Article

Collaborative storytelling with a person with aphasia: Promoting agency in a multiparty interaction

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Abstract

Introduction: This study explores practices employed by a person with aphasia (PWA) and his wife to organize collaborative storytelling in a multiparty interaction. We identify practices that further the PWA's agency – his impact on action – while he is telling a story together with his wife.

Method: Using conversation analysis (CA), we carried out a case study of a successful storytelling sequence involving a 39-year-old man with anomic aphasia during a conversation with friends.

Analysis: The PWA contributed to the storytelling by initiating the story sequence and by producing short but significant utterances in which he provided essential information and displayed epistemic authority. The spouse aligned with the PWA's initiated actions and supported his agency by giving him room to speak, for example, by gaze retraction.

Discussion: The analysis offers insight into practices that allowed this PWA to achieve agency. Our findings show that communication partner training could benefit from implementing activities such as collaborative storytelling.

1. Introduction

Storytelling is a common activity in social interaction. By telling stories about past events (M. H. Goodwin, 1982; Labov and Waletzky, 1967) or describing hypothetical future events (M. H. Goodwin, 1982), people exchange experiences (Norrick, 2000) and construct their identity (Bamberg, 2006). However, aphasia makes this activity challenging, and the agency (active involvement in action; Enfield, 2013) of a person with aphasia (henceforth PWA) in such social exchanges can be limited. This asymmetry of agency may be threatening to the PWA's identity (Shadden, 2005).

A method previously used to examine PWAs' agency in interaction is conversation analysis (CA) (Archer, Tetnowski, Freer, Schmadeke, and Christou-Franklin, 2018). Conversation analysis provides an analytic framework capable of identifying interlocutors' conversational practices that influence agency. Previous studies show how aphasia affects conversational practices related to collaborative storytelling and the resulting distribution of agency by analyzing domains such as sequence organization, turn design, turn-taking organization, epistemic authority, and accountability (Barnes, Candlin, and Ferguson, 2013; Barnes and Ferguson, 2012; Beeke, Maxim, and Cooper, 2011; Gillespie and Hald, 2017; Simmons-Mackie and Kagan, 1999; Wilkinson, 1999). The present study aims to identify practices that further a PWA's agency by analyzing the organization of collaborative storytelling in a multiparty face-to-face interaction. It contributes to conversation analytic research on how PWAs and their interlocutors may handle and overcome challenges associated with aphasia in interaction (e.g., Barnes and Ferguson, 2012; Bauer, 2009; Beeke, Capindale, and Cockayne, 2020; Laakso and Godt, 2016; Lind, 2005).

1.1 Agency, collaborative storytelling, and aphasia

Storytelling sequences are highly collaborative in nature. Storytellers are not autonomous because every interaction is a collaborative activity, which is mutually constructed and organized, and the interlocutors are mutually responsible for it. In collaboratively told stories (stories told together by two or more speakers), storytellers have to negotiate aspects such as which interlocutor starts to tell the story, when a change of tellership will occur, etc. Thus, two potential storytellers with the same interactional goal (namely, the action of telling a story) have to co-ordinate and negotiate the participation framework of the interaction.

Engagement in sequence organization is a way to manifest agency in interaction. Participants typically divide story sequences into three segments: the

story preface, the body of the story, and the climax of the story (C. Goodwin, 1984). Within these segments, a storyteller and a recipient have distinct inter-actional jobs (Sacks, 1974). In the preface, a storyteller offers to tell a story and an interlocutor accepts the offer with a news request (e.g., A: You know what happened yesterday? B: No, tell me.) or rejects it by pre-empting the offer (e.g., A: You know what happened yesterday? B: Yes, I heard about the accident. It was terrible.) (C. Goodwin, 1984; Sacks, 1974). During the body of the story, also called the telling, a storyteller tells the story itself (C. Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992). Here, the storyteller takes an extended turn while the interloc-utor aligns as story recipient (Sacks, 1974). During the climax, the storyteller delivers the point of the story; in the case of an amusing story this represents the punchline. This is followed by an expression of appreciation and under-standing by the story recipient (C. Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992; Sacks, 1974). The segmental structure of a collaborative story does not differ from that told by a single teller, but one or more co-tellers share the interactional role of tellership (Eder, 1988; C. Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1987; Norrick, 1997; Zima, 2018).

Aphasia is known to impede the progression of interactional sequences. This can lead to fewer opportunities to take a turn, and results in sequen-tial deletion of a turn, which restricts a PWA's interactional influence. In their study about 'poor' versus 'good' interlocutors, Simmons-Mackie and Kagan (1999) show that 'poor' interlocutors do not take up a PWA's interactional ini-tiations. Barnes and Ferguson (2012) note that the sequential relevance of a PWA's topic initiations can be deleted by an interlocutor's topic change. The authors also conclude that a PWA may reduce their own influence on sequence organization by withdrawing from tellership. Such practices may represent an attempt to reduce the noticeability of the aphasic condition. For people with aphasia, an interaction that is dominated by the talk of the non-aphasic inter-locutor results in fewer chances to take a turn and to initiate social action. This restricts a PWA's opportunities for active involvement in interaction.

