *will*, American 95.3%; English 88.6%

In the case of the first person, on the other hand, a striking conflict appears between English and American usage. These figures primarily concern the Reported Speech or Indirect Discourse group of subordinate clauses for in the other classes no such disagreement appears.[41] In reported speech clauses the contemporary English material shows *71% of shall uses with the first person* to 29% of *will*[42]; for the American material just the reverse is true with *but 14% of shall uses to 86% of will.*

On the whole, the figures give evidence of a general tendency in American usage to eliminate the *shall* forms in all situations except direct questions with the first person. In practically all situations the percentage of *will* uses is somewhat higher than in the English material examined. The one outstanding conflict, however, between American and English usage of *shall* and *will* seems to be *with the first person in subordinate clauses of reported*

[41] See also page 1010.

[42] In subordinate clauses with the first person appears the only great increase of *shall forms* in the contemporary English material over those from the survey. See also page 1007.

*speech* (Noun Object Clauses). If these figures can be trusted as significant it is probably the difference here indicated which is chiefly responsible for the disagreement we feel between the present American and English use of *shall* and *will*.

The more significant facts concerning the use of *shall* and *will* revealed by this statistical study of the material examined are briefly these:

1. The figures seem to indicate that in some respects at least the conventional rules of the common school grammars do not represent and have never represented the practice of the language. Especially is this fact evident in regard to (a) the first person in independent-declarative statements, (b) the second person in direct questions, (c) the second and third persons in subordinate clauses.

(a) With the first person in independent-declarative statements *will* is used in more than 70% of the cases. This predominance prevails throughout the material examined for each decade since 1560 with no great shift of frequency or development revealed by the figures.

(b) With the second person in direct questions *will* is almost always used. The cases with *will* are over 97% in all the material. A *shall* with the second person questions is found even less frequently than a *will* with first person questions.

(c) In all subordinate clauses, with the second and third persons *will* decidedly predominates. Very plainly does this appear in the figures for the contemporary material both English and American.

2. The figures for the survey seem to indicate very plainly a development in the use of *shall* and *will* with the second and third persons in independent-declarative statements. With both the second and the third persons the earlier more frequent use of *shall* has gradually been displaced through the 18th and 19th centuries by an increasing use of *will*.

3. The comparison of figures from equal amounts of contemporary English and American usage reveals for practically all situations a somewhat higher percentage of *will* for the American material. The one outstanding conflict, however, appears in the case of *clauses of reported speech with the first person*. In this situation the figures for American usage show an 86% of *will* against the 71% of *shall* for English usage.

## IV. *MEANINGS IN* SHALL *AND* WILL

As indicated on page 988 above these instances of *shall* and *will* (about 20,000 in all) were not only subjected to a statistical study but in each case the context in which the *shall* or the *will* occurred was scrutinized for evidence concerning the meaning or feeling which must lie in these two words.

The usual explanations offered for the development of the use of *shall* and *will* as a periphrastic future point to their original meanings of "obligation" and "wish" as especially fitted to develop the idea of futurity.[43]  The present obligation or wish is thus conceived as furnishing a very natural basis upon which to infer the satisfying future action. "When motive and circumstance sink in importance, interest and attention shift to the event."  Many then take the attitude expressed by Mätzner that in the present use of these two words there is a "glimmering through" of the "primitive meanings" of *shall* and *will*; that with *shall* there is connoted obligation or compulsion in a "series of gradations" gradually fading into the pure future idea; that with *will* there is connoted wish or resolve in a similar "series of gradations" likewise fading into the pure future.[44]

When one attempts to apply this explanation to the facts, however, one finds a large number of instances in which the context more or less plainly puts into *shall* and *will* meanings and feelings which cannot be accounted for on the basis of the "glimmering through" of the "primitive meanings" of these two words.  This explanation, for instance, would account for the meaning of "resolve" or "determination" of the subject which remains in the word *will*, but it does not account for the many cases in which the context indicates the meaning of the "resolve" or "determination" of the subject put into the future expression with *shall*.  This use of *shall* has frequently been recognized as legitimate English usage but is ignored in the attempted explanations of the development of *shall* in the periphrastic future.

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[43] See Curme, *Jr. of Eng. & Gmc. Phil.*, 13, 517; and Bradley, *Trans. of Am. Phil. Assn.*, 42 (1911), 15, 16, 17.

