Soda or Pop?

Luanne Von Schneidemesser

Journal of English Linguistics 1996 24: 270
DOI: 10.1177/007542429602400403

Soda or Pop?

LUANNE VON SCHNEIDEMESSER
University of Wisconsin—Madison

According to an article last year in the *Isthmus*, Madison's weekly newspaper, Americans drink so much of the carbonated beverages sold under such brand names as Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Sprite, Mountain Dew, and 7-Up that consumption averages 43 gallons per year for every man, woman, and child in the United States (Mamis 1994, 1). The *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1994, 148) confirms this: 44.1 gallons per person in 1992,[1] compared to the next most consumed beverages: beer (32.7 gallons), coffee (27.8 gallons), and milk (25.3 gallons). And every 12-ounce can or bottle contains seven to eight teaspoons of sugar. But this is not the point of this article. This article deals with the generic names, such as *soda* and *pop*, used for such beverages throughout the United States, especially as shown in the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*), but also in other works. These findings are compared to a survey conducted in 1994 and early 1995 among young people.

A brief look at the history of this product will help to explain some of the terms used. Stuart Berg Flexner, in *I Hear America Talking*, condenses the history, including vocabulary, of the section he titled "Soda Pop and Soda Water" in this way:

> American men and women were asking for naturally effervescent *soda water* at *soda water fountains*, *soda fountains*, and *soda shops* in the 1820s. It was healthy, refreshing, and demonstrated one's temperance. Such natural soda water was also called *seltzer*, from the German *Selterser Wasser*, effervescent mineral water from Nieder Selters, Prussia. It was joined in 1833 by the new, man-made *carbonated water*. By the 1840s people were talking about the new *soda counters* that were being added to many pharmacies (also called *drugstores* since the 1800s) and about the local concoctions of carbonated water flavored with syrups and fruit juices which many apothecaries had created as specialties.
>
> One of the first two big favorites of the 1840s used the Simlat plant or other ginger flavoring and was called *sarsaparilla* (Spanish *zarzaparilla*, *zarza*, bramble + *parilla*, little vine), *sarsaparilla soda*, *ginger pop* (the first use of

Journal of English Linguistics, Vol. 24 / No. 4, December 1996 270-287

> the word *pop*), *ginger champagne*, or even *ginger ale*. The other 1840s favorite was *root beer*, a general name given to various drinks flavored with roots and herbs. . . . By the 1880s, too, *soda jerker* was a well-known term, known somewhat humorously as a *soda squirt* in the 1890s, and commonly called a *soda jerk* by 1915. *Soda pop* and a *bottle of pop* were still considered somewhat slangy when used by the flappers and sheiks of the 1920s. (Flexner 1976, 316)

Craigie and Hulbert's (1938-44) *A Dictionary of American English* (*DAE*) traces the term *soda water* back to 1802, in the meaning of "an effervescing beverage, orig. one containing some sodium bicarbonate," although the first American quotation listed is from 1820. Only later did the term gain the meaning "a drink consisting of flavored water highly charged with carbon dioxide." The simple term *soda*, in the first meaning of *soda water* given earlier, dates back to 1834, and *pop*, as quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), dates from 1812: "A new manufactory of a nectar, between soda-water and ginger-beer, and called pop, because 'pop goes the cork' when it is drawn." The combination *soda pop* is found from 1863 on.

In the sense of 'sweetened carbonated drinks,' today the major manufacturer is Coca-Cola. Generally the date of origin of Coca-Cola is given as 1886, when John S. Pemberton, a pharmaceutical chemist in Atlanta, Georgia, took his concoction to Jacobs' Drug Store, where the drink was then sold; by accident, carbonated water was mixed with the syrup, and the rest, as they say, is history. That early on Coke was advertised as medicinal, as for example in the 1890 *Grier's Almanac*, is something the Coca-Cola Company would like to erase from history, according to Lawrence Dietz in his book *Soda Pop*, but there it is, advertised as "Delightful! Refreshing! Stimulating! Invigorating!" and a "Wonderful Nerve and Brain Tonic and Remarkable Therapeutic Agent," right between advertisements for Dr. Cheney's Expectorant, Botanic Blood Balm, and Dr. Moffett's Indian Weed Female Medicine (Dietz 1973, 17-18). Today, despite protests from the Coca-Cola Company, the term *coke* is also being used as a generic term for carbonated beverages, as discussed below.

We have seen that the terms *soda*, *soda water*, *pop*, and *soda pop* have been used for more than a century. Already the earliest American linguistic atlas, *The Linguistic Atlas of New England* (*LANE*), asked the question of what such "flavored, carbonated water and other non-intoxicating beverages" were called in the 1930s and received all the above responses, as well as many others. The comment was added, however, that

> Rapidly changing fashions in soft drinks and in their trade names, as well as the greatly varying degree of familiarity of the informants with such drinks,

> have produced an unstable and complicated linguistic situation. Moreover, some of the field workers . . . directed the attention of the informants specifically to carbonated water while others gave a broader interpretation to the question in the work sheets. (Kurath 1939-43, Map 312)

Even today, terms such as *soda* and *soda water* are applied to different types of drinks. But skipping now to the second half of the twentieth century and concentrating on the sense 'sweetened carbonated drinks,' we will look at *DARE*'s findings, as well as some reports on this topic included in projects done on a smaller scale or covering less than the whole of the United States.

DARE sent field-workers throughout the entire United States from 1965 to 1970. They completed at least two interviews with local informants in each state, and more than eighty in the populous state of New York, for a total of 1,002 questionnaires. The question of concern to this discussion is H78, "Ordinary soft drinks, usually carbonated—what are they called?," for which 1,360 responses were received, since many informants gave more than one response.