A second way of displaying agency in storytelling is through the use of distinct turn design features to construct the different segments of a story. A storyteller introduces stories with story entry devices to demonstrate continu-ity with previous talk and the beginning of a new sequence (Jefferson, 1978). Furthermore, a storyteller often provides information about time, place, and persons in an orientation segment at the beginning of a story (Labov and Waletzky, 1967). To indicate the end of a story, a storyteller applies exit devices to initiate sequence transition. Climaxes of amusing stories are often com-posed with multiple devices such as laughter (Jefferson, 1979) or laughing voice (Kotthoff, 2017), expressive intonation, and embodied actions (Selting,

2017). Thus, verbal and multimodal devices play a crucial role in the design of storytelling turns and the chance to shape actions (Mondada, 2019).

Aphasia has an impact on aspects of PWAs' verbal and multimodal turn design and thereby affects their possibilities to influence interactions. For instance, sequentially misplaced topic initiations can lead to unsuccessful topic shifts (Barnes, Candlin, and Ferguson, 2013), and the deployment of distinct topic shift markers is sometimes difficult for a PWA (Barnes, Candlin, and Ferguson, 2013; Beeke, Maxim and Cooper, 2011; Wilkinson, 1999). However, most studies focus uniquely on the PWA's actions (C. Goodwin, 2010). Few studies explore the role of the interlocutors in contributing to the PWAs' turn design, and consequently for promoting their agency (Ferguson and Peterson, 2002).

Participant agency is also displayed in the sequential organization of turn-taking. A central device to influence turn-taking is gaze (Rossano, 2013). In dyadic interactions, speakers establish recipiency by looking at participants during their turn, and they indicate a turn-transition by shifting their gaze at the end of their turn to a participant that they allocate the next turn to (Auer, 2017). Similar gaze patterns are described for collaborative storytelling in triadic interactions. In triadic interactions, a main teller allocates the next turn to their co-teller with the aid of gaze and other multimodal devices (Zima, 2018).

While the influence of aphasia on gaze patterns in repair sequences has been described to some extent (e.g., Laakso, 2014), little is known about the role of gaze for actions such as storytelling (C. Goodwin, 2004). Laakso (2014) shows that a PWA uses gaze to mobilize other-repair during a self-repair sequence. In this study, gaze indicates that the interlocutor may collaborate in constructing the sequence. Charles Goodwin (2004) describes how a PWA employs gaze when co-telling a story with his wife. The PWA uses gaze and posture to indicate to others that his wife also knows the story to be told. Furthermore, he manages to position himself as a co-teller by shifting his gaze to the audience when he is taking a turn and looking at the audience while his wife is taking a turn.

Participants' claims to knowledge about a story is another manifestation of their agency. Participants display their knowledge status with respect to a story with markers of epistemic authority (Enfield, 2013). In stories about shared experiences, participants typically express this shared knowledge in the preface and can display their access to it by, for instance, including their own role in the story ('And then I said …') (Lerner, 1992). The literature on storytelling in aphasia, has mostly concentrated on investigating experiences to which the PWA and the interlocutor have unequal access, such as personal

stories (Olness and Ulatowska, 2011). Furthermore, research has focused primarily on how aphasia may lead to displays of lowered epistemic authority. In Barnes and Ferguson's (2012) study, a PWA put herself in the role of recipient through short affirming turns, thereby avoiding drawing attention to her communication problems, but at the cost of losing epistemic authority. By contrast, in a study of storytelling by a person with dementia (PWD) it was shown how the interlocutor contributed to establishing a PWD's epistemic primacy by aligning as a recipient (Williams, Webb, Dowling, and Gall, 2018). The current investigation of how aphasia influences the distribution of epistemic authority during the co-telling of a shared experience provides insights into the relationship between aphasia, epistemic authority, and agency.

Agency is also manifested in the ascription of ownership of an action – the interactional rights and duties of a participant (accountability). Through collaboration, participants can share the ownership for actions (joint accountability) (Enfield, 2013). To construct joint accountability in collaborative storytelling, co-tellers may, for example, apply conjunctions to connect to each other's turns (Eder, 1988) or employ multimodal devices to allocate the next turn to their co-teller (Zima, 2018). Co-tellers may also counteract joint accountability by competing for the floor or using different styles of storytelling (Mandelbaum, 1987).

The accountability of a PWA may be negatively affected by the fact that the interlocutor sometimes needs to intervene in the turn space, in order to repair aphasia-related problems (Laakso and Klippi, 1999; Milroy and Perkins, 1992; Samuelsson and Hydén, 2017). As Gillespie and Hald (2017) point out, joint accountability might threaten a PWA's independent accountability. While collaboration with a PWA to construct sequences using, for example, scaffolding techniques supports sequence development, it discloses the PWA's inability to construct a sequence independently. Whereas much previous research on aphasia has focused on dyadic interactions, the current study analyses multiparty conversation. This makes it possible to investigate how story recipients orient to the accountability of storytelling parties when one of them has aphasia.

