

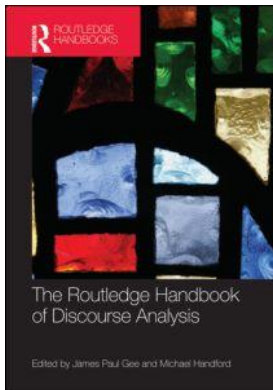
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Creativity in speech

Sarah Atkins and Ronald Carter

Creativity is a topic of contemporary interest across a range of fields. The focus of this chapter will be on linguistic creativity and how features of language that we might typically think of as occurring in literary, poetic or advertising discourses can also be identified in everyday spoken conversation. Much recent research suggests that linguistic creativity is a pervasive feature of everyday conversation; for example, these studies all look at the frequent creativity we find in spoken language (Cook, 2000; Carter, 2004 and Crystal, 1998). But what do we understand by 'creativity' when we make this claim about language use? The chapter will first outline, theoretically, what we might mean by 'creativity' and 'creative language'. We will then look at how this could be identified and analysed through textually focussed discourse analytic methods, discussing some specific examples of creativity in a spoken conversation between a group of friends. The analysis considers the functions that their creative language use might have in this particular social context, as well as the implications that such a close textual investigation might have on our understanding of creativity more generally.

What is creativity?

Defining creativity is a complex task. Social attitudes and understandings as to what it means to be 'creative' show considerable variation culturally and historically, and the word has undergone some semantic and morphological changes. Even contemporary approaches to researching the occurrence of creativity remain diverse in their theoretical points of departure and methodologies. One of the reasons for the difficulty in pinning down a precise definition or means of studying creativity is the mystical way in which it has been conceived:

Creativity is a puzzle, a paradox, some say a mystery ... many people assume that there will never be a scientific theory of creativity – for how could science possibly explain fundamental novelties.

(Boden, 1994)

Pre-Christian views of creativity are interpreted as based in such mystical beliefs of divine inspiration, with the 'creative person ... seen as an empty vessel that a divine being would fill with inspiration. The individual would then pour out the inspired ideas, framing an otherworldly product' (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999: 4–5). And, of course, the act of creation has associations with the creation of the world – the Latin words *creare* and *creatio*, from which the modern family of 'create'/'creation'/'creative' derives, were themselves used sometimes in late antiquity in the sense of 'divine creation'. In many creation stories language, in particular, has had deep associations

with ideas of divine invention. For example, at Genesis 2: 19, the Christian notion of the origin of human language as a gift is expressed in Adam's being tasked by God to name the individual animals.

Modern conceptions of the agency of creation have shifted somewhat to emphasize its nature as a human source of art. Whether it be in the classical form of the 'Muse' and its modern invocations, or psychoanalytic theories of creativity as inspiration from the unconscious, the idea that the individual creative artist is seen as stimulated by a force larger than himself, external or internal, is pervasive:

The 'other' that is 'dictating' might therefore be attributed to all sorts of agencies and influences; to a divinity or part of the psyche. ... to language and symbolic systems at large ... or to a historical moment, a political movement, an inner emotion or an outer motivation.

(Pope, 2005: 18)

More recent theories on creativity present a problematized view of the privileged, autonomous creative subject. In contrast to traditional definitions of the mystical processes of creation, Marxist criticism has, for example, preferred to substitute the concept of literary production, emphasizing the material process of 'making' involved in creative work and deemphasizing this process as transcendental or the preserve of a single, individual subject. Further, a more democratized notion of creative agency emerges in recent theoretical work on creativity in terms of whose products we value in a society. For example, Willis *et al.* (1990) argues in *Common Culture* for an egalitarian aesthetic:

In general the arts establishment connives to keep alive the myth of the special, creative, individual artist holding out against passive mass consumerism, so helping to maintain a self-interested view of elite creativity. Against this we insist that there is a vibrant symbolic life and symbolic creativity in everyday life, everyday activity and expression – even if it is sometimes invisible, looked down on or spurned. We don't want to invent it or propose it. We want to recognise it – literally re-cognise it.

(Willis *et al.*, 1990: 1–2)

The ability of communities, particularly youth subcultures in Willis's study, to create new forms and meanings from everyday spaces and practices is crucial to creating identity, as individuals and as groups (Willis *et al.*, 1990: 1). The question of what is 'valued' is key, though. Pope (2005) tentatively defines creativity as the capacity 'to make, do or become something fresh and valuable with respect to others as well as ourselves' (Pope, 2005: xvi). For an act to be understood as creative, then, it should be acknowledged and valued as such by a community, whether this be by an elite or a youth subculture as described by Willis *et al.* (1990).