The most frequent response given to *DARE* field-workers was *pop*, by 468 informants, to which can be added five responses of *pops*. As can be seen in the map in Figure 1, its densest area of usage is in the North, North Midland, and West, more specifically the areas of the United States outside of the Atlantic States (except upstate New York and western Pennsylvania), and the South, South Midland, and Texas. Use of *soda* accounts for 288 responses, to which have been added on the map in Figure 2 eight responses of *sodas* and one of *sody*, as well as one of *soda drink*. *DARE* found this form to be used most frequently in the Northeast and the Central Atlantic states, as well as southern Illinois and eastern Missouri, with a sprinkling in the eastern parts of the remaining Atlantic states. The map in Figure 3 shows *soda pop*, scattered throughout most of the country but somewhat more frequent in the South, South Midland, and Texas. This response was given by 109 informants, with an additional two responses of *soda pops* and one of *sody pop*. For the last of the responses with *soda*, see the map in Figure 4, *soda water*, with forty-two responses, plus six of *sody water*, an evolution from the *soda water* that Flexner (1976) mentioned from the 1820s, one that today could be said to bear little resemblance to the original meaning of the term. Yet especially in Texas and scattered elsewhere, the term is used for the sweetened, carbonated concoction. Indeed, Atwood, whose work was carried out somewhat earlier than *DARE*'s, shows similar findings in *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*, under the heading "*Soft*" *bottled drink:*

> The omnipresent nonalcoholic beverages that are served cold in bottles go by a variety of names, the most frequent of which is *soda* (or *sody*) *pop* (38 [% of approximately 270 informants]). This expression occurs everywhere,

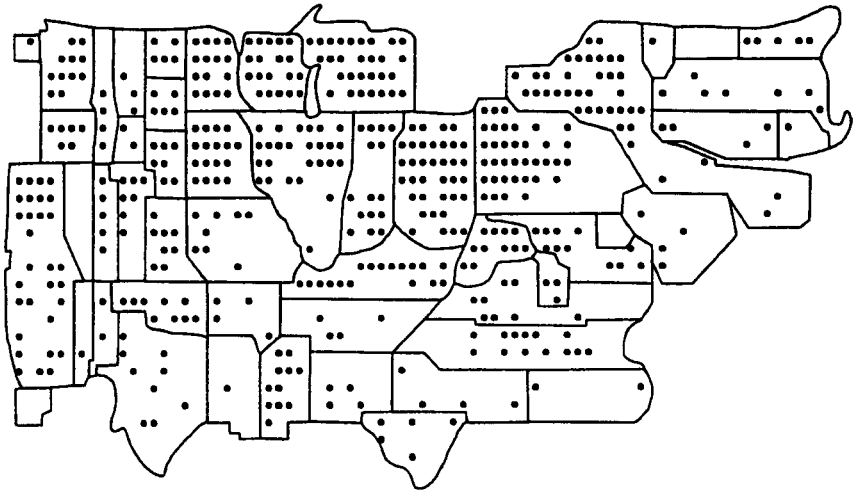

Figure 1: *Pop* + Variants (*DARE* Question H78).

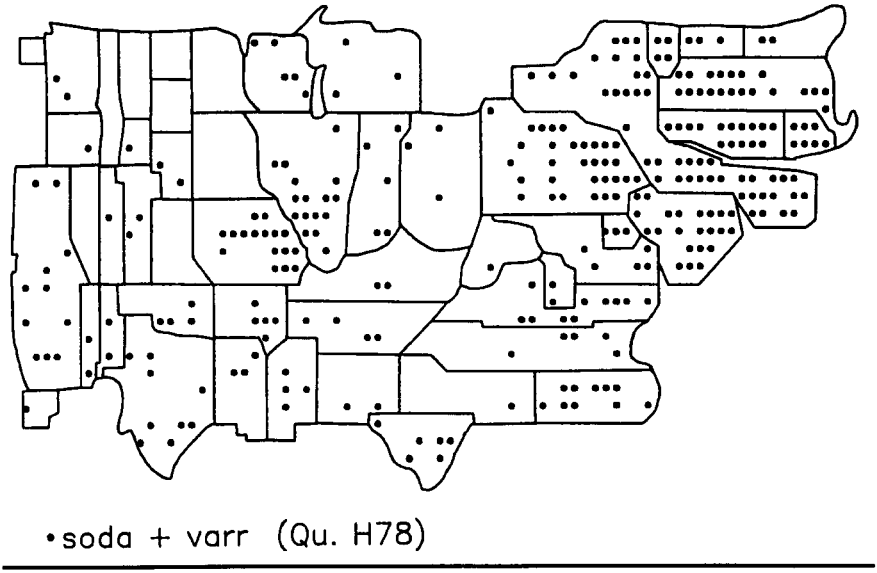

Figure 2: *Soda* + Variants (*DARE* Question H78).

but is more common in the western and northern portions of the state. A more regional term which occurs with some frequency is *soda* (or *sody*) water (34[%]). This is most prevalent in the eastern and southern portions, as also in southern Arkansas. (Atwood 1962, 62-63)

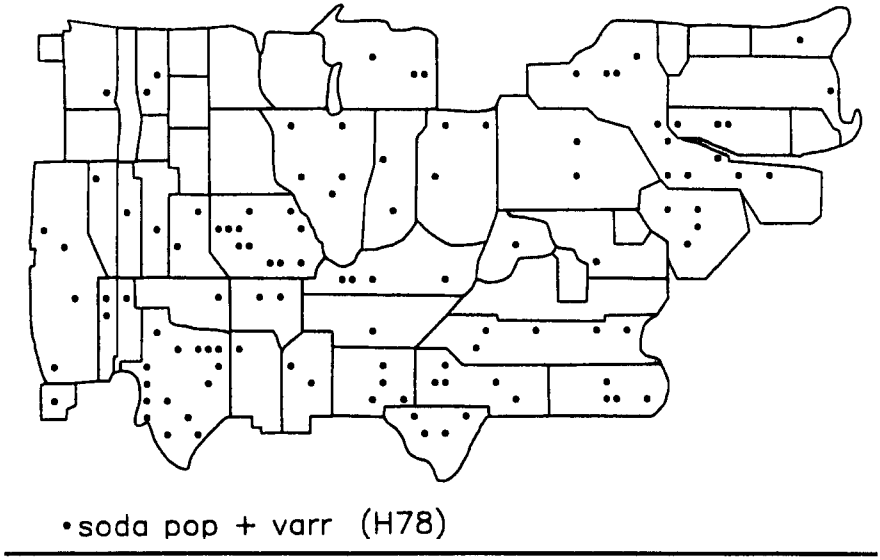

Figure 3: *Soda Pop* + Variants (*DARE* Question H78).