The aim of the present study is to explore conversational practices applied by a PWA and his spouse during collaborative storytelling in a multiparty interaction, and to investigate the consequences for the PWA's agency (displayed through sequential organization, epistemic authority, and accountability). It uncovers conversational practices that the PWA and his spouse apply to shape actions, and focuses on multimodal devices including gaze. It seeks to answer the following question: Which interactional practices contribute to successful collaboration in storytelling and to promoting the PWA's agency?

2. Method

2.1 Participants

The participants were a man with aphasia (Tim, around 39 years old), his wife (Julia, 36 years old), their daughter (Anna, 9 years old), and two friends (a couple: Ruth and Christian).[1] At the age of 38, Tim had an extensive cerebral hemorrhage in the left temporal lobe, which caused an anomic aphasia. Before the stroke, he worked as a truck driver. We do not have access to Tim's speech and language intervention history or to his language assessment data. Anomic aphasia is a fluent type of aphasia. While comprehension abilities are relatively preserved, expressive abilities in speech and writing are impaired because of word retrieval difficulties. As a result, speech is characterized by pauses, circumlocutions, and substitutions (Brookshire and McNeil, 2014).

2.2 Data

The analyzed data originate from the research project *Adaptationsstrategien in der familiären Kommunikation zwischen Aphasikern und ihren Partnerinnen (2000–2005)* (Adaption strategies in familial communication between aphasics and their partners) directed by Prof. Dr. Peter Auer, University of Freiburg, Germany and Dr. Angelika Bauer, School of Speech and Language Therapy, Freiburg. Germany.[2] The database consists of 142 recordings (in total circa 150 hours) involving nine German-speaking PWAs and the corresponding transcripts. The PWAs were asked to video-record themselves for approximately two hours during different typical interactions at home, five times after they returned from a rehabilitation center after their stroke (immediately after returning from rehabilitation, and at 1, 3, 6 and 12 months afterwards).[3] The first author was granted access for research purposes.

The recordings were inspected using a data-driven conversation analytic approach to identify characteristic phenomena (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). Collaborative storytelling emerged as a topic of interest with the potential to gain insights into the collaborative organization of agency. Stories told by different participants were examined in various conversations. Next, the recordings of one of the participants (Tim) were chosen for further analysis, based on the impression of successful collaboration between him and his spouse. Then Tim's conversations were examined in greater detail to identify recurrent practices in collaborative storytelling. The sequence presented here is chosen

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1. All the data presented are anonymized. Names are pseudonyms.
2. For further information about the data, see Bauer (2009).
3. Ethical approval for the present study has been obtained from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

as a representative example of successful collaborative storytelling from these data. The multiparty dinner table conversation is 69 minutes long and was recorded approximately 10 months after Tim's stroke. The story sequence is 57 seconds long, and occurs 28 minutes into the conversation.

The original transcripts were re-transcribed according to the GAT conventions (Selting *et al.*, 1998, 2009), translated into English by the first author, and a multimodal transcription (Mondada, 2006) was added. Tim, Julia, Ruth, Christian, and Anna are designated as T, J, R, C, and A in the extracts. Gaze was approximated from head movements, and was transcribed using a system adapted from Rossano (2013) and Auer (2017). Single gaze from one participant to another participant is transcribed with arrows indicating the participant who is being looked at (A → B: A is looking at B). Mutual gaze is transcribed with a double arrow (A ↔ B: A and B are looking at each other). The approximate duration of each gaze pattern is indicated on the transcript by horizontal brackets above the talk.

3. Analysis

The analysis of the story sequence is presented chronologically. First, the story preface, then the body of the story, and finally the climax are examined. The analysis within these segments scrutinizes the following domains: sequence organization, turn design, turn-taking organization, accountability, and epistemic authority.

The analyzed scene takes place in Tim and Julia's kitchen. The participants are sitting around an oval table with Tim seated at one end of the table. To Tim's left are seated first Julia (his wife) and then Anna (his daughter), and to his right are their visitors, Ruth and Christian. The camera is placed opposite Tim. Before the analyzed sequence, the participants discussed the 1 May celebrations in their area, which were unusually quiet that year. Following this, Tim introduces a story about events that happened the night before 1 May. Tim and Julia then collaboratively tell the story. They describe how they, while lying in their bed, heard the noise from a series of dramatic events. First, they heard neighbors quarrelling, and then the sound of the police arriving to deal with this domestic incident. The police vehicle approached at high speed and suddenly had to make a sharp turn, causing the wheels to screech. Tim and Julia conclude the story by reporting that neighbors who had witnessed the incident had told them that an officer in the police car had looked terrified.

3.1 The story preface

Extract 1 shows how Tim initiates the story (line 1011), Julia takes it up (line 1012), and Ruth provides a news request (line 1013). Then Tim and Julia expand the preface (lines 1014 and 1016) while Ruth continues to prompt the telling of the story (lines 1015 and 1017).