[44] See above page 986, Bibliographical Note.

Sweet, for instance, declares that "the emphatic *I; shall do it* expresses determination, as if the speaker meant to imply that his will was so strong as to become a purely objective force."[45] And the article on *shall* in the *New English Dictionary* contains this statement: "—*I shall* often expresses a determination insisted on in spite of opposition, and *I; shall not*(colloq. *I shan't*) a peremptory refusal."

Examples of this use of *shall* to express "resolve" or "determination" are:

*The Wonder* 1714 (V, 1, 65)

Violante—Nay, sure you will not let my Father find you here—Distraction
Felix—*Indeed but I shall*—except you command this Door to be open'd,| and that Way conceal me from his sight.

*Way of the World* 1700 (V, 1, 539)

Sir Wilful—Therefore withdraw your instrument, sir, or by'r Lady, *I shall draw mine.*

*Love's Last Shift*, 1696, (Iv, 66)

. . . Damme, Sir, have a care! Don't give me the Lye, *I shan't take it*, Sir.

*Babes in the Wood*, 1860, (III, 1, 69)

Beetle—There! but let this be a lesson to you, Arabella—the first time you forget it, I shall *not* return to the Queen's Bench, but *I shall certainly apply* to Mr. Justice Cresswell.

*The Faithful*, 1915, (I, 1, 11)

Lord Asano—This alters everything. *I shall go at once* to the Envoy's court and appeal against Kira.

Again, the explanation—the "glimmering through" of the "primitive meaning"—would account for the various shades of *compulsion* to be brought upon the subject expressed by the *shall* with the second and third persons, but it does not account for the cases in which *will* with the second or third persons also implies a compulsion to be brought upon the subject.

In the second person, for example, the use of *will* to express a command has been often recognized.[46]

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[45] *New English Grammar*, No. 2202.

[46a] See Blount and Northrup, *English Grammar*, No. 144, e.

[46b] "*You will go to your room and stay there!*, being the speaker's command."
*The King's English*, p. 138.

The following are illustrations (quoted from Aronstein)[47]:

Sehr oft steh. *you will* an stelle eines imperativs:

Froude I, 243: '*You will entreat* the present pope in my name to exercise the same moderation—*You will observe* in his reply whether he repeats the offer made to me by Paul IV.' (Übersetzung eines briefes Phillipps II an seinen gesandten in Rome.)

Thackeray, *Henry Esmond III*, IX: '*You will wait* on the Bishop of Rochester early, *you will bid him* bring his coach hither.' "

In the first of the following the expression containing the *You will* implies a threat of the speaker; in the second the speaker's promise and determination:

*Jane Shore* V, 208, line 393:

Shore— Infamy on thy head!
        Thou tool of power, thou pander to authority!
        I tell thee, knave, thou know'st of none so virtuous!
        And she that bore thee was an Aethiop to her!
Catesby—*You'll answer this at full.*—Away with 'em.

*The Faithful* I, 2, 51:

Kurano—Kira taught you the wrong ritual?
Asano— Yes.
Kurano—*You will not go unavenged.*

In like fashion the context with the strongly emphasized auxiliary sometimes shows plainly that, in both the second and the third persons with *will*, the subject will be under such pressure as to force him to act even in direct opposition to his "wish" or "resolve." For example:

A—He says that he has decided not to go to the court.
B—Well,he *will* go to the court even if we have to carry him.

X—I don't intend to allow anyone to see the books.
Y—But you *will* let us see them for we have the judge's order.

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[46] "—Sehr oft drückt *you will* mit einem Z., das Tun besagt, einen gemessenen Befehl aus (*you must, you are to*) wie im D. und Frz. die 2 P. der Zukunftform eines solchen Z.—

> '*You will come* tomorrow at ten o'clock!
> Sie werden morgen um 10 Uhr antreten!
> Vous viendrez demain à dix heures!
>
> *You will take* this packet to Mr. Molloy.
> I say *you will sweep* my room.' "
>                                                   Krüger, *Syntax*, IV, 2926.

[47] Aronstein, *Anglia*, 41, p. 39.