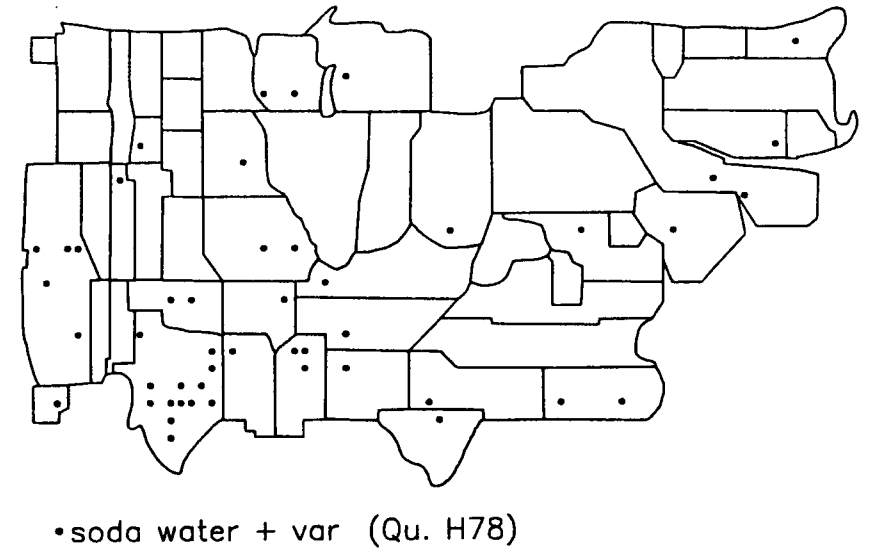

Figure 4: *Soda Water* + Variants (*DARE* Question H78).

Tarpley (1970, 195) says of northeastern Texas, "Carbonated beverages in a bottle are more likely to be called *cold drinks* [31%] or *soda pop* [28%] than any other name. *Cold drink* decreases as informants grow older; the opposite is true in the

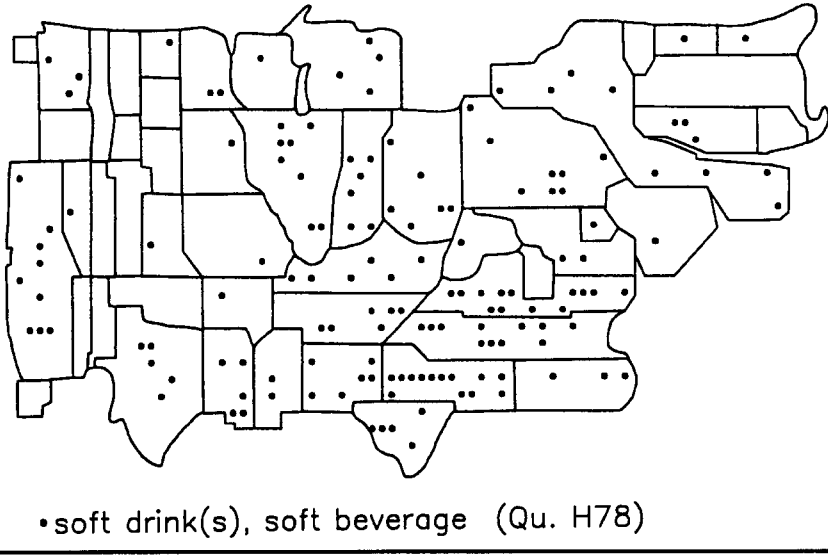

Figure 5: *Soft Drink(s), Soft Beverage* (*DARE* Question H78).

case of *soda pop*, a name which is heard most often in rural communities and in the lowest educational class."

The responses *soft drink* or *soft drinks* were given by 145 informants, making these responses third in frequency only to *pop* and *soda*, as shown on the maps in Figures 1 and 2. This usage, as can be seen on the map in Figure 5, occurs mostly in the Middle and South Atlantic states and the Inland South—that is, the South and South Midland—but not as far west as they are defined by *DARE*.[2] Interestingly, unlike *DARE*, Bright listed the response *soft drink* as the most frequent response in California and Nevada for about this same time period, being used by 56 percent of her 300 informants. *Pop*, the main response from California in *DARE*'s material, was given by only 16 percent of Bright's informants, as was *soda pop* (Bright 1971, 181). The most frequent response to this question in *The Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (*LAGS*), asked in the "Urban Supplement" with 145 records gathered in 1976-77, was *soft drink*, with sixty-one responses, tied with *coke*, either in the meaning 'cola drink' (twenty-six responses) or 'soft drink' (thirty-five responses). These are followed by *pop*, with thirty-one responses, and *soda*, twenty-four responses. *Soda pop* received only eleven responses, while *cold drink* was given thirteen times (Pederson et al. 1989, 394).

DARE maps for the other significant responses with *drink* follow: *cold drink(s)* was given by thirty-five *DARE* informants in the Southeast on westward through Texas, as shown on the map in Figure 6; the map in Figure 7 shows the responses *bottled drink(s)* and *bottle drinks* in the same region, but with seven of the ten

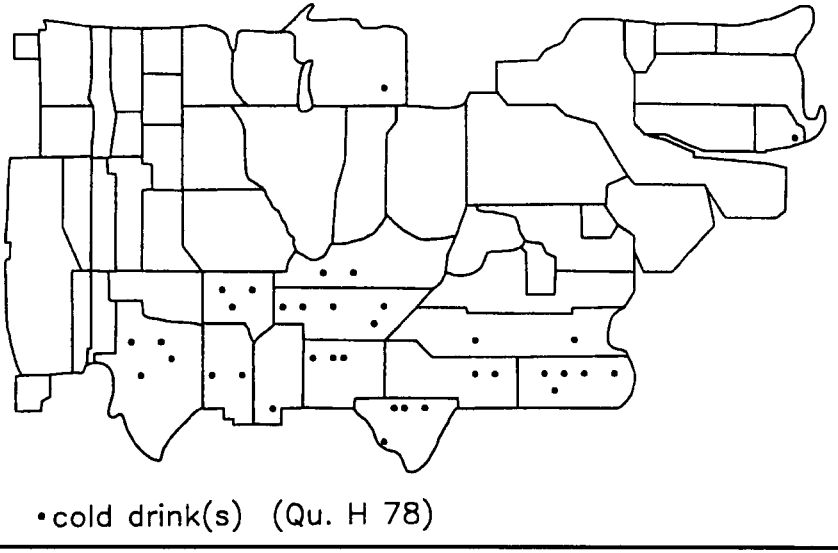

Figure 6: *Cold Drink(s)* (*DARE* Question H78).