Extract 1[4, 5]

```
1008   J:      der war nüt;
               there was nothing
1009   A:      ²hm ²hm
```



```
1010           (-) <<pp> bloss mir hän>
               (-) we only have
```



```
1011   T:      daFÜR war ee (.) d=nacht VORher was los HE?
               in contrast there was eeh (.) something happening the night before right
```



```
1012   J:      NA I bin mr VORkommen wie die STRAßen von <<laughing> San Fran^CIsco>
               well I was feeling like in the streets of San Francisco
       t:                                                                      ^nods
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```
1013   R:      [was war dn          ]
               what was it
```
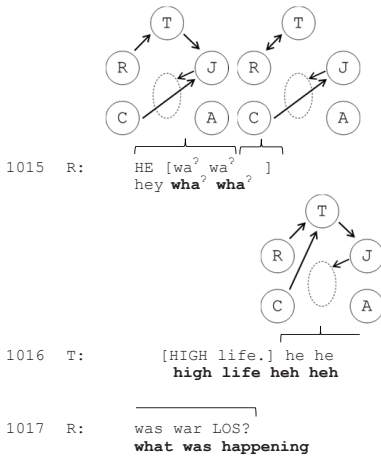


```
1014   J:      [mei bett hat so vi ]BRIERT;
               my bed was quite vibrating
```

4. Anna's gaze is not transcribed because her head movements are indistinct. She is mostly looking at a Popsicle she is eating.

5. The oval circle without a letter label represents the table.

```
1015   R:    HE [wa? wa?  ]
             hey wha? wha?
```

```
1016   T:       [HIGH life.] he he
                high life heh heh
```

```
1017   R:    was war LOS?
             what was happening
```

Tim and Julia collaboratively develop the preface. Tim initiates it with an announcement (line 1011). Julia elaborates on Tim's news announcement and thereby aligns with the storytelling activity and takes the role of a co-teller (line 1012). Ruth's request for information (line 1013) functions as a go-ahead signal for the story (Schegloff, 2007) and aligns her as a story recipient. Although Ruth prompts the telling of the story proper, Tim and Julia suspend the initiation of the next phase of the story. Instead, they extend the preface by adding information that underlines the dramatic character of the events and thereby contributes to increasing the newsworthiness of the story (lines 1014 and 1016). In response to this suspense, Ruth repeats her prompt twice (lines 1015 and 1017). With their initial mutual engagement in tellership, Tim and Julia present themselves as possible co-tellers and arrange a shared tellership (Lerner, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1987). Their collaborative engagement as well as their alignment in launching the storytelling activity and prolonging the preface establishes the collaboration between Tim and Julia.

Tim initiates the story at a point in the conversation where a topic shift is possible; namely, after a potential completion of the previous sequence about how quiet the village was on 1 May (line 1011). The topic shift is signaled by the contrastive conjunction 'in contrast,' which marks a transition from the previous discussion (Barnes, Candlin, and Ferguson, 2013; Mazeland and Huiskes, 2001). Simultaneously, Tim connects the story to the previous talk by referring to things 'happening' in the neighborhood, which connects to Julia's report about nothing happening (line 1008). The topic initiation is also accomplished by the temporal locator 'the night before,' which serves as an orientation for the other participants and thus constitutes a story entry device

(Labov and Waletzky, 1967). In conclusion, the topic shift and story initiation are successfully performed by Tim independently of his interlocutors.

In the talk that follows, Tim and Julia collaboratively provide information that serves to characterize the story (Jefferson, 1978; Lerner, 1992; Sacks, 1974). Tim uses the colloquial German expression 'something was happening,' which projects a newsworthy report. Julia elaborates on this by saying that she felt like she was in 'the streets of San Francisco' (line 1012), which appears to be a reference to a crime show that was broadcast in Germany in the 1980s. She thereby indicates the exciting nature of the story, while adding an amusing nuance to it through the use of laughing voice. Tim further adds to the characterization by adding the assessment 'high life' (line 1016).

Adding increments to each other's turns reinforces the co-tellers' close collaboration in composing the preface. First, Julia adds an increment to Tim's story initiation and takes it up (line 1012). Tim's nodding intensifies Julia's uptake (line 1012). Subsequently, Tim adds (line 1016) to Julia's description of her vibrating bed (line 1014). It is notable that Tim's increments are short and designed with evaluative devices such as laughter and nodding, while Julia produces longer increments. However, despite the limited verbal material produced by Tim, he makes relevant and timely contributions to the preface and thereby presents himself as a competent participant in the conversation.

In addition to collaborating on sequence organization, Tim and Julia collaboratively organize turn-taking with multimodal devices such as gaze. When launching the preface (line 1011), Tim organizes the turn transition by adding a tag question while he moves his gaze from looking in Julia's general direction to explicitly gazing at her. At the end of Julia's turn (line 1012), at a possible transition relevance place (TRP), Tim and Julia gaze at Ruth, the visitor. Ruth is thereby allocated the role of story recipient and invited to give a go-ahead response. In line 1016, Tim shifts his gaze briefly to the audience and then to Julia to allocate the next turn to her (line 1016). We see that Tim directs the turn-taking by self-selection (lines 1011 and 1012) and arranging speakership transitions at the end of his turns (lines 1011 and 1016). Furthermore, Tim and Julia employ the same gaze patterns. First, they establish their own speakership by gazing at the audience during their own turns (Tim – line 1016; Julia – lines 1012 and 1014) to secure recipiency (Auer, 2017). Second, they support each other's speakership by gazing at their speaking co-teller. Thereby, they align as recipients while also showing availability (C. Goodwin, 1981) for a potential collaboration to tell the story (Tim – lines 1012 and 1014; Julia – line 1011). Interestingly, during the initiation of the story, Tim displays a different gaze pattern, where he withdraws his gaze from the audience before he begins his turns (line 1011). This gaze pattern suggests that the action of initiating a story might be more demanding than continuing with the action of

co-telling it, because of differing cognitive demands (Kendon 1967). This is in line with Laakso's (2014) observation that gaze withdrawal indicates that a PWA has encountered an interactional difficulty.