To claim that valued creativity can be found in everyday conversation rather than being the preserve of high art and artistic 'otherness' is to make a case for a democratized notion of creativity. This is explicitly expressed by Carter (2004) as a feature of language use:

linguistic creativity is not simply a property of exceptional people but an exceptional property of all people.

(Carter, 2004: 13)

The ability to create new meanings and forms from everyday practices, here in the form of conversation, is an indication of how 'individuals and groups seek creatively to establish their presence, identity and meaning' (Willis *et al.*, 1990: 1). Further, since conversation is a collaborative activity, drawing on a shared system of communication, the notion of a privileged individual artistic subject is also problematized. Indeed, creativity can be seen as co-produced and locally evaluated within the belief and value system specific to the practices of a particular community's

ways of writing and speaking. This means that creative language is seen as a shared activity, generated by a group as well as by an individual and as emergent within particular cultural or community norms. It also means that practices of creative language (co-)production are amenable to the techniques and practices of interactive spoken discourse analysis.

What is creative language?

In some sense, any of the language we use could be described as creative – there are very few fixed sentences that are used without variation (some examples of highly fixed sentences might be the formulaic utterances ‘How are you?’ or ‘How do you do?’) and we regularly create new words to account for new requirements in referencing the world around us. Good examples are the ways in which internet discourse has generated new language to meet newly evolving and emergent practices such as *download*, *wi-fi*, *blog* as well as the ways in which old words are given new meanings: *spam*, *virus*, *window*, *menu*, *wizard* (see Munat, 2007).

One of the creative resources of language involves the recursion of syntactic patterns in the construction of new meanings. Most of the language we use on an everyday basis is composed as we speak it and the particular text produced is likely to be new to the listener, but readily understood because of underlying rules for language choices that we share. This would seem to correspond the somewhat paradoxical idea that creativity needs to be novel but also appropriate. This is Chomsky’s (1964) view on the generative creativity of all language users; a rule-governed linguistic competence, where a finite set of rules and elements enable an infinite set of outcomes. However, the generative approach to linguistic composition is restricted to looking at well-formed, often invented single sentences rather than at the naturally occurring conversational discourse we will be looking at later in the chapter.

What we are interested in here are the forms used in this particular conversational context that seem striking or innovative, which Chomsky’s model does not address. This comes back to the issue of a particular artistic value ascribed to what we mean by ‘creativity’: when the word ‘creative’ is employed it entails uses which are marked out as striking and innovative. ‘Conventionally, this involves a marked breaking or bending of rules and norms of language, including a deliberate play with its forms and its potential for meaning’ (Carter, 2004: 9). What we are arguing then is that all speakers are linguistically creative, rather than this being the sole preserve of literary texts composed by skilled writers. But this democratized notion of ‘literariness’ occurring in spoken conversation does not in itself render our definition of creative language straightforward, since ideas about what constitutes ‘literariness’ similarly vary culturally and historically. Perhaps a good starting point for thinking about creative language is Jakobson’s notion of the poetic function of language being ‘a focus on the message for its own sake’, that is, where language draws attention to itself as a result of particular patterns being made especially salient (see Pratt, 1977; Maybin and Swann, 2007: 502; Ricoeur 2000 [1981]: 340).

The extent to which these linguistic features are highlighted can vary, determining a degree of creativity and aesthetic value. In this vein, Carter proposes a cline of literariness, suggesting that ‘literary language’ should not be thought of as a yes/no category and thus exclusive to particular artistic genres, but that we should consider ‘a cline of literariness in language use with some uses of language being marked as more literary than others’ (1987: 436–437). Thus attention to a particular linguistic organization such as repetitive patterning, or to lexical items deployed for their phonetic effect or associative meanings, could determine the place of a text, including conversational texts, along a cline of literariness. Certainly, some research seems to identify these kinds of literary patterns in spoken conversation. Coates notes ‘patterns that could be called poetic’ often occur in everyday conversational texts (1996: 230), and Carter too finds that ‘ordinary

language ... can involve ... the creation and interpretation of patterns which enjoy a family resemblance with those more usually designated literary' (2004: 24), such as irony, metaphor or hyperbole. These patterns are illustrated more fully below, and in the case study that follows in the section 'Creativity in context – a case study'.