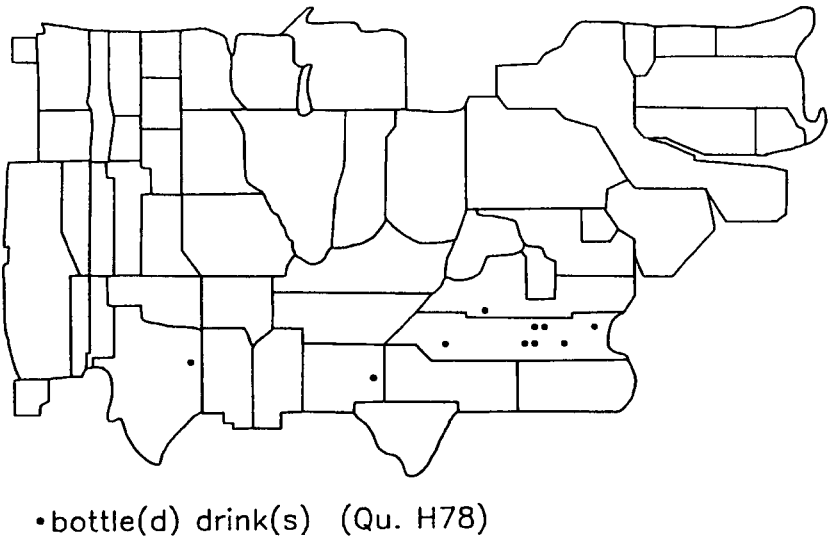

Figure 7: *Bottle(d) Drink(s)* (*DARE* Question H78).

responses in North Carolina. The map in Figure 8 shows the simplex *drink* or *drinks* from Volume 2 of *DARE*. With twenty-three responses, it has the same basic region as *cold drink(s)*. All responses containing *drink* are more frequent in the South and South Midland.

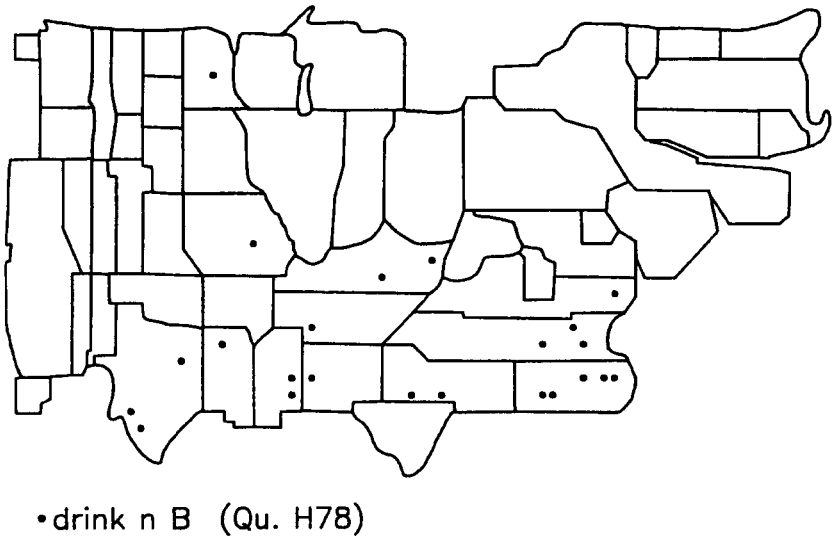

Figure 8: *Drink* n B (*DARE* Question H78).

In spite of the findings of *DARE* and others on terms with *drink*, the major dictionaries have generally not entered such terms. The *DAE* does enter *soft drink*, defining it as "a drink or beverage containing no alcohol or spirits," a broader definition than just "soda pop," listing 1880 as the earliest date of usage, albeit not American. Mathews's (1951) *Dictionary of Americanisms* lists none of these, nor does *Webster's Third* (1961). The *OED* does have a 1660 citation for *bottled drink*, but simply in the sense "kept or corked up in a bottle." It also enters none in the sense being discussed here.

Also in the sense of 'sweetened or flavored carbonated water' is *dope*, including in *DARE*'s twenty-nine responses three *dopes* and one *cold dope*. This is used, according to *DARE*'s informants, chiefly in South Carolina and to a lesser extent in the southern Appalachians, as shown on the map in Figure 9; *DARE*'s other citations actually show it from all of the South Atlantic states. The earliest quotation is from 1915, ten years after the Coca-Cola Company was voluntarily treating the small amount of coca leaves used in the drink to rid them of their minuscule trace of cocaine. This cocaine was never significant, but it did give rise to the term *dope* as a term for a 'carbonated flavored beverage.' Dietz (1973, 24-25) tells of a chemist's report in 1900, which said to get a "kick," one "would have had to guzzle over 5½ quarts of Coca-Cola at one sitting, to even begin to feel the effects of the drug."[3]

The term *tonic* started its life as an adjective with the meaning "having the property of increasing or restoring the tone or healthy condition and activity of the