Tim's and Julia's joint accountability is displayed through the other participants' reactions. Although Tim's turn (line 1011) includes a filler 'ee' and a short pause, the other participants give him room to speak and do not interrupt him. Ruth addresses her news requests (lines 1013, 1015, and 1017) to Tim and Julia individually by shifting her gaze between them, thereby indicating their joint responsibility to continue with the body of the story. Notable here is Julia's action to suspend her tellership (lines 1014 and 1016), a technique used to invite a co-teller to continue. Julia's gaze at the table from line 1014 on accentuates her withdrawal. This behavior contributes to promoting Tim's role as teller by giving him space to proceed and directing the audience's visual attention toward him. The audience's gaze shifts between both co-tellers as they take a turn, showing their orientation to them as a team (at Julia – lines 1012–1014; at Tim – line 1016).

The co-tellers also display equal epistemic access to the story content. By making an unhedged factual claim in the initiation of the preface (line 1011), Tim demonstrates his primary epistemic rights to the story. He implies that these rights are shared with Julia by inviting her to become a co-teller. Julia acknowledges this by displaying her epistemic access to the story content (lines 1012 and 1014). At the end of her utterance in line 1012, Tim shifts his gaze to the audience (Ruth) and nods, thereby displaying agreement with Julia and implying epistemic access (Stivers, 2008).

Although Tim and Julia demonstrate common epistemic rights to the story, they display certain differences in epistemic stance. Tim reports their common experiences in a narrative style from a third-person perspective, without including his personal perceptions or reactions. Julia, on the other hand, reports the events from her personal perspective. She uses the first-person singular pronoun 'I' and refers to 'my bed' (lines 1012 and 1014). Taking such contrasting epistemic stances has previously been described as a practice that co-tellers apply to gain the conversational floor (Mandelbaum, 1987). In our data, however, they do not seem to threaten the balanced collaboration between the parties.

3.2 The body of the story

At the end of his turn (extract 1, line 1016), Tim moves his gaze from Ruth to Julia and selects her as next speaker. While Ruth gazes at Tim, Christian orients to Tim's change of gaze direction by turning his gaze to Julia. Julia acknowledges Tim's rights to pursue the body of the story in that she only

begins to tell the body of the story when Tim passes on speakership to her (line 1016). Tim's putatively passive interactional involvement has active consequences for the interaction in appointing Julia as the main teller of the story. Extract 2 shows that Julia provides the main parts of the body of the story (lines 1018 and 1021–1025), while Tim adds to it (1019–1020).

Extract 2


```
1018   J:     ja I DENK dass es en EHEstreit [war;]
              yeah I think that it was a domestic
```



```
1019   T:                                      [ja  ]^
                                                yes
       t:                                           ^nods

1020          [mit PoliZEI ]
              with police
```



```
1021   J:     [des auto hab] ICH beza:hlt und so:;(.)
              it was me who paid the car and such kind of things (.)
```



```
1022          <<acc> des wa:r *(.) drüben am ECK,>
              that was (.) over there at the corner
       j:                      *moving left hand above head and behind her while
              looking at it
```



```
1023          und (.) die BULLEN sen HER gfahren un henn BREMST aber
              and (.) the filth drove here and braked but
```

```
1024        <<imitating sound> IIIÜÜ> <<acc> I hab gsagt ghet
            eeeuuu I said
```



```
1025        da müsst> a BERMSspur sei von- *(.)
            there must be a skid mark of
   j:                                    *non-verbal demonstration of length of
            skid mark with hands
```

Again, Tim and Julia construct the body of the story collaboratively, yet differently from the preface. This time, Julia initiates the phase by making a guess 'that it was a domestic' (line 1018). Tim affirms Julia's guess (line 1019) and adds that the police were involved (line 1020). Subsequently, Julia carries on with the body of the story (2021–2025), while Tim aligns with and supports her telling. Although Julia produces most of the utterances of the body of the story, the audience's gaze patterns display their orientation to both co-tellers. In lines 1019 and 1020, Tim only utters a short turn, yet the audience shifts their gaze to him and sustains it during the following overlap (line 1020). Tim and Julia also orient to their shared rights as co-tellers by gazing at each other while the other is speaking.
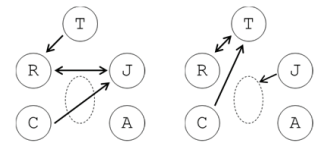
Tim and Julia continue to display their equal epistemic access in the body of the story. Julia begins the body of the story with a statement that downgrades her epistemic access by hedging the proposition with 'I think' (line 1018), marking her subjective perspective. With the following increment, Tim claims epistemic access by affirming and nodding (line 1019) and adding to Julia's description (line 1020). At points however, they also take contrasting epistemic stances. While Tim continues to report facts about the events, Julia gives a more personally involved account, reporting her reactions ('I said,' line 1024) and re-enacting the events by using reported speech (line 1021), sound imitations ('eeeuuu,' line 1024), and depictive gestures (line 1025). By using such features associated with a 'high involvement style' (Tannen, 1984), she adds to the emotional and evaluative loading of the story and thus contributes to affirming its tellability.