In other words, instead of the situation supposed in the explanation usually offered—that the *shall* or *will* may be colored by the original meanings still clinging to them—we have many cases in which the *shall* and *will* each imply meanings which originally belonged only to the other.   Thus *shall* not only carries the connotations of "obligation" or "compulsion" of the speaker or of circumstances but at times with the first person is used to express his "resolve" or "determination"; *will* not only expresses various shades of the subject's "determination," "desire," "willingness," but at times implies strong "compulsion" or "necessity" to an action in opposition to the will of the subject.

Not only must an adequate explanation of the meanings in these words account for this situation respecting *shall* and *will* alone, but it must also account for the implications, the meanings, which other modes of expressing the future have acquired. The combination *to be+ going+ prepositional infinitive* cannot be said to have brought from the original meanings of *to be* or *going* any ideas of "determination" or "resolve" or "compulsion."   And yet when used as a phrase to express a future idea the context very frequently shows that some one of these meanings is conveyed by the phrase.[48]  For example:

*The Nightingale* (1870) I, 380:

Keziah—[discussing the wealth of the prospective bridegroom of her mistress] At least he had; but he's spent some.  But now *he's* [resolve] *going to reform* because he's going to marry.

*The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* (1894) III, 62, a:

Ellean—I-I can't talk to you. . . . . You do nothing else but mock and sneer, nothing else.

Paula—Ellean dear!  Ellean!  I didn't mean it.  I'm so horribly jealous, it's a sort of curse on me. . . . . My tongue runs away with me, *I'm going to alter*, [resolve] I swear I am.  I've made some good resolutions. and as God's above me, I'll keep them!

*The Faithful* (1915) II, 1, 62:

Kurano—*Are they going to kill me?*
4th Ronin—They said [resolve] *they were going to make sure of you.*

The same situation arises in connection with the phrases *to be+ about+ prepositional infinitive* and the verb *to be+ preposi-*

[48] See also Royster and Steadman, *The "Going-to" Future,* Manly Anniversary Studies, 399-402.

*tional infinitive.* Nothing in the original meanings of these words signified "resolve," "compulsion," or "command." But these phrases when used to express a future very frequently carry with them the suggestion of the "resolve" of the subject or of the "necessity" of the action.

The man *is about to dive from the bridge.*

He has bought up two of our neighbors and *is about to buy us up too.*

*The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, I, 38b:
Drummle—Oh, Nugent Warrinder's engagement to Lady Alice Tring. I've
heard of that. *They're not to be married* till the spring.

*The Faithful*, III, 4, 131:
The Herald—I have a message for you. That *you are to kill* yourselves here,
on this spot, for the murder of Duke Kira.

Even those cases in which the present form of the verb is used and the future idea is indicated by an adverb frequently cannot be freed from the meanings of "intention," "resolve" or "determination."

*Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, I, 40, (a):
Misquith—*I go up to Scotland to-morrow,* and there are some little matters . . . .

*Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, II, 52, (b):
Mrs. Cortelton—*We go to town this afternoon* at five o'clock and *sleep tonight*
at Bayliss's.

*Michael and His Lost Angel*, II, 92, (b):
Michael—Withcombe has gone over to Saint Margaret's with Gibbard and my
uncle. *They stay there the night.*

*Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, II, 45, (a):
Aubrey—Well, she's going to town, Cayley says here, and his visit's at an end.
*He's coming over* this morning to call on you. Shall we ask him to
transfer himself to us?

From these instances, then, it is evident that the common explanation of the "glimmering through" of the primitive meanings of *shall* and *will* fails to account for the following significant facts:

(1) Both *shall* and *will* sometimes express the *resolve* or *determination* of the subject and *both* sometimes imply *compulsion* or *necessity* to an action even in opposition to the will of the subject.

(2) The other phrases commonly used to express the future may also connote *resolve* and *determination*, or *compulsion* and *necessity*, although their original meanings suggest no such idea.

It may be added that the same set of instances of the expression of the future offered to different people will produce a wide variety of interpretations and not infrequently the same person will see in a given example at one time only a pure future idea and at another the connotation of other circumstances. Very probably a speaker or writer seldom conceives of the future event entirely freed from the circumstances upon which it is predicted; and, likewise, for the hearer or reader, although in a rapid impression with an entirely unemphasized phrase the general future prediction may be all that registers, yet with more attention put upon the statement, directed by greater emphasis on some part of the word group or retained by the reader's attempted analysis, there often stand out some of the connotations of *intention, resolve, determination, compulsion,* or *necessity.*[49] There are, without question, unmistakable modal uses of *shall* and *will*, but they are mingled with these lighter shades of connotation and so inseparably joined to them that no *rules* seem adequate to distinguish them satisfactorily.