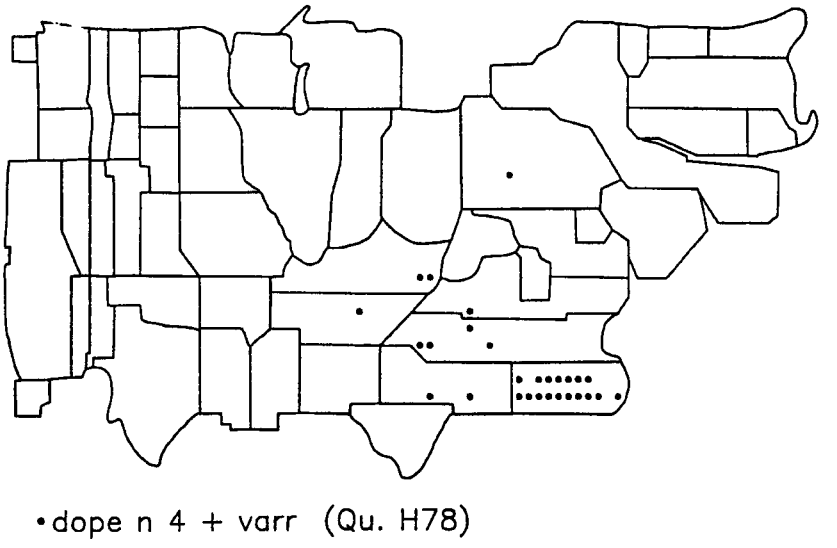

Figure 9: *Dope* n 4 + Variants (*DARE* Question H78).

system or organs; strengthening, invigorating, bracing," dating back to 1756, according to the *OED*. *Tonic*, still an adjective, or *tonic water*, was used to further this sense, defined by the *OED* as a "non-alcoholic carbonated drink containing quinine or another bitter as a stimulant of appetite and digestion," dating from 1800. Our American usage, in the sense 'soda pop,' is listed only by *Webster's Third* of the dictionaries mentioned in this article. As can be seen on the map in Figure 10, *tonic* shows definite eastern New England usage for *DARE*, just as Kurath (1949, 21) noted in his *Word Geography of the Eastern United States*, based on *LANE* (see Map 312), for which interviewing was done in the 1930s:

> *Tonic* (49) for soda water is a distinctive Boston trade word which in the last two or three generations has spread southward to Cape Cod and Nantucket, up the Merrimack Valley into New Hampshire, and along the coast of Maine to the Penobscot. It is of interest to note that tonic has not spread to the cities on the Connecticut River or gained a foothold in Rhode Island. The Boston trade area for this commodity obviously does not extend to the Connecticut Valley or to Narragansett Bay.

The remaining two maps, Figures 11 and 12, show two different versions of the use of *coke* as a generic term. Tom Murray (1995) gives a very thorough discussion on this topic in his article "From Trade Name to Generic: The Case of Coke." He presents cumulative maps for each decade from the 1940s on, showing use of *coke* as a generic term for *soda pop*. Starting basically as a South Midland usage in the

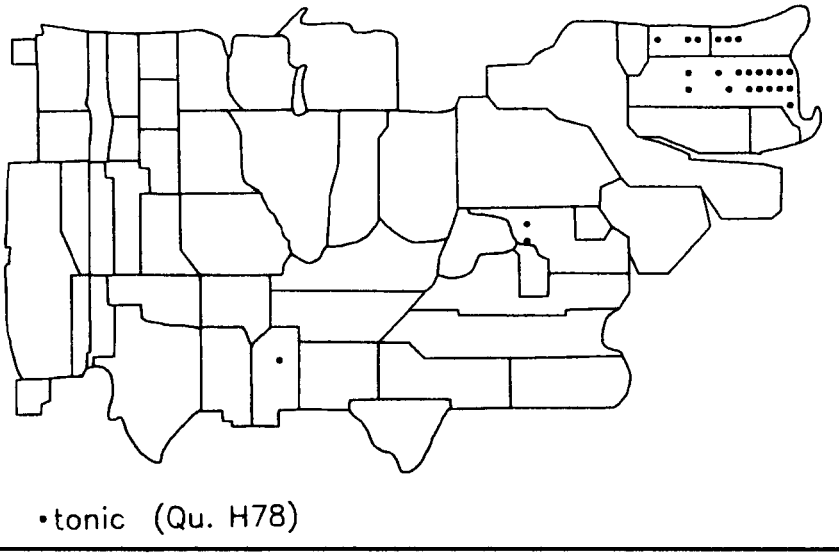

Figure 10: *Tonic* + Variants (*DARE* Question H78).

1940s, it has spread to become a usage shown throughout the country in the 1990s but is still basically more concentrated in the southern half of the country, from the East Coast to the West Coast. *Coke* has been, by the way, a registered trademark of the Coca-Cola Company since 1945, and the company denies that it could be becoming a generic term because it is, after all, a legal trade name, which the company is trying to protect (see Murray 1995, 184-85; Dietz 1973, 162).[4] But *Webster's Third* and the *OED* both list the term as being used colloquially for a cola drink in general.

DARE received forty-nine responses of *coke*, twenty-four of *cokes*. The questionnaires of these seventy-three informants were checked for comments, and those where comments made clear that *coke* was being used generically were included in the Volume 1 entry at *coca-cola*, here shown as Figure 11. Joan Hall, as quoted by Murray (1995, 182), says of considering the term as generic that " 'probably many others did too, but the fieldworkers either didn't probe or didn't write down everything they heard. So the entry is a bit unsatisfactory; we erred on the side of conservatism.' " Assuming, for example, that those informants who gave the plural meant the term as generic would give us the second map, Figure 12, *cokes*, but, of course, that is assuming. Note that the region of both is mainly in the southern half of the country. There were also seven responses of *coca-cola* and two of *coca-colas*, none of which were commented on in the questionnaires, and one each of the singular and plural of *coke-cola*, from Arkansas and Tennessee.