3.3 The climax of the story

Extract 3 shows how Tim initiates the climax of the story (lines 1026–1028) and Julia expands it (1029 and 1030). After this, Tim begins to laugh (line 1031), and all the participants join in with this laughter (line 1032). Then Julia recycles aspects of the story (lines 1037–1039 and 1041–1044) and Christian

acknowledges it (line 1040). Finally, Tim ends the story sequence (line 1045) and Anna (the daughter) commences a new sequence (lines 1046 and 1047).
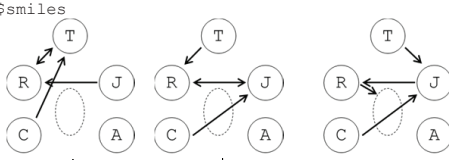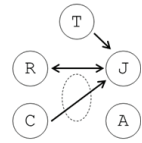
Extract 3


```
1026   T:   die waret a weng FLOTT unterwegs-
            they were a bit fast on the way

1027        no henn se gmerkt si müsst ja au no ABbiegen;
            then they realised they still have to turn the corner

1028        he@$  [he he;             ]
            heh heh heh
       r:        @nods
       c:         $smiles
```
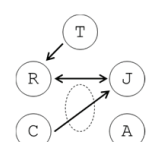


```
1029   J:        [un EINER hats beobachtet](.) der hat gsagt
                 and one person witnessed it (.) he said
```



```
1030        der ZWEIte isch (.) <<laughing> so* drinn ghockt;>
            the second was (.) sitting inside like this
       j:                              *demonstration of a person who is
            sitting huddled up
```



```
1031   T:   <<cresc> ((laughing))>
1032        <<f> ((all laughing))>$
       c:                    $moves chair besides him
1033   T:   <<f>((laughing))> [<<dim>((laughing))>]
1034   J:                     [((coughing))      ]
1035   T:   <<dim>((laughing with inhalation))>
1036        (-)
1037   J:   aber des war innerhalb von FÜNF (.) zehn miNUTen,
            but that was within five (.) ten minutes
1038        also fünf bis zehn des war RUCKI=zucki;
            thus five to ten that was in a jiffy
1039        [<<cresc> da hinten (.) des war- >   ]
                     over there (.) that was
1040   C:   [isch=en WAHRscheinlich relativ spät ] (.) EIgfallen
             it probably came quite late (.) to their mind
1041   J:   war GUT;
            was good
```

```
1042        aber i SAG ja* i war da scho (.) (3 syllables) im BETT
            but as I said I was already (.) (3 syllables) in bed
      j:              *rises hands
1043        und IIÜÜ na hann=e denkt HÄ?*
            and eeuu then I thought eh
      j:                          *puts hands down
1044        und (hat die) <<immitating sound of quarrel> häuä> ZWOIE halt*;
            and (has the) haua just two
      j:                                                *takes
            waterglass and drinks
1045  T:    <<laughing> hm>
1046  A:    ts´ts ((sound of eating ice cream))
1047        du hörsch au manchmal ANdre sachen;
            sometimes you also hear other things
```

The climax is organized similarly to the preface, in that Tim initiates this phase too. He describes the sudden and late realization of the police officers that they had to turn the corner (lines 1026–1028). The humoristic character of his turn, together with the laughter at the end, indicates a climax by which Tim proposes the completion of the story. Julia continues the turn with an increment connected by the conjunction 'and' (lines 1029 and 1030). This collaboratively constructed turn becomes the punchline of the story, that one of the police officers was seen to look visibly scared by the sharp turn needed to negotiate the corner. The climax is produced with typical prosodic and embodied features (Jefferson, 1979; Kotthoff, 2017; Selting, 2017). Tim and Julia apply laughter (lines 1028 and 1031) and a laughing voice (line 1030 and 1045) to constitute the story as laughable and to invite the recipients to laugh. Furthermore, Tim produces key elements of the punchline with emphatic stress, 'fast' and 'turn' (lines 1026 and 1027), and Julia re-enacts the huddled body position of one of the police officers (line 1030). Tim laughs after Julia's turn (line 1031) and the audience joins in with the laughter (line 1032) to show their affiliation, appreciation, and understanding of the story (Selting, 2017). Subsequently, Tim and Julia jointly withdraw from the activity by decreasing the volume of their laughter and not taking any further turns (lines 1033–1036).