The terminology we will be using in the following case study of creativity in context bases much of its analysis on Carter (2004), who proposes two levels of linguistically creative interaction: *pattern forming* and *pattern re-forming*. Pattern re-forming choices are 'more overt, presentational uses of language, open displays of metaphoric invention, punning, uses of idioms and departures from expected idiomatic formulations' (2004: 109), whilst pattern forming ones are 'less overt, maybe even subconscious' (2004: 109). The following study therefore differentiates between these creative forms and what functions these different levels of creativity fulfil.

In the context of a socially oriented discourse analysis, it is not unreasonable to ask what social functions these linguistically creative forms might be performing. Carter (2004: 8) proposes that, since creative language stimulates enjoyment, its occurrence in everyday talk can work to build an 'affective convergence or commonality between speakers'. Coates (1996) also addresses the idea of conversational language use as a pleasurable activity in maintaining close relationships. If linguistic creativity truly 'is a fundamentally egalitarian pastime' that 'brings people into a rapport with one another', (Crystal, 1998: 220), then we might expect to find it occurring frequently in the collaborative conversation of friends.

Creativity in context – a case study

We now move on to look at creative language use in the particular context of friendly conversation. We consider the function of creative language forms in this specific context as being to build collaborative relationships, but also to problematize the rather idealized and perhaps even stereotyped notion that all female friends converse creatively to establish solidarity. Coates, who argues strongly for talk being 'the central activity of women's friendship' (1996: 66), addresses the idea of their talk being a playful activity; 'talk is our [women's] chief form of recreation: we meet our friends to talk, and our talk is a kind of play. The conversations of women friends can be described as "jam-sessions"' (Coates, 1996: 1). In examining this 'play' she investigates a range of linguistic patterning in female conversations, such as repetition and simultaneous utterances, and considers them in terms of the kind of collaborative and egalitarian functions they perform.

This study therefore seeks to build on the work of Coates on the playful nature of conversation between female friends, but with a particular focus on its creativity and how creative strategies function within this social context. We assess whether spoken creativity can indeed be said to build an 'affective convergence or commonality between speakers' (Carter, 2004: 8) in all-female conversation or whether it performs a less collaborative function.

A group of three female friends, here named 'Helen', 'Laura' and 'Jess', were asked to record themselves talking with one another. The three women are close friends, what we could call in sociolinguistic terms 'a discourse community' (Swales, 1990). The particular mutual experiences of this small group include being students on the same university course and living together. The transcript comprises one hour of conversation and is given in extracts referred to below in the form *example number; line number*. One of us (Atkins) conducted a further interview with the three women, asking them to explain certain utterances that were difficult to understand and also questioning them about their own opinions of their conversation. This enabled the women to 'add their voices to mine (Coates's voice) in describing what was going on in friendly conversation' Coates (1996: 11). However, it also provided some tentative insights into what it is that they might value in their community in making linguistically creative utterances.

Pattern re-forming choices

Punning

Crystal suggests that speakers create puns ‘as a source of enjoyment ... And if someone was to ask why we do it, the answer is simply: for fun’ (1998: 1). Certainly the amount of laughter elicited by these puns in the data would seem to indicate their entertaining quality, fulfilling a purpose of conversation identified in the women’s interview to relax and ‘just have a laugh’ (Interview data). This fun ‘brings people into a rapport with each other’ (Crystal, 1998: 219): by laughing, the participants are signalling their enjoyment of the word-play and that they accept its socially cohesive function.

However, it is interesting that it should be the speaker Jess who produces most of the conversation’s puns, a feature that might indicate that they have a function beyond entertainment. Puns draw attention to themselves and draw the attention of speakers and listeners in an overtly presentational verbal display (Carter, 2004: 97). This consciously presentational quality of puns would seem to suggest that the key user, Jess, is performing a particular role within the group by being their primary producer, perhaps signalling that she would like to be thought of as a speaker who is ‘fun to be with’ (Carter, 2004: 109). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet discuss the possible differing roles within a specific group of people who ‘aren’t all equally good friends with each other ... Perhaps one of them has emerged as the leader, perhaps one of them is the joker’ (2003: 58). Jess could be seen, through her overt language play, perhaps to be playing the role of ‘the joker’ in this group. This assertion of Jess’s greater contribution to creativity would seem to contradict the traditional notion of the collaborative and egalitarian nature of women’s conversation (see Coates, 1989; Maltz and Borker, 1982). To have a central creative speaker suggests an underlying power dynamic and hierarchy. However, this would also seem to complicate the more democratized notions of creativity discussed in the section ‘What is creativity’, since it does seem to be the case here that a more highly creative speaker emerges from the group. Whilst her creative language play is valued by the group and thus works to construct a more powerful position for her, it can be argued that it is in fact an already established powerful position that contributes to her ability to be more creative.

Re-forming lyrics

Both Tannen (1989) and Carter (2004) show speakers playing with formulaic utterances like proverbs and idioms deviating from expected patterns and creatively disfiguring them. However, rather than using formulaic utterances such as proverbs, what the speakers here often do is re-form lyrics from popular songs. For example, Jess adapts the lyrics of Tina Turner’s ‘Private Dancer’, seen in Example 1:

Example 1

<p>(Extract 6.32-39)</p> <p>Jess: No no when you go on your private rambles</p> <p>Helen: We don’t go on many of [those though [I wish ((laughs))</p> <p>Jess: [((sings)) private ramble [ramble for money I’ll do what you want me to do ((laughter – 3.4 sec))</p> <p>Jess: ((sings)) you’re my private Rambler ((laughter))</p>	<p>Tina Turner (1984): ‘Private Dancer’</p> <p>Chorus:</p> <p>I’m your private dancer a dancer for money I’ll do what you want me do I’m your private dancer a dancer for money</p>
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Like punning, this creative use of song lyrics elicits a great amount of laughter from the group, demonstrating their enjoyment of the creative adaptation. The cohesion it builds also stems from drawing on shared cultural knowledge of the original song. Intertextuality (reference to other texts) is a feature often discussed as occurring in literature (e.g. Coulmas, 2001: 234), but Bakhtin (1981: 338) also suggests that speakers in everyday conversations layer their texts with multiple voices and speaking styles, quoting other people and evaluating what they say. Within this particular conversation, it is the re-forming of song lyrics that seems to be particularly important to this creative layering of voices. The use of popular song lyrics in this manner occurs again elsewhere in the conversation, with the adaptation of Abba's 'Fernando' to refer a fern plant and 'Ooops upside the head' by Gap Band, which achieve much laughter and further cohesion through the other participants joining in the singing. Once again there is, hierarchically speaking, a central creative speaker, Jess, but the creative forms she produces still achieve group cohesion.

Repetition

Repeated patterns are often considered to be a basic foundation of certain literary language forms like metre or rhythm, or of stylistic features like alliteration or parallelism (Finnegan, 1992: 90). Repetition is also a feature of everyday conversation that has been analysed by Tannen (1989) and Carter (2004), who see it as a one of the innately literary features of casual talk. Internal repetition is what underlies many of the creative patterns and processes within this conversation. It occurs at various levels from very localized forms within a single utterance, to more global, macro-levels over many speaker turns and over the conversation a whole.

Repetitions within a single speaker's utterance occur regularly in what Tannen (1989: 54) terms self-repetition. One common characteristic of self-repetitions seems to be repeating construction so as to set up an echo:

Example 2. Examples of self repetition

EXAMPLE 1 Jess: ...with Will Smith it's one guy and you fancy that one guy
(1.14-15)

EXAMPLE 2 Laura: she's like a page three model and she's the perfect page three
(1.21-22) model by the way and she's..

EXAMPLE 3 Jess: ...once it becomes like semi your room and you're (.) you're
(1.36-37) doing stuff in your room

This double repetition establishes a pattern of sound and syntactic structure and serves to highlight non-repeated words (Tannen, 1989: 75), such as 'perfect', slotted in between the repetition of 'she's [...] page-three-model'. Repetition is thus used to create a framework around which emphatic meaning and expression can be produced, a resource that would seem to confer some degree of linguistic power on the speaker, since it stresses their turn of the conversational sequence. It is interesting, therefore, that once again Jess is the one who forms the greatest number of these echoes. This confers her a degree of influence over turns in the conversation and again suggests there might be a power dynamic within this intimate group.

Example 3. Pattern reforming repetition

Jess: A + B B + A
Jess: nice from far far from nice

A particularly striking repetitive pattern is example 3. This displays an inverted repetition pattern similar to one described by Coates (1996) ‘reversing the order ... allows the speaker to give a slightly different emphasis the second time and tells the recipients of the message to process it in two slightly different ways’ (206). This is the effect of the formation above; the word ‘far’ is understood in a literal sense in the first segment to mean distance and in a figurative sense in the second to mean the person’s appearance is not ‘close’ to being attractive. This is a more overt, pattern re-forming repetition than the echo formations that is designed to explicitly draw attention to itself as word-play.

Example 4. Progression of creativity from pattern forming to pattern re-forming

- Laura: =chubby as well
 Helen: Oh he likes to chase after chubby girls does he
 Jess: He’s a chubby chaser!
 ((laughter))
 Laura: Have you seen Catherine too she’s like the [skinniest woman in the world=
 Helen: ((laughs))] [what did you call her a chubby chaser?
 Laura: =can you imagine her complexion there when ((quickly)) complex like with cos
 she’s skinny [all over so she’s] got ((pause)) she’s not got Fat but she’s not got a=
 Jess: [yeah mmmm]
 Laura: = [Figure at the same] time she’s not got like a chubby big bum or anything
 Jess: [yeah a figure]

In this extract the repetition of ‘chubby’ is performed collaboratively, and eventually it leads to the formation of the alliterative ‘chubby chaser’. Tannen’s (1989: 54) study differentiates this type of repetition from the self-repetition we saw above as allo-repetition, the repetition of others. She finds that ‘[r]epetition is a resource by which conversationalists together create a discourse a relationship ... a limitless resource for individual creativity and interpersonal involvement’ (1989: 55). Carter too finds that it suggests ‘high degrees of affective connection and convergence’ (2004: 101). Certainly we can see this sense of convergence here through the occurrence of other cooperative forms, such as the minimal responses ‘yeah mmmm’, alongside the repetition. The repetition of words and syntactical structure here achieves a rhythm and coherence to the text the speakers are creating together.

Pattern forming

Laura: She’s a bit chubby as well
 Helen: Oh he likes to chase after chubby girls does he

Pattern re-forming

Jess: He’s a chubby chaser!
 ((laughter))

Whilst repetition across speaker turns is regarded as a less overt, pattern forming example of creativity, this often seems to progress to pattern re-forming creativity. For example, we saw this with the alliterative repetition of ‘ch-’ that led to the formation of ‘chubby chaser’ (see example 4).

It is remarkably frequent in this conversation, revealing perhaps that the two forms are intrinsically linked in this social context. Thus, whilst it is Jess who establishes most of the explicitly creative forms in the conversation, we can see that this accumulates from the less overt pattern forming creativity of previous speakers.

Example 6. Competitive repetition across speaker turns

However, pattern forming repetition is not always used for the purposes of collaboration. In this extract Jess and Laura have a disagreement on the topic of babies, using a repetitive pattern similar to that above.

- Jess: It's cute though, [any(baby) is cute]
- Helen: [aww]
- Laura: I don't like it it looks like an old man(baby)
- Jess: Any kind of (baby)
- Laura: [I'm not with you on that one not any kind of- only cute(babies) are cute(.) and maybe if I have one my (baby) will [be cute] regardless of
- Jess: [No but any kind of (baby) any kin any(baby) animal any(baby)

The two main speakers echo each other's statements but, rather than creating convergence, are expressing opposing opinions. This could be categorized as a mild form of verbal duelling, as in Gossen's (1976) study, where '[t]he rules of the contest are that each utterance must echo its predecessor phonologically' (Gossen, 1976 cited in Cook, 2000: 65). This is a more combative function of linguistic creativity, set within the conversation's collaborative forms, illustrating the close relationship between interactions of intimacy and competition (e.g. see Cook (2000) on Wolfson's 'bulge' model applied to creative language use). The duelling seems to be part of the women's entertainment. Nevertheless it still indicates a degree of power struggle within the group's apparently intimate and collaborative structure, displaying a characteristic that Pilkington (1998) recognizes – namely the fact that informal conversation 'enables members to 'covertly assert their status' (p. 256).

Establishing in-group language

What is striking is that a few of the women's creative forms begin to be repeated in a manner that suggests they are becoming formulaic, specific to this community of practice. Coulmas (2001: 234) notes that formulaic utterances can be specific to a particular community and may not be recognized outside that group. For example, Jess's pattern re-forming 'slap him upside the head', which manipulates a line from a song, requires an explanation on first encounter, but is then used later in the conversation with no explanation. The created form has thus become an established utterance within this particular conversation. This process of establishing phrases is not limited to a single conversation; utterances that have been created in previous conversations continue to be used later by the group. This is clearly apparent with references in the data to 'gardening with Britney Spears', the sexually euphemistic meaning of which must be explained to an outsider;

it's something we came up with when we were watching [television]. ... he was interviewing Britney Spears ... she had these really red knees and then Laura said...that she'd been doing

lots of gardening ... and we were like yeah right has Britney Spears been doing GARDENING! ... its kind of a phrase that's come to mean blow jobs.