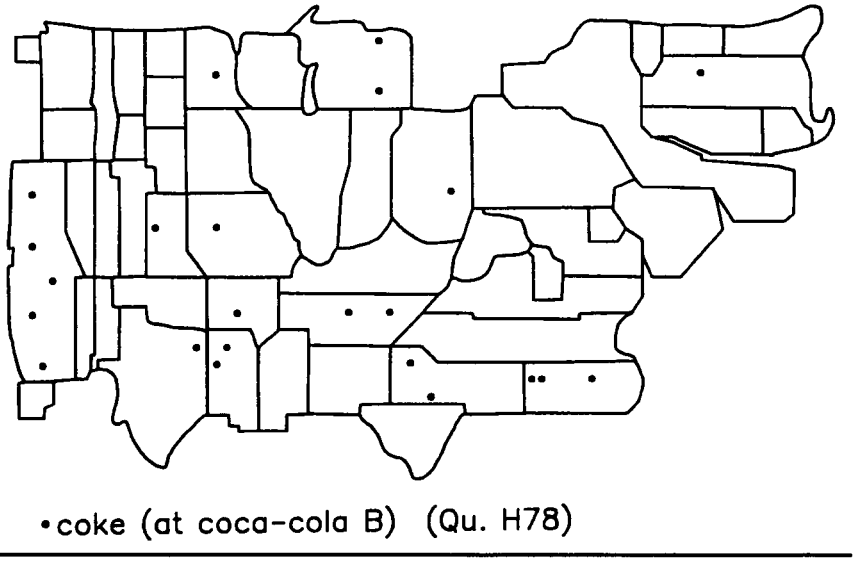

Figure 11: *Coke* (*at Coca-Cola* B) (*DARE* Question H78).

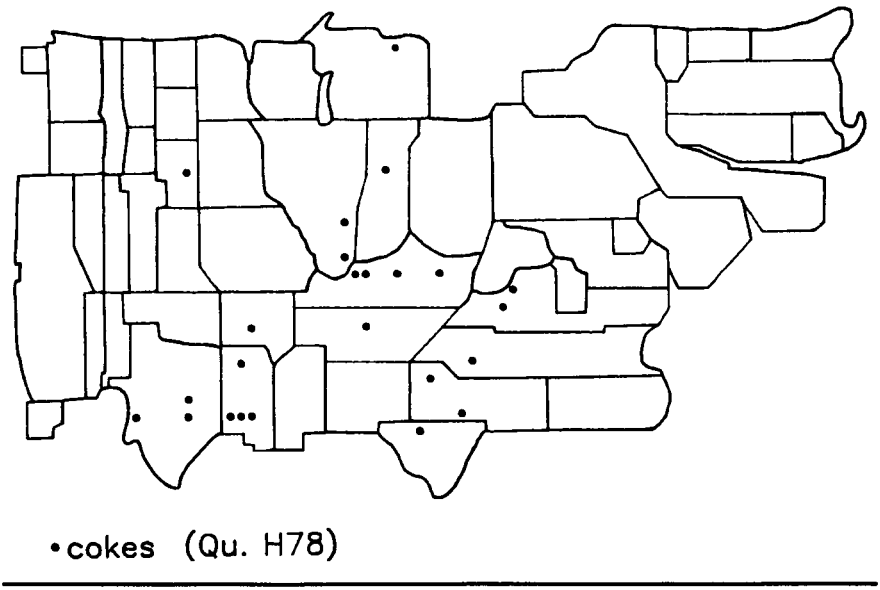

Figure 12: *Cokes* (*DARE* Question H78).

The terms just discussed are the main ones given by *DARE* informants in answer to the question, "Ordinary soft drinks, usually carbonated—what are they called?" There were, in addition, nine responses of *bellywash*, four of *bellywasher(s)* (this

is the beverage industry's term for nonjuice items, "just sugar-flavored water" (Akre 1995, 2C), and seven of *pepsi(s)*, two *pepsi cola*, also not regional, as well as various names of other specific brands of drink and other terms such as *whiz water*, *refreshment*, and so on, offered once or twice.

At the 1994 American Dialect Society Annual Meeting in San Diego, I gave a talk on vocabulary of or in children's games, my interest having been aroused by my children's use of such terms. Noting that changes had evidently occurred in Wisconsin from the time of *DARE*'s findings led to my wondering if such change from those terms, which DARE had collected about twenty-five years earlier, was indeed widespread throughout the United States.[5] At the end of the questionnaire I used to solicit the information on games, I added this question on carbonated drinks.

I asked colleagues on the American Dialect Society bulletin board via E-mail for help with these interviews and got an excellent response, supplemented by requests to a few other people. Questionnaires came back to me from two-thirds of our states in written form during late 1994 and in early 1995, with some arriving after the San Diego meeting. The information received from these questionnaires will be referred to here as the 1994 survey, for simplicity's sake.[6]

I do not want to dwell on social statistics of the two informant populations, but allow me to relate briefly a bit of background. The 1,002 *DARE* questionnaires were completed by field-workers in 1965-70, with *DARE* concentrating on older people: 66 percent of its informants were sixty years of age or older. Its category of young informants, aged eighteen to thirty-nine, included just 9 percent of its total. My data were gathered in the fall of 1994 and in 1995, mostly by having the respondents themselves fill out the two-page questionnaire, with the texts of the questions identical to those used in the original *DARE* questionnaire. More than 80 percent of the 1994 survey respondents were students, overwhelmingly college students, but a handful were high school students (compared to 31 percent of *DARE*'s informants, who had at least two years of education past high school, and 41 percent who had at least two years of high school), and all were between sixteen and thirty-five years of age. Note that these people were ten years old or younger, or were not yet born, at the time of *DARE*'s interviews. As with *DARE*, only those informants who have lived in a given state for almost their whole lives were included in the 1994 survey.[7] Overall, *DARE* informants were split evenly by gender, and 92 percent were White; the informants in the 1994 survey were 69 percent female and 88 percent White.

While *DARE* worked with a planned distribution of informants, I base my findings on 313 questionnaires representing the following thirty-five states, with from one to thirty-three per state (in no relation to population or *DARE*'s distribution, simply to the helpfulness of the people returning them to me):

State	Total Questionnaires	State	Total Questionnaires
Alabama	3	Montana	1
Arizona	14	Nevada	7
California	10	New Jersey	4
Colorado	2	New Mexico	4
Connecticut	3	New York	14
Florida	1	North Carolina	7
Georgia	13	Ohio	3
Illinois	18	Oklahoma	2
Indiana	20	Oregon	6
Iowa	4	Pennsylvania	14
Kansas	6	South Carolina	11
Kentucky	10	Tennessee	11
Maryland	1	Texas	9
Massachusetts	4	Utah	7
Michigan	12	Virginia	13
Minnesota	12	Washington	4
Mississippi	33	Wisconsin	10
Missouri	20		

Absolute numbers for the total responses are not relevant in the 1994 survey, since distribution is not evenly spread; some states are represented by many, others by no responses. That said, and considering only the main responses *DARE* received, ignoring *coke* for the moment, we find the following.