As none of the other participants takes a turn at this point, Tim and Julia re-enter the floor and collaboratively facilitate sequence transition. Julia takes responsibility for the implicativeness of the story and proposes closure by repeatedly providing parts of the story as story exit devices (Jefferson, 1978) (lines 1037–1039 and 1041–1044). By staying silent, Tim putatively withdraws from the interaction. However, this behavior supports Julia's initiated action, namely, the ending of the story. When Julia pulls herself back from the interaction by drinking (line 1044), Tim takes over closure of the story by producing a laugh particle (line 1045). Subsequently, Anna initiates a new story and thereby a potential new sequence (lines 1046 and 1047). This closes Tim and Julia's joint story sequence.

The audience's final reception of the story (line 1032) follows Tim and Julia's joint composition of the punchline and not their individual contributions. This

demonstrates the joint right to construct it. Although Tim withdraws after the punchline, Christian provides a commentary (line 1040), which underlines the implicativeness of Tim's contribution to the climax (Selting, 2017). In lines 1046 and 1047, Anna displays appreciation of Julia's perception of the story and commences a second story (Ryave, 1978). By aligning to the collaboratively constructed structure of the story through laughter, and by taking up both Tim's and Julia's contributions, the audience affirms the co-tellers' individual and joint accountability.

4. Discussion

This analysis illustrates how a man with aphasia achieves agency in a multi-party interaction through telling a story together with his spouse. It shows how the PWA and his spouse co-ordinate a storytelling sequence collaboratively and it analyzes the way in which the participants manage sequential organization, epistemic authority, and accountability in this sequence. Thereby, the study contributes to our understanding of how participants' conversational practices influence agency in social interaction and describes techniques allowing a speaker with aphasia to exchange experiences.

The PWA contributes to the storytelling by initiating the story sequence and by producing short but significant utterances in which he provides essential information and displays epistemic authority. His spouse aligns with his initiated actions and supports his opportunities to be involved in action by giving him opportunities to speak, for example, by gaze retraction. As in typical interaction, multimodal devices such as intonation, laughter, and gaze are deployed by the participants to design turns and organize turn-taking.

Balanced agency is established despite asymmetries in turn design between the PWA and his spouse. The PWA's turns are shorter, fewer, and co-occur with non-verbal devices such as nodding. The spouse's turns are longer, more numerous, and with greater personal involvement. These contrary designs reflect the atypical character of the interaction. However, the unbalanced quantitative distribution of turns – also noted by Barnes and Ferguson (2012) – as well as qualitative differences, do not lead to asymmetric agency. The participants overcome the contrary turn design collaboratively with conversational practices that facilitate joint and individual accountability for the actions.

Practices that enable and further collaboration are employed. The PWA invites the spouse to collaborate in telling the story by, for example, looking at her and suspending tellership. Furthermore, when the PWA or his spouse initiate actions, they align with each other's actions, contrasting with previously described patterns of sequence organization in which the interlocutors did not align with PWAs' actions (Barnes and Ferguson, 2012; Simmons-Mackie

and Kagan, 1999). Additionally, both collaborate over turn design by adding increments to each other's turns, and by taking them up. The PWA's agency is promoted in collaboration with his wife because he is actively involved in sequential organization and his action initiations are maintained.

The participants employ practices that facilitate the PWA's individual accountability and his agency. The spouse alternates between engagement in tellership and suspension from it. Our examination of the spouse's gaze patterns reveals that she reinforces her withdrawal from the interaction with this multimodal practice. Thereby, the spouse aligns as a co-teller and not as a main teller of the story and facilitates the PWA's opportunities engaging in interaction.

Furthermore, the PWA claims and demonstrates epistemic authority in storytelling. He does so by adding short increments to his spouse's turns; he does not merely align himself as a recipient with short affirming turns, as some people with aphasia do (Barnes and Ferguson, 2012). The PWA is able to intensify his display of epistemic access through his deployment of gaze, for example, by looking to the story recipients and not to his wife during his turns. In this way, Tim takes on the role of a competent co-teller despite his limited linguistic abilities.

Additionally, our analysis confirms claims that people with aphasia are able to initiate new conversational actions successfully using distinct turn design practices accompanied by topic shift markers and supported by competent sequential timing (Barnes, Candlin, and Ferguson, 2013; Beeke, Maxim, and Cooper, 2011; Wilkinson, 1999). In this story sequence, the PWA both initiates the preface and the climax successfully; the spouse initiates the body of the story.

Overall, the employed practices are similar to those in typical storytelling, apart from the different practices seen in turn design. We show that the speakers compose their actions by applying typical devices for storytelling such as story entry devices and laughter (Jefferson, 1978). The deployment of gaze practices seen here are also described in typical interaction (Auer, 2017; Zima, 2018). There appears to be little atypical about this process of co-telling.

In contrast to previous studies in which a PWA's accountability is considered at risk (Barnes and Ferguson, 2012; Gillespie and Hald, 2017), we show how a PWA's individual and joint accountability (together with his spouse) can be successfully established. Our analysis of a multiparty interaction reveals that the story recipients (Ruth and Christian) both align to each single teller (Tim and Julia, respectively), and also to the two as co-tellers. This ascription of individual and joint accountability is expressed through the recipients' conversational and gaze patterns. This suggests that a PWA's agency can profit

from successful collaborative storytelling, which promotes individual and joint accountability.

Our findings show that communication partner training (CPT) could benefit from implementing activities such as collaborative storytelling. As part of CPT, PWAs and their family members could be educated by speech-language therapists (SLTs) as to how collaborative storytelling works and they could reflect on their own joint stories, as a way of enhancing agency in the PWAs. Further research into everyday storytelling by people with aphasia could broaden our perspectives and concepts for speech and language interventions that aim to improve conversations involving a PWA (Beeke, Beckley, Johnson, Heilemann, Edwards, Maxim, and Best, 2015; Wilkinson, 2010).

While it should be acknowledged that this is an analysis of a conversation involving one individual with aphasia, the results indicate that PWAs can be competent interlocutors, who can successfully achieve agency through storytelling. We show that a PWA may engage successfully in storytelling by relying on resources available in this specific activity and on his spouse's collaboration. Despite language difficulties due to aphasia, the PWA and his spouse can build on PWAs' residual conversational practices and on the spouse's practices.

In conclusion, taking a multimodal perspective with a focus on gaze in the analysis provided access to participants' conversational practices in storytelling, a promising field of research and useful for understanding agency. By focusing on multiparty conversation and identifying multimodal practices that are already well understood in typical talk, we have shown how research can expand our understanding beyond the restrictions that aphasia imposes on conversational agency and thus the broader concept of agency in conversation for people with aphasia.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix

Summary of the most important GAT 2 transcription conventions (Selting *et al.*, 2011).

Sequential structure

[ ] [ ]	Overlap and simultaneous talk
=	Fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)

In- and outbreaths

°h / h°	In-/outbreaths of approx. 0.2–0.5 sec. duration
°hh / hh°	In-/outbreaths of approx. 0.5–0.8 sec. duration
°hhh / hhh°	In-/outbreaths of approx. 0.8–1.0 sec. duration

Pauses

(.)	Micropause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration approx.
(-)	Short estimated pause of approx. 0.2–0.5 sec. duration
(--)	Intermediary estimated pause of approx. 0.5–0.8 sec. duration
(---)	Longer estimated pause of approx. 0.8–1.0 sec. duration
(0.5)/(2.0)	Measured pause of approx. 0.5/2.0 sec. duration (to tenth of a second)

Other segmental conventions

:	Lengthening, by about 0.2–0.5 sec.
::	Lengthening, by about 0.5–0.8 sec.
:::	Lengthening, by about 0.8–1.0 sec.
?	Cut-off by glottal closure
and_uh	Cliticizations within units
uh, uhm, etc.	Hesitation markers, so-called 'filled pauses'

Laughter and crying

haha, hehe, hihi	Syllabic laughter
((laughs)), ((cries))	Description of laughter and crying

< <laughing> >	Laughter particles accompanying speech with indication of scope
<<:-)> so>	Smile voice

Continuers

hm, yes, no, yeah	Monosyllabic tokens
hm_hm, ye_es, no_o	Bi-syllabic tokens
ʔhmʔhm	With glottal closure, often negating

Accentuation

SYLlable	Focus accent
sYllable	Secondary accent
!SYL!lable	Extra strong accent

Final pitch movements of intonation phrases

?	Rising to high
,	Rising to mid
-	Level
;	Falling to mid
.	Falling to low

Pitch jumps

↑	Smaller pitch upstep
↓	Smaller pitch downstep
↑↑	Larger pitch upstep
↓↓	Larger pitch downstep

Changes in pitch register

<<l> >	Lower pitch register
<<h> >	Higher pitch register

Intralinear notation of accent pitch movements

`SO	Falling
˝SO	Rising
˧SO	Level
^SO	Rising-falling
ˇSO	Falling-rising

↑`	Small pitch upstep to the peak of the accented syllable
↓´	Small pitch downstep to the valley of the accented syllable
↑˘SO bzw. ↓˘SO	Pitch jumps to higher or lower level accented syllables
↑↑`SO bzw. ↓↓´SO	Larger pitch upsteps or downsteps to the peak or valley of the accented syllable

Loudness and tempo changes, with scope

<<f> >	Forte, loud
<<ff> >	Fortissimo, very loud
<<p> >	Piano, soft
<<pp> >	Pianissimo, very soft
<<all> >	Allegro, fast
<<len> >	Lento, slow
<<cresc> >	Crescendo, increasingly louder
<<dim> >	Diminuendo, increasingly softer
<<acc> >	Accelerando, increasingly faster
<<rall> >	Rallentando, increasingly slower

Changes in voice quality and articulation, with scope

<<creaky> >	Glottalized
<<whispery> >	Change in voice quality as stated

Other conventions

<<surprised> >	Interpretive comment with indication of scope
((coughs))	Non-verbal vocal actions and events
<<coughing> >	... with indication of scope
( )	unintelligible passage
(xxx), (xxxxxx)	One or two unintelligible syllables
(may i)	Assumed wording
(may i say/let us say)	Possible alternatives
((unintelligible, appr. 3 sec))	Unintelligible passage with indication of duration
((...))	Omission in transcript
-->	Refers to a line of transcript relevant in the argument