(Interview with a member of the group)

The consequence of an originally creative euphemism like this becoming formulaic within the group is that it develops a unique language for the women's community of practice. Only they are likely to understand the phrase, because only they were present at the original formation. Such unique language, inaccessible to outsiders, therefore signifies in-group membership (see also Wenger, 1999 who has interesting things to say about a community's 'lore' and terminology).

Discussion and further directions

The study here contributes to the claims of recent research that finds casual talk to be inherently and densely creative. Further it would seem to concur with the sense of group participation and enjoyment by the speakers, and it relies much on this linguistic creativity. Identifying and unpacking the creative features of conversation can therefore tell us much about how the group of female friends here interact and perform particular roles within their social context. The relaxed nature of the social context would seem to be what is fundamentally important here, since it is this non-serious situation that allows word-play to take place and induces them to create a textually coherent, convergent text. Most interestingly, the linguistic creativity seemed to establish a sense of group membership among the women because its creative patterns established a language unique to their community of practice, fitting with the notions of collaborative creation outlined in the first two sections. Certainly it would seem to demonstrate that, linguistically at least, 'individuals and groups seek creatively to establish their presence, identity and meaning' (Willis *et al.*, 1990: 1). Nevertheless, the power dynamics at work here complicate our picture of creativity, since it seems to be the case that there is a centrally creative speaker in the group and, further, that the members use linguistic creativity to structure and win arguments amongst each other at certain points in the conversation.

The focus of this chapter has been on casual conversation between friends, a context which linguistic research has successfully demonstrated to be an important site of creativity. But the importance of creative language in managing interpersonal relations extends to other contexts. Especially important are the ways in which linguistic creativity is used in the workplace. Research by Handford (2010) on the Cambridge and Nottingham Business English Corpus addresses how creative problem solving and decision-making are managed in business meetings, looking in particular at the linguistically creative forms of metaphor and idiom as part of this interpersonal creativity. These features tended to be more frequent in internal meetings, since participants are likely to have developed shared linguistic tools and discursive practices as a community internal to the company. Frequently the creative forms are found to create convergence. However, as with our analysis of casual conversation above, Handford (2010) and Handford and Koester (2010) find metaphors and idioms also to be densely used in meetings involving disagreement and conflict. The use of creative language forms in this context of business communication can, again, be seen then to have the potential to foster intimacy, but also to assert power and status. Further research into the transactional contexts of business interaction will therefore prove constructive in shaping our understanding of the social purposes of creativity.

Another domain in which further research on linguistic creativity is proving fruitful is the increasingly mobile and mediated modes of communication we now regularly use, such as the Internet and mobile devices. These have drastically changed the mediating effects of physical distance and require new linguistic competencies and creativities by participants to manage social

relationships. North (2007) looks at the ways in which wordplay and humour are used in online chatrooms to achieve social cohesion and to create a textually shared environment. This is crucially important in a context that, since it is online, is entirely textually co-constructed. Danet and Herring (2007: 27) note the drive for typographic innovation and linguistic play in computer mediated communication, across every language used online. As the platforms for interacting in virtual domains increase in uptake and variety, so the complex means by which people maintain social relations will shift too.

Research in these contexts extends the principle we began this chapter with: that is, researching creativity with a more democratized focus on the linguistically creative forms used between people in fostering social relations on an everyday basis. As research increases in this field of discourse analysis, our understanding of creativity in everyday language will become more nuanced and our understanding of what it means to be creative will necessarily be challenged.

Further reading

Carter, R. (2004). *Language and Creativity – The Art of Common Talk*. London: Routledge.

This book explores several approaches to creativity, and analyses creative uses of language in everyday interactions.

Handford, M. (2010). *The Language of Business Meetings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 7 of this book deals specifically with ‘interpersonal creativity’ in a corpus of business meetings.

Cook, G. (2000). *Language Play Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This book discusses how ‘language play’ can be observed in many contexts, and draws out the implications for language learning and teaching.

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