## V. *A BRIEF RESTATEMENT OF CONCLUSIONS*

1. A survey of the discussions of *shall* and *will* since the early 19th century and especially of those since 1900 reveals much conflict of opinion and *no thoroughly accepted views* concerning (a) the present state of the usage of these two words, (b) the meaning and trend of the development of that usage, (c) the causes which have given rise to it.

[49] In view of the meanings which attach themselves not only to *shall* and *will* but also to the other phrases used to express the future, and the fact that these meanings of *intention, resolve, determination, compulsion, necessity,* are necessarily the grounds upon which future predictions are made one naturally raises the question whether these meanings are not inevitable connotations of the future *idea* unrelated to the particular words by which the future is expressed. If so they will attach themselves to any phrase used to express the future and thus prevent the development of any one word group to indicate a pure uncolored future. This question, however, is not a matter concerning English alone but one of comparative syntax and must be reserved for future publication.

2. There are several distinct stages in the development of the conventional rules for *shall* and *will*. The first suggestion found in English grammars of a differentiation of use between the two words appears in 1622, in Mason's *Grammaire Angloise*. Wallis' *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1653) first gives a definite rule concerning a *shall* with the first person to correspond to a *will* with the second and third. The beginnings of the conventional rules for interrogative sentences are not to be found until Lowth's *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762). The complete scheme of conventional rules of *shall* and *will* is first outlined in all essentials in the discussion given in the grammar of William Ward (1765). Not until 1795 with Lindley Murray's famous grammar is this complete scheme of conventional rules repeated and it does not become a common feature of English or American grammars until after the 1st quarter of the 19th century.

3. The expressed purposes of the grammarians in which the developed system of rules for *shall* and *will* first appeared, in accord with a common 18th century attitude, were to frame rules for the English language and to correct the practice of English speakers and writers by means of these rules. Their use of "reason" and their explicit repudiation of usage—even that of "the most approved authors"—as a standard and basis for their rules points to the conclusion that the conventional rules for *shall* and *will* then first formulated were probably arbitrary and without a validity based upon the practice of the language.

4. The figures and charts of the instances found in the survey of English drama from the 16th century to the present indicate that in this type of literature at least

(a) In independent-declarative statements the 1st person with *will* has always predominated with no great shift of frequency or development.

(b) In independent-declarative statements in the 2nd and 3rd persons *will* has gradually displaced *shall*.

For the present generation *will* predominates in all three persons. This condition probably necessitates the repudiation of the conventional rule that a 1st person with *shall* corresponds to a 2nd and 3rd with *will*.

In questions, *shall* is almost always used with the first person and *will* with the second although a *will* with the 1st and a *shall* with the second is occasionally found.   The usual rule that *shall* is the "normal" auxiliary in 2nd person questions does not seem to represent the practice of the language.

The figures do not verify the conventional rule that in subordinate clauses and conditions *shall* is used for all persons. On the other hand, *will* very decidedly predominates in the second and third persons.   In the indirect discourse group the figures do not furnish any substantial basis upon which to judge the conventional rule.   With the first person in the indirect discourse clauses, however, the figures indicate one situation in which American and contemporary English usage differ widely.   Here there is shown not the usual general increase of *will* forms for the American usage but a definite conflict with English usage—the American 86% of *will* as contrasted with an English 70% of *shall*.

5.  From the mass of instances examined, the evidence furnished by the context in which the *shall* and *will* (as well as other phrases to express the future) were used, seems to indicate that the connotations of intention, resolve, compulsion, necessity, are not simply the "glimmerings through" of the primitive meanings of *shall* and *will* for there are many cases in which the *shall* and the *will* each imply meanings which originally belonged to the other.   These connotations become prominent in proportion to the stress given to the elements of the phrase expressing the future and the amount of attention given by the reader to the analysis of the idea.   The lighter colorings of connotation shade into the unmistakable modal uses so inseparably as to make a definite dividing line impossible.

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