Pop is the term of choice by a wide margin, two to one or greater, in Minnesota, Michigan, Oregon, Iowa, and Utah, and also, although not by such a large margin, in Washington, Indiana, Colorado, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, and Arizona. All of these except Arizona are in the region represented on *DARE*'s map as the one of greatest density of *pop* usage. Comments added include the double-underlined "not soda" and *pop* with three exclamation points from two Minnesota informants; one from Wisconsin who responded *pop*, adding, "soda is with ice cream;" and from Kansas, "pop used most often (sometimes soda, soda pop)."

Soda or *sodas* is used most frequently (relative to other terms used in the state, excluding *coke*) in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Texas, and California by a two to one or greater margin and also as the most frequent term, but by a lesser margin, in North Carolina, Mississippi, New Mexico, Missouri, Wisconsin, and, including the three responses of *sody*, also in Illinois. Again, the concentration shown by *DARE* has been affirmed in the 1994 survey, but *soda* seems to have made gains in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, California, and Wisconsin.[8]

What has just been said, however, does not tell the whole story of these two terms. As can be seen from the maps, some states seem geographically to divide their usage of the two: look on the *DARE* maps at Illinois, Missouri, Pennsylvania,

New York, and Virginia. The 1994 survey does not have enough data from all of these states to draw conclusions, but information can be related about Missouri and Illinois.

Don Lance said, in a message to the American Dialect Society electronic bulletin board,[9] that the plotting he has done of *soda* and *pop* has shown unique distributions: "In MO, WI, and MI the isogloss goes north-south down the middle of the state, with 'pop' to the west of the line. . . . K[ansas] C[ity] is 'pop' territory and St. L[ouis] is 'soda.' And 'soda pop,' in some tabulating I did about fifteen years ago, occurs down the middle along the soda/pop isogloss" (31 January 1994). *DARE* and the 1994 survey show this distribution as well for Missouri, although not for Wisconsin or Michigan. Of the twenty informants who responded to the 1994 survey in Missouri, none of the nine east of the center of the state, just as Lance found, uses anything but *soda*. The eastern-most response of *pop* is from Hartville, about forty miles east of Springfield, although along with *pop*, from six informants, there are four responses of *soda* as well in this western half. *Soda pop* was not given in the 1994 survey from Missouri.

Illinois is also interesting. *DARE* shows that *pop* is used in the northern part of the state, *soda* in the southern. Edward Callary reported to the ADS list that "here in Northern Illinois, 'pop' is not only universal, but exclusive in the generic sense" (May 13, 1994). From the eighteen informants of the 1994 survey, it seems that, while not exclusive, *pop* usage is prevalent in the northern fourth of the state (to a line through Orion, Ottawa, and Mokena—i.e., north of Kankakee, south of Davenport), with nine of ten informants giving *pop*, three giving *soda*. From there to Jacksonville, roughly in the middle of the state, five of six informants reported using *soda*, two *pop* (and one in each of these regions used *soda pop*). The two informants further south used *soda*.

Other terms shown on the *DARE* maps showed less frequency of use in the 1994 survey, again, ignoring *coke*, than they did at the time *DARE* represents. *Soda pop* was reported in 1994 by only thirteen of the 313 informants in Arizona, Texas, Utah, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, Virginia, and New York.[10] *Soda water* was reported only once, from Texas. Only one informant, a thirty-year-old from South Carolina, responded *dope*, although another informant, aged thirty-five, from North Carolina added a comment to his questionnaire, "old people called it soda-dopes." *Tonic* was not reported at all, but this is not surprising, since two of the three Massachusetts informants were from the western part of the state, and there were no questionnaires from New Hampshire or Maine. Coye (1994, 278) found similar results, stating, "*Tonic* has apparently largely disappeared from this generation of New Englanders. It was given only twice in the Boston area, with a third Boston informant reporting that it was something only his or her grandparents would use."

As to terms with *drink*, there were only four responses of *soft drink(s)* from Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Indiana. One response of *cold drink* was given from Texas. Four informants—from South Carolina, Alabama, Texas, and Arizona—gave simply *drink*.

Now, turning to *coke*, we see a much higher usage than in *DARE*, with its seventy-three responses of *coke* or *cokes*. In 1994, ninety-seven informants replied *coke*, twenty-five *cokes*, for a total of 122 responses, almost at the level of response for *pop* (128 responses) and not far behind *soda* (148 responses). As with *DARE*'s responses, it cannot be determined in many cases whether this response of *coke* or *cokes* was meant to be generic or specific. In cases where the answers to the question are, for example, *coke*, *soda*, or *pop*, we can safely assume the generic definition, but not all are this clear. But assuming the responses of *cokes*, plural, to be generic, as was done on the (second) *DARE* map of *cokes*, and deleting those responses from questionnaires that contain at least two tradenames, that is, Coke and at least one other, such as Pepsi, Mountain Dew, Sprite, or Dr. Pepper, we find that there are no responses of *coke(s)* in the generic meaning in the Northeast or in the whole northern tier of states, with the exception of one in Wisconsin and three in Washington. As you head farther south, usage increases: California, Nevada, Colorado, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and Virginia all show between one and four instances of the term, for example, and the rest of the South and South Midland states show even higher occurrences. Two-thirds of the informants from Mississippi gave this usage, as well as three of four in New Mexico, seven of nine in Texas, nine of thirteen in Georgia, four of seven in North Carolina, and both Oklahomans and all eleven from Tennessee gave it. In summary, in the region *DARE* defines as Southeast, westward through Oklahoma and New Mexico, every state had a response rate for *coke(s)* of almost half or more. And this was the most frequent response of any, including *pop* or *soda*, in all these states except North Carolina. As Murray (1995) also showed, this generic usage is clearly gaining in currency.

The regionality of the terms *DARE* found in 1965-70 for a flavored or sweetened carbonated drink is corroborated for the most part in other literature (*LANE*; *LAGS*; Atwood 1962; Tarpley 1970), and findings of the 1994 survey of young people agree with this regionality in general. *Pop* and *soda* are the most common terms *DARE* received in response to the question; this remained true in the 1994 survey. Lesser-used terms, however, such as *soda water* and *dope*, and even *soda pop*, as well as terms with *drink*,[11] are declining in use. Some areas, such as Wisconsin, where *DARE* showed *pop* to be the predominant term, are showing an increase in use of the term *soda*. And in a significant change since *DARE*, *coke* as a generic term is becoming much more common, especially in the southern half of the United States.

Notes

1. Compare this to only 24.3 gallons per person in 1970.

2. For definitions of *DARE*'s regional labels, see Volume 1, pages xxx-xxxv.

3. John McGalliard, who grew up in North Carolina, told of coming to Northwestern University in Chicago at the ripe age of eighteen as an instructor in 1925 and ordering a *dope*. He did it only once. Elgin W. Mellown (1995, 325), in his review of *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South*, writes that "students at Duke University—in Durham, North Carolina—who come from the northern states (or even those from the "new" South) are often puzzled by the popular name for the campus snack bar: it is the 'Dope Shop.' " *LAGS* has four responses of *dope*, two meaning 'Coke,' one 'cola drink,' and one 'soft drink' (394).

4. The Coca-Cola Company at first insisted on the drink being called by its full name, Coca-Cola, but finally realized that they could not stop the flow of people calling it *Coke*, so the company themselves started using the word in 1941, and in 1945 they finally had *Coke* declared a registered trademark of the company (Dietz 1973, 162).

5. A revised version of this article appears in *Varieties of English Around the World: Focus on the USA* (von Schneidemesser 1996).

6. I am very grateful to the following people for their help and support: Natalie Maynor, Hal Farwell, Mark Frank, Fritz Juengling, Jesse Sheidlower, Jim Stalker, Edward Callary, Allan Metcalf, Bethany Dumas, Betty Phillips, Vera Horvath, Karen Adams, David Carlson, Tom Clark, Terry Lynn Irons, Lew Sanborne, Larry Davis, Les Carpenter, Ellen Johnson, Peter McGraw, Joe Salmons, Laurent Thomin, Allyn Partin, Mary Bucholtz, Vicki Secrest, Dave VanderMeulen, Scott Baird, Jürgen Eichhoff, Dick Beam, and in Madison to Elizabeth Blake and Sonja Ritchie.

7. No attempt will be made to distinguish from which part of the individual states the informants hail, since some of the students wrote down the community in which they were attending college while others put their hometown, with the information not always unambiguous as to community but usually so as to the state involved. For example, if a student wrote that he had lived in Gary, Indiana, for fourteen of his twenty-one years, but the questionnaire had been returned to me from Muncie, Indiana, the town which he also had placed in the city/state field, where he is going to school, his questionnaire was included as a respondent from Indiana, as was the one from the person who put Fort Wayne in the city/state field and wrote that she had lived in Muncie for three years, not specifying when. If the person was twenty-nine, grew up in California, but specified that she had spent the last four years at Purdue, the responses were included for California. If more than four years, undeterminable when, were spent in another state or if it could not be determined whether time spent elsewhere was in the childhood years, the questionnaire was excluded from the study.

8. These findings on the use of *pop* and *soda* are roughly the same as Dale Coye's (1994, 277-78) findings from his survey of freshmen, collected over a two-year period starting in 1990. His findings on *pop* were, however, not as regionally widespread in any direction as mine, nor did he find general usage of *soda* as far south and west as I did.

9. The American Dialect Society's electronic bulletin board can be accessed at ads-l@uga.cc.uga.edu.

10. Coye (1994, 277) received only two reports of *soda pop*.

11. While *drink* usage tends to be declining, *soft drink* is a familiar term seen on menus of and advertizing for pizza restaurants, for example. Pizzeria Uno (headquartered in Boston), Little Caesar's (Detroit), Mazzio's (Tulsa), and Pizza Hut (formerly Wichita, Kansas, but now Dallas) all report using *soft drink*. General policy for many such establishments seems to be that company-owned stores receive such copy from the home office, while locally owned franchises may choose their own usage or follow company suggestion.

References

Akre, Brian S. 1995. Company Wants Americans to Drink Their Veggies. *Wisconsin State Journal*, 24 December, 2C.

Atwood, E. Bagby. 1962. *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bright, Elizabeth S. 1971. *A Word Geography of California and Nevada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coye, Dale. 1994. A Linguistic Survey of College Freshmen: Keeping up with Standard American English. *American Speech* 69:260-84.

Craigie, William A., and James R. Hulbert, eds. 1938-44. *A Dictionary of American English*. 4 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dictionary of American Regional English. Vols. 1 and 2. Frederic G. Cassidy and Joan Houston Hall, eds. 1985-91. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Dietz, Lawrence. 1973. *Soda Pop: The History, Advertising, Art and Memorabilia of Soft Drinks in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Flexner, Stuart Berg. 1976. *I Hear America Talking*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Kurath, Hans, ed. 1939-43. *The Linguistic Atlas of New England*. 3 vols. Providence, RI: Brown University Press.

Kurath, Hans. 1949. *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Mamis, Joshua. 1994. Hitting the Soft Stuff. *Isthmus* 30 September-6 October:1, 29.

Mathews, Mitford. 1951. *A Dictionary of Americanisms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mellown, Elgin W. 1995. Review of *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South*. *American Speech* 70:324-26.

Murray, Thomas E. 1995. From Trade Name to Generic: The Case of Coke. *Names* 43:165-86.

The Oxford English Dictionary. 2d ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. 1989. Oxford, England: Clarendon.

Pederson, Lee A., et al. 1989. *Technical Index for the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Statistical Abstract of the United States. 114th ed. 1994. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Tarpley, Fred. 1970. *From Blinky to Blue-John: A Word Atlas of Northeast Texas*. Wolfe City, TX: University Press.

von Schneidemesser, Luanne. 1996. Terms Used for Children's Games: Comparing DARE's Findings with Usage of Today's Youth. *Varieties of English Around the World: Focus on the USA* 16:63-80.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary. 1961. Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam.