Participation in conversations by persons with aphasia

- A study of everyday activities -

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Der Mensch wird am Du zum ich.
A person only becomes a self through encountering the other.
Martin Buber

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Abstract

This thesis presents an examination of how persons with aphasia (PWAs) participate in conversations during typical everyday social activities. Aphasia is a communication disability caused by focal brain damage, such as a stroke. PWAs are often dissatisfied with their level of participation and face exclusion from social activities. They may find it difficult to participate in conversations.

The overall aim is to use Conversation Analysis (CA) to identify and describe interactional practices and structures that may promote or hinder PWAs' participation in conversation. Examining conversational activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting, provides insights into how PWAs' participation is realized in real life. This contributes to our understanding of a PWA's societal role as partner, friend and parent.

Conversations of 4 PWAs (2 with anomic aphasia, 1 with Wernicke's aphasia and 1 with global aphasia) and their partners, children and friends were analysed. These PWAs participate in activities by involving themselves in action formation and by collaborating with their conversation partners. A new focus on structures of activities is taken. Simple structures such as asking someone to stop an action seem to promote PWAs' participation. Complex structures such as asking someone to do an action seem to hinder it. The framing of participation in aphasia is broadened to include notions of authority. Despite having limited linguistic resources, these PWAs demonstrate authority. However, aphasia may influence parental authority in interactions with young children, thus affecting participation in family life.

The study contributes to a general awareness of how social participation can be secured across contexts in everyday conversational activities in spite of aphasia. The findings may inform concepts of participation with aphasia and communication partner training programmes on how participation in conversational activities can be accomplished and supported.

Sammendrag (abstract in Norwegian)

Denne avhandlingen presenterer en undersøkelse av hvordan personer med afasi (PMA) deltar i samtaler under typiske hverdagslige sosiale aktiviteter. Afasi er en kommunikasjonsforstyrrelse forårsaket av en skade på hjernen, for eksempel etter hjerneslag. PMA er ofte misfornøyde med sin grad av deltakelse og møter utestengelse fra sosiale aktiviteter. De kan oppleve det vanskelig å delta i samtaler.

Det overordnede målet er å bruke Samtaleanalyse (Conversation Analysis - CA) til å identifisere og beskrive interaksjonspraksiser og -strukturer som kan fremme eller hindre PMAs deltakelse i samtaler. Ved å undersøke aktiviteter som fortelling, planlegging og anmodninger, får vi innsikt i hvordan PMAs deltakelse realiseres i virkeligheten. Dette bidrar til vår forståelse av PMAs samfunnsroller som partnere, venner og foreldre.

Samtaler mellom 4 PMA (2 med anomisk afasi, 1 med Wernickes afasi og 1 med global afasi) og deres partnere, barn og venner er analysert. Disse PMA deltar i aktiviteter ved å involvere seg i handling og samarbeide med samtalepartnerne sine. Et nytt fokus rettes mot strukturer i aktiviteter. Enkle strukturer, som for eksempel å be noen om å stoppe en handling, ser ut til å fremme PMAs deltakelse. Komplekse strukturer, som å be noen om å utføre en handling, ser ut til å hindre det. Rammen for deltakelse med afasi utvides for å inkludere begreper om autoritet. Til tross for begrensede språklige ressurser, viser PMA autoritet. Men afasi kan påvirke foreldreautoritet i samspill med små barn, og dermed påvirke deltakelse i familielivet.

Studien bidrar til en generell bevissthet om hvordan sosial deltakelse kan sikres på tvers av kontekster i hverdagsaktiviteter til tross for afasi. Funnene kan bidra til begreper rundt deltakelse med afasi og programmer for opplæring av PMA og deres kommunikasjonspartnere i hvordan deltakelse i aktiviteter kan oppnås og støttes.

List of Publications

Article 1

Killmer, H., Beeke, S., & Svennevig, J. (2021). Collaborative storytelling with a person with aphasia: Promoting agency in a multiparty interaction. *Journal of Interactional Research in Communication Disorders*, 27. 78–104. https://doi.org/10.1558/jircd.20902

Article 2

Killmer, H., Svennevig, J., & Beeke, S. (2022). Joint planning in conversations with a person with aphasia. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *187*, 72–89. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.10.021

Article 3

Killmer, H., Svennevig, J., & Beeke, S. (2022). Requests to children by parents with aphasia. *Aphasiology*, 37(9), 1363–1385. https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2022.2094335

Article 4

Killmer, H. (2023). How parents with aphasia deal with children's resistance to requests. *Clinical Linguistics & Phonetics*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/02699206.2023.2226303

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Abbreviations

CA	Conversation analysis
CIAT(CILT)	Constraint-Induced Aphasia (or Language) Therapy
CP	Conversation partner
CPT	Communication partner training
GAT	Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem
ILAT	Intensive Language-Action Therapy
LUNA	Language Underpins Narrative in Aphasia
MOCA	Multimodal oral corpora administration
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
PWA	Person with aphasia
SLP	Speech and Language Pathologist
TCU	Turn construction unit
TRP	Transition relevance place

Part I

Introductory chapter

1 Introduction

This study examines how persons with aphasia (PWAs) participate in conversations during everyday social activities. Aphasia is a communication disability due to an acquired impairment caused by focal brain damage, such as a stroke (Berg et al., 2020). It is estimated that worldwide 1 in 4 people have a stroke in their lifetime (Feigin et al., 2022), resulting in aphasia in one-third of the people (Grönberg et al., 2022). Aphasia affects the production and understanding of language, as well as the ability to read and write. Problems in finding words and producing well-formed sentences are common, and these difficulties become apparent in conversations. Atypical conversations are characterized as social interaction where one or more participants have a communicative impairment and in which this impairment is evident in the interaction (Wilkinson, 2019).

It is well known that aphasia alters a person's participation in everyday life (Azios, Strong, et al., 2021; Davidson et al., 2008; Parr, 2007; Pike et al., 2017) and that PWAs are dissatisfied with their level of participation (Cruice et al., 2006; Dalemans et al., 2010; Fotiadou et al., 2014; Manning et al., 2021). PWAs are particularly at risk of being excluded from social activities (Simmons-Mackie et al., 2007) and it can be difficult for them to participate in conversations. Conversations are the means of establishing and maintaining social relationships, developing self-awareness, and displaying identity. Therefore, aphasia can have personal and social consequences in all areas of life. With this in mind, it is not surprising that depression rates are six times higher in PWAs than in people without aphasia (for more information about aphasia and depression, see Baker et al., 2020). As a result, aphasia research has provided a broad view of aphasia with implications for all areas of life, including families of PWAs (Grawburg et al., 2019). The present study uses Conversation Analysis (CA) (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) to identify facilitators and barriers to participation in conversation when a person has aphasia. It investigates how interactional practices and structures influence the accomplishment of conversational activities and the consequences for the participation of PWAs.

Participation happens in interactions between individuals. Based on CA principles, participation is understood in the present study as "actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2005, p. 222). By combining certain actions (for example offering to tell a story and accepting it: A: 'You know what happened yesterday?' B: 'No, tell me.'), individuals create activities such as storytelling, planning or requesting (Spranz-Fogasy, 1997). They use routinized interactional practices for accomplishing and participating in these activities. In the present study, I adopt the concept of activity used by

other researchers (kommunikative Gattungen: Ayaß, 2011; Bergmann, 2018, 2022; activity types: Levinson, 1979; kommunikative Gattungen: Luckmann, 1986; activity: Mazeland, 2020; communicative projects: Schegloff, 2007). What these concepts have in common is that they describe an overarching and dynamic set of actions that go beyond the sentence or utterance level. Activities have different interactional structures that are conventionalized (such as the beginning of a story, the punch line, and the end of a story). Thus, each activity demands certain actions for constructing the activity while offering different opportunities to participate through actions. These actions are interdependent - an action shows how the previous action was understood and shapes expectations for a subsequent action. Activities are thus co-constructed, and interlocutors are jointly responsible for their interactional participation. Another key concept that arises in the analysis of participation is authority. We distinguish between epistemic authority (a person's rights of knowledge about a certain state of affairs) (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006) and deontic authority (a person's rights to direct another person's future action) (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Through the exertion of authority in the here and now, speakers influence each other's identities, roles and participation in future activities. The conversation analytic approach to participation and how it relates to practices affecting the participation of PWAs will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

Attempts have been made to identify practices that influence PWAs' participation in interaction (see for example Anglade et al., 2018; Barnes & Ferguson, 2012; Bauer, 2009; Beeke et al., 2020; Goodwin, 1995; Laakso & Godt, 2016; Lind, 2005; Oelschlaeger & Damico, 1998; Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). The approach commonly used in this research is CA. However, to date CA aphasia research has focused primarily on the effects of aphasia on PWAs' ability to construct turns in the face of linguistic limitations, PWAs' involvement in repair and topic management, and PWAs' participation in certain settings, for example institutional interactions. Research has focused much less on how aphasia affects participation in typical everyday activities, such as telling stories, planning future activities or requesting, although these are critical activities to participating in interaction (but see for example Anglade et al., 2018; Barnes, 2012; Bauer, 2009). Furthermore, although models have been introduced by international organizations and governments to conceptualise participation in the context of disability and healthcare, such models are not based on the complexity of organizing participation in interaction, as revealed by CA (Krummheuer et al., 2016). In addition, rehabilitation programs developed to improve participation in aphasia, such as communication partner training (CPT), do not always have or describe a clear theoretical approach (Cruice et al., 2018), with a few exceptions (Beeke, et al., 2013; Lock et al., 2001). The following section will extend these notions and detail different approaches to participation.

1.1 Approaches to participation

In attempting to operationalize the concept of participation, one can draw on (1) models from international organizations and governments, (2) experiences and perspectives of people with aphasia and their interlocutors, and (3) approaches and rehabilitation programmes that focus on life participation and communication.

International organizations and national governments widely recognize social participation of people with disabilities, such as aphasia, as a problem. Consequently, the United Nations created the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) (2006) - an international treaty that provides for and ensures the social inclusion of people with disabilities. Governments around the world have endorsed this treaty. In Germany, for example, one of the central tasks of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS) is to create equal opportunities for people with disabilities and to enable them to participate equally in society and in working life. These rights are guaranteed in three legal instruments: The Act on the Equality of Persons with Disabilities (BGG), the Act on the Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment (AGG), and the Ninth Book of the Social Code (SGB IX). At an international level, the World Health Organization (WHO) has created the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) (2001), a framework for monitoring and measuring aspects of CRPD. This framework attempts to describe the individual's functioning and disability (body functions, body structures, activities, and participation) as a result of the interaction between a health condition (e.g., stroke) and contextual factors (environmental and personal factors) (see Figure 1).

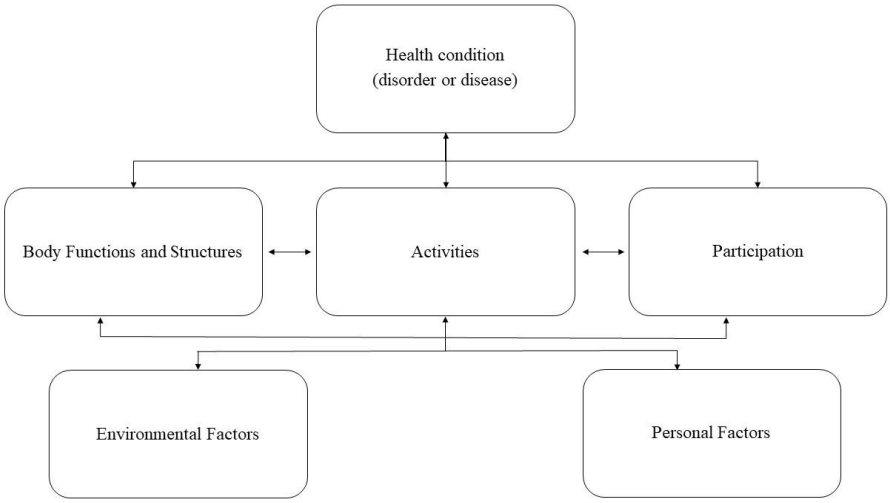

Figure 1: Interactions between the components of ICF (World Health Organization, 2001, p. 18)

These national laws and international frameworks show that governments and organizations are aware of social exclusion due to health conditions, and that they are trying to facilitate participation. However, although social inclusion and exclusion occur in and through interaction, models such as the ICF do not account for interaction, or the fact that interaction is the vehicle for participation. A CA perspective on participation, as adopted in the present study, provides a lens that enables us to see the complexity of achieving participation. CA reveals, for example, how conversational partners influence opportunities for participation in a PWA's everyday interaction (Aaltonen & Laakso, 2010), an aspect that is neglected in national and international frameworks and models.

Another example of the shortcomings of such models of participation becomes clear if we compare the ICF definition of participation with the lived experiences of PWAs. The ICF model defines participation as "involvement in life situations" (World Health Organization, 2013, p. 35). Furthermore, it specifies that "[e]very action, particularly when executed in a social environment, may be considered participation, and participation always entails the execution of an action or task" (World Health Organization, 2013, p. 36). However, PWAs report that they want to be involved actively in conversations about opinions (Wallace et al., 2017). Furthermore, they wish to participate independently in social activities with family and friends. Their desired form of participation is thus a specific one, namely being actively and independently part of more complex conversations. For example, one can actively participate in a conversation by stating and explicating an opinion or by answering questions whether one agrees or disagrees with a statement. While in the first case the personal actions of the speaker strongly shape the activity, in the latter one the activity is more framed by another person's actions. This shows that the form of participation in a conversation influences the participation experience. Again, the complexity of interaction seems to be underestimated in current models of participation.

Participation is an individual experience. Research shows that participation is influenced by various factors such as the age and culture of PWAs (Penn & Armstrong, 2016; Souchon et al., 2020). For example, working-age PWAs face different challenges than older PWAs, due to potential childcare, work and financial responsibilities, and expected social independence (Souchon et al., 2020). Because perspectives of participation are individually shaped (Alaszewski & Wilkinson, 2015), there is no one-size-fits-all model and we must take an individual perspective when studying participation. A qualitative approach such as CA provides this opportunity because findings are based on participants' orientation to each other's actions in real life, reflecting individual realities.

Participation has become a central concept in the ongoing debate about rehabilitation of PWAs. Approaches such as the Life Participation Approach to Aphasia (LPAA) (Chapey et al., 2000) and the Living with Aphasia: Framework for Outcome Measurement (A-FROM) (Kagan et al., 2008), which are used to guide aphasia rehabilitation, are based on the concepts of international

frameworks such as the ICF or its earlier forms. They aim to represent how communication affects participation in life and seek to support PWAs in engaging in activities of daily living that are important to them. However, knowledge based on real-life interactions about the impact of communication on the participation of people with disabilities is scarce. Therefore, interactional research of everyday activities in real time is needed to strengthen these previous approaches.

Rehabilitation programs such as CPT have been developed to improve the participation of PWAs in everyday life. CPT is used as an umbrella term for interventions that train a person with a communication difficulty together with a CP, or that train a CP alone (for an overview, see Simmons-Mackie et al., 2007, 2016). Typically, CPT aims to improve communication and participation when a PWA interacts with a trained CP (a family member, friend, health care provider, volunteer). Few approaches to CPT clearly describe the theoretical rationale for the intervention (Cruice et al., 2018). Better Conversations with Aphasia (BCA) is one approach that does, and it is underpinned by CA understandings of aphasic conversation (Beeke, et al., 2013). BCA is a development of the CPT Supporting Partners of People with Aphasia in Relationships and Conversation (SPPARC) (Lock et al., 2001). The programme is delivered jointly to a PWA and a CP and focuses on their practices for turn-taking, repair, topic management and turn construction. However, it does not include a specific focus on participating in everyday activities such as storytelling, planning or requesting. An interactional focus on how participation in such activities is organized as well as an identification of practices and structures that might promote or hinder participation could thus further extend CA-underpinned CPT and improve the quality of rehabilitation services.

In summary, although various stakeholders identify participation in activities of daily living as the ultimate goal in aphasia rehabilitation, an investigation and description of PWAs' (successful and unsuccessful) participation in activities of daily living is lacking. Insights into how PWAs' and their CPs' actions and how the structures of activities may influence PWAs' possibilities for participation are needed. Therefore, this is the starting point of the present study.

1.2 Research issues

Although PWAs may be involved in interactions, their participation does not happen automatically. This is because participation is achieved through interactional work and is oriented to and made relevant through the actions of conversation partners (CPs). Therefore, insights into how social activities of PWAs are accomplished by actions of PWAs and their CPs are needed. More specifically, despite the fact that social activities are constructed collaboratively, there is insufficient

research into how collaboration in everyday activities, such as storytelling, planning or requesting, influences PWAs' participation. Furthermore, individuals participate in different ways. They may, for example, participate as speakers or recipients (for more information see Goffman's participation framework see Goffman, 1967, as well as Chapter 3). Insights are needed into the interactional practices that influence PWAs' participation as well as how they affect the level of participation. Moreover, activities are constructed through actions. Thus, for participation in an activity the accomplishment of certain actions is required. An understanding of how such structural demands may influence possibilities or create barriers for PWAs' participation will broaden our knowledge about elements to consider when conceptualizing their participation. Additionally, participation in the here and now influences PWAs' identity, role and participation in future activities. We need insight into how participation in an activity influences these three elements and, consequently, PWAs' quality of life.

1.3 Research aims

The overall aim of the present study is to identify and describe interactional practices and structures that may promote or hinder PWAs' participation in interactions. Such descriptions, based on detailed examinations of typical everyday activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting, may provide empirically grounded insights into how PWAs' participation is realized in real life. Furthermore, they contribute to understanding what consequences the form of participation has on PWAs' societal role.

1.4 Research questions

I seek to answer the following overarching question across four different analyses that are provided in four articles.

Main question

Which interactional practices and structures promote or hinder PWAs` participation in everyday conversational activities?

Sub-questions

1. *Which interactional practices contribute to successful collaboration in storytelling and to promoting the PWA's agency? (Article 1)*

2. *How do the participants organize joint planning talk while negotiating deontic rights and what are the consequences for the PWA's participation? (Article 2)*
3. *How do sequence initiations (PWA-initiated planning sequence vs. spouse-initiated planning sequence) influence the organization of the sequence or the accomplishment of participation? (Article 2)*
4. *How is interactional authority constituted in requests by parents with aphasia to their children? (Article 3)*
5. *What are the interactional practices and their consequences in negotiation sequences following requests from parents with aphasia to their children? (Article 4)*

1.5 Outline of the study

In Chapter 2, an overview of previous research relevant to the present study is provided. It reviews CA research about the influence of aphasia on participation in conversation and provides background knowledge about the settings and activities where PWAs interact. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework on which this study is based. The conversation analytic approach to participation is presented alongside central concepts of CA that are particularly relevant for the present study. Chapter 4 presents the research methods. Methodological choices and data analysis procedures are discussed and accounted for. Chapter 5 summarizes the empirical findings of the four research articles. It synthesizes the findings in the light of participation in everyday interactions. Finally, Chapter 6 is dedicated to the contribution of the present study to existing research in the field as well as providing a discussion of theoretical and practical implications of the study. It reflects on possibilities and limitations of the present study, and the need for future research is explored.

2 Research status:

Influence of aphasia on participation in conversation

In our daily life, we spend a lot of time talking with others in different settings (at home, in shops, at cafés, etc.) with different interlocutors (family, friends, shop assistants, etc.). The interactions in these settings are composed through different activities - some of them are typical for certain settings (for example, storytelling or telling of jokes for interactions with family and friends). Thus, participation in everyday life is only possible through actively shaping such activities, for example by initiating them and maintaining them by collaborating in constructing them. This chapter outlines the current research on PWAs' participation in different settings (Section 2.1) before describing the research status about the activities relevant for life participation that are investigated in the present study (Section 2.2).

2.1 Settings and interlocutors

Home is the context where PWAs interact most (Code, 2003; Cruice et al., 2006; Davidson et al., 2003, 2008). At home, the most prevalent interlocutors are the closest family, such as partners and children, as well as friends (Cruice et al., 2006). Research has shown that PWAs' social contacts and activities with family and friends are fewer in comparison to those of persons without aphasia because aphasia restricts participation (Fotiadou et al., 2014; Hilari & Northcott, 2017). PWAs want their rehabilitation to bring about a greater social life and more friendships (Wallace et al., 2017).

Over the last 30 years, many researchers have focused on the impact of aphasia on PWA-spouse interactions (for example Azios, Archer, & Lee, 2022; Bauer & Auer, 2009; Croteau et al., 2020; Goodwin, 1995). There has also been some research on PWA-friend interaction (for example Barnes & Ferguson, 2012; Beeke et al., 2020). These studies all emphasize the influence of both speakers' conversational practices and methods of collaboration on a PWA's participation in interaction. Furthermore, previous studies document that PWAs and their interlocutors can be trained to use conversational practices or trained to undo unhelpful practices in order to support communication (Azios, Archer, et al., 2021; Azios, Archer, Simmons, et al., 2022). Understanding how practices may support or hinder PWAs' participation in everyday interactions with family and friends is directly relevant for rehabilitation programmes such as CPT. However, CPT based on knowledge about everyday interactions is rare (but see Beeke, et al., 2013; Lock et al., 2001). A

broader understanding of participation in everyday interactions derived from a theoretical approach, such as CA, is desirable (Cruice et al., 2018).

It is only recently that aphasia research has considered the impact of aphasia on parenting (for example Grawburg et al., 2019; Manning et al., 2021; Ryan & Pitt, 2018), even though family members are PWAs' predominant interlocutors and the number of young adult stroke survivors potentially involved in child care is increasing (Boot et al., 2020). There is some evidence that parent-child interaction changes as a result of aphasia. According to Manning, MacFarlane, Hickey, Galvin and Franklin (2021), parents with aphasia describe change in communication with their children, loss of parental authority, and the need for support to engage with their children. Changes are also documented in Bauer and Auer's (2009) CA study about the role of a non-aphasic spouse in family interactions between a father with aphasia and his young children. Bauer and Auer observe three different methods of engagement: (1) The spouse puts into words what the PWA intended to say; (2) The spouse becomes an interactional coach by telling the PWA how to achieve mutual understanding with the children when there are difficulties with this; (3) The spouse explains to the children how to support the PWA's communication, for example by giving the PWA more time to speak. However, empirical research on the impact of aphasia on young families is rare and often based on ex post facto methods, such as interviews. These methods reflect a subjective understanding of participation in family settings when an individual has aphasia, because they do not observe real-life participation. Because participation happens through interaction, interactions should be the location for researching how individuals realize participation through their actions. Thus, there is a need for insight into how parents with aphasia and children engage in real-time interaction.

Few interaction studies focused on interactants other than family members or friends (for example with clerks: Anglade et al., 2018, 2021; in aphasia group settings: Archer et al., 2018, 2021; or with Speech and Language Pathologist (SLPs): Isaksen, 2018). Furthermore, there is little knowledge about the influence of aphasia on conversations in groups, via telephone or social media (Taubner et al., 2017, 2020), although PWAs want to be more involved in these settings (Wallace et al., 2017).

While it is to some extent possible to choose not to participate in telephone calls or conversations with shop assistants, participation in conversations at home with family and friends is central to relationships and wellbeing, and so should be a priority for research. Thus, finding ways to support participation in everyday settings will likely contribute to improving the overall quality of life for PWAs and their families. One approach that may generate new methods of support would be to focus on activities that are crucial for participation in interactions with family and friends, such as storytelling, planning and requesting.

2.2 Activities

PWAs want to participate in meaningful conversations that go beyond basic wants and needs (Wallace et al., 2017). They report they would like to have complex conversations that are relevant to them, such as discussions. In addition, spouses wish for deeper conversations with their partners. Such interactions can be realized in different conversational activities, such as storytelling, planning and requesting. Despite the growing body of research on how aphasia influences participation, a focus on conversational activities is rare. This section summarizes previous research about three types of activities: storytelling, planning and requesting.

2.2.1 Storytelling

Storytelling is a typical activity when interacting with family and friends. By telling stories about past events (Goodwin, 1982; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) or describing hypothetical future events (Goodwin, 1982), people exchange experiences (Norrick, 2000) and construct their identity (Bamberg, 2006). According to the CA approach, participants typically divide story sequences into three segments: the story preface, the body of the story, and the climax (Goodwin, 1984). Within these segments, a storyteller and a recipient have distinct interactional tasks (Sacks, 1974). In the preface, a storyteller offers to tell a story and an interlocutor accepts the offer with a go-ahead signal (e.g., A: 'You know what happened yesterday?' B: 'No.') (Goodwin, 1984; Sacks, 1974). During the body of the story, a storyteller tells the story itself (Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992). Here, the storyteller takes an extended turn while the interlocutor aligns as story recipient (Sacks, 1974). During the climax, the storyteller delivers the point of the story. This is followed by an expression of appreciation and understanding by the story recipient (Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992; Sacks, 1974). Storytelling sequences are thus highly collaborative in nature. There are single-teller stories and collaborative stories. Although collaborative stories have the same three segments, one or more co-tellers share the role of tellership (Eder, 1988; Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 1992; Mandelbaum, 1987; Norrick, 1997; Zima, 2018). In collaboratively told stories, storytellers have to make negotiations, 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. Although we know that PWAs tell less stories in comparison to speakers without aphasia (Davidson et al., 2003), only two CA studies have examined the influence of aphasia on storytelling in everyday life (Bauer, 2009; Goodwin, 2004).

CA aphasia research on storytelling has discovered advantages and disadvantages concerning the possibility of sharing tellership. Goodwin (2004) describes how a man with global aphasia positions himself as a competent storyteller by connecting his actions to the actions of others. He can rely on the context of the interaction by connecting the initiation of his story to a previously told one. Furthermore, the man manages to position himself as a co-teller by using gaze. Additionally, the successful construction of the story relies highly on the alignment of his wife, the co-teller. This co-teller constructs the story together with him by putting into words what the man intends to say. While in Goodwin's example, the PWA and his spouse appear as active co-tellers, Bauer (2009) shows how a man with severe Wernicke's aphasia becomes the passive co-teller and his spouse the main teller of a story. The spouse's conversational practices and the PWA's alignment with the spouse's actions install this participation framework. For example, the spouse tells the main plot of the story but in between her turns she selects the PWA as next speaker by providing space for filling knowledge gaps (e.g., 'When did that happen?'). The PWA collaborates in filling such gaps with short turns. While in both studies the PWA participates in storytelling through collaboration, the findings show that the type of co-telling participation framework, itself established through collaboration, influences the PWA's role as an active or passive co-teller. It is interesting to note that the relationship between interlocutors may influence the organization of a story participation framework. Goodwin's (2004) findings are based on a conversation between family members (the PWA, his spouse, their son and daughter-in-law), while Bauer's (2009) findings are based on an interaction with a friend (the PWA, his spouse and a friend). While the visibility of aphasia may be less face-threating in family interaction, it may be more so in an interaction with a friend. Short turns by the PWA, as in the assistive participation framework (Bauer, 2009), may have the effect that the aphasia becomes less visible, minimizing the threat to face. Therefore, the couple in Bauer's (2009) data may have employed practices that promote such a framework. These studies are limited because an analysis of the story recipients' behaviour is missing. Furthermore, the understanding of how gaze influences PWAs' participation in storytelling could be expanded. Thus, we need further research to fully understand how aphasia influences participation in storytelling.

The importance of storytelling for participation in everyday life has been recognized in PWAs' rehabilitation. For example, the rehabilitation program *Language Underpins Narrative in Aphasia* (LUNA) (Dipper & Cruice, 2018) aims to improve everyday real-life communication by targeting storytelling on word, sentence and macro-structural levels. In an eight-week one-on-one therapy programme, PWAs work on narrative personal stories and intervention goals chosen by themsleves. The programme thus addresses both identity and language production of PWAs by training their linguistic abilities. While LUNA strengthens PWAs' practices when telling a story, it does not treat collaborative storytelling or the influence of interlocutors on participation while

telling a story. This programme focuses on monologues; it does not take the interactional nature of storytelling into account. Other programmes, such as *Interactive Storytelling Therapy* (Carragher et al., 2015), involve interlocutors. In six sessions, PWAs and one of their CPs engage in individual PWA sessions and joint PWA/CP ones, after firstly together identifying their goals. The programme focuses on PWAs' skills, such as introducing key referents in the beginning of a story, and on their use of compensatory strategies such as non-verbal resources (gestures, writing and grammar), reduced syntax and direct reported speech. The CPs are trained to employ practices that facilitate the co-construction of stories; for example, being receptive to the PWA's compensatory strategies and repairing breakdowns in the conversation. While this programme strengthens the exchange of information and facilitates collaboration in storytelling, interactional aspects are not trained. For example, the construction of co-tellership or the fact that activities such as storytelling have to be successfully initiated in an ongoing interaction – something that is often difficult for PWAs – are not targeted in this programme. Thus, insights into collaborative and interactional aspects of participation in storytelling in everyday life are desirable for informing aphasia rehabilitation programmes and improving the quality of rehabilitation.

2.2.2 Planning

Planning is a common activity when interacting with family and friends. We plan what to have for dinner, who should pick up the children, when to meet our friends, etc. Planning belongs to the group of projective projects in which a speaker attempts to bring about a future action or event - in contrast to reconstructive projects, which deal with the past (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). At the start of a planning sequence, a future scenario might be projected by launching a general idea (Leyland, 2016). Following this, participants collaboratively shape the idea with their actions (Goodwin, 2013). In order to reach an agreement, they modify and negotiate details of the step-by-step plan and make various decisions along the way (Ayaß, 2020). This process is not predefined and can have various formats (Suchman, 2007). Although the shaping of planning processes is situated in interactions that happen here and now, these interactions influence a person's future lifeworld (Ayaß, 2020).

PWAs are often excluded from planning talk (Johansson et al., 2012) because decision-making capacities are considered to be impaired (Kagan, 1995) and aphasia can mask competence in conversation (Berg et al., 2020; Kagan, 1995). While there is research on participation in planning, it has focused on PWAs' inclusion in decision-making processes in speech and language rehabilitation (Berg et al., 2016; Isaksen, 2018) and hospital settings (Kagan et al., 2020; Simmons-Mackie et al., 2007). Such institutional interactions (in contrast to family settings) have an

asymmetrical character, which results in a different pattern of opportunities for participation in decision-making processes.

Only three conversation analytic studies have investigated PWAs' participation in planning or decision-making in familiar settings (Barnes, 2012; Goodwin, 1995; Tuomenoksa et al., 2023). Tuomenoksa, Beeke and Klippi (2023) compare 59 planning talk initiations by persons with mild and severe aphasia and their CPs. Their analysis reveals that both persons with mild and severe aphasia use time reference markers in planning talk initiations. Furthermore, they suggest that the two persons with severe aphasia compensate for interactional difficulties by using time reference markers in turn-initial position (see also Beeke et al., 2003 about the use of temporal markers in initial position for compensating interactional difficulties in aphasia). Severity thus seems to influence how linguistic elements are placed in planning talk. Barnes (2012) examines how a friend supports the planning of a holiday trip by a PWA. Goodwin (1995) describes how a PWA, his wife and a nurse collaboratively construct what the PWA wants to eat. In both of these studies, the CPs drive the organization of planning talk and involve the PWAs by asking questions. The PWAs take a responsive role. As in collaborative storytelling, such a passive role influences the quality of participation, and insights into how a PWA can be an active and competent planner in everyday life settings are missing.

Planning has been considered as an important target for aphasia rehabilitation. For example, *Intensive Language-Action Therapy* (ILAT), previously called *Constraint-Induced Aphasia (or Language) Therapy* (CIAT or CILT), uses a planning and a requesting game for a group of PWAs (for more information about the requesting game, see next section) (Difrancesco et al., 2012; Stahl et al., 2018). In both games four PWAs are sitting at a table, each with a set of cards. There are barriers between the PWAs to make it more difficult to use non-verbal resources such as gestures or pointing. Based on images depicted on the cards (for example a tennis racket), one of the PWAs proposes an activity to another PWA (for example to play golf). The addressed PWA agrees to or rejects the proposed activity, depending on whether they have a corresponding image on their set of cards (agreement if the person has an image of a tennis ball in their set of cards; rejection if a tennis ball is not depicted). Participants in this programme are thus trained to propose a joint activity, such as playing golf, and to accept or reject it. However, this therapy is decontextualized from everyday social action. For example, no modification or shaping of plans with an interlocutor is included. Furthermore, important compensatory means for PWAs to produce planning talk, such as the use of temporal markers, are not part of the training. Thus, further understanding of how the interactional process of planning can influence PWAs' participation in planning sequences are desirable for informing aphasia therapy programs.

2.2.3 Requesting

Requesting is a regular activity when interacting with children and has been described in typical parent-child interaction (for example Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; Cekaite, 2010, 2015; Craven & Potter, 2010; Goodwin, 2006; Kent, 2011). Parenting involves supporting children to become competent social members of their culture and society by familiarizing them with normative social rules and behaviour. Parents commonly accomplish this through requests such as 'go to bed' or 'take your feet off the table'. Family life is often shaped by the negotiation of such requests. When a parent negotiates with a child, it is usually the parent who employs most argumentation (Bova & Arcidiacono, 2013), as s/he tries to convince the child to do a requested action with careful counterarguments (Goodwin, 2006). Typically, parents have a broader linguistic repertoire for dealing with child resistance to requests than children themselves (Kent, 2012). Furthermore, requests may be accompanied by iconic gestures which "act" (Streeck, 2016, p. 72) a requested action (Helmer & Reineke, 2021).

Few studies have analysed the impact of aphasia on requesting. Bauer and Auer (2009) describe the resources used for requesting by a German-speaking parent with severe aphasia. They analyse how this man, together with his spouse, requests their daughter to go for a walk with her brother. First, the man attracts attention in order to establish himself as speaker. Then he identifies the requestee, his daughter. By uttering a word, gesturing and employing intonation, he displays the requested action. Additionally, using an imperative format indicates the activity of requesting. After this, the spouse provides a version of what her husband means to say. Studies in different settings describe the use of similar resources across different request types. However, they also document trouble with initiating requests and establishing intersubjectivity (mutual understanding of the requested action) by persons with moderate and severe aphasia (Anglade et al., 2018, 2021; Bauer & Auer, 2009; Goodwin et al., 2009). Anglade, Le Dorze and Croteau (2018, 2021) investigated requests for material objects by persons with moderate and severe aphasia to shop assistants during service encounters. It was shown that non-verbal resources, such as pointing and iconic gesture, played an important role in constructing requests. This shows that gesturing is used in requests by PWAs as well as by persons without aphasia. Further research into resources and practices for participating in requesting with children is desirable. Participating competently in requesting is crucial for the role as a parent and the socialization of a child. However, interactional research has not focused on the influence of aphasia on parental requesting.

Aphasia rehabilitation has recognized the importance of requesting for the participation of PWAs. The ILAT aims to treat requesting in a game for a group of PWAs (Difrancesco et al., 2012; Stahl et al., 2018). The setup of this programme is the same as for the planning treatment (four PWA

sitting around a table with barriers and each person with a set of cards). One of the PWAs chooses an image from their cards (for example a biscuit), addresses another PWA and requests a biscuit from them. The addressed PWA agrees to the request or rejects it, depending on whether they have a card depicting a biscuit in their own set of cards. The programme thus focuses on the verbal formulation, agreement to, and rejection of requests. While this therapy does not forbid non-verbal resources, physical barriers between participants make their use more unlikely. However, non-verbal resources such as gestures are commonly used in typical interactions for constructing requests (Helmer & Reineke, 2021) and are a crucial resource if PWAs are to participate in this activity (Anglade et al., 2018, 2021). Thus, such a game does not reflect communication in everyday life. Therefore, further knowledge of how requesting in everyday life interactions can influence PWAs' participation is desirable for improving aphasia therapy programs.

This chapter has summarized the findings of previous research about settings PWAs wish to participate in and interlocutors they would like to engage with. Furthermore, findings about activities relevant for participating in such settings have been outlined. The present study takes this as starting point and focuses how participation is organized in the typical family activities of PWAs. Because home is the context where PWAs interact most (Code, 2003; Cruice et al., 2006; Davidson et al., 2003, 2008), partners and children are likely to be the most frequent CPs, while storytelling, planning and requesting are typical activities in interactions with these CPs. With this focus, the results of the present study are thus relevant for PWAs' participation in everyday life conversations. Furthermore, the present study extends previous knowledge because research about aphasic interactions in languages other than English is underrepresented, and the interactional practices of PWAs with children have not yet been studied (but see Bauer & Auer, 2009 for the role of spouses in PWA-child interaction). Social activities relevant for participating in settings with family and friends in typical interactions are the starting point for understanding the participation with aphasia. Therefore, the next chapter provides theoretical concepts and findings relevant for participating in activities based on studies of both persons with and without aphasia.

3 Theoretical framework:

Conversation analytic approach to participation

The present study is informed by the theoretical framework of CA. CA is a method that studies practices and structures of language in everyday life and was developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson in the late 1960s/early 1970s. They adopted and refined theoretical sociological concepts from Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodological approach and Erving Goffman's notions of interactional order. The key concepts of the present study derive from these theories and have influenced the choice of data, their analysis and interpretation (see also Chapter 4).

In Chapter 2 I discussed the settings in which PWAs interact, with whom they communicate, and the activities which are relevant for participating in such interactions. This reflected a general need for conversation analytic research about the impact of aphasia on participating in everyday activities with family and friends. In this chapter, this interest will be elaborated by addressing six foundational themes of special relevance to the present study: (1) Participation as an interactional process, (2) The sequence organization of activities, (3) Epistemic and deontic authority, (4) Turn organisation, (5) Intersubjectivity and repair, and (6) Topic management. Practices and resources of PWAs and their CPs that relate to these themes and are relevant for participation in interaction will be outlined.

3.1 Participation as an interactional process

Participation is an interactional process shaped by the actions of all speakers in a conversation. Thus, PWAs' participation status is not something prescribed or fixed but is co-constructed in interaction and can change over time and across settings, activities, and interlocutors. This section first outlines theoretical assumptions about participation in conversation that have influenced CA aphasia research, before providing illustrations of collaborative practices that promote participation. Finally, practices that hinder participation but may be motivated by facework are described.

Conversation analytic assumptions about participation derive from Goffman's notion of participation framework (Goffman, 1981), which has been modified and refined by others (for example Enfield, 2013; Lerner, 1993; Sidnell, 2009). Goffman conceptualizes participation in terms of involvement in social situations and participants' orientation to each other in encounters. He

proposes a dynamic system of interaction, which is constantly upheld by two or more participants. In his notion of footing, he describes different participant statuses that illustrate participant roles in relation to an utterance (see Figure 2). Goffman distinguishes between speaker and hearer status. Speakers may take three different roles. As the animator, they become "the sounding box" (Goffman, 1981, pp. 144–145) that produces the utterance's speech sounds. The author is "the agent who scripts the lines" (ibid.) and formulates the utterance. The principal acts as "the party to whose position the words attest" (ibid.), by being responsible for the meaning of the utterance. Although one speaker may often hold all three roles, these roles may also be distributed between participants (Goffman, 1981; Lerner, 1993). The organization of this participation framework can change at any time when roles fluctuate. For example, a speaker may address a previously unaddressed hearer, who then becomes an addressed hearer.

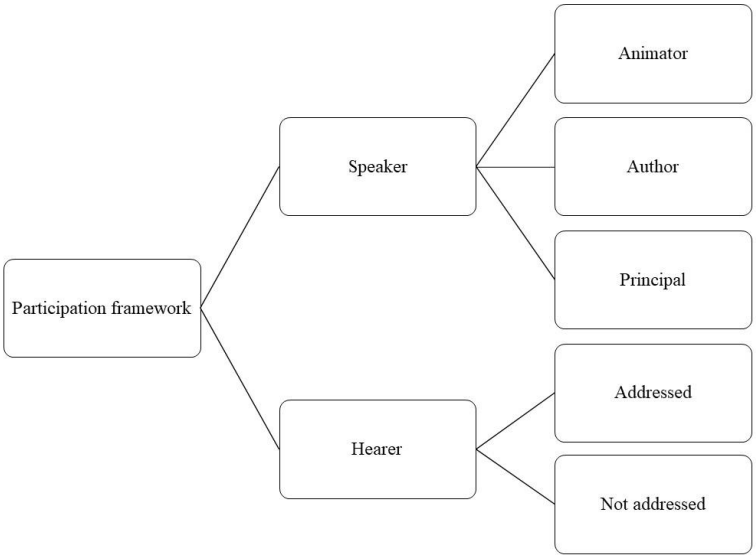

Figure 2: Goffman's Participation framework (Goffman, 1981)

Other scholars have suggested that participation in interaction is more complex than proposed by Goffman, and have refined his framework (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2005; Goodwin, 1999). These authors drew special attention to the influential role of hearers and of non-verbal resources in shaping interaction. By using non-verbal resources such as nodding or gazing away, hearers may promote or discourage the speakership of a current speaker. Thereby, they too influence the process of interaction and participation.

Goffman's concept has been applied in aphasia research (Bauer, 2009; Bloch & Beeke, 2008; Ferguson & Harper, 2010; Goodwin, 2004; Simmons-Mackie et al., 2004). This research points out that PWAs and their CPs may co-construct a participation framework that furthers PWAs'

participation. Different collaboration practices and their consequences for PWAs' participation status have been documented. Here, three examples will be discussed. First, Goodwin (1995) shows how a man with severe aphasia combines three words (yes, no and and) with non-verbal resources for turn construction. This is followed by candidate understandings (Schegloff et al., 1977) from his CPs that are then accepted or rejected by the PWA. In this example, the PWA serves as author and principal of his utterance and the CP becomes the animator by articulating the utterance. Second, Oelschlaeger and Damico's (1998) study of joint productions illustrates how a man with fluent aphasia initiates a turn but encounters a word search. His CP then completes the turn with semantic and syntactic coherence. In this example, speaker roles are shared between the PWA and the CP. Third, Bloch and Beeke's (2008) data show how a man with severe Broca's aphasia utters a question that has an agrammatic format ('our garden?'), which a third party in the conversation then animates for the recipient of the question by providing a grammatical version ('have you seen the garden'). As in example 1 (Goodwin, 1995), here, the PWA serves as author and principal of his utterance and the CP becomes the animator by articulating the utterance. The three examples show different practices that all support participation of a PWA in interaction despite communication problems.

While such collaborative practices may promote participation, they also make communication difficulties more visible. Because the visibility of communication difficulties may be face-threatening for the PWA, it has been proposed that PWAs and their CPs may choose practices that appear to conceal difficulties (Croteau & Le Dorze, 2006; Ferguson & Harper, 2010). Goffman defines "face" as the "positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). Thus, in interaction people engage in face-work, working towards an acceptable face (for instance a competent personal image), and avoiding losing face (for instance an incompetent personal image). Research shows that for example in interview situations, although PWAs are talking with the interviewer, CPs take over speakership ('speaking for' behaviour) (Croteau & Le Dorze, 2006). Furthermore, practices such as PWAs promoting their CPs' speakership during topic talk—practices that result in less PWA talk—have been documented (Barnes & Ferguson, 2012). Diminishing a PWA's speakership can hide aphasia, which might have a positive effect on face. However, while preventing face-threatening situations such practices also diminish participation. This threatens a PWAs' face by limiting their agency and autonomy and restricts opportunities to shape face. This might therefore create a degree of stigmatization. Thus, while such practices may be attempts to save face and secure shared understanding, they have the effect that PWAs lose their participation status as speaker and are excluded from interaction – and thus socially marginalized.

In summary, participation is a process that is collaboratively shaped by the actions of all interactants and may change throughout a conversation and across conversations over time, in different settings, and with differing interlocutors. Investigating this process in common activities in daily interactions such as storytelling, planning or requesting may provide insights into the dynamics of participation and a different lens on PWAs' participation. The conversational practices of PWAs themselves and their CPs may facilitate or hinder participation. The next section explores how possibilities for participation may depend on the type of activity participants are engaged in.

3.2 The sequence organization of activities

Participation in talk-in-interaction "virtually always implicates *action"* (Schegloff, 1997, p. 500 italics in original). Aphasia may hinder action formation and thereby participation in the sequence organization of activities in interaction. In this section, theoretical notions relevant for accomplishing activities are described, and then sequence structures that might promote participation are outlined. Finally, practices by PWAs and their CPs that might hinder action formation are characterized.

People design their turns to accomplish actions in talk such as invitations, greetings or complaints, requests, or telling a story. Actions that collectively accomplish an activity represent a sequence (for example a storytelling sequence). Thereby, activities such as storytelling or planning are implemented across multiple conversational turns. Here, the interactional principle of *nextness* that describes the structural organization of interaction becomes relevant. According to this principle, some turns are organized in so-called adjacency pairs (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and are composed of an initiating first pair part (FPP) and a responsive second pair part (SPP) (Schegloff, 2007). These turns have a projective and a reflexive relationship to each other. For example, while a greeting projects and makes relevant re-greeting (Schegloff, 1968), re-greeting also reflects that the greeting has been understood as a greeting. How a prior turn has been understood is thus displayed in each turn (Heritage, 2005). Because previous talk might make relevant and prefer a certain next action, participants monitor the aspects of sequence organization in turns by orienting to the question "Why this now?" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299).

Activities differ in content but usually have typical orders of actions that are conventionalized. An example of the action of requesting is requesting an item (A: 'Do you have paracetamol?') and accepting it (B: 'Yes, here you go.'). As a result, interlocutors have certain expectations about what may be involved in a specific conversational activity. This notion is reflected by the interactional principle of *reflexivity* (Garfinkel, 1967). This concerns the relation

between talk and social context, namely that talk both is shaped by the context and, at the same time, shapes it. Actions have a reflexive character insofar as they are created and organized in relation to previous context and build the context for the following actions. Thus, context is dynamic because participants negotiate the understanding of previous talk in their actions and thereby renew the context as well as establishing a basis for subsequent actions. For example, a shop assistant's response to a customer's request shows how the request has been understood by the assistant (retrospective orientation) and forms the basis for the customer's following talk (prospective orientation). Based on these notions, we can conclude that shop assistants, for example, expect their customers to make a request and customers expect typical following actions. Such expectations may facilitate PWAs' participation in this kind of interaction.

People's consecutive actions create activities with distinct sequence structures, which participants orient to. This makes the focus on participants' actions relevant when investigating participation, because actions establish cohesion in interaction and thus, conversational elements such as topics are subordinate to actions in the organization of interaction (Schegloff, 1990). Activities in conversation can be best seen as multiple actions that are ordered in an overarching phase structure and that are co-constructed by participants. In order to be able to participate, each action needs to be understood and accepted by the participants.

Research into aphasia has revealed that sequence structure can be a resource for action formation in PWAs' conversations (Anglade et al., 2018, 2021; Wilkinson, 1999), but that aphasia may hinder PWAs' action initiation (Barnes et al., 2013; Bloch & Beeke, 2008; Penn et al., 2015; Wilkinson, 1999). Regarding sequence structure, some studies have documented that it can facilitate shared understanding. For example, a turn by a PWA subsequent to a question by a CP is taken to perform the action of a response, even if the talk itself is hard to interpret as an answer. Thus, sequence structure may support the interpretation of an action (Wilkinson, 1999). Furthermore, Anglade, Le Dorze & Croteau (2018, 2021) suggest that the wider context of an activity may become a resource for action formation in PWAs' conversations. When, for example, uttering 'paracetamol' at the counter in a pharmacy, it is very likely that this utterance is a request for a packet of paracetamol. Thus, the action is projectable due to the overarching context of the setting of the pharmacy. Additionally, participants in Wilkinson's (1999) study use deictic resources for initiating and maintaining activities. While a CP is talking about a football team, the PWA utters 'the other one' because the CP is talking about the wrong football team. This indexical phrase links the meaning of the current utterance back to the football team and projects a repair. Here, a repair action is initiated by using prior sequential context. Thus, sequence structure may become a resource in aphasic interaction that furthers participation, because unless indicated by a current speaker, listeners interpret turns in relation to the prior turn and its context.

However, aphasia may restrict action initiation. For example, if a PWA utters a one-word turn such as 'flowers', a CP may understand the semiotic form of the word, however, what action this utterance is supposed to accomplish may be difficult to interpret. If this word does not occur in a sequential position where the prior talk provides a resource for interpretation, 'flowers' might be meant to function as a request 'Could you buy some flowers tomorrow?' or as a story initiation 'I bought flowers yesterday…'. In such cases, the absence of what kind of action a turn is supposed to initiate causes difficulties with the interpretation of the intended action (Bloch & Beeke, 2008; Penn et al., 2015; Wilkinson, 1999). Other studies have shown that omitting markers such as 'but', 'and' or 'well' might hinder action transition because they cause interactional ambiguity and misunderstanding (Barnes et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2011; Wilkinson, 1999). To compensate for sparse linguistic information, other resources such as prosody can be used to promote action, due to the multimodality of interaction (Goodwin et al., 2009; Lind, 2007). For example, uttering 'Dinner?' with a rising intonation may be interpreted as proposing dinnertime. Yet, such compensatory techniques do not always make up for sparse linguistic information and participation may still be affected.

Studies have also emphasized the influence of CPs on PWAs' action initiation. Barnes and Ferguson (2012) note that the sequential relevance of a PWA's action initiations can be deleted by an interlocutor's topic change. If CPs initiate an action unrelated to the previous one, a PWA's action does not appear to shape the interaction and PWA's agency becomes restricted. Furthermore, in their study about 'poor' versus 'good' interlocutors, Simmons-Mackie and Kagan (1999) show that CPs who do not take up a PWA's interactional initiations are judged to be 'poor' interlocutors. Thus, CPs have a major influence on successful action formation because misalignment with a PWA's action initiations restricts the PWA's opportunities for active participation.

In summary, while sequential structures may promote action formation in aphasia, several practices by PWAs and their CPs have been identified that can restrict it. Constantly monitoring each other's actions in order to be able to interpret them seems to be a useful strategy for supporting opportunities for action formation. Focusing on a PWA's involvement in action formation in everyday activities and the CP's influence on this provides insight into participation in everyday life. Furthermore, analysing how sequence structures may promote or hinder PWAs' participation in action formation in activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting may reveal further understandings of opportunities and limitations for PWAs' participation.

3.3 Epistemic and deontic authority

In the process of action formation, interactors are ascribed rights and obligations to perform certain actions in certain contexts. Epistemic and deontic authority is expressed in the rights and obligations interactants to perform certain actions in certain contexts and thus the rights to participate in shaping interactions. PWAs are regularly excluded from shaping interactions by, for example, CPs' 'speaking for' behaviour or by giving up speakership themselves. Such actions may limit PWAs' epistemic or deontic authority. This section first provides background information about epistemic and deontic authority, how they are constituted and what types of authority speakers rely on. I then outline how conversational practices influence authority in PWAs' conversations.

The conversation analytic understanding of authority is inspired by Heritage and Raymond's seminal work on epistemic authority (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). This led to work on deontic authority (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Epistemic authority refers to "whose view is the more significant or more authoritative with respect to [a] matter at hand" (Raymond & Heritage, 2006, p. 15). Deontic authority concerns a person's rights to direct another person's future action.

Epistemic and deontic rights can be claimed with different degrees of ownership or entitlement. With the aid of different resources for turn design, participants up- or downgrade the degree of ownership or entitlement and "position themselves more or less symmetrically or asymmetrically in relation to their co-participants" (Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015, p. 2). Epistemic primacy to a state of affairs may be demonstrated by expressing knowledge in first position, such as in statements ('that was a fantastic movie'). Epistemic stance markers ('I think…') or tag questions ('… right?') may be used to downgrade authority (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) and to indicate a person's certainty about knowledge (Stickle, 2015) (for more information about resources for turn design see Stivers et al., 2011). Our knowledge of how deontic authority is claimed draws on Curl and Drew's (2008) notions of entitlement and contingency. Similar markers to those used to reveal epistemic rights can be used to demonstrate deontic rights. For example, when speakers phrase their requests as imperatives ('Go to bed!'), they are claiming high entitlement and thus power to demand the action of going to bed. In contrast, modal constructions such as 'can you/could you' orient to the contingency that the interlocutor may resist the action or be unable to perform it, and so signal low entitlement to request (Rossi, 2015). Furthermore, deontic authority may be up- or downgraded using prosody or embodiment (for example Goodwin, 2006). In general, epistemic and deontic authority are not static entities. They can be negotiated between participants in an unfolding sequence (Asmuß & Oshima, 2012; Heritage, 2012; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Thus, the distribution of rights also depends on the other participants' acceptance of the proposed rights.

A range of social roles, such as roles within the family, are shaped by social status and manifested in interaction (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Ochs & Taylor, 1992). Speakers rely on source-based authority (based on experience) and status-based authority (based on expertise) in interaction (Enfield, 2013; Heritage, 2013). While a speaker may have an institutional role of expert (for example as an SLP), this role needs to be established and ratified in the ongoing interaction (Sacks, 1992). For example, an SLP's authority is based on status as an expert in the field of communication disabilities, and a PWA's authority is based on experience of communication disabilities in everyday life. Their social roles are constituted in interaction through their behaviour, such as claims and acceptance of epistemic and deontic authority. Identities can change over time during the course of interaction (Goffman, 1979). For example, in family interaction a participant's role can change from 'doing being a father' to 'doing being a husband'. Individuals use a variety of interactional practices to accomplish social roles. Participating actively in claiming and negotiating authority enables us to shape our own identity.

Few studies have focused on the distribution of authority in interactions of PWAs. Barnes (2012) shows how a PWA expresses deontic authority by recycling parts of his interlocutor's proposal, question or assertion, and thereby shows his firstness. Goodwin (2004) describes how a PWA uses gaze and posture to indicate to others that he and his wife are co-telling a story. Perkins (1995) and Barnes and Ferguson (2012) found that PWAs often use short affirming turns such as 'mm hm' when taking part in interaction. While such turns are less demanding and thus potentially less face-threatening, their cost is the loss of epistemic authority. The few existing studies indicate that conversational practices are highly implicative for PWAs' authority and thereby for participation.

In summary, epistemic and deontic authority are a flexible entity that is negotiated between interlocutors. As in typical interactions, authority can be manifested in PWAs' interactions with different degrees of ownership and entitlement. Scrutinizing participants' practices pertaining to epistemic and deontic authority may reveal how participation in interaction can be enabled or challenged.

Sections 3.1-3.3 have discussed how interactional practices and structures as well as authority may be implicative for PWAs' participation. The following three sections examine further concepts basic to the analysis and interpretation of CA aphasia research: turn organization, intersubjectivity, repair, and topic management.

3.4 Turn organisation

Turns are the starting point of participation in conversation because speakers take part in conversations through their turns. For implementing and shaping activities, different turn constructions are needed. For example, for participating in storytelling and planning, longer turns are required. However, aphasia affects the use of resources for constructing turns. For example, turns by PWAs often involve lexical and grammatical trouble (for more information about trouble see next section). In such instances, it is crucial to hold a turn to be able to continue to participate in a conversation. This may for example influence participation in activities such as storytelling and the planning of demanding, longer turns. This section gives information about three aspects of communication: resources and practices for turn construction, turn allocation, and turn-holding. In each paragraph, information about typical interactions is provided before findings concerning PWAs' and CPs' turn-taking are presented.

According to CA research, a turn comprises one or more turn-constructional units (TCUs) (for a discussion about TCUs see for example: Selting, 1998). TCUs vary in length and can consist of sentences, clauses, phrases, and single words (Sacks et al., 1974). Resources for the production, recognition and interpretation of TCUs are multimodal, as speakers employ vocal and non-vocal resources such as phonetics, lexis, grammar, prosody, facial expression, gesture, artefacts, gaze or body position to construct them (see for example a special issue about multimodal interaction: Deppermann, 2013). The ability to produce, recognize and interpret these resources is the key to participation in interaction because conversational practices are routinized techniques for accomplishing social activities (for example a telephone call or telling a story).

PWAs produce TCUs using multimodal resources, just as speakers without aphasia do. Wilkinson, Beeke and Maxim (Wilkinson et al., 2003) suggest that PWAs construct TCUs in ways that prevent the occurrence of lexical and grammatical trouble. It seems that PWAs adapt their turn construction in order to prevent their aphasia and limited linguistic resources from becoming visible (ibid.). Three practices used by PWAs for turn construction are described below (embodied resources, prosody, and writing).

First, CA aphasia research has proposed that PWAs use embodied resources as a resource for turn construction (Goodwin, 2004). Auer and Bauer's (2011) data confirm this quantitatively. The PWA in their data uses more gestures that speakers without aphasia in typical conversations. Wilkinson, Beeke and Maxim (2010) point out that enactment allows PWAs to use simpler linguistic forms. According to these researchers, enactment enables PWAs to competently contribute to conversation. In general, an increased use of gestures as well as an extensive use of

gaze and head movements can be observed in conversations by a PWA in comparison to typical conversations (Auer & Bauer, 2011).

Second, several studies report how prosody can contribute to mutual understanding in aphasia. Goodwin (1995, 2010) analysed interactions of a PWA whose severe aphasia reduced his output to three words: 'yes', 'no' and 'and'. The data show how manipulating the prosody of words and repeating them can be used to construct semiotic meaning together with a CP. For example, differing degrees of rising pitch when uttering 'yes' enable this PWA to express enthusiasm or appreciation (Goodwin, 1995). Furthermore, the use of different prosodic parameters that display more or less affect when uttering 'no no', enables this PWA to demonstrate epistemic stance (limited pitch change) and deontic stance (greater pitch change) (Goodwin, 2010). Lind (2007) shows how a man with severe Broca's aphasia uses 'yes' and 'no' combined with different prosodic features to respond to closed questions. For a PWA with access to only 'yes' and 'no', answers may appear decisive when the speaker wishes to be more nuanced in their reply. The PWA in Lind's (2007) study manipulates the decisiveness of these words by uttering them either in an unmarked way (no pitch movement, no prolongation, minimal pause) to express certainty of response or in a marked way (pitch movement, prolongation and preceding pause) to express uncertainty. Both Goodwin's (1995, 2010) and Lind's (2007)studies show that although linguistic resources may be limited, the use of prosody together with remaining linguistic resources and the right sequential timing allow PWAs to construct mutual understanding and thus participate meaningfully in interaction.

Third, in an intervention study using CA principles, Beeke and colleagues (2014) show how a PWA uses writing for turn construction. Using writing enables this person to construct more complete utterances. Beeke and colleagues propose that this practice facilitates mutual understanding between the PWA and his CP.

Three typical multimodal resources (embodiment, prosody and writing) used by PWAs for turn construction have been discussed. Due to PWAs' increased use of multimodal resources, CPs need to monitor for multimodality in PWAs' turns for recognizing and interpreting PWAs' actions and to facilitate PWAs' participation.

Turn allocation is an important system for the organization of turn-taking in typical interaction, especially in multiparty interactions. At so-called transition relevance places (TRPs), at the end of every TCU, speakers must decide who will talk next. At this point, there are three options: (1) a current speaker may select another speaker to talk next by for example addressing the speaker, (2) another speaker might self-select, or (3) the current speaker may continue talking (Sacks et al., 1974). This system reoccurs at each TRP. Selecting another speaker to talk may support the participation of that speaker while, through self-selection, a speaker may secure her/his own

participation in a conversation. Gaze has been proposed as a central device in the organization of turn allocation (Auer, 2017; Goodwin, 1980; Holler & Kendrick, 2015; Kendon, 1967) (for further information about the role of gaze in turn organization see Degutyte & Astell, 2021). For example, in dyadic and triadic interactions, speakers 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; Lerner, 2003). Furthermore, selected next speakers may pass on their turn to another participant by gazing at this participant or making space for a self-selected other speaker by gazing away (Weiss, 2018). Gaze thus seems to be a central resource in organizing turn-taking and thereby participation.

Only a few studies have focused on the influence of aphasia on turn allocation. Schienberg and Holland (1980) show that the same principles of turn-taking are visible in conversations byPWAs, as in typical conversations. Both Schienberg and Holland (1980) and Ferguson (1998) argue that turn taking competence is preserved in aphasia because the principles are visible in PWAs' conversations. Hamdani & Barnes (2022) investigate how aphasia may affect turn allocation in multiparty conversations. These researchers compared turn allocation in instances where four PWAs select the next speaker with a question, with instances where their CPs do the same. They observed similar gaze patterns to persons without aphasia, but differences in verbal practices. The PWAs in their data gaze at a potential next speaker while asking a question and thereby select this speaker. When the PWAs' question does not receive a reply from a first selected speaker, the PWAs shift gaze to another speaker and thus the choice of next speaker changes. However, Hamdani & Barnes (2022) also found that PWAs do not use address terms such as 'mother', or touch, to address a next speaker, but use gaze for this purpose. This is a contrast to speakers without aphasia, who use a range of turn allocation practices, and this difference is interpreted as "an indication of [PWAs'] reduction in assertive participation in everyday life." (Hamdani & Barnes, 2022, p. 29). A close inspection of turn allocation practices in everyday activities and its consequences for participation is therefore desirable in aphasia.

Holding a turn is crucial for continuing to shape an interaction and thereby participate in conversation. CA research into typical interactions has shown that progressivity is a key principal for turn holding. "[M]oving from some element to a hearably next one with nothing intervening is the embodiment of, and the measure of, progressivity." (Schegloff, 2007, p. 15). Disruptions such as silences can occur as intra-turn pauses, as inter-turn gaps, or as lapses between sequences (Haugh & Musgrave, 2019). Such silences provide places where speakership may change (Lerner, 1996). If a conversation fails to progress, speakers use verbal and non-verbal practices, such as laughter after lapses, to re-establish progressivity (Haugh & Musgrave, 2019).

CA aphasia research reveals a couple of practices PWAs and their CPs use to facilitate PWAs' turn holding. Auer and Rönfeldt (2004) show how a person with Wernicke's aphasia

combines prosodic features for turn holding. This speaker accomplishes longer TCUs in spite of word-finding difficulties by increasing the volume. The authors argue that this change in volume works as a signal for the CP that the turn is not at a TRP. Prosody as a means for indicating the incompleteness of a turn has also been detected in speakers with agrammatic aphasia (Beeke et al., 2009; Beeke, et al., 2007). Furthermore, Beeke, Maxim, Best and Cooper (2011) describe how a person with agrammatic aphasia was trained to use 'um' or 'erm' and non-verbal resources such as grimacing and raising eyebrows to indicate that he is still constructing his turn. By using these resources, PWAs might prevent a change of speakership and continue to shape the interaction by themselves, as intra-turn pauses make them vulnerable to losing a turn (see previous paragraph).

A practice that is often used by CPs and targeted in interventions to facilitate PWAs' turn holding is to give PWAs more time to speak (Beeke et al., 2011; Leaman & Archer, 2022; McMahon-Morin et al., 2022). While this might be intended to facilitate inclusion by increasing the chances for more talk by the PWA, it may identify the interaction as an atypical one because the PWA loses the thread of their turn in progress (Beeke et al., 2011). While turn holding practices may further participation for PWAs, they may have consequences for the character of interaction.

PWAs use a variety of multimodal resources for turn organisation. Using CA as a method provides an opportunity to analyse these resources. Although we know quite a lot about turn construction in aphasia, there is comparatively little research on turn allocation and turn holding. Thus, an investigation of turn organisation in activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting extends our knowledge.

3.5 Intersubjectivity and repair

Intersubjectivity (mutual understanding) is essential for participating meaningfully in interaction. For example, without intersubjectivity between a requester and a requestee, it may be difficult for the requestee to accomplish a requested task because they may execute a different action to the one requested. This may cause interactional trouble. Trouble can be defined as breakdowns in conversation resulting from speaking, hearing or understanding difficulties (Schegloff et al., 1977). In cases of interactional trouble, speakers attempt to maintain intersubjectivity through repair sequences, where they attempt to fix such difficulties. In general, repair can be initiated by the speaker him or herself or another speaker and completed by the speaker him or herself or another speaker. Thus, four types of repair are possible: self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair and other- initiated other-repair. Aphasia may challenge the achievement of intersubjectivity due to problems with speaking and understanding. This section outlines

information about intersubjectivity and repair and the influence of aphasia on these processes. Following this, the relevance of collaboration to intersubjectivity and repair in aphasia is discussed, as well as consequences for the face of PWAs of the occurrence of repair.

Intersubjectivity is studied widely in typical interactions. "[T]hrough their talk, speakers can display aspects of their understanding of prior talk [and] can reveal understandings that the speakers of that prior talk find problematic […], what they take to be misunderstandings" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1300). Because conversations are often ordered in adjacency pairs, their sequential structure thus provides for displaying mutual understanding or problems with it in different positions. Trouble or mutual understanding may be indicated in second position (SPP) or in third position (after the SPP). For example, the execution of a requested task (second position) displays how a request (first position) has been understood. However, in this second position, other initiated repair may occur, indicating trouble with understanding the request. In third position, a requester can either indicate that intersubjectivity has been established by initiating a new action or by acknowledging the execution of the task. Otherwise, they can indicate trouble with the execution of the task by initiating a repair sequence. Establishing and maintaining intersubjectivity may thus be closely interwoven with repair. Repair always entails a delay of progressivity in the interaction.

Repair helps to maintain intersubjectivity and may thereby secure participation when troubles with speaking, hearing, or understanding arise in interaction (Schegloff et al., 1977). Regarding the type of repair, repair can be self- or other-initiated and self- or other-completed. In typical conversation, self-initiated self-repair is preferred to other-initiated self-repair (Schegloff et al., 1977). Self-initiated self-repair are usually completed in the same turn as the trouble source, while "repairs initiated by any other party in the next turn take multiple turn […] to get accomplished" (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 369). Other-initiated repair thus typically results in longer repair sequences.

Embodied resources such as enacting, gesturing and pointing, often in combination with language, have been proposed to facilitate intersubjectivity in PWAs' conversations. Klippi (2015) shows how PWAs may use pointing for functions such as emphasizing the meaning of an utterance, confirming understanding, or initiating other-repair. With the aid of pointing, these PWAs are able to refer to objects or participants in the same room but also to distant places. According to Klippi (2015), the data indicates that pointing establishes mutual understanding with a CP. However, by analysing successful and unsuccessful embodied practices, Auer and Bauer (2011) show that the interpretation of gestures can become difficult for a CP in cases where gestures replace referential language. Furthermore, they show that the success of using gestures is highly dependent on the speakers' shared knowledge. In line with these findings, Wilkinson, Beeke and Maxim (2010) describe that while unconventional methods such as enacting may further the progressivity of a

PWA's turn, the next turn often involves other-initiated repair by CPs. Embodied resources appear to further PWAs' turn construction because they enable the production of complex meaning. Thus, using embodied resources may support PWAs' participation. At the same time, these practices can only compensate for limited linguistic resources to a certain degree because using them involves more interactional work for constructing intersubjectivity by a CP, reflected in increased other-initiated repair.

A large body of CA aphasia research has focused on repair. Although all speakers experience trouble in conversation, it occurs more often in PWAs' conversations (Aaltonen & Laakso, 2010; Samuelsson & Hydén, 2017). Research has focused on self-initiated repair by PWAs (Helasvuo et al., 2004; Laakso, 1997, 2020) and other-initiated repair by CPs (Heeschen & Schegloff, 1999; Laakso, 2020). PWAs often experience difficulties achieving self-repair (Laakso, 1997; Wilkinson et al., 2007). While some researchers have documented that preference for self-correction is maintained by PWAs (Laakso, 1997; Penn et al., 2015; Samuelsson & Hydén, 2017; Wilkinson, 2015), others have observed cases in which other-correction is not dispreferred (Beeke et al., 2020; Laakso & Godt, 2016). Generally, repair sequences in aphasia are longer than in typical interaction (Lindsay & Wilkinson, 1999; Milroy & Perkins, 1992; Wilkinson, 2019) because they often involve other-initiated repair, which includes multiple turns (Laakso & Klippi, 1999). Such prolonged repair is consequential for the progressivity of the interaction. Furthermore, in aphasia repair often remains unresolved (Barnes & Ferguson, 2015; Lindsay & Wilkinson, 1999; Milroy & Perkins, 1992), which may limit PWAs' agency in initiating and maintaining actions.

Repair may influence PWAs' facework in their conversations. On the one hand, embodied resources, as described above, and collaborative repair may facilitate intersubjectivity and thereby promote participation. On the other hand, the frequent use of repair or embodied resources or prolonged repair sequences that noticeably circumvent lexical and grammatical trouble may mark an interaction as atypical due to delayed progressivity. This may be stigmatizing and face-threatening for a PWA (for more information about stigmatization see Goffman, 1967). CA aphasia research shows that in interactions with many repair sequences, a CP is perceived as a poor interlocutor by SLPs and student SLPs (Simmons-Mackie & Kagan, 1999). In interactions with fewer repair sequences, the interlocutor is regarded as good. While fewer repair sequences hide aphasia and save face, they hinder intersubjectivity. Many repair sequences might be face-threatening but at the same time provide more opportunity for a PWA to participate in and shape an interaction. Bauer and Kulke (2004) suggest that language exercises following speech errors or word search such as naming and repeating initiated by a PWA are less face-threatening than those initiated by a CP. Language exercises initiated by PWAs may thus not seem to threaten competent participation by PWAs while those initiated by their CPs do. In conclusion, it seems that in order to

competently participate in interaction, PWAs and their CPs need to find a balance between repairing intersubjectivity and maintaining face.

In conversations with PWAs, intersubjectivity is vulnerable and repair is common. Because PWAs commonly use multimodal resources for constructing intersubjectivity, CPs need to orient to all layers of conversation, both verbal and non-verbal, to facilitate intersubjectivity and further participation (Goodwin, 1995). Furthermore, collaboration in repair sequences for accomplishing intersubjectivity may facilitate progressivity in interaction. However, at the same time it can limit PWAs' agency. The form of collaboration that occurs may be implicative of a more active or passive form of participation.

3.6 Topic management

Topics provide frameworks for our everyday conversations (Svennevig, 1999). Successful engagement in topic management is a gatekeeper for actively participating in conversations, since initiating or maintaining topic talk is essential for a speaker's agency. Verbal and non-verbal devices (for example 'well' for starting a new topic and gazing at the CP when starting a new topic) are often used in combination to accomplish topic management (for an overview of devices used for topic initiations and closings, see Leaman & Edmonds, 2020). The influence of aphasia on topic management has been investigated in several studies. As will be outlined below, these studies document practices used by PWAs for initiating topics as well as CP practices for facilitating PWA topic initiation.

Studies investigating topic initiations by PWAs demonstrate a range of resources and practices used for topic management. First, as in typical conversations, topic shift markers at the right sequential place, such as turn initial particles 'and', 'but', and 'well', facilitate PWAs' topics shifting initiations (Barnes et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2011; Leaman & Edmonds, 2020; Wilkinson, 1999; Wilkinson et al., 2011). However, persons with severe aphasia seem to use such particles less often (Leaman & Edmonds, 2020). Second, an atypical but successful practice seems to be the naming of a referent in turn initial position, such as 'holidays', to initiate further topic talk (Beeke et al., 2003; Beeke, et al., 2007; Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). This way, there is no need to formulate a well-formed utterance. Third, formulaic expressions, such as 'here you go', may initiate topics (Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). Fourth, successful topic initiation can be achieved by combining verbal resources with the use of gestures or artefacts - this has been documented (Archer et al., 2018; Auer & Bauer, 2011; Goodwin, 2010; Klippi, 2015; Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). When speakers with

aphasia do not use practices that flag topic initiation, CPs may not be aware that a topic shift has been attempted and may not align with the topic initiation.

Studies have also shown how CPs may facilitate PWAs' participation in topic management. For example, nomination (nomination of a potential topic by a CP and the pursuit of the topic by a PWA), topic-initial elicitation (a CP asking what the PWA wants to talk about), and listing sequences (a CP writing down potential topics that can be rejected or pursued by a PWA) have been identified as supportive practices by facilitators and members of aphasia groups (Archer et al., 2018). CPs may successfully employ artifacts such as newspapers, paper and pencil, and whiteboards (ibid.). Leaman and Edmonds (2020) have shown that CPs use fewer practices for initiating topics when talking with speakers with mild aphasia than they do with those with moderate or severe aphasia. For example, they use fewer pronouns and less ellipsis than in interactions with speakers with severe aphasia. Such practices might reflect the attempt to facilitate PWAs' understanding of a new topic in ongoing action. Furthermore, asking open questions followed by extended pauses seems to facilitate PWAs' participation in topic talk (McMahon-Morin et al., 2022). A less optimal practice to promote topic talk is asking questions with known answers (Beeke, et al., 2013). Although questions are typically used to receive information, asking test questions does not generate anything new because the answer is already known to both participants. The research on the use of known answers shows that although the intention may be to scaffold topic talk, they fail because they are difficult to respond to, and do not lead to more talk on the same topic.

In summary, successful topic initiations by PWAs are only possible through collaboration with a CP. When PWAs attempt topic initiation without collaborating in this way the topic can be abandoned and the PWA has no influence on the interaction. Identifying practices that facilitate topic management is thus crucial for PWAs' engagement in meaningful participation in conversation.

This chapter has demonstrated that physical presence in an interaction is no guarantee of participation and that the question of participation for a PWA is not all or nothing. Participation is a process that is shaped collaboratively in interaction, and both sequence structures and PWAs' and their CPs' conversational practices may influence it. CA provides a new lens on the nature of participation in aphasia by investigating it by using a detailed theoretical framework that provides a way of operationalizing participation as a concept. A focus on the six aspects relevant for participation outlined in this chapter would seem to be a promising starting point.

4 Methodology

This chapter describes the data, participants and method used in the present study. First, it provides a detailed characterization of the types of data and the participants. Then it depicts the methodological basis that is CA, with a discussion of the procedure of the analysis and the analytic choices. Finally, the quality and reliability of the data are reflected upon.

4.1 Data

The data originate from a corpus stored in the data bank AphaDB provided by Prof. Dr. Auer (University of Freiburg, Germany) and Dr. Angelika Bauer (School of Speech and Language Therapy, Freiburg). The researcher was granted access to the data for research purposes but was not involved in collecting them. They were collected in Germany between 2000 and 2005 as part of the project *Adaptationsstrategien in der familiären Kommunikation zwischen Aphasikern und ihren Partnerinnen* (Adaption strategies within family communication between aphasics and their spouses). Cross-sectional and longitudinal data of German-speaking PWAs and their families were collected. For the original project, 12 PWAs were asked to video record themselves for approximately 2 hours during different typical interactions at home. Participants made recordings 5 times after they returned from a rehabilitation centre after the stroke (immediately, 1, 3, 6 and 12 months after returning from rehabilitation). The participants chose to video record themselves while having conversations with their spouses, with their children and/or friends, as well as during speech and language practice sessions with their spouses. In addition, recordings were made of researchers interviewing the PWAs and their spouses about interactional changes due to aphasia. After data collection, the videos were transcribed according to *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem* (GAT) conventions (Selting et al., 1998) and saved in the AphaDB data bank together with the transcripts. For the present study, 142 recordings and transcripts (in total ca. 150 hours) from 9 German-speaking PWAs (8 males and 1 female) and 5 interview recordings were available for analysis.

4.2 Participants

In the articles of the present study, data from 4 PWAs were analysed in depth. Demographic and medical information for each of these participants is available in Table 1. The researcher was granted access to these data for research purposes but was not involved in collecting them.

Table 1: Demographic and medical information of participants

Person with aphasia[1](age[2], profession)	**Gender**	**Aetiology and lesion side**	**Type of aphasia[3]**	**Severity of aphasia[2]**	**Family members[1]: spouse (age, profession), children (age)**	**Participant in Articles**
Tim (38, truck driver)	M	Extensive cerebral haemorrhage in the left temporal lobe	Anomic aphasia	Mild	Julia (36, part-time carpenter), Anna (9)	1, 3 and 4
Fritz (64, chief engineer, retired)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Wernicke's aphasia	Severe	Helga (62 housewife), Uta (adult daughter, age and profession unknown)	2
Udo (50, lawyer)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Anomic aphasia	Mild	Tina (43, housewife), Florian (12), Annika (14)	3 and 4
Norbert (46, senior businessman)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Initially: global aphasia, After 1 year: Broca's aphasia	Severe	Marina (36, part-time office clerk), Florian (1), Hannah (14), Denise (18)	3 and 4

4.3 Ethical considerations

The inclusion of video recordings of a vulnerable population involves ethical considerations. Participants' consent was obtained for the original German project - *Adaptationsstrategien in der familiären Kommunikation zwischen Aphasikern und ihren Partnerinnen* (Adaption strategies within family communication between aphasics and their spouses) (Bauer, 2009). The use of the AphaDB corpus is regulated in a contract between Helene Killmer and the University of Freiburg,

[1] Names are pseudonyms.
[2] Age at first recording.
[3] Diagnosed with the Aachener Aphasie Test (AAT) (Huber et al., 1983).

Germany, represented by Prof. Dr Auer. Ethical approval for the present study has been obtained at the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). All data presented are anonymized and names of persons and places are pseudonyms to protect the participant's identities.

4.4 Method: Conversation Analysis

The research aims, questions and theoretical framework of the present study (introduced in Chapters 1 and 3) impose certain requirements on the data analysis and are closely intertwined with why and how CA is used as an analytic tool. The process of CA typically comprises the following 3 phases: (1) data collection, (2) transcription of data, and (3) analytic procedure. Below, each phase is presented in terms of how CA is usually applied as a method, and which adaptions have been made for the present study (for further information about CA as a method see e.g. Deppermann, 2008; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008; Psathas, 1995; Ten Have, 1999) (for information about CA used as a method for aphasia research see e.g. Beeke et al., 2007; Damico et al., 1999; Goodwin, 2003; Wilkinson, 2019).

4.4.1 Data collection

A CA approach takes recordings of instances of naturally occurring interactions as an initial step for conducting research (Ten Have, 1999). For this step, audio and/or video recordings are applicable, depending on the aim of the study (Cameron, 2001). For example, for investigations of dinner table interactions, video recordings might be more applicable in order to have access to the multimodal resources available to the participants at the time of the interaction. On the other hand, investigating telephone calls only requires audio data. Access to recordings is essential for CA analysts because it provides insight into the minutest details of the interaction, as well as the opportunity to repeatedly scrutinize the same data (Cameron, 2001).

The present study investigates participation of PWAs in everyday activities. The importance of analysing naturally occurring interactions is evident, since the only way of analysing how persons participate in everyday activities is to observe authentic interactions without predefining them. Furthermore, because of the relevance of multimodal resources in interactions by PWAs, video recordings were crucial for the investigation of conversational practices. Additionally, as the present study includes PWAs as participants, their medical information (aetiology and lesion side, type and severity of aphasia) should be available. For the present study, Prof. Dr. Peter Auer and Dr. Angelika Bauer provided these data (videos, transcripts and medical information). Recycling

existing recordings is a common practice in CA research and offers practical benefits (Ten Have, 1999).

4.4.2 Transcription of data

In a second step, transcriptions are generated from the recorded data by transcribing data according to CA conventions (for a more detailed description of this step see Deppermann, 2008; Hepburn & Bolden, 2013; Schegloff, 2007, pp. 265–269) (for transcription systems see e.g. Jefferson, 2004; Selting et al., 2009). These transcriptions make the identification of practices during the recordings accessible for further analysis (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). However, it should be noted that it is the recordings that are given analytic primacy and not the transcripts (ibid.), as the latter only present selected parts of what happened during the original interaction (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984).

The notion of orderliness in conversation plays a crucial role for the transcription of data. This notion implies that participants organize and order interactions. It assumes that every detail in interaction contributes to the participants' production, recognition and interpretation of actions. Thus, these details make sense at all points in interaction or, in Sacks' words, there is "order at all points" (Sacks, 1984, p. 22). Therefore, every interactional detail is potentially relevant (Heritage, 1984). The methodological consequence is that conversation analysts systematically document and analyse all details. Thus, depending on the aim of a study and data available, transcripts reproduce verbal and non-verbal actions of all participants as well as features such as silences (pauses), cut-off words, repetitions, self-repair, overlap, fillers and prosody (pitch, volume and stress).

The data for the present study were initially transcribed by research assistants of the original project according to the conventions of GAT (Selting et al., 1998) and stored in the data bank together with the videos. For the present study, the researcher corroborated the accuracy of relevant segments by repeated listening and viewing of the video recordings and employed a revised version of the GAT conventions, GAT 2 (Selting et al., 2009). Furthermore, the segments were anonymized during this procedure. All names are pseudonyms.

During the transcription of the data, special attention was paid to the distinctive characteristics, namely (1) dialect of the participants, (2) aphasia specific features, (3) translation of German data and (4) multimodality.

First, the participants speak the Alemannic dialect. In Alemannic, phonological features and pronouns differ from Standard German. For example, the phonemes /ʃt/ and /ʃp/ can be realized in initial, medial and final word position, while in Standard German they can only be produced word-initially. Furthermore, Alemannic speakers use the pronoun 'mir' or 'mer' (we) in contrast to 'wir'

as Standard German speakers do. The participants' speech is transcribed according to German orthographic rules, which reproduce the dialect.

Second, the data manifest aphasia-specific features. To display these features, a gloss line was inserted for transcribing aphasic symptoms such as neologisms (sound strings that are non-words) or phonemic paraphasias (substitutions, additions, or rearrangements of speech sounds so that the target word can be identified). A solution might have been a phonetic transcription but this would have reduced accessibility of the transcripts. Therefore, it was decided to provide an orthographical transcription according to German orthography. The word forms in question are transcribed according to German orthography and marked with curly brackets (Extract 1) and, if possible, targets of these word forms are provided (Extract 2) (Laakso & Godt, 2016). These targets were identified by phonological similarities to a possible word selection. For example, in Extract 2, the participant says 'im Lotto senksen' (to {bet} in the lottery). The word 'senksen' has phonological similarities with 'setzen' and 'im Lotto setzen' (to bet in the lottery) is a common expression. Furthermore, it seems that 'senksen' is marked as an infinite verb form, because the ending '-en' is an infinitive marker. Thus, it is likely that the target form of 'senksen' is a verb.

Extract 1: Transcription of a non-word (Article 2)

56	F:	ah ja des isch dann f erLEdigt	dengens n hier {dengens=non-word}
		ah yes that is f done then	**{dengens} n here**

Extract 2: Transcription of a target word form (Article 2)

46	F:	im lotto	senk[sen]. {setzen=bet.INF} **{bet} in lottery**

Third, in order to present the data to an English-speaking audience, a translation of the German data was generated. The articles present both the English translation and the original German data. CA research often presents translated data in a three-line transcript in which the second line reproduces a glossing line in English that presents the original word order together with morpho-syntactical features of the original language (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). The transcripts of the present study do not provide such a gloss line because the focus of the study is not on the grammatical aspects or word order of the turns. Certain issues arose during the process of translating data. Particles were challenging to transcribe. The researcher translated them with equivalent English particles in a constant way and - where possible - translations were based on previous research (such as interjections: 'ähm' (uhm), 'tja' (well) or tag questions: 'oder' (right)). Finally, German dialectal features got lost in the translation, as well as the exact overlap of words due to a slightly different

word order. See for example Extract 3. In the German data, the first two words of the turn overlap (‘einmal’ (first) and ‘gehn’ (walk)). However, due to a different word order, the first two words in the English translation are ‘first’ (einmal) and ‘we’ (wir). Thus, it is impossible to indicate in English, which words overlap. Therefore, it was chosen not to add overlap markers in the translation.

Extract 3: Transcription of dialectal features and overlap (Article 2)

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243  H:   [einmal gehn] wir die geMEINdewege
          first we walk along the municipal roads
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Fourth, because of the importance of multimodal resources for the participants, the transcription of multimodal features received special attention where relevant. They are transcribed according to the conventions of Mondada (2006) in all articles. In addition, gaze has been transcribed in Article 1 according to Rossano (2013) and Auer (2017). These conventions for gaze were chosen because they provide systematic and intuitively accessible transcription conventions for transcribing complex gaze patterns in multiparty interactions.

It is important to note that data analysis was not affected by the decisions taken while transcribing, since analysis is based on the recordings (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013).

4.4.3 Analytic procedure

CA research attempts to identify participants’ practices used in achieving intersubjectivity and in constructing and organizing interactions (Peräkylä, 2007). The analytic procedure does not follow predefined hypotheses to generate findings (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) but relies on an “analytic mentality” (Schenkein, 1978, p. 1). In contrast to other methods, CA research takes the observation of participants’ behaviour and reactions to each other’s actions as the starting point for the analysis (Schegloff, 1996a). By describing how participants orient to each other’s actions, the analysis does not rely on a researcher’s subjective interpretation of the data. Instead, the analytic evidence is based on what the analyst can observe in the data. Because of its emic perspective, CA findings show how the participants themselves interpret each other’s actions. Moreover, CA’s inductive approach produces data and participant-driven results, which has the effect that theories are developed in a bottom-up approach. CA is not constrained by predefined theoretical concepts because it does not test hypotheses with the use of data; theories evolve from data. For the analytic procedure, four stages can be identified (Deppermann, 2008; Sidnell, 2013): (1) identification of a phenomenon, (2) description of the phenomenon, (3) refinement of the description, (4) identification of deviant cases.

The first stage of the analytic procedure, the identification of a phenomenon, involves the localization of potentially interesting phenomena in the data (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). This stage is driven by researchers' "noticings" (Schegloff, 1996a, p. 172) while examining the data with "unmotivated looking" (Psathas, 1995, p. 45). At this stage, anything that a participant treats as relevant in the interaction can be considered as an interesting phenomenon and thus be considered for further analysis (e.g. opening sequences, requests, etc.).

In the second stage, after the collection of a number of interesting phenomena, one occurrence is chosen; this presents a prototypical occurrence or an interesting starting point for analysis (Deppermann, 2008). The goal of this stage is to interpret the data and produce a description of the phenomenon's conversational features. Because the analysis is based on the perspective of the participants, CA research interprets data not only by taking the utterances of a current speaker into account but also by examining a recipient's talk, the so called "next turn proof procedure" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 13). This procedure takes a retrospective perspective, which builds on the fact that participants show their understanding of prior talk in their verbal interaction. When taking this perspective, this understanding is available for all interlocutors as well as for the analyst (Sacks et al., 1974). Therefore, CA data are not interpretable in isolation but only in their sequential context.

In a third stage, the description of the phenomenon's features is examined and typically revised as well as refined. CA's analytic goal is to systematically describe conversational practices that are both context-free and context-sensitive (Sacks et al., 1974). They are context-free in the sense that they represent a general phenomenon whose description does not require reference to any specific context. On the other hand, they are context-sensitive in the way that the practices are adaptable to specific contexts. This two-fold goal makes a variety of empirical alternatives possible. While a description of extended sequences (e.g. storytelling sequences) lends itself typically for a single case analysis, short sequences (e.g. openings of telephone calls) are often tested by comparing the description to other sequences by building collections (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Single-case analyses aim to explain the described features on the basis of previous research (Schegloff, 1987) by comparing practices employed in one or more single sequences to collection-based or other single-case analyses. The aim of collection-based analyses is generalizability of findings, achieved by examining whether other cases fit the description of the phenomenon. The number of cases sufficient for a collection is debated (Hoey & Kendrick, 2017).

To support claims elaborated during the third stage, "deviant cases" (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1079) can be identified in a fourth stage. Deviant cases show different patterns of the phenomenon than provided in its description – displayed in the participants' differing orientation to them, as such

cases are not the norm (Maynard & Clayman, 2003). Because the present study does not analyse deviant cases, this stage is not described further.

For the present study, the analytic procedure followed the 3 stages. In the first stage of the study, I familiarized myself with the data by viewing videos and reading transcripts, and during data sessions together with colleagues. During this initial observation phase, my interest for activities in interaction was sparked because I noticed that certain activities occurred frequently and were accomplished by almost all PWAs. I started to collect different possibly interesting instances of activities but narrowed them quite quickly down to three different collections of instances of the following activities: storytelling, planning, and requesting. The instances were systematically collected by tagging them in the videos; saving their transcripts in word files and labelling them in excel sheets. Each instance was compiled by including the end of the previous activity and the beginning of the following one. This way of collecting instances secures an approach that is not pre-defined but guided by the data and provides for an analysis of the data in their embedded context (Deppermann, 2008; Schegloff, 2007). Following this approach, a couple of storytelling and planning instances and almost 200 request instances were collected. Interviews available in the data set were excluded from the collection because activities in everyday interactions became the focus of the study. Furthermore, the key idea of the present study, namely to investigate participation in everyday activities, emerged at this stage. The concept of participation became the focus of interest because contrasting instances of interactional exclusion and inclusion in activities were observed. On the one hand, the dataset revealed interactions of PWAs who did not initiate action themselves and were hardly addressed by their interlocutors. In contrast, other interactions were detected in which PWAs showed engagement and their interlocutors' support for it. From this notion, sequences were collected broadly, providing for the possibility that if PWAs and interlocutors show unexpected conversational resources that influence participation. These would be included in the analysis and not unwittingly excluded. For the in-depth analyses, cases that displayed successful collaboration and examples of initiatives by PWAs were chosen. Such cases have the power to provide us with insights into practices that enhance participation. Please note at this point that although CA involves an inductive approach and data is approached with limited predefined concepts (Psathas, 1995), researchers do have prior knowledge and ideas that guide their analytic views – therefore, pure induction is procedurally not feasible. As a researcher and SLP, I bring background knowledge to the analytic process. This knowledge is about the fact that participation is challenging in PWAs' interactions; this is because it is described in the literature, and PWAs and their interlocutors have told me about it.

In the second analytic stage, the description of a phenomenon, I analysed the nature of the different activities. This involved the identification of an interesting instance and providing an

initial characterization of its organization by asking the following key analytic questions: What action(s) does this utterance accomplish in this activity? Which practices regulate this action? A description of what social action(s) it accomplishes and how the single instances are constructed emerged. In line with the CA approach, the identification and description are based on the viewpoint of the conversationalists by relying on their own understanding of each other's actions as displayed in their next actions. This was especially relevant for the identification of request implicative actions, which were either identified on the basis of the responder's uptake of a request or an action that established an intended responder as accountable after not taking up a request. Furthermore, the data were discussed during data sessions and conferences to guide the analysis and to increase the validity of the study (for more information about the validity of the present study, see below). The choice to focus on storytelling, planning and requesting as focal activities was influenced by the fact that storytelling and planning have the potential to give insights into the collaborative organization of participation (Articles 1 and 2). Requesting was chosen because request sequences provide the possibility to gain knowledge about how participation is organized in sequences critical for parenting. Detailed descriptions of the activities as well as discussions with colleagues supported, for example, decisions to focus on storytelling sequences that all storytellers have access to and to concentrate on planning sequences that concerned future plans that all CPs are involved in. Moreover, the decision to narrow down the analysis to requests for action and exclude, for example, offerings was taken at this stage. In addition, while PWAs and their spouses became focus members in storytelling and planning sequences, PWAs and their children became focus members in request sequences.

During the third stage, the descriptions of the activities were scrutinized and redefined. The preliminary descriptions of activities were compared with other instances from the collections by repeatedly viewing the videos and comparing transcripts. Furthermore, the conversational practices employed in the activities were compared with descriptions in existing literature about typical and atypical interactions. This examination of data increasingly adjusted the description of the activities to the data (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) by reformulating descriptions and adding and removing instances to the collections. This process resulted in four different analyses presented in the four articles that aim to describe conversational practices of three activities: a single case analysis of a storytelling sequence, a single case analysis of two joint planning talk sequences, and two collection-based analyses of request for action sequences. The decision to analyse the data in single and collection-based analyses was based on different factors. Extended sequences such as storytelling and planning sequences are traditionally based on single case analysis while short sequences such as requests are often investigated by compiling collections (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Furthermore, due to the length of the storytelling and planning sequences, more variation

than in the relatively short request sequences was exhibited. Thus, the less varied request sequences lend themselves for collection. Additionally, the description of conversational practices of single-case analyses (storytelling and planning) are based on a comparison of practices by the same participant. Yet, the collection-based analyses are based on a comparison of requests constructed by three different participants. While the single-case analyses reveal more context-sensitive practices, collection based analyses provide more context-free practices. However, both alternatives are means that serve CA's goal to illustrate structural characteristics of interaction because cases for the single analysis were chosen that are representative of patterns that the speakers employ across storytelling and planning sequences.

4.5 Reliability and quality of the study

CA is an empirical approach that aims to describe social reality by analysing recordings of natural interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). The quality of CA research thus depends on the researcher's effort "to ensure the accuracy and inclusiveness of recordings" (Peräkylä, 2011, p. 366). This effort secures and supports the objectivity and credibility of the findings – their reliability – (Peräkylä, 2011) but is contingent on the quality of the recordings and their transcripts (Deppermann, 2008). Reliability and quality issues of the CA approach in general and, specifically, for the present study are discussed in the following 4 subsections. For more information, see Deppermann (2008), Hepburn and Bolden (2013), Luff and Heath (2012) and Peräkylä (2004).

4.5.1 Authentic data collection

A CA approach requires strong empirical authenticity of data (Deppermann, 2008). This means that data of naturally-occurring talk in interaction is the object of analysis instead of data collected in a laboratory (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). A common concern is the discrepancy between the aim of collecting authentic and natural data and the fact that recording the interactions – which is unnatural – might influence participants' behaviour ("observer's paradox" Labov, 1972, p. 113). Furthermore, the participants of the present study were informed that their data would be used to study communicative adaptation to aphasia. Thus, the participants may have altered their behaviour not only because of a camera being present but also because they were aware of the research aim. When people are aware of being recorded, they typically show this in their behaviour - for example by talking about being recorded or explaining topics to the audience that it does not have access to.

While analysing the data, it was observed that participants topicalized the recording in the beginning and at the end of the recorded encounters. Yet, during the individual recordings as time elapsed, participants' orientation to the camera decreased. This phenomenon, which has been described in previous studies (Goodwin, 1981), indicates the naturalness of the majority of the data. In addition, even though participants address the recording in their interaction, being observed does not result in people altering the core principles of interaction – making an analysis of conversational features possible. Nevertheless, the present study excludes data in which participants topicalize recordings. Even if the participants altered their communicative behaviour and the data reflect their best communicative behaviour, the numerous observed instances of trouble talk imply that the data are robust. This robustness of video data has also been documented in previous research in which participants' behaviour was unchanged regardless of whether they were informed or not about being recorded (Pringle & Stewart-Evans, 1990). Furthermore, the participants' talk does not reveal that they explain background information to an overhearing audience. This is especially obvious in the data of Article 2. The planning talk in these data is not easily accessible for an overhearing audience because the participants do not cater for listeners by, for example, clarifying conversation topics.

4.5.2 Issues of data bank data

Because the analysed data originate from a data bank, the present research is based on what is made available in the video recordings and the ethnographic background information of the participants. The researcher does not know the participants. On the one hand, this protects the research from bias. On the other hand, insider knowledge is not available and gathering further information is not possible.

Another issue that arises when relying on data bank data is the age of the recordings. The data analysed were recorded 15 years prior to the present study – in the meantime, life has changed. Yet, conversational practices seem to be stable. Conversation analysts started to describe conversational practices about 50 years ago and the same practices can still be observed. Furthermore, the participants and the researcher have different lifeworld experiences because they belong to different generations. Therefore, in cases of doubt about the data, persons of a similar age to the participants were contacted and data were discussed. For example, to receive a better understanding of the expression *high life* in Article 1, 3 German speakers were randomly chosen and individually asked to give a written description of what this expression means and in which context they would use it. These descriptions were then shared between the speakers and discussed until one was agreed on.

4.5.3 Technical issues

In order to record encounters for CA, certain conditions such as the most practical placement of the audio and video recorder have to be taken into account (Deppermann, 2008; Mondada, 2006). For the present study, participants were advised how to make recordings that meet CA requirements. Nevertheless, a few videos or parts of certain videos do not meet these requirements, or provide limited access to the recorded encounters because of background noise, poor lighting, or not all participants being visible. Furthermore, there were some technical and storage issues. Few videos were aborted during the recordings and continued later and few videos and audio tracks are not synchronized. Nevertheless, they were not limiting factors for the present study because it could fall back on a large data set.

Another technical issue arising from recording videos is the issue of the camera angle. The camera angle is not the same as the perspective participants have during an interaction (Luff & Heath, 2012). Thus, what the analysist observes in the recordings might not be available for the participants, and what the participants view might not be available for the analyst (Luff & Heath, 2012).

4.5.4 Transcription issues

Transcripts play a crucial role in CA studies because they reproduce oral and visual data in written form (Ayaß, 2015) and thus make analytic claims accessible for "public verification" (Albert et al., 2018, p. 401). However, transcripts are always selective and for readability reasons not every detail can be transcribed (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). Analysts transcribe analytically relevant aspects of an interaction based on various choices (Ochs, 1979), which might result in different transcripts of the same data due to the analytic aim (Ten Have, 1999) - turning transcripts into a form of artwork (Ayaß, 2015). The present study focused, for example in Article 1, on the transcription of participants' eye-gaze, due to its crucial role as a communicative feature during storytelling. For a critical reflection on conversational transcripts, the reader is referred to ten Have (2002) and Hepburn and Bolden (2013).

To ensure the quality of conversational transcripts, standards have been introduced; e.g. the Jeffersonian system (Jefferson, 2004) or the GAT (Selting et al., 1998, 2009) (see O'Connell & Kowal, 1994 for a comparison of systems). The present study applies the GAT 2 transcription standards (Selting et al., 2009). Another way to ensure the quality of conversational transcripts is through constant revision and improvement (Coates & Thornborrow, 1999). This was also undertaken for the present study. Transcripts were inspected in detail several times and constantly

developed during data sessions and discussions with co-authors, thus improving their quality. The participants' Alemannic dialect received special attention because the present author was not familiar with it. Repeated listening to the data and discussions with colleagues who speak dialects closer in nature to Alemannic German than the researcher's own dialect improved insights.

4.5.5 Validity of the study

Validity concerns "the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers" (Hammersley, 1990, p. 57). In qualitative research studies, such as this one, two forms of validity are commonly evaluated: (1) Internal validity – whether the data represent an authentic reality and (2) External validity – whether the findings can be generalized to other contexts (for more information about validity see for example LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Peräkylä, 2011). Validity issues regarding the CA approach in general and its application in the present study are discussed in this subsection.

Regarding the internal validity, two issues may be raised. First, recordings of everyday life interactions are used for CA studies (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). In contrast to experimental research, the interactions recorded are not executed for the purpose of data collection. Furthermore, the interactions do not follow a procedure predetermined by the researcher, such as in picture-naming tasks. For the present study, I analysed everyday life interactions that were chosen and recorded by the participants themselves (for a discussion about the possible influence of recording the interactions on the participants' behaviour, see Section 4.4.1). Thus, this study, like CA studies in general, investigates naturally occurring interactions in an authentic reality.

Second, CA studies ground the analysis in the interaction itself (the emic perspective and inductive approach to data, see Section 4.4.3 for more information). By examining the data with the "next turn proof procedure" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 13), analysts have access to the participants' own orientation to the interaction. This procedure is used throughout while analysing data in this study. For example, to identify parental requests in Article 3, I relied on consequent actions such as a child's compliance with the request or resistance to it. In contrast to other methods, CA does not use predetermined theoretical concepts for analysing or interpreting data. This provides for an interpretation of results that is located in authentic reality because it is based on the participants' understanding (Sacks et al., 1974).

A common critique regarding the external validity of CA studies is the lack of control. While experimental studies control the number of variables in their data, data analysed in CA studies differ highly in terms of participants, conversational topics, etc. The question is how the CA approach can generalize findings from such diverse data. First, CA studies do not control the sample of the focal

population for representativeness. They rather "exploit the inherent variability of naturally occurring data" (Hoey & Kendrick, 2017, p. 18). In the present study, for example, data of participants with mild and severe aphasia are analysed. The inclusion of participants with such diverse language profiles and the analysis of interactional practices at micro level allow the study to reveal patterns that might have not been observed in a homogeneous data set. Furthermore, this inclusive approach reflects authentic reality, because especially persons with severe aphasia are often excluded from research (Carlsson et al., 2007).

Second, CA studies make general findings through observed patterns. According to the CA approach, interactions are orderly products (Goffman, 1967) that are culturally conventionalized (Schegloff, 1996b). For example, each activity scrutinized for the present study (storytelling, planning and requesting) has a discernible order of actions. Similarities and differences of interactional patterns that accomplish these actions are then compared with previous findings of typical speakers and speakers with aphasia, as well as between speakers within the present study. Thereby, it is possible to reveal patterns that may be typical for interactions of speakers with aphasia in general or are common in a certain group of speakers, such as speakers with severe aphasia. The question of an adequate sample size for generalizing CA studies' findings is discussed in Section 6.2. In general, CA's effort to secure external validity is an inclusive data collection that has the power to generalize findings from heterogeneous data.

Last, the CA approach has strong analytic validity because of its transparency regarding analytic claims. Analytic claims are grounded in observable conduct because "anyone else can go and see whether what was said is so" (Sacks, 1984, p. 26). For the present study, data have been analysed in data sessions as well as presented and discussed at conferences. Furthermore, transcripts of data are available in the articles of this study. This practice facilitates a "sharable and shared understanding" (Ten Have, 1999, p. 123) and prevents us from making individualized interpretations.

In this chapter, I have outlined how the present study is designed and how the data were analysed. It will now be shown how the main theme of the study, participation, connects the different topics of the articles.

5 Summary of findings of the study

The four articles of the present study investigate participation in three everyday social activities: storytelling (Article 1), planning (Article 2), and requesting (Articles 3 and 4). The findings of the articles will be summarized in relation to the overarching research question: *Which interactional practices and structures promote or hinder PWAs` participation in everyday conversational activities?*

5.1 Article 1: Collaborative storytelling with a person with aphasia: Promoting agency in a multiparty interaction

Killmer, H., Beeke, S., & Svennevig, J. (2021). Collaborative storytelling with a person with aphasia: Promoting agency in a multiparty interaction. *Journal of Interactional Research in Communication Disorders*, 27. 78–104. https://doi.org/10.1558/jircd.20902

In Article 1, a sequence is analysed in which a man with mild fluent aphasia and his spouse tell a story together to their friends. The article demonstrates interactional practices that contribute to successful collaboration between the two storytellers and promote the PWA's agency – his impact on action. Storytelling is a common everyday activity in conversations with friends and family. Active participation in storytelling sequences is essential for sharing experiences and constructing a personal identity.

With regard to practices that enable and further the PWA's active involvement in telling this story, the PWA contributes to the initiation and development of conversational sequence. He initiates the preface and the climax of the story by using distinct turn design practices, such as laughter accompanied by topic shift markers, and competent sequential timing supports this. The spouse reinforces the PWA's opportunities for involvement in telling the story by giving him opportunities to speak; for example, by suspending her tellership and by gaze retraction.

Practices that establish collaboration between the storytellers involve the alignment of the PWA and his spouse with each other's actions. When one of the tellers initiates an action, the other one expands and adds to it; for example, with increments connected by the conjunction 'and'. Furthermore, both storytellers use gaze to organize the participation framework in this sequence. First, the PWA invites collaboration by gazing at his spouse. Second, both tellers establish their own speakership by gazing at the audience during their own turns to secure recipiency. Third, they

support each other's speakership by gazing at their speaking co-teller to align as recipient. The recipients of the story (the friends) orient to both tellers (the PWA and his spouse, respectively); this is expressed through the recipients' conversational and gaze patterns. They thereby contribute to promoting the PWA's status as co-teller.

Overall, the practices employed are similar to those in typical storytelling. However, there are differences in turn design; the PWA's turns are shorter and fewer while the spouse's turns are longer and more numerous. Although producing short utterances, the PWA contributes to the storytelling by providing essential information and displays epistemic authority (his knowledge status with respect to the story). The findings of this article suggest that a PWA's participation can be enhanced through successful collaborative storytelling, which is promoted by individual and joint agency.

5.2 Article 2: Joint planning in conversations with a person with aphasia

Killmer, H., Svennevig, J., & Beeke, S. (2022). Joint planning in conversations with a person with aphasia. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *187*, 72–89. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.10.021

Article 2 compares two sequences of planning talk (PWA-initiated versus spouse-initiated) in which a couple jointly plans afternoon activities. The article illustrates practices employed by a man with severe fluent aphasia and his spouse to organize joint planning talk while negotiating deontic rights (a participants' entitlement to initiate planning sequences and the entitlement to accept or to reject a plan). Planning is a typical conversational activity when interacting with friends and family. By participating in planning sequences, speakers shape their own and others' future actions. Active participation in the here and now may thus shape opportunities for future participation. However, PWAs are often excluded from planning talk (Johansson et al., 2012).

First, joint planning is accomplished by co-constructing the planning sequences. The PWA contributes to planning talk by launching a planning sequence. He also initiates modifications of planning sequences that are other-initiated. The spouse aligns with his initiated actions by further developing his proposed plans. Co-construction in both sequences is enabled by inviting each other to collaborate; for example, by asking for the interlocutor's opinion (What do you think?).

Second, different practices are employed to up- and downgrade deontic authority. For example, the PWA claims rights in an announcement or allocates rights to his spouse by asking an open question. Additionally, he uses gaze to modify rights between his spouse and another interlocutor. The spouse downgrades her own rights by, for example, adding a tag question after

her proposals. Both interlocutors propose shared rights by presenting plans as not settled and open for further discussion, i.e. as proposals with the modal verbs 'can' or 'could'.

Finally, in both analysed sequences, regardless of who initiated the planning talk, both participants negotiate plans and both are seen to have the right to disagree. The structural organization of these planning sequences is similar to planning talk in typical interactions, apart from the presence of frequent repair and different turn design, such as the use of neologisms which reflect the atypical character of the interaction. The findings of this article imply that a PWA can competently participate in planning talk, either by initiating or modifying planning sequences, and the CP acknowledges and facilitates the PWA's rights to shape the plan.

5.3 Article 3: Requests to children by parents with aphasia

Killmer, H., Svennevig, J., & Beeke, S. (2023). Requests to children by parents with aphasia. *Aphasiology*, 37(9), 1363–1385. https://doi.org/10.1080/02687038.2022.2094335

In Article 3, 45 requests to children by three fathers with aphasia (two with mild fluent aphasia and one with global aphasia) during everyday interactions (e.g., mealtimes, games) are examined. The article shows how interactional authority is constituted in requests by the parents. Requesting is a typical activity in parent-child interaction. Through requests such as 'sit still', parents strive to support their children to become competent members of society while, at the same time, displaying parental authority. Parents with aphasia report the loss of parental authority (Manning et al., 2021). However, displaying authority competently, for example during requesting, is essential for a child's socialization and the role of a parent.

Two types of requests are analysed: asking a child to do an action and stopping a child's action. All three parents with aphasia employ a two-stage structure for accomplishing the first type, identical to typical parent-child interaction. First, they identify the requestee and gain mutual attention, for example by looking at, pointing towards, or prodding the child. Second, they produce the request itself. The two persons with mild aphasia achieve this by describing the requested action verbally, using imperatives or declaratives, much as in typical parent-child interaction. At the same time, they may demonstrate the action with gestures. The person with severe aphasia expresses the requested action solely with gestures. All three parents use more resources for this first type of request than for the second one. Requests to stop a child's action (the second type) are performed with one simple action, namely expressing opposition or disagreement. All three parents with aphasia achieve this with few resources, for example by simply saying 'no'.

All three parents with aphasia make requests, through which they demonstrate parental authority. The two persons with mild aphasia calibrate deontic authority by means of various linguistic resources for up- and downgrading. For example, imperative formats are downgraded with verbal devices such as hedges; e.g., 'a bit'. However, such fine-tuning is not present in requests made by the parent with severe aphasia. He mostly claims strong deontic authority, for example through increased volume, gestures and by repeating the request. He does not appear to have access to verbal resources—such as specific linguistic formats and modal constructions—that are available to persons with mild aphasia for adjusting deontic authority.

The findings of this article suggest that sequence structures that entail more resources for constructing them, such as asking a child to do an action, may hinder the possibilities for participation, while structures entailing less resources may promote participation. Furthermore, the use of gestures as a resource for expressing requests, a practice accessible to the person with severe aphasia, increases his deontic rights. This suggests that the power of calibrating deontic authority in a request may be influenced by severity of aphasia. Moreover, the data show that although requests by a PWA may not be expressed explicitly, children understand the requested actions because they are familiar with the routines and rules of the activity. Parental authority can be displayed by implicit invocation of an activity's context. Therefore, habits and routines seem to provide a resource for PWAs to scaffold requesting.

5.4 Article 4: How parents with aphasia deal with children's resistance to requests

Killmer, H. (2023). How parents with aphasia deal with children's resistance to requests. *Clinical Linguistics & Phonetics*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/02699206.2023.2226303

In Article 4, the responses of parents with aphasia to two different types of child resistance to a parental request are analysed. The article examines what interactional practices three fathers with aphasia (two with mild fluent aphasia and one with global aphasia) employ in 25 instances of resistance, and what the consequences are for parental authority. Negotiating children's resistance to parental requests is a common activity in family interaction. Parents and children negotiate the right to direct a requested future action, such as when the child has to go to bed. Negotiating these rights includes the negotiation of authority – something that parents with aphasia describe as reduced in interactions with their children (Manning et al., 2021). Yet, active and competent negotiation of parental authority in, for example, negotiation sequences is crucial for the role as

parent.

All three parents with aphasia work persistently towards compliance with their requests when they encounter resistance from a child. While Article 3 shows that parents with aphasia successfully express their entitlement to request actions from their children, this article reveals that these three parents continue to pursue their entitlement when challenged by child resistance.

The first type of child resistance, passive resistance (indicated by the child's inaction), is treated by all three parents as delay or hesitation. They pursue a response by various prompts such as 'hey' or 'right'. The second type of child resistance, active resistance (indicated by the child's attempt to bargain or give an account for not doing the requested action), is met by a parental denial of the child's attempt to resist and an account for the request. The two persons with greater linguistic resources accomplish this by engaging with their children's reasoning. They seek compliance based on mutual agreement and by legitimizing their requests. The person with more limited linguistic resources, on the other hand, expresses his displeasure with the child's resistance but fails to address the child's accounts and perspectives. He is unable to present a counterargument as a way of handling active resistance as his responses are characterized by word search and he lacks the linguistic resources to do so. Whereas the two speakers with greater linguistic resources attempt to convince their children to do a requested task by presenting counterarguments, the person with more limited linguistic resources upgrades his deontic authority by non-verbal means, such as prosody or physical action.

These data suggest that the opportunities for parents with aphasia to participate actively in request negotiation are influenced by the children's type of resistance. While a child's passive resistance may promote the PWA's participation, active resistance may hinder participation. This is because negotiating active resistance entails more complex linguistic resources for constructing counterarguments. Thus, more limited linguistic resources may limit the ability to engage in negotiating requests.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss how results from the present study contribute to previous research about participation of PWAs in everyday conversational activities. This is followed by a reflection on the possibilities and limitations of the study. Theoretical and practical implications are then addressed. The chapter ends with directions for future research and a conclusion.

6.1 Contributions of the study

The present study shows how four PWAs participate in three different everyday activities (storytelling – Article 1, planning – Article 2, and requesting – Articles 3 and 4) and illuminates consequences for their roles as partner, friend or father. Using CA, the present study examines interactional practices and structures influencing these PWAs' participation in conversational activities. Thereby it contributes to a larger research field that links aphasia on the one hand and talk in everyday interaction on the other (see for example Anglade et al., 2018; Barnes & Ferguson, 2012; Bauer, 2009; Beeke et al., 2020; Goodwin, 1995; Laakso & Godt, 2016; Lind, 2005; Oelschlaeger & Damico, 1998; Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). PWAs have been described as particularly at risk of being excluded from participating in social activities in everyday interaction (Simmons-Mackie et al., 2007). CA is a method that empirically investigates participation in everyday life and provides the possibility to understand the realization of participation. In each of the following subsections, I describe the contributions to the study of participation in everyday conversation by PWAs.

6.1.1 Interactional practices for promoting an inclusive participation framework

The present study contributes to insights into how interactional practices of PWAs themselves and their interlocutors' practices may organize the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) and promote PWAs' participation in conversation. This section first illustrates contributions concerning PWAs' and their CPs' practices that further these PWAs' agency. This is followed by information about how other interlocutors in a multiparty interaction may influence a PWA's participation. The section ends with contributions about the role of collaboration for these PWAs' participation.

First, all articles of the present study describe practices employed by the PWAs themselves that promote their agency. Previous studies have described PWAs' difficulties with initiating

actions due to, for example, missing topic initiation markers (Barnes et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2011; Leaman & Edmonds, 2020; Wilkinson, 1999). Furthermore, they have documented practices employed by PWAs that put PWAs into the role of a recipient; for example, delegating the main speaker role to a CP (Barnes & Ferguson, 2012). In contrast, all four articles of the present study show that these PWAs initiate conversational activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting. They do this competently by using markers such as story entry devices for proposing the new activity. Furthermore, they keep engaging in ongoing activities by not giving up the speaker role but by sharing it. They accomplish this engagement by shaping the interaction; for example, by adding increments to a story told (Article 1) or modifying a plan (Article 2). The present study adds to previous research by identifying PWAs' practices that further agency in activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting, and that may be employed by other PWAs in the same activities.

Second, Articles 1 and 2 reveal how CPs' practices may promote PWAs' agency. Previous research has documented that agency may be at risk if CPs do not align with the PWAs' initiated actions (Barnes & Ferguson, 2012; Simmons-Mackie & Kagan, 1999) if the CPs use 'speaking for' behaviour (Croteau & Le Dorze, 2006) or if repair sequences caused by trouble due to aphasia remain unresolved (Barnes & Ferguson, 2015; Lindsay & Wilkinson, 1999; Milroy & Perkins, 1992). While all three practices prevent repair sequences and may therefore be face-saving as well as promoting the progressivity of the conversation, they also prevent a PWA from having an interactional impact on an ongoing conversation. The first two articles of the present study show how the CPs of these PWAs align with the PWAs' actions immediately afterwards. Thereby, they take up the PWAs' interactional initiations. In addition, we can observe that the CP in Article 2 continues to align with the PWAs' action even though the action has been halted due to a repair sequence. The CP accomplishes this by repeating the PWAs' action after the repair has been accomplished. Due to an extended repair sequence, the interaction may be labelled as an atypical interaction. However, resolving trouble and continuing with the PWA's action also promotes this PWA's participation, because the PWA continues to be involved in shaping the interaction and thereby is a competent interactant. In contrast to previous studies, the findings of the present study provide information about how CPs may promote PWAs' agency even after a repair sequence.

Third, Article 1 shows that other interlocutors in a multiparty interaction (story recipients) influence the PWA's participation. Although the influence of recipients in multiparty interactions has been pointed out in typical interaction (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2005; Goodwin, 1999), this has received little attention in aphasia research. Article 1 documents how story recipients may promote or discourage the speakership of this PWA by, for example, using non-verbal resources such as nodding or gazing away from the PWA. Recipients may influence the process of participation in an

interaction with a PWA, in line with Goffman's participation framework (Goffman, 1981) for typical interaction and Goodwin's and Goodwin's (2005; 1999) development of this concept.

Fourth, the present study reveals how interactional practices such as inviting collaboration may further possibilities for co-construction of activities relevant for participation due to the collaborative nature of interaction. In aphasia research, many studies have emphasized the shared responsibility of constructing interaction (for example Milroy & Perkins, 1992). Articles 1 and 2 illustrate practices that invite collaboration, such as the PWA asking open questions and the CP using tag questions. Furthermore, I show that the PWAs and their CPs may collaborate in an activity by aligning to each other's actions and thereby promoting PWA participation. Although the PWAs and the CPs are collaboratively involved in shaping the interaction, the PWAs retain individual agency. This is displayed in the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the other interlocutors (Article 1). The interlocutors gaze at both the PWA and the CP and address both of them. These results broaden our knowledge about practices that may be used by PWAs and their CPs for installing and maintaining collaboration in activities and thereby promoting PWAs' participation. Moreover, collaboration can be furthered by interactants themselves or by the structure of a sequence, as shown in the next section.

In summary, the present study provides insights into how these PWAs can competently participate in everyday activities by involving themselves in action formation and by relying on collaboration with their CPs; this is enabled by them inviting each other to co-construct the activity. However, successful engagement in sequences requires more interactional work by PWAs and their interlocutors than in typical interaction, and this work is critical for PWAs' participation in everyday interaction.

6.1.2 Sequence structures of activities that promote or hinder participation

The present study provides a new focus on how action formation in sequence structures of activities may influence PWAs' participation. Previous studies using CA mostly focused on the effects of aphasia on the ability to construct turns in the face of linguistic limitations and involvement in repair and topic management (Beeke, et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2020; Laakso, 2003; Milroy & Perkins, 1992; Wilkinson et al., 2007). This previous view is supplemented with a new scope of sequence structures of activities. The subsection first describes the contributions regarding sequence structures of activities that may promote or hinder PWAs' participation. This is followed by insights into how conventionalized orders and routines within activities may be facilitative for participation. The subsection then displays that participation supporting collaboration may be prompted in certain activities.

First, Articles 3 and 4 illustrate how these PWAs may rely on sequence structures available in specific conversational activities. Little is known about how sequence structures may promote PWAs' action formation in conversations (Wilkinson, 1999). The few studies addressing action formation in sequence structures have not focused on specific activity types such as storytelling, planning or requesting. They have only documented general problems with action formation in sequences due to PWAs' restricted provision of information caused by limited linguistic resources (Barnes et al., 2013; Bloch & Beeke, 2008; Penn et al., 2015; Wilkinson, 1999) (see Anglade et al., 2018, 2021 for the influence of the wider context of an activity as resource for action formation). The present study has examined how aphasia influences action formation in sequences of 3 different activity types (storytelling, planning and requesting). Articles 3 and 4 illustrate how certain request sequence structures require few linguistic resources for action formation (for example stopping a child's action or pursuing a child's response). In these sequence structures, limited linguistic resources due to aphasia do not seem to hinder action formation. Thus, simple sequence structures may promote participation in activities such as requesting. However, the two articles also show how actions such as getting a child to do something or responding to a child's argumentation may become an obstacle for involvement in the activity of requesting. These actions require more linguistic resources and thereby may impede the PWAs' participation due to sequential constraints. Actively shaping these complex request sequences requires more linguistic resources than some PWAs' appear to have access to. The results cast a new light on the role of sequence structures of activities for PWAs' participation. Activities requiring fewer linguistic resources for engaging in action formation may facilitate participation by PWAs. However, barriers such as complex sequence structures may hinder participation in action formation.

Second, the present study shows that conventionalized orders and routines of conversational activities may be facilitative for a PWA's participation. Findings of previous studies imply that PWAs and their interlocutors can rely on the conventionalized orders of a certain activity for constructing intersubjectivity (Anglade et al., 2018, 2021). In line with this research, all four articles of the present study demonstrate that the activities of these PWAs are organized in the same sequential structures as in typical interaction. They only differ in the amount and length of repair sequences and turn design (for example PWAs' use of neologisms), reflecting the atypicality of the interactions. Thus, all interactants in conversations of these PWAs can rely on interactional knowledge for action formation of activity types. This knowledge thus supports the initiation and maintenance of PWAs' actions as well as interpretation of PWAs' actions. Fewer linguistic resources are needed when these PWAs initiate actions such as suggesting a modification to a plan in a planning sequence, because the CPs are familiar with the typical structure of planning sequences (Article 2). Furthermore, the results of the present study go beyond previous reports, showing that

conventionalized orders and routines of activities may provide for participation. Article 3 reveals that children align with the initiated activity of their fathers with aphasia. They respond to their fathers' requests although the requests are not verbalized but, for example, enacted. The implementation of routines in family contexts with children may therefore support parenting with aphasia (see also Section 6.1.3).

Third, the present study identifies conversational activities relevant for interacting with family and friends that naturally lend themselves to collaboration in action formation. Articles 1 and 2 provide examples of activities such as storytelling and planning that are often co-constructed and therefore naturally provide possibilities for collaboration. Such collaboration may promote PWAs' participation (see Section 6.1.1). Shared knowledge about, for example, a story to be told or shared future plans may facilitate possibilities for collaboration because potential collaborators can share rights to a story or plan (see also next section). This sharing may enable them to co-construct an activity. Thus, activities that naturally provide for collaboration may facilitate participation by PWAs, which may be supported by shared rights to collaborate.

In summary, the present study presents a new way of investigating participation in conversation. By examining conversational activities, we gain insights into sequence structures that may promote or hinder PWA's participation in these activities. Structures entailing fewer linguistic resources for construction and providing for collaboration seem to be more facilitative for PWAs' participation than structures entailing more resources for constructing them. Furthermore, activities' orders and routines may support participation.

6.1.3 Authority and participation in conversation

The study broadens the framing of aphasic participation in terms of notions of epistemic and deontic authority (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). This section first describes contributions to our knowledge about how authority can be claimed, shared, and negotiated by PWAs. This is followed by a reflection about how limited linguistic resources do not necessarily hinder claims of authority by PWAs. It is then proposed that speakers with more limited linguistic resources may hinder the fine-tuning of deontic authority.

First, the study describes these PWAs' resources for claiming epistemic and deontic rights and for proposing the distribution of these rights. These concepts have received only limited attention in previous aphasia research. Barnes and Ferguson (2012) and Perkins (1995) describe an increased use of short affirming turns ('mm hm') that express low epistemic rights to a topic. Goodwin's (2004) data show that non-verbal practices such as gazing at a CP may be used for sharing epistemic rights. Article 1 shows how claiming individual epistemic rights but also sharing

them furthers participation as a competent storyteller. The other three articles provide insights into how deontic rights can be claimed and negotiated. They illustrate, for example, how prosody can be used to up- or downgrade deontic rights, a resource previously described in relation to, for example, action formation (Goodwin et al., 2009). The present study thus adds knowledge about which practices PWAs may use for claiming, sharing, and negotiating authority and what influence such practices have on PWAs' roles as partner, father or friend.

Second, all articles show that these PWAs are able to claim high authority in spite of limited linguistic resources. In contrast, previous research often describes PWAs' use of a 'few' 'short' turns (Barnes & Ferguson, 2012; Croteau & Le Dorze, 2006), implying that this might be a hindrance for participation. However, by analysing distribution of authority, the articles in the present study show that although PWAs might provide fewer and shorter turns, these turns can have a high impact in terms of authority. This shows that the specific turn design, and not the quantity of words composing a turn, shapes participation.

Third, more limited linguistic resources appear to restrict the fine-tuning of deontic authority. Thus, it is the fine-tuning of authority which requires linguistic resources rather than the mere claiming of authority. Articles 3 and 4 show how two men with mild aphasia up- and downgrade their deontic authority with various linguistic resources while a man with severe aphasia claims foremost upgraded deontic authority, expressed through an increased use of gestures, among other practices. It appears that more limited verbal resources restrict the calibration of authority. Furthermore, the increased use of gestures, a resource more often used by PWAs than by speakers without aphasia (Auer & Bauer, 2011), heightens deontic authority. The findings of this study thus add insights into resources influencing deontic authority.

In summary, the present study provides knowledge about practices for constituting epistemic and deontic authority in conversations by PWAs as well as insights into how aphasia may restrict the calibration of deontic authority. It shows that claiming, sharing, and negotiating authority is important for competently participating in interactions.

6.1.4 The role of gaze for participation in conversation

The present study broadens knowledge about the role of gaze in conversations involving PWAs by systematically analysing the details of all participants' gaze behaviour. Such in-depth analysis of gaze is not routine in aphasia research (but see Goodwin, 2004; Hamdani & Barnes, 2022; Laakso, 2003) although it has generated insights into the organization of participation in typical interactions (Auer, 2017; Rossano, 2012; Zima, 2018). This section first discusses contributions to knowledge about PWAs' gaze behaviour before describing insights into their CPs' gaze behaviour.

First, the PWAs of the present study use gaze to organize speakership and to modify deontic authority. In aphasia research, Goodwin (2004) has shown how a PWA uses gaze to share epistemic rights, and Hamdani and Barnes (2022) have described how a PWA uses gaze to select a next speaker. The role of gaze has also been investigated to some extent in repair sequences (Laakso, 2003). Article 1 provides new insights into how PWAs use gaze, for example, to strengthen their own speakership and confirms previous findings that PWAs may use gaze for establishing the speakership of a co-storyteller. In addition, it adds to the understanding of how gaze may be employed by a PWA to modify deontic rights between speakers (Articles 2 and 3).

Second, these CPs use gaze for organizing speakership and other interlocutors' gaze behaviour influences the participation framework in a multiparty conversation. The PWA's co-storyteller in Article 1 uses gaze retraction, among other practices, to provide room to speak for the PWA. Furthermore, by analysing the gaze behaviour of this PWA's other interlocutors, Article 1 shows the establishment of the PWAs' individual and joint agency reflected in the story recipients' gaze behaviour. It reveals the established participation framework in a multiparty conversation. None of the previous studies of aphasia analysed interlocutors' gaze behaviour. These findings provide new knowledge about practices used by CPs and the influence of other interlocutors' gaze behaviour in a multiparty conversation.

In summary, gaze seems to be a resource for PWAs to promote the own speakership and modify epistemic and deontic rights. As it is a non-verbal resource, it seems especially relevant for these conversations. It seems to be a potential resource for organizing participation in aphasia and it may display the established participation framework in interaction.

6.1.5 Investigating a sparsely researched population

The present study investigates interactions of persons that have previously received relatively little attention. This subsection first describes the contribution to the field of investigating young children as interlocutors of PWAs. It then shows how the present study contributes to knowledge about a relatively sparsely analysed language (German) in aphasia research.

First, the present study explored conversations between parents with aphasia and their children (Articles 3 and 4). Bauer and Auer's study (2009) appears to be the only other investigation of this nature, but its focus was on the role of the spouse in mediating interactions between a parent and his child. The majority of CA studies have investigated PWAs' interactions with their adult interlocutors (for example Bauer, 2009; Goodwin, 1995; Linell & Korolija, 1995; Oelschlaeger & Damico, 1998). However, home is the context where PWAs interact most (Code, 2003; Cruice et al., 2006; Davidson et al., 2003, 2008) and since for parents with aphasia children are likely to be

frequent CPs, more attention should be paid to this area. There are some studies that analyse how aphasia affects family life by interviewing families with aphasia (Grawburg et al., 2019; Manning et al., 2021; Ryan & Pitt, 2018). In these interviews, PWAs describe the loss of parental authority due to aphasia. However, we lack observational studies of parenting with aphasia. The present study provides insights into how aphasia may affect interaction in typical family activities in everyday life. Furthermore, it provides an in-depth exploration of how aphasia may influence features such as parental authority in conversation.

Second, concerning the language of participants, the present study investigates German-speaking PWAs. This population has had little attention in CA aphasia studies (with the exception of, for example, Bauer, 2009; Heeschen & Schegloff, 1999; Springer, 2004). The majority of studies have been conducted in English-speaking populations. However, investigating PWAs' participation in different languages and cultures provides a more profound and broader picture of how aphasia may affect interaction. The present study contributes to broadening this picture.

In summary, the present study expands knowledge about opportunities and barriers for parents with aphasia to participate in family contexts. Furthermore, it strengthens previous results in aphasia research by analysing interactions in an understudied language and culture.

6.2 Possibilities and limitations of the study

In this section, I first discuss the possibilities and limitations of analysing single cases and collections. This is followed by a reflection about my own role as a researcher in the analytic process.

The findings of the present study are based on two single case analyses (Articles 1 and 2) and two collection-based ones (Articles 3 and 4). The case analyses identify single practices used for participating in storytelling and planning. While such case analyses perhaps first and foremost identify effective or constructive practices, they are only based on single occurrences of behaviour. The other two studies include collections of initiating and negotiating requests. They provide possibilities to think beyond single practices as they are based on many request sequences, although there are few participants. The small number of participants may limit the generalizability of the present study, but its aim is not to make generalizations about how PWAs participate in conversations. In line with previous CA research, the type of generalizability of the present study is based on "possibilities of language use" (Peräkylä, 2011, p. 375). The findings of the study identify and describe PWAs' and CPs' practices as well as the interactional structures that promote

or hinder these PWAs' participation in storytelling, planning, and requesting activities. Such practices and structures have the potential to be observed in conversations of other PWAs. As these practices have been documented to be possible for use by other PWAs and their CPs, one may be able to train their use and thus to promote PWAs' participation. Thus, the value of the findings of the present study is that they can be used to inform interventions such as CPT (see Section 6.3 Theoretical and practical implications of the study) and they can become a resource for future research (see Section 6.4 Directions for future research).

Second, my role as a researcher may have influenced the observed phenomena and interpretation of the data. As described previously, CA findings are based on noticings and the next turn proof procedure (see Chapter 4). This bottom-up procedure is supposed to enable the analyst to generate findings free from pre-specified analytic goals because it is based on observations of participants' understanding of interaction. Thus, theoretically the analyst uncovers evidence in the data themselves. However, observations are inevitably contingent on an analysist's subjective perspective, which is shaped by her/his theoretical knowledge, ethnographic membership and everyday knowledge (Deppermann, 2008). As far as theoretical knowledge is concerned, the practices and structures I describe can be found in the data and may be observed by any other analyst. As in other CA studies, the data of the present study have been analysed together with other conversation analysts in data sessions. The possibility of using CA is thus grounded in the findings in the data. Moreover, it supports a joint analysis of the data, which provides for findings that are based on broad theoretical knowledge. With regard to my own everyday knowledge and membership, it is relevant to reflect about the influence of not sharing the same lifeworld as the participants and their CPs. As SLP and researcher, I have had close contact with different PWAs and CPs, which has shaped my perspective. However, I am aware that I am looking at data from an outsider's perspective because I do not have the same everyday knowledge nor the same ethnographic membership. To minimize this so-called analyst's paradox, Sarangi (2007), for example, proposes the involvement of key informants. Thus, the findings of the present study may have been limited by not including informants' insider perspectives. They could have been broadened by using self-report methods to gain PWAs' and their CPs' perspectives (see Section 6.4 Directions for future research).

In summary, the way researchers analyse, interpret, and describe findings about a focal population may have social consequences for this population because their interactions are presented in a certain way. Therefore, the perspective and description of participation presented in the present study may have broader implications in the long run. Reflecting on possibilities and limitations of studies adds to our awareness of what a study may provide or may not provide. Such

reflection is thus essential for a realistic description of theoretical and practical implications of the study, as well as for identifying directions for future research.

6.3 Theoretical and practical implications of the study

This CA study has begun to reframe the concept of participation with aphasia. This change of perspective may be implicative for approaches to participation of PWAs. Implications can be condensed in three main areas: (1) beliefs and values about participation; (2) rehabilitation programs; and (3) healthcare policy.

Beliefs and values shape approaches to participation and may have consequences for PWAs' participation in conversation. Previous CA studies of aphasia primarily focused on the effects of aphasia on PWAs' ability to construct turns in the face of linguistic limitations and PWAs' involvement in repair and topic management. These studies have shown several practices used by PWAs and their interlocutors that limit PWAs' possibilities for participation in interaction (Barnes & Ferguson, 2012; Croteau & Le Dorze, 2006; Isaksen, 2018). Such practices may derive from the unintended consequence of attempting to navigate conversations when one person has aphasia. Such practices prohibit a PWA's participation in conversation and thereby in society. Therefore, it is important to conceptualize participation in conversations by PWAs from a non-deficit perspective that focuses on understanding how competence permits a PWA to have agency and authority in interaction. The present study does this by focusing on social action. First, the present study has illustrated that all interlocutors within an interaction are responsible for participation of a PWA. This implies that the theoretical conceptualization of participation in aphasia should acknowledge a collaborative influence. Practically, this acknowledgement of the interdependency of interlocutors implies that research and rehabilitation should rather focus on finding ways for all participants to support PWAs' participation, instead of focusing on PWAs' linguistic limitations. Second, the present study has shown that sequence structures of activities may restrict or provide opportunities for participation. This brings a new perspective to the theoretical concept of participation with aphasia in interaction, one which should be implemented in approaches to participation. Practically, these insights should inform rehabilitation research that could focus on the influence of different types of conversational activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting on PWAs' participation. In summary, using CA, the present study has shown that participation is dynamically shaped by different interactional practices and structures and interlocutors. As a consequence, the present study might be implicative in terms of developing a general sensitivity for complexities in interaction that might inform rehabilitation and policy makers.

In order to deliver evidence-based intervention which aims to improve communication, such as CPT, methods need to be informed by knowledge about how participation in conversation works. Such knowledge is provided by the depth analysis of conversational resources and barriers to participation in everyday conversational activities undertaken by the present study. As a first step, further practices influencing participation need to be identified before educating participants about them. During CPT itself, participants could learn about interactional principles such as collaboration that may be supportive in terms of participation. It could be discussed with PWAs and their CPs that all participants in a conversation are responsible for PWAs' participation and that participants can work together to facilitate this. Practices for inviting another person to collaborate in activities such as storytelling or planning, and the importance of aligning with an ongoing action, could be explained and practiced with couples. Such knowledge about interaction may enable participants to take supportive roles that further PWAs' participation in interaction. In a second step, participants could be informed about how everyday activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting are organized. Existing rehabilitation programmes training activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting do not take an interlocutor's influence on participation into account (LUNA: Dipper & Cruice, 2018)A, do not address the influence of interactional aspects on participation (Interactive Storytelling Therapy: Carragher et al., 2015), or are decontextualized from everyday interaction (ILAT: Difrancesco et al., 2012; Stahl et al., 2018) (see also Chapter 2). The findings of the present study could influence these existing programmes; CPT could introduce a dyad to the concept of activities in conversation, how they work and how a PWA can be supported to tell stories, actively engage in planning talk or make a request. Such activities are already routine interactions in everyday life, for example telling stories during dinner table conversations. They could become a routine again for PWA after CPT. A couple of activities that work well for a PWA and their family could be identified and implemented in everyday life to facilitate participation. In a fourth step, video feedback could be implemented in which participants together with an SLP identify practices in their own and other persons' conversations (Beeke, et al., 2013). Due to the dynamic and individual character of participating in interactions, this seems to be the method of choice for training participants to participate in conversational activities relevant to them.

How participation is described and defined in frameworks by policy makers (governments and organizations), has consequences for a PWA's life, for example how they are perceived and treated in society and what support they may receive. This study reveals that participation is shaped in interaction. Current models of participation such as the ICF are not based on insights about participation in everyday interaction. Therefore, there seems to be a discrepancy between the conceptualization of participation by policy makers and the construction of participation in real life.

The present study suggests that research that takes an interactional perspective to participation should be included when conceptualizing frameworks.

Directions for future research that could inform rehabilitation and policy are discussed in the following section.

6.4 Directions for future research

Future studies could explore participation in families with a parent who has aphasia, further examine everyday activities of PWAs, and triangulate the findings from CA and participant perspectives.

Research on parents with aphasia and their children is limited. Previous studies have analysed how aphasia affects family life by interviewing families (Grawburg et al., 2019; Manning et al., 2021; Ryan & Pitt, 2018) or analysing the role of spouses of a parent with aphasia in family interactions (Bauer & Auer, 2009). The present study provides an observational perspective on parenting as it is experienced by a PWA. It shows that there are specific resources and barriers for parents with aphasia when interacting in typical family activities with their young children. Therefore, further exploration of parenting with aphasia in observational studies is required. This should include young families with a parent with aphasia - using CA to investigate their participation in family life, as well as their needs and wishes for support in communicating with their children, could improve healthcare support for these families and ultimately their quality of life.

The present study shows that CA can be used successfully to study the participation of PWAs in everyday conversational activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting. Further studies could continue this by analysing how other PWAs and their CPs accomplish the same or other types of activities such as assessments or complaints. Assessments and complaints are some of the ways we provide our opinions, and research has shown that PWAs wanted to be able to express them (Wallace et al., 2017). In addition, activities outside the home should be investigated, as knowledge about such activities (for example requesting information) is scarce (but see Anglade et al., 2018, 2021; Isaksen, 2018).

Using CA for in-depth analyses of gaze, and concepts such as epistemic and deontic authority in typical interactions is well-established and may further our insights into atypical interaction. So far, few studies have analysed gaze behaviour or practices constituting authority. More research into gaze as a participatory practice and the influence of authority on participation would provide a more nuanced focus on structures and practices influencing participation in atypical interaction. Eye gaze behaviour could be investigated with mobile eye tracking glasses, a technique

used for studying typical interactions. How epistemic and deontic authority is constituted through turn design would provide further insights into participation with aphasia.

So far, the perspectives of PWAs and their families on the influence of aphasia on participation have been investigated in various interview studies (Dalemans et al., 2010; Davidson et al., 2008; Howe et al., 2008). However, PWAs' and their families' perspectives of participation in conversational activities has had relatively limited attention (Johansson et al., 2012). Including families' experiences and reflections in studies as the present one would provide a more holistic view on participation. A triangulation of CA research and self-report methods such as semi-structured interviews with PWAs about conversational activities could provide this perspective. Interviews could help to identify important and meaningful conversational activities as well as illuminate different facets of participating in typical everyday activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting. In addition, PWAs and their CPs could be involved in analysing their own data as co-researchers, as practiced in a study of persons with dementia (Dooley et al., 2021). Participants could, in their videotaped conversations, identify conversational moments that facilitate or hinder participation. Adding the voice of PWAs and their interlocutors to research about participation may provide more authentic insights because findings would be based on a combination of theoretical knowledge and insider life world experiences.

6.5 Conclusion

The present study aims to investigate facilitators and barriers for PWAs' participation in everyday conversational activities such as storytelling, planning and requesting. It reveals how PWAs' interactional practices influence participation, how conversation partners can support this and which interactional structures influence participation. An understanding of how PWAs and conversation partners organize their actions in everyday life is important because participation is a process that is collaboratively shaped by the actions of all interactants and may change throughout a conversation and across conversations over time, in different settings and with differing interlocutors. Investigating this process in common activities in daily interactions such as storytelling, planning or requesting may provide insights into the dynamics of participation and a different lens on participation in aphasia. Although based on a few participants, the conversational practices described by using CA in the present study are just a few mechanisms in a rich repertoire of practices that PWAs can be observed to employ in conversation. Contributing to an understanding of how such conversational practices are employed in interaction facilitates and furthers our knowledge of how PWAs can participate or have their participation restricted and

illuminates consequences for their role as partner, friend or father. An understanding of how participation is accomplished and can be supported in interaction, an understanding that this study develops, contributes to a general awareness of how social contact can be secured across contexts in everyday conversational activities in spite of communication problems.

7 References

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8 Appendix

8.1 Transcript notation

Summary of the most important GAT 2 transcription conventions

(Selting et al., 2011) with additions by author:

Sequential structure	
`[ ]`	Overlap and simultaneous talk
`[ ]`	
`=`	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
In- and outbreaths	
`°h / h°`	in-/ outbreaths of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
`°hh / hh°`	in-/ outbreaths of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
`°hhh / hhh°`	in-/ outbreaths of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
Pauses	
`(.)`	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration appr.
`(-)`	short estimated pause of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
`(--)`	intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
`(---)`	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
`(0.5)/(2.0)`	measured pause of appr. 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
`?hm?hm`	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
´ŚO	rising
¯SO	level
ˆSO	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. ↓↓ ŚO	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

Additions by present author(s)

t:/h: ^/*	representing non-verbal behavior (e.g. gestures, movements and gaze)
?:	unknown speaker

Part II

Publications

Article 1

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

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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.

KEYWORDS: APHASIA; STORYTELLING; CONVERSATION ANALYSIS; GAZE; AGENCY; COLLABORATION

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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 interactional 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 interlocutor 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 understanding 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 sequential 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 initiations. 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 interlocutor 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 continuity 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 composed 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

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.

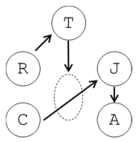
The analyzed scene takes place in Tim and Julia's kitchen. The participants are sitting around an oval table with Tim seated at one end of the table. To Tim's left are seated first Julia (his wife) and then Anna (his daughter), and to his right are their visitors, Ruth and Christian. The camera is placed 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

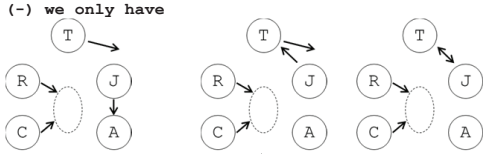
Extract 1 shows how Tim initiates the story (line 1011), Julia takes it up (line 1012), and Ruth provides a news request (line 1013). Then Tim and Julia expand the preface (lines 1014 and 1016) while Ruth continues to prompt the telling of the story (lines 1015 and 1017).

Extract 1[4,5]

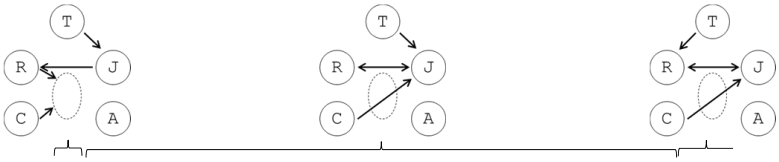
1008 J: der war nüt;
there was nothing
1009 A: **²hm ²hm**



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

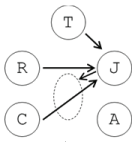


1011 T: daFÜR war ee (.) d=nacht VORher was los HE?
in contrast there was eeh (.) something happening the night before right



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

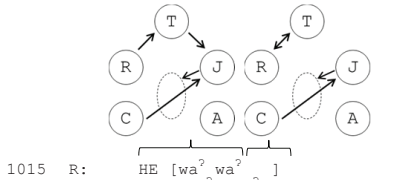
1013 R: [was war dn]
what was it



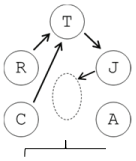
1014 J: [mei bett hat so vi]BRIERT;
my bed was quite vibrating

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).

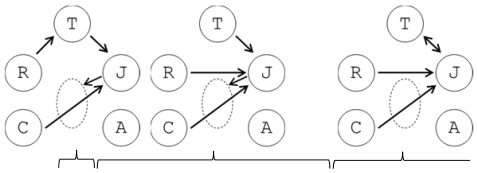
Although Tim and Julia demonstrate common epistemic rights to the story, they display certain differences in epistemic stance. Tim reports their common experiences in a narrative style from a third-person perspective, without including his personal perceptions or reactions. Julia, on the other hand, 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

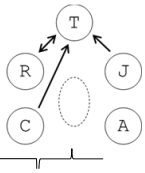
At the end of his turn (extract 1, line 1016), Tim moves his gaze from Ruth to Julia and selects her as next speaker. While Ruth gazes at Tim, Christian orients to Tim's change of gaze direction by turning his gaze to Julia. Julia acknowledges Tim's rights to pursue the body of the story in that she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

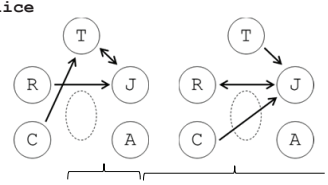


1018 J: ja I DENK dass es en EHEstreit [war;]
yeah I think that it was a domestic

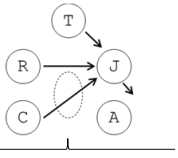


1019 T: [ja]^
yes
t: ^nods

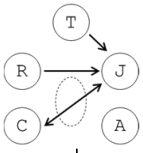
1020 [mit PoliZEI]
with police



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

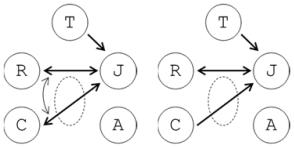


1022 <<acc> des wa:r *(.) drüben am ECK,>
that was (.) over there at the corner
j: *moving left hand above head and behind her while looking at it



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

1024 <<imitating sound> IIIÜÜÜ> <<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.

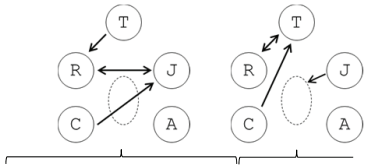
Tim and Julia continue to display their equal epistemic access in the body of the story. Julia begins the body of the story with a statement that downgrades her epistemic access by hedging the proposition with 'I think' (line 1018), marking her subjective perspective. With the following increment, Tim 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).

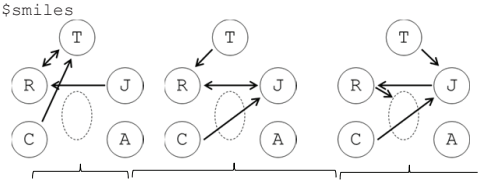
Extract 3



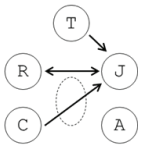
1026 T: die waret a weng FLOTT unterwegs-
they were a bit fast on the way

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

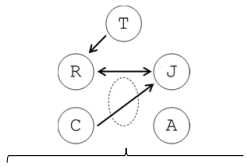
1028 he@$ [he he;]
heh heh heh
r: @nods
c: $smiles



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 multiparty 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.

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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.
ʔ	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

ˋSO	Falling
ˊˊSO	Rising
¯SO	Level
ˆSO	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

Article 2

Joint planning in conversations with a person with aphasia

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Joint planning in conversations with a person with aphasia

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ABSTRACT

This study explores practices employed by a person with aphasia (PWA) and his wife to organize joint planning sequences and negotiate deontic rights (a participants' entitlement to initiate planning sequences and the entitlement to accept or reject a plan). We analyze two different conversations between a man with aphasia and his wife and their adult daughter. Using Conversation Analysis (CA), we identify practices that further the PWA's participation in the interaction while planning afternoon activities together with his wife. The PWA contributes to the planning talk by initiating and modifying planning sequences. The spouse supports his participation by aligning with his initiated actions and inviting him to collaborate in planning talk she initiates. Deontic authority is shared between the conversation partners and the PWA's agency is facilitated even during disagreement. The analysis offers insight into practices that allow a PWA to use his limited communicative resources to contribute competently to planning talk.

1. Introduction

Joint planning is a typical activity in everyday life: we plan what to have for dinner, who should pick up the children, when to meet with our friends, etc. It belongs to the family of projective projects in which a speaker attempts to bring about a future action or event - in contrast to reconstructive projects, which deal with the past (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). In the beginning of joint planning talk, a future scenario might be projected by launching a general idea (Leyland, 2016). Following this, participants collaboratively shape the idea with their actions (Goodwin, 2013). In order to reach an agreement, they modify and negotiate details of the plan step-by-step and make various decisions along the way (Ayaß, 2020). This process is not predefined and can have various formats (Suchman, 2007).

Previous research has concentrated on different interrelated elements of joint planning talk: for example proposals (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987; Lindström, 2017), decision making (Huisman, 2001) and negotiation (Siitonen and Wahlberg, 2015). These studies show that one, two or several persons can be involved in planning talk and in taking a decision over a plan (Ayaß, 2020). Furthermore, a plan can be implicative for the person that makes the plan and/or for others (see also Couper-Kuhlen, 2014 about self- and other-agentivity). Additionally, a planning process and the execution of a plan can follow each other immediately or they can be remote by hours, days, weeks or years. If immediate, acceptance of the plan and commitment to it is displayed right away by executing the planned action. If remote, only a commitment to a plan can be claimed because the

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execution comes about remotely (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987). The present study expands the investigation of so-called remote proposals, in which one speaker proposes a future course of action that affects both the speaker and the recipient.

Although the shaping of planning processes is situated in interactions that happen here and now, these interactions influence a person's future lifeworld (Ayaß, 2020). Persons with aphasia[1] are often excluded from planning talk (Johansson et al., 2012) because decision-making capacities are considered to be impaired (Kagan, 1995) and aphasia can mask competence in conversation (Berg et al., 2020; Kagan, 1995). While there is research about participation in planning talk it focuses on PWAs' inclusion in decision making processes in speech and language rehabilitation (Berg et al., 2016; Isaksen, 2018) and hospital settings (Kagan et al., 2020; Simmons-Mackie et al., 2007). Such institutional interactions (in contrast to family settings), have an asymmetrical character, which results in a different pattern of opportunities for participation in decision making processes. Few conversation analytic studies investigate PWAs' participation in planning talk or decision making in familiar settings (Barnes, 2012; Goodwin, 1995). Barnes (2012) shows how a friend supports the planning of a holiday trip by a PWA. Goodwin (1995) describes how a PWA, his wife and a nurse construct what the PWA wants to eat. In both Barnes' (2012) and Goodwin's (1995) studies, the conversation partners drive the organization of planning talk and involve the PWAs by asking questions. The PWAs take a responsive role.

Other conversation analytic research has studied the organization of planning talk for persons without a communication disability in different environments, e.g. for children (Gauvain and Huard, 1999), in the workplace (Greer and Leyland, 2018; Smith, 2005; Stallard, 2000), and for second language learners (Kunitz, 2015; Lee and Burch, 2017; Markee and Kunitz, 2013)). Until now planning talk in PWAs' home environments has not been investigated systematically despite the need to understand which practices facilitate PWAs' participation.

The present study aims to identify practices that further participation by PWAs by analyzing the organization of joint planning sequences in two different face-to-face family interactions, one sequence initiated by a PWA and one by his spouse. It contributes to conversation analytic research on how PWAs and their interlocutors handle and overcome challenges associated with aphasia in interaction and how a PWA's participation may be enhanced (e.g. Barnes and Ferguson, 2012; Bauer, 2009; Beeke et al., 2020; Laakso and Godt, 2016; Lind, 2005). The study adds to our understanding of planning processes and the way in which they allow a PWA to shape his future.

1.1. Joint planning talk

An initiation of planning talk can have various forms (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987, 1990): a “plan initiator”(Scholtens, 1991:39) can for example make a direct proposal (Let's have macaroni for dinner) (Stevanovic, 2015) or ask an indirect question (What are you doing today?). These forms are united by the fact that they attempt to influence a future activity. Furthermore, regardless their linguistic form, co-participants, the plan recipients, orient to them as a first action by accepting or resisting them (Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2012). Thus, the sequential structure of planning talk is founded on a proposal-response sequence: a first-pair-part of an adjacency pair (Initiation/Proposal) makes necessary a second pair part (Acceptance) (Ekberg, 2011; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987).[2] The basic sequential structure of planning talk is characterized as follows for the present study: A: Initiation, B: Acceptance.

Insertion sequences can expand this structure and it can be repeated for negotiating, clarifying, specifying and modifying details of a plan (Ayaß, 2020; Mazeland, 2020). Furthermore, repair can alter or delay the achievement of the pair parts (Clark and Schaeffer, 1989). However, the exact sequential structure of longer planning sequences has received little attention in previous research. The present study takes the described analytical concept of the sequential organization of planning talk as an adjacency pair and focuses on participants' attempts to influence a joint future activity and co-participants' orientation to these attempts.

Planning sequences (initiations and orientations to them) differ in so far as they may support or restrain participation in planning talk. As will be shown, they differ in the degree of (1) deontic authority – participants show who is entitled to initiate planning talk and who is entitled to accept or reject the plan (Asmuß and Oshima, 2012; Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2012; Stivers et al., 2018) and (2) co-construction – participants may collaborate or resist in co-constructing the sequence (Stevanovic, 2012). Scrutinizing the participants' practices pertaining to these two concepts may reveal how participation in planning talk can be enabled or challenged.

In line with the first concept, deontic authority, the format of the initiation of a plan (a) shows the degree of entitlement the plan initiator claims to have to initiate a plan, and (b) demonstrates which rights the plan initiator grants the plan recipient to shape a future action[3] (Asmuß and Oshima, 2012; Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2012; Stivers et al., 2018). In their study of treatment planning, Stivers et al. (2018) identify four different formats (pronouncement, offer, proposal and suggestion) that may up- or downgrade participants' deontic authority and result in more or less flexibility to jointly plan a future action.[4] With a pronouncement (We are going to), a participant claims high entitlement to initiate a plan and exclusive rights to determine the future. The recipient is not offered the option to decline or negotiate the order, and this restricts the opportunities to collaborate in shaping the plan. By contrast, an offer (Would you like to) expresses low entitlement to initiate a

[1] From now on abbreviated with PWAs.

[2] Whether the basic structure is necessarily followed by an acknowledgement and thus involves an adjacency triplet (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987) or might be followed by an optional minimal post expansion (Schegloff, 2007) is debated (see for example Ekberg, 2011).

[3] Because our data involves plans that concern both participants, we limit our description to formats that initiate mutual plans. Note, that the initiator of mutual plans besides determining an own future activity, also claims rights to determine another participant's future activity.

[4] Note that Stivers and colleagues investigate data from an institutional doctor-patient setting, which is a priori shaped by asymmetric authority while in interactions of couples (as in our data) a symmetric distribution of authority is assumed.

plan and low rights to determine the future. Here, the initiator attributes the decision to the recipient. With a proposal (Why don't we/We can) or a suggestion (You could try/I would), an initiator expresses moderate entitlement to initiate a plan as the plan is presented as optional and not yet determined. While in a proposal, shared rights to determine the future are proposed because the recipient is invited to collaborate in planning the future action, in a suggestion, the initiator claims lower rights to determine the shape of the future action because it invites and depends on the recipients' acceptance. Opportunities for collaboration in planning talk thus appear to be influenced by the design of the initiation.

However, research shows that the distribution of deontic authority can be negotiated as it depends not only on the initiator's claim of rights but also on the recipient's acceptance of the proposed rights (Asmuß and Oshima, 2012; Stevanovic and Peräkylä, 2012). With regard to proposals in which an initiator proposes shared deontic rights (We can go for a walk later), Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2012) show that a recipient can confirm the claimed distribution of rights (Yes, let's do that). Yet, she can undermine the proposed distribution of rights by agreeing with the plan but claiming more rights to shape the future action than were granted to her by the initiator (Well, we will certainly go for a walk later). In a study of planning talk involving a PWA, Barnes (2012) finds that the man expresses his rights to a plan by recycling parts of his interlocutors' proposal, question or assertion, and thereby shows his firstness, which is another way of claiming rights to a plan.

Another means to negotiate deontic authority is turn allocation. At each transition-relevant place (TRP) (at the end of each turn unit) a current speaker can continue speaking, select another speaker, or another speaker may select him or herself (Sacks et al., 1974). By continuing to speak or self-selecting, speakers may claim rights to a plan. Shared rights may be offered by selecting a next speaker. Few studies of aphasia have directly considered turn allocation but there are interesting suggestions that aphasia type may have an influence. For example, Ferguson (1998) shows how two persons with fluent aphasia more often select to continue to speak at a TRP than they select their conversation partners without a communication disability as next speakers. In fluent aphasia,[5] sentence structure is relatively intact but neologisms (non-words) and paraphasias (words that sound like or mean something similar to the intended word) are common and logorrhea or 'press of speech' is described, whereby speakers appear to monopolize the conversational floor (Marshall, 2017). In addition, Ferguson (1998) finds these conversation partners do not self-select as next speakers but rather select the PWA as next speaker. However, this finding might be influenced by the institutional relationship between the PWAs and their conversation partners (speech and language therapist, aphasia researcher) or a lack of experience in interacting with PWAs (unfamiliar conversation partners). In contrast, Barnes and Ferguson (2012) find that a familiar conversation partner does not promote the speakership of a person with non-fluent aphasia. In non-fluent aphasia, speech production is halting and effortful and sentence structure is limited although content words may be preserved (Menn et al., 1995). To what extent the type of aphasia influences speakership and thus affects deontic authority remains unknown. While PWAs' limited linguistic resources may create a barrier for verbal organization of speakership, non-verbal resources can be employed to organize speakership and thus facilitate PWAs' authority (Bauer, 2009; Goodwin, 1995; Killmer et al., 2021), as is the case in interactions of persons without communication ability (Mondada, 2016; Rossano, 2012; Zima et al., 2019).

According to the second concept, co-construction of sequences, participation in planning talk becomes visible in participants' collaborative practices while constructing a planning sequence. Stevanovic (2012) identified three subsequent components that establish joint planning talk after an initiation of a plan (e.g. A: "Let's eat ice cream at Ben & Jerry's"). First, the plan recipient shows access or understanding of the plan as B: "They have fantastic ice cream". Then she agrees (B: "I was thinking the same") and finally commits to the plan (B:"Let's go there"). Stevanovic (2012) characterizes decisions in planning talk as collaboratively constructed when the plan recipient develops a plan further through adding an access, agreement and commitment component to a proposal. In this case, participants pursue planning talk by adding attempts to modify or specify the plan, which again can be negotiated collaboratively (Mazeland, 2020). Conversely, if a recipient does not pursue a planning initiation, collaboration in the construction of planning talk may be impeded. Furthermore, planning talk can be constructed collaboratively by expanding an initial idea.

Although previous studies have not considered collaborative construction during planning sequences in aphasia, some reveal more generally how aphasic conversational practices can both promote and impede collaboration. On the one hand, persons with fluent and non-fluent aphasia have difficulties with sequential placement of topic initiations (Barnes et al., 2013) as well as with the lexical composition of sequences that introduce new topics (Barnes et al., 2013; Bauer, 2009; Beeke et al., 2011; Wilkinson, 1999). On the other hand, PWAs' conversation partners can have difficulties with interpreting how a PWA's turn is linked to the previous one (Wilkinson, 1999). Furthermore, Barnes and Ferguson (2012) and Simmons-Mackie and Kagan (1999) find that the sequence initiations of a PWA may not be pursued by the interlocutor. This practice sequentially deletes the PWA's initiations so collaboration in sequence construction is not possible. In contrast, Killmer et al. (2021) show how a conversation partner pursues a PWA's actions by expanding the PWA's talk with *and*-prefaced turns. In summary, both fluent and non-fluent aphasia may hinder topic initiation, while fluent aphasia can but does not need to hinder a conversation partners' uptake of PWAs' topic initiation – probably depending on the conversation partner.

Another way to co-construct planning talk is to propose new activities during ongoing planning talk conversations. Isaksen (2018) reports that in therapy planning sequences, only speech-language pathologists (SLPs) make proposals and not PWAs. This finding might be influenced by the institutional character of the interaction. However, all SLPs involved in the study stated that they wanted to involve PWAs in decision making and that they encouraged involvement. Isaksen (2018) describes an interaction in which a PWA's initiation of planning sequences is treated as inappropriate by the SLP, who gives minimal

[5] The participant in this study has fluent aphasia.

responses and does not align with the PWA's initiated action. This asymmetry in initiating proposals during planning talk can also be observed in Barnes' (2012) data. Only the friend launches proposals, not the PWA. Such practices as described by Isaksen (2018) and Barnes (2012) predefine sequences and restrict opportunities for collaboration in constructing planning talk.

1.2. The present study

The present study investigates how participation is achieved in the joint planning talk of a PWA and his spouse. More specifically, we examine how the couple constructs two joint planning sequences, with a focus on deontic authority and co-construction of sequences, which may influence participation in planning talk by supporting or preventing collaboration. We analyze conversational practices that the PWA and his spouse apply to shape actions, and the influence of speaker initiation on planning talk (PWA-initiated planning sequence vs. spouse-initiated planning sequence). It seeks to answer the following questions: (1) How do the participants organize joint planning talk while negotiating deontic rights and what are the consequences for the PWA's participation? (2) How do the sequence initiations (PWA-initiated planning sequence vs. Spouse-initiated planning sequence) influence the organization of the sequence or the accomplishment of participation?

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The participants are a man with aphasia (Fritz, 64 years old), his wife (Helga, 62 years old) and their adult daughter (Uta, age unknown) who is visiting them.[6] Shortly after Fritz retired from his occupation as a chief engineer, he had a stroke. This stroke caused a severe Wernicke's aphasia, a type of fluent aphasia, affecting both his receptive and expressive language modalities (Edwards, 2005; Greenwald, 2018).

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.[7] The database consists of 142 recordings (in total circa 150 h) and corresponding transcripts of nine German-speaking PWAs who were asked to video record themselves during different typical interactions at home.[8] For the purpose of the present study, the recordings were inspected with a data-driven conversation analytic approach to identify interesting phenomena of the data (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008). Joint planning talk emerged as a topic of interest with the potential to give insights into the collaborative organization of participation. Planning sequences by four PWAs were examined in 10 conversations. At this stage, a planning sequence was operationalized as a sequence in which a future activity was proposed by one of the participants. Following this, the analytic focus was narrowed by inspecting sequences in which proposed activities jointly involved the PWA and another participant. Narrowing the focus to joint activities was regarded as creating potential symmetry between the participants because sharing authority in an activity that concerns both participants creates symmetry, while sharing authority in an activity that only concerns one of the participants creates asymmetry. Subsequently, these sequences were categorized according to whether planning talk was immediate or remote. The analysis here focuses on remote planning sequences only, because they involved more talk than immediate planning sequences. Thus, they seemed more challenging for PWAs and provided more opportunities to investigate participation in planning talk. Two remote planning sequences were chosen for analysis here, firstly because they are representative of patterns that the speakers employ across planning sequences. Secondly, they involve different participants as initiators (one sequence is initiated by Fritz and one by his wife). Thereby, they provide a contrast concerning questions of deontic authority. Third, the two sequences reveal successful collaboration, which has the power to provide us with insights into practices that enhance participation. The two sequences are taken from two different recordings. The first recording is 22 min long and involves Fritz, Helga and Uta. We analyzed a 2-min-long sequence that starts 17 min into the recording (Extracts 1, 2 & 3). The second recording is 20 min long and only Fritz and Helga are present. The analyzed sequence starts 7 min into it and is 5 min long (Extracts 4, 5 & 6).

The original transcripts were re-transcribed according to the *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem* (GAT) conventions (Selting et al., 1998, 2009) (see Appendix for conventions), and translated into English. A multimodal transcription (Mondada, 2006) of the data is added, when of analytical interest. Fritz, Helga and Uta are designated as F, H and U. Because Fritz occasionally produces neologisms (sound strings that are non-words), a gloss line is inserted if relevant, in which unintelligible word forms are transcribed according to German orthography and marked with curly brackets and, if possible, targets of these word forms are provided (Laakso and Godt, 2016).

[6] All data presented are anonymized. Names are pseudonyms.
[7] For further information about the data see Bauer (2009).
[8] Ethical approval for the present study was obtained from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD).

3. Analysis

The analysis is divided into two parts, first a planning sequence initiated by Fritz, and then one initiated by Helga. Both sequences can be divided into three phases: a main planning phase and two post expansions (Schegloff, 2007); here called modification phases. All analyzed sequences take place in Fritz and Helga's dining room. The participants are sitting around an oval table with Fritz seated at one end. To Fritz' right is Helga, and Uta (present in the first sequence) is to his left. The camera is placed opposite Fritz.

3.1. PWA-initiated planning sequence

In sequence 1 Fritz, Helga and Uta are drinking coffee and eating cake. Fritz has initiated talk about plans for the afternoon 5 min before this sequence by asking Helga "Tja was machsch denn heut du was machen" (well what are you going to do today what to do). Subsequently, the participants talk about different activities they want do in the afternoon when visiting the village of Sankt Märgen. In this article, we will not analyze how the planning talk was introduced in the conversation as such but instead focus on how the participants launch new plans for specific activities within this ongoing planning talk and thereby initiate new planning sequences. Extract 1a starts when Fritz initiates planning of a new activity, namely to play Lotto (lines 1–4). His initiation is shaped by word misselections (saying "morgen" (tomorrow) instead of "heute nachmittag" (this afternoon)) and a rather vague reference to playing Lotto, namely "eine Serie fahren" (drive a series). This impedes intersubjectivity and leads to a prolonged repair sequence (lines 5–50). We only present the initiation and the end of the repair sequence, as an analysis of the whole sequence would go beyond the focus of the present study. Following this, Helga returns to the planning talk (line 53) and the participants decide to play Lotto (lines 55–59). In the extract we show how Fritz manages to initiate a planning sequence, although topic shift in general is often challenging for PWAs (e.g. Barnes et al., 2013).

Extract 1a – Lotto, Main planning phase

```
1       F:   und wemmer MORge(--) in Sankt Märgen s sind;
             and when we are in Sankt Märgen tomorrow
2            und dann kannsch du auch noch a bissel
             and then you can at the same time a bit
3            (1.0)
4            n      ^(SEE    rüber     /SErie)   fahren.
             ART     (lake   across    /series)  drive
             drive (across the lake/a series)
       f:         ^slides left index finger over table ←→←→, looks at it
5            (4.3)
       h:    opens eyes wide and moves head forward
[…] 38 lines (repair sequence)
44     H:    <<f> ach LOTto mache>
             ach making lotto
46     F:    im ^lotto      senk[sen].
                            {setzen=bet.INF}
       f:      ^slides left index finger over table →
             {bet} in lottery
47     H:                        [LOT]to.
                                  lotto
48           (1.0)
49     F:    ja [des hab ich] geMEINT.
             yes that is what I meant
50     H:       [n lotto    ].
              a lotto
51           (1.1)
52     U:    hm=hm
             ((coughing))
53     H:    solle mer des dann HEUT mache.
             shall we do that today then
54           ^(1.0)
       f:    ^drinks
```

55 H: ja KÖNNT mer eigentlich.
yes we could actually

56 F: ah ja des isch dann f erLEdigt dengens n hier
{dengens=non-word}
ah yes that is f done then {dengens} n here

57 [ich] BRÄUCH ja [nichts] im moment.
{brauch=need}
I indeed do not {need} anything at the moment

58 H: **[<<h>hm>]**

59 ?: **[hm=hm]**

The planning sequence is initiated by tying it to the previous plans for the afternoon through *and*-prefacing (line 1) and the expression "auch noch" (at the same time) (line 2). A future activity is suggested with the time frame "morgen" (tomorrow) (line 1) (Boden, 1997) and the consistency marker "wenn … dann" (when … then) (lines 1 & 2) (Mazeland, 2020). "Morgen" (tomorrow), whilst appearing to be a word misselection (the trip is established as occurring this afternoon) still serves to indicate a future point in time. The sequence is thus launched in a turn-design that serves as a transition from previous planning activities to the introduction of a new activity.

Although it is rather unclear exactly what Fritz is proposing to do (more on this below), his utterance is recognizable as a proposal for some future action involving Helga. By launching a planning sequence in a self-selection, Fritz claims rights to initiate a plan, and thereby claims some degree of deontic authority. The modal verb "kann" (can) (line 2) expresses modal possibility (Klabunde, 2007), which claims moderate entitlement and shared rights to determine the future action. Furthermore, Fritz downgrades the contingencies of the plan by the use of the minimizer "a bissl" (a bit) (line 2), presenting the plan as less intrusive and orienting to Helga's perspective on the plan. In this way, the format of the initiation displays the plan as not yet settled and open for further discussion.

Before analyzing the uptake of the proposal, we need to understand how the interlocutors achieve intersubjectivity on what is being proposed. In line 4, it is not clear whether Fritz says "See rüber fahren" (to drive across the lake) or "Serie fahren" (to drive a series). If the former, it could be a suggestion to drive across a lake on the way to Sankt Märgen. The couple lives in an area with some lakes. If it is the latter, Fritz could be proposing to fill in a couple of Lotto tickets and play a series of Lotto games. In Germany, it is common to fill in a couple of tickets at once to play for a whole month in advance. Yet, it is not conventionally referred to as "Serie fahren" (to drive a series). Thus, this could also indicate a word misselection.

In making the proposal, Fritz slides his left index finger over the table to the left and to the right (line 4). This occurs after a pause and starts while he is talking about the activity. It has been observed previously that PWAs use more gestures than their interlocutors (Auer and Bauer, 2011), and this gesture may help us understand what he is trying to say. The same gesture occurs in line 46 while uttering "Lotto", so it is likely that it illustrates the same activity. This would support the suggestion that he says "Serie fahren" (to drive a series). Thus, the proposed activity is embodied in a pre-enactment (Leyland, 2016) and a future activity is made visible (Lilja and Piirainen-Marsh, 2019). However, at this point Helga initiates repair by opening her eyes wider and leaning forward (Mortensen, 2012) (line 5) and a prolonged repair sequence follows. Intersubjectivity is restored when Helga displays her understanding in a series of understanding checks (lines 44–53) (Jefferson, 1972). Subsequently, she makes a self-initiated return to the planning activity by producing a response to the original proposal (line 55).

In her response, Helga confirms the proposed distribution of deontic rights, shows access to the proposal (line 44), agrees to it and commits to the plan (line 55). The affirmative response token "ja" (yes) displays agreement and compliance to the suggestion. She also expresses her commitment to the plan by repeating the suggestion: "könnt mer eigentlich" (we could actually). By using modal force of possibility, she hands the decision back to Fritz. In addition, she uses the pronoun "mer - wir" (we), thereby displaying her understanding of Fritz' utterance as a proposal for a joint activity. Thus, also in constructing Fritz as a co-agent of the future action (Bauer, 2009; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014), she expresses their shared rights to decide on the plan. She is orienting to him as partner and husband with equal rights, which might reflect the dynamics of this couple in terms of decision making that go beyond issues related to the aphasia.

The main phase of this planning sequence thus contains a proposal (lines 1–4) and three subsequent components of planning talk as discussed by Stevanovic (2012); access (line 44), agreement and commitment to the plan (both line 55), and these build on each other. With regard to co-construction, we see that Fritz and Helga collaboratively accomplish the planning activity. Fritz initiates the sequence with a proposal that invites Helga's collaboration (lines 1–4). With this initiation, he creates the opportunity to participate in planning talk for himself while giving Helga a chance to co-shape the plan. After the repair sequence, Helga returns to the activity of planning, thereby constructing Fritz' initiative as important and consequential. This is counter to what has been observed in previous studies on uptake of PWAs' initiatives in interactions with familiar interlocutors (e.g. Barnes and Ferguson, 2012) and shows joint accountability for the continuation of the action of planning.

In the next phase, presented in the Extract 1b below, Helga suggests a modification of the plan, namely that Fritz should play Lotto at Martha's (likely the owner of the place where they want to play Lotto) (line 46). All participants agree to this suggestion (lines 61–67).

Extract 1b, Lotto – Modification 1

```
60   H:  dann nehme mers mit dann kannsch DU des mache bei der Martha (--)
         then we take it with us and then you can do it at Martha's
61   F:  hm=hm
62   H:  ne?
         right
63   F:  ha ja [gut   ] von da aus
         well yes good from that perspective
64   H:        [Martha]
65   F:  MACH ich [des].
         I do that
66   H:       <<f> [ja:]> (-)
                   yes
67   U:  ja
         yes
68       (1.2)
```

Helga proposes a modification of the plan by suggesting that it is Fritz (and not her) who should play Lotto and that they can do it at Martha's. She initiates the modification of the plan as a pronouncement, telling Fritz what he should do: "kannsch DU des mache" (YOU can do it, line 60). This claim of high entitlement and unilateral authority needs to be seen in context. Since the participants have already agreed on the overarching plan to play Lotto, they have established joint commitment to a common goal and need not orient to contingencies to the same degree (Rossi, 2012). The claim of deontic authority is also counterbalanced by other aspects of the turn design, which orient to Fritz' rights to contribute to shaping the plan and deciding. First, the pronouncement starts with the consistency marker "dann" (then) (Mazeland, 2020), referring back to Fritz' initiation and showing that it is based on his initiative. Furthermore, the modal verb "kannsch" (you can) presents this proposal as a merely a possibility and thus contingent on Fritz' acceptance. Finally, she downgrades the deontic force by adding a tag question "ne?" (right), inviting Fritz to collaborate (line 62).

Requests for remote action prefer expanded responses with an explicit statement of commitment (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987; Lindström, 1999, 2017). Fritz' first response (line 61) is not treated as sufficient, and a more substantial response is pursued by the tag question. At this point, Fritz gives the preferred response by agreeing "ha ja" (well yes) (line 63), evaluating the plan a positive "gut" (good) (line 63), showing access to it "von da aus" (from that perspective) (line 987) and committing to the plan "mach ich des" (I will do that) (line 65). Similarly to Extract 1a, the phase is closed after all participants have agreed to the modification (lines 65–67). Again, Fritz and Helga engage in this phase, and Uta aligns.

Fritz introduces a second modification in Extract 1c (lines 69–75) by asking his daughter to help him play Lotto. With this introduction, he provides new opportunities for himself to shape the plan and thus to participate in planning talk.

Extract 1c, Lotto – Modification 2

```
69   F:  aber ich WEIß nit (.)        ^det'
                                       {det=non-word}
         but I do not know           {det}
     f:                             ^pointing and looking at Uta
70       HASCH du tusch du       beider;
                                 {beide=both}
         have you do you {both}
71       gell;
         right
72       du musch des denn ^SEHen.
         you have to see it then
     f:                    ^looking at Helga
73       (1.0)
```

74 denn ICH weiß ^net wie des alles ^verstänt so. (--)
because I do not know how to understand it all
f: ^looking at Uta ^waving hand

75 wie ich des MACH.
how I do it

76 H: ha ja^
well yes
f: **^looking at Helga**

77 [machsch des mit Utas] reGIE.
you do it with Uta's directions

78 F: [ob des RICHtig isch].
whether it is right

79 U: **hm=hm**

80 F: jaja
yes yes

81 **(2.2)**

Fritz claims high entitlement to modify the plan and unilateral rights to determine the future action by requesting help from his daughter in a pronouncement (line 72). He addresses Uta by pointing and looking at her (line 69) and by using the pronoun "du" (you) (line 72). The modal verb "musch" (have to) (line 72) expresses necessity and thus claims high entitlement to initiate the modification and unilateral rights to determine the future action. Once again, the established joint commitment to the common goal legitimizes not orienting much to contingencies (Rossi 2012). As is typical for pronouncements such as this one, the request is accompanied by accounts for his need for help, namely that he does not know how to play it – probably because the aphasia hinders him (lines 69, 74 & 75) (Ekberg, 2011; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987).

Fritz' employs gaze as a means to modify deontic rights between participants. He shifts his gaze between Helga and Uta during three different attempts to mobilize help when playing Lotto. During Fritz' first attempt (lines 69–71), he addresses Uta by gazing and pointing at her. Uta does not respond: she sits still and leans on her left hand with the elbow on the table and fingers in front of her mouth. During Fritz' second attempt (line 72), he shifts his gaze to Helga at the end of his turn to requests a response from her. After getting no response (pause in line 73), Fritz makes a third attempt by reinforcing the need for help playing Lotto while shifting his gaze direction back to Uta (lines 74 & 75).

Prompted by Fritz' gaze behavior, Helga responds on their daughter's behalf and pronounces that he will do it with Uta's directions (line 77), thereby taking her compliance for granted. Uta responds to this with just a weak agreement (line 79), without providing an independent expression of access and commitment, as would be the expected response. In this way, Helga, who up until this point has been sharing rights to make plans with her husband Fritz, denies the same rights to her daughter, Uta. By speaking on her behalf and presupposing compliance, she treats her as not having a part in the activity of planning, perhaps orienting to her as a daughter (although she is grown-up), expected to comply with her parents' demands.

The Lotto planning sequence closes after this second modification. They go on to joke about Fritz and Uta having to share the potential Lotto prize in case Uta assists in filling in the coupon.

In this planning sequence initiated by Fritz, we have shown that the participants accomplish joint participation by co-constructing the planning sequence, up- and downgrading rights and inviting collaboration. In order understand the importance of the role of being the initiator of a planning activity we will compare this extract to one where Helga initiates a planning sequence.

3.2. Interlocutor-initiated planning sequence

Prior to the next extract, Fritz and Helga talk about the current weather conditions. It is a sunny day and there is snow outside. Helga initiates the planning sequence by proposing to go for a walk in the afternoon (lines 1–3 & 5). Fritz agrees to the plan (lines 4, 6 & 8–9). Then a repair sequence (lines 10–36) and talk about related topics follows, including the fact that Fritz shoveled snow in the morning, and the snow conditions on the streets (lines 37–196). Again, we present parts of the repair sequence and related talk only when they are relevant to the analysis of planning talk. In lines 197–201, Fritz initiates a return to the previous planning talk. Then both participants repeat Helga's initial proposal (lines 202–205).

Extract 2a, Walk – Main planning phase

1 H: aber jetz isch SCHÖN,
but now it is nice
h: >>looking outside the window in front of her

2 jetz könne mr heut *MITtag nommal spazIere gehn,
now we can go again for a walk today at noon
h: *looks at Fritz

3 oder?(--)
right

4 F: ha ja [mr KÖNne de scheg] amal ansehn,
{scheg=snow}
hah yes we can once look at the {snow}

5 H: [was meinsch DU]?
what do you think

6 F: ja,
yes

7 H: **hm?**

8 F: könn ja was ANsehn,

we can indeed look at something

9 dass mr mal über den STEN komme;
{sten=snow}
that we sometime come over the {snow}

10 H: was willsch da ANsehn?
what do you want to look at there

[…] 22 lines (repair sequence)

33 H: du hasch SCHNEE ge[meint],
you have meant snow

34 F: [schnee]
snow

35 H: oder,
right

snow

[…] 158 lines (Fritz shoveled snow, snow conditions)

195 F: <<p>nja des könnt SCHON sein>,
well yes that could indeed be right

196 <<p>ja>,(---)
yes

197 ja ja,
yes yes

198 ja und was mach mr dann heut
yes and what are we doing this

199 NACHmittag?
afternoon then

200 wenn des du DENKST?(-)
if that you think

201 wenn s SO isch jetzt?(--)
when it is like this now

202 H: [(grad) a bissl SCHNEE] stampfe?

just tramping snow a bit

203 F: [woll mr später Arbeite]?
{arbeiten=work=go for a walk}
do we want to {go for a walk} later on

204 F: **[hm]?**

205 H: [bissl] durch de SCHNEE gehn?
walk a bit through the snow

The plan is presented as a suggestion, with moderate entitlement to initiate the plan and shared rights to determine the future action. To go for a walk is treated as optional by the modal verb “könne” (can) (line 2) which expresses a possibility (Klabunde, 2007) and invites Fritz’ collaboration and acceptance. The minimizer “nommal” (again) (line 2) presents the plan as less intrusive and as a low threshold for Fritz which shows that Helga orients to Fritz’ perspective on the plan. Furthermore, with the tag-question “oder” (right) (line 3), Helga accommodates proposals for doing something else and open to Fritz’ assessment (Pomerantz, 1984), which increases his deontic rights. Upgrading Fritz’ rights at this point could be a reflection of the dynamics of decision making for this couple and not solely about aphasia. A short pause occurs after the tag question (line 3) as Fritz does not give an immediate response. Following, Helga downgrades her own entitlement and upgrades Fritz’ rights to determine the plan with “was meinsch du” (what do you think) (line 5). This addition presents the plan as a proposal, which leaves Fritz more discretion in the decision.

Fritz agrees and commits to the plan (lines 4, 6 & 8). The modal verb “könne” (can) (line 4) shows commitment to the plan and confirms Helga's proposed shared deontic rights. Yet, the agreement with the plan is expressed with a particle “ha” (hah) (line 4), which expresses Fritz’ high entitlement to the plan. This particle - in contrast to a simple “yes” shows that it is indeed a possibility that they can go for a walk and expresses his rights to the plan (Klabunde, 2007). In addition, he upgrades his deontic authority by providing an independent reason for taking a walk (watching the snow), thus contributing to shaping the proposal rather than merely going along with Helga's suggestion. The sequence ends with three repetitions by Fritz and Helga of the initial proposal to go for a walk, which manifests their mutual agreement to it (lines 202, 203 & 205).

There is a high degree of collaboration in the construction of this planning sequence. Helga explicitly asks Fritz for his opinion and thereby invites him to collaborate in shaping the plan (lines 3 & 5). Fritz accepts the invitation and pursues the construction of the sequence by agreeing to the plan “ha ja” (hah yes) and committing to it: “mr könne de scheg {snow} amal ansehn” (we can once look at the {snow}) (line 4). Due to overlapping talk (lines 4 & 5), Fritz repeats this agreement and the commitment in lines 6 and 8. Helga's “hm?” (line 7) appears to reflect Fritz’ incomplete commitment to her remote proposal (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987; Lindström, 1999, 2017) and probably also his missing display of access to the plan. It is not clear whether Fritz has access to the plan due to the neologism “de scheg” (line 4), probably referring to snow. At this point, the sequence could have been closed as the participants have reached mutual agreement. However, Helga initiates repair targeting the neologism “de scheg”. After the participants have reached mutual understanding (line 36), they abandon the planning talk in a long stretch of non-planning talk. At a certain point, Fritz re-introduces the previous planning talk in a self-selection (lines 195–201 & 203). He repeats Helga's proposal (line 203) in overlap with Helga who also repeats her proposal (line 202). Fritz substitutes “going for a walk” with “work” here, a substitution that he uses repeatedly in this conversation. Fritz’ voluntarily returning to the action of planning talk that Helga initiated strengthens their collaboration in framing the action and shows their joint accountability for the action. Furthermore, by asking Helga whether they want to go for a walk, Fritz passes the right to decide back to Helga, which might reflect the dynamics of decision making for this couple and go beyond issues related to the aphasia.

In Extract 2b, the action of planning continues when Fritz raises the question of what type of shoes they will wear during the walk (line 206–210). He contextualizes his question by pointing to his foot (line 207). After a repair sequence dealing with Fritz’ proposal to put on different shoes (lines 211–223), Helga and Fritz negotiate which shoes they should wear and come to the agreement not to wear their snow boots (lines 220–236). Just as in sequence 1, this planning sequence is constructed collaboratively as Fritz continues the action with a specification of the plan proposed by Helga. Yet, in this case, they have to deal with a disagreement and negotiate a solution.

Extract 2b, Walk – Modification 1

```
206   F:   mit was ÄR mr dann,
                  {är=walk}
           what do we {walk} with then

207          mit welchem die^ die die NASsen die <<all>man heut nAmittag
             ghabt>,
             what with the the the wet the            one had this afternoon
      f:                    ^pointing at his foot

208          oder ANdere.
             or different ones

209          <<p><<with hoarse voice>die müsse mr mal durch(Besen na)>.
             {durchbesen=sweep through}
             we have to {sweep} them {through} nah

210          <<p><<with hoarse voice>(die) hammer DRIN>.
             we have them inside

211   H:     WAS meinsch jetz du?
             what do you mean now

[…] 8 lines (repair sequence)
```

220 H: andere SCHUH
put on different shoes

221 anziehe o[der] was?
or what

222 F: [ja],
yes

223 ja,
yes

224 <<p>(weil [nix WISsmer)] arbeit da>,
{arbeit=work=go for a walk}
because we know nothing {go for a walk} there

225 H: [un WELche]?
and which ones

226 F: <<p><<with hoarse voice>mit den SCHUH>,
with the shoe

227 ähm wie HEISSe die denn?
ehm how are they called

228 ^weisch die DICke da?(--)
you know the heavy ones there
f: ^gesturing with hands

229 H: d SCHNEEboots?
the snow boots

230 F: ja,
yes

231 oder WILLSCH des nicht?
or do you not want to

232 H: **hm,**

233 ich glaub die andre REIche mr.
I think the other ones are sufficient to me

234 F: <<p>ja,>
yes

235 H: <<p>**hm=hm>**

236 **(1.2)**

Fritz launches the modification with a question that seeks to specify the plan (lines 206–208), thereby self-selecting to contribute to shaping the plan. Fritz downgrades his own rights and upgrades Helga's by allocating the decision to Helga (line 206), which might be a reflection of the dynamics of this couple in terms of decision making and not solely about the aphasia. The question is first formulated as an open question but instantly reformulated by proposing two candidate alternatives. The question is biased towards one of the alternatives in that he mentions a problem with using the shoes they wore this afternoon, namely that they are wet. After a repair sequence and a series of understanding checks by Helga (lines 220 & 221, and 229), they establish that the other alternative he is suggesting is to wear snow boots. Sometimes, repair initiations may be taken to adumbrate disagreement (Schegloff, 2007; Svennevig, 2008), and so may requests for clarification such as the one in line 225 (Pomerantz, 1984). Fritz seems to orient to this contingency in that he reformulates the question with reversed preference structure (line 231) (Sacks, 1987). By doing so, he once again explicitly allocates the decision to Helga. Helga, on her side, declines to take the decision for them both. Whereas Fritz included Helga in his initial question by referring to both of them with the first person plural pronoun "mr" (we) (line 206), Helga's answer only refers to herself with the first person singular pronoun "mr" (for me).[9] In addition, she mitigates the deontic

[9] In the Alemannic dialect, the word form "mr" can be both the nominative of the first person plural pronoun as in the first case and the dative case of the first person singular, as in the second.

force of her statement with the epistemic hedge “ich glaub” (I think) (line 233). Consequently, she reduces her deontic authority over the plan by stressing that she only speaks on her own behalf.

Fritz only acknowledges Helga's final account with a relatively noncommittal acknowledgement token uttered in a soft voice in the end of this phase (line 234) (Jefferson, 1983) instead of a stronger agreement and commitment. This signals less than full acceptance of the solution, and, as we shall see, foreshadows disagreement, which he makes more explicit in the next extract (lines 237–242). Consequently, the negotiation continues (lines 253–253). Eventually, the phase and thereby the whole sequence end with agreement not to wear snow boats now but rather when it gets colder (lines 254–261).

Extract 2c, Walk – Modification 2

```
237  F:   JA,
          yes
238       und ich denke d a da kannsch da die ^NET viel (schtm kannst nIt
                                                        {schtm=non-word}
          and I think d a there can there the not a lot {schtm} can not
     f:                                        ^pointing outside while
          looking outside the window
239       dies) äh dInge da arbeit da,
                           {arbeit=work=go for a walk}
          this eh things there {go for a walk} there
240       net,
          not
241       und dann wieder (HURT),
                           {hurt=non-word}
          and then again   {hurt}
242       und [dann (ALle)],
          and then all
243  H:       [einmal gehn] wir die ((clearing throat)) ^geMEINdewege

               first we walk along the                   municipal roads
     f:                                                  ^looks at H
244       entlang die gerÄUmt sind,(-)
          which are cleared
     f:                                ^looks outside window
245       dann REIche jo die andere schuh;(-)
          then the other shoes are indeed sufficient
246       [des ] sin ja ganz [HOhe             ],
           that are indeed quite high ones
247  F:   [^ja^],
            yes
     f:    ^looks at H
               ^looks at table
248                           [^((clears throat))] ja na GUT,
                                                   yes well good
                               ^looks outside window
249  H:   des sin ja Hohe dicke schuhe;
          that are indeed high heavy shoes
250  F:   ((clearing throat))
251  H:   mit proFILsohle;
          with grip sole
```

252 F: **hm?**

253 H: mit proFILsohle,
with grip sole

254 =ich denk SCHNEEboots zieh mr erscht an wenn s au mal
I think we only put on snow boots when it

255 KÜHler isch,
is colder

256 weil mr [da so WARM kriegt],
because we get so warm then

257 F: [wenn s KÄLter wird],
when it is getting colder

258 H: ja,
yes

259 <<dim>wenn s KALT isch>,
when it is cold

260 **<<p>hm=hm>,**

261 **(2.1)**

Both partners here back their position with accounts. First, Fritz returns to his proposal to put on snow boots by giving an account for why other shoes are insufficient. (lines 237–242). Framing the account with "ich denke" (I think), mitigates the disagreement. Subsequently, Helga gives an account for why the other shoes are sufficient (lines 243–246) and Fritz expresses agreement (lines 247 & 248). Fritz' response "ja" (yes) (line 247) while looking at Helga and then at the table may merely be an acknowledgement and "((clears throat)) ja na GUT" (yes well good) (line 248) while looking outside the window may be an attempt to close the sequence. However, the fact that Fritz does not continue to negotiate shows agreement to some point here. Both partners express high entitlement to negotiate the plan by pursuing compliance to their original position. On the other hand, giving accounts displays that they take the other party's position seriously and seek to convince them by arguments. Orienting to each other as equal partners, which one takes serious could reflect the dynamics of this couple in terms of decision making that go beyond issues related to the aphasia.

After Fritz has expressed acceptance, Helga continues to give further accounts for not choosing snow boots (lines 249–256). This pursuit suggests that she seeks a more explicit statement of commitment (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987; Lindström, 1999, 2017). This pursuit may be considered successful in that Fritz does commit to the plan by repeating (in a slightly modified form) Helga's decision to wait until it gets colder (line 257). In lines 258–260, Helga settles the agreement with an affirmation token and yet a modified repeat. After a pause (line 261), Fritz initiates a new topic and the planning sequence is closed.

In the two modification phases studied here, we see that also disagreement between the parties is handled in a way that distributes the deontic rights between the parties rather equally and allows negotiation of a shared decision. Both parties balance between asserting their point of view and providing room for the other to express their opposing views. Even though it is the spouse who 'wins the argument', the agreement is based on the strength of their respective arguments rather than on their communicative abilities to assert them.

4. Discussion and conclusion

The present study illustrates how a man with severe fluent aphasia is able to participate in planning talk. It explores practices deployed by the PWA and his spouse to coordinate joint planning sequences. Thereby, the study contributes to our understanding of planning processes and the way in which these allow a speaker with aphasia to shape his future.

The first research question concerned the organization of the planning sequences. These data show two important practices for organizing planning sequences and facilitating the PWA's participation in them. The first one is PWA's initiation of a planning sequence within ongoing planning talk. The second one is participants' collaboration in constructing a planning sequence, which is enabled by the participants inviting each other to collaborate. The PWA is constructed as a competent interlocutor and a legitimate decision-maker by his wife who actively invites collaboration as well as leaving space on the conversational floor. This is in contrast to previous studies that describe the exclusion of PWAs during planning talk (Johansson et al., 2012).

During planning talk (for example planning what to do this afternoon), the participants propose different activities/topics in planning sequences. These sequences are divided into a main planning phase of the overall activity (for example playing Lotto) and a modification phase where details are coordinated (for example where to play Lotto). All phases are organized in adjacency pair-sequences. Overall, the structural organization is similar to planning talk in typical interactions (e.g. Ayaß,

2020; Ekberg, 2011; Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987; Mazeland, 2020) apart from the presence of frequent repair sequences, which reflect the atypical character of the interaction (Bauer, 2009).

The second research question sought to compare the influence of speaker initiation on the practices of planning sequences (PWA-initiated vs. spouse-initiated). The practices are similar in these data. In both analyzed sequences, regardless of who initiates the planning talk, both participants negotiate plans and both have the right to disagree. In this way, planning talk is collaboratively constructed. This enables the PWA to influence a future activity. In these data, the organization of planning talk is not predefined. All participants equally shape it, which is in contrast to planning sequences described in previous studies, in which PWA's interlocutor unilaterally moderates the interaction (Barnes, 2012; Goodwin, 1995; Isaksen, 2018;[10]).

Deontic rights are essential when negotiating authority over a plan. The PWA claims deontic rights in the first place by launching a planning sequence within ongoing planning talk and initiating modifications in an other-initiated planning sequence. This practice displays his rights to initiate and determine future activities. Such self-selected initiations have seldom been documented in planning talk of PWA (Barnes, 2012; Isaksen, 2018;[10]).

The participants employ different practices to upgrade or downgrade deontic rights. The PWA claims rights in a pronouncement with the construction "you have to" or allocates rights to his conversation partner by asking an open question, giving alternatives, or asking what the conversation partner wants. Additionally, the PWA uses non-verbal resources such as gaze to modify rights between participants, a practice that has been described in previous studies (Killmer et al., 2021). The conversation partner downgrades her own rights by adding the tag question "right" after her proposals, and by asking explicitly for the PWA's opinion "what do you think". Accordingly, the participants regulate authority in planning talk by upgrading and downgrading their own and their interlocutor's entitlement to the plan.

Furthermore, when initiating plans both partners propose shared distribution of rights to determine the future action. And as recipients, they confirm the proposed distribution of rights. By presenting plans as proposals with the modal verbs "can" or "could" both interlocutors propose shared rights by presenting plans as not settled and open for further discussion. In addition, the PWA's conversation partner proposes to share rights by constructing the PWA as co-agent of the future action (with the personal pronoun "we" (Bauer, 2009; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). These practices have the effect of promoting the sharing of rights throughout the planning talk. However, after the interlocutors have agreed on a main plan, modifications may be initiated by claiming higher rights to them. Thus, both partners make strong claims subsequently to the establishment of a joint project with a common goal (Rossi, 2012).

Co-construction is a central approach when creating planning sequences in our data. Both conversation partners progress each other's actions. They do this by, on the one hand, pursuing an action through initiating a next component of a phase (access, agreement and commitment). On the other hand, they add modifications to main planning talk initiated by the other person. By pursuing the action, each of them displays that they are working on the same project. PWA's turns appear well-fitted to turn taking in terms of initiations and modifications of planning talk. Thus, the speakership changes are in accordance with the requirements of the planning activity. Furthermore, the conversation partner does not sequentially delete PWA's turns. This is in line with descriptions of conversational strategies to pursue a PWA's project (for example Killmer et al., 2021). However it differs from studies showing that interlocutors did not pursue a PWA's actions (Barnes and Ferguson, 2012; Simmons-Mackie and Kagan, 1999).

Different practices are employed to enable co-construction and further collaboration. The PWA's initiation of actions is nicely embedded in the sequential context and makes collaboration possible. He launches a new planning sequence using a turn-design that connects it to the ongoing planning talk with *and*-prefacing, and by indicating a future time frame (tomorrow). Furthermore, he promotes his proposals with non-verbal resources such as gestures that pre-enact (Leyland, 2016) the future activity (Lilja and Piirainen-Marsh, 2019) or by pointing and looking at his conversation partner. Additionally, by launching plans as proposals and not as pronouncements, he invites collaboration. These results confirm claims that people with fluent and non-fluent aphasia are able to initiate new conversational sequences successfully using distinct turn design practices accompanied by topic shift markers, and deployed with competent sequential timing (Barnes et al., 2013; Bauer, 2009; Beeke et al., 2011; Killmer et al., 2021; Wilkinson, 1999). The conversation partner facilitates collaboration and participation by explicitly asking for the PWA's opinion (what do you think?) and returning to planning talk that was initiated by the PWA after a long repair sequence. These practices emphasize joint accountability for the planning process.

In case of disagreement, both partners express high entitlement to negotiate the plan by pursuing compliance to their original position. During this negotiation process, they give accounts for their point of view, which displays that they take the other party's position seriously and seek to convince them by presenting arguments. Both apply the epistemic hedge "I think" to mitigate the deontic force of a statement. They reduce their deontic authority by stressing that they speak on their own behalf.

Whilst it should be acknowledged that this is an analysis of a conversation involving one individual with aphasia, many of the practices we observed are characteristic of typical planning talk, and therefore it may be the case that other PWAs are able to participate as planning partners in such sequences. In order to strengthen these results, a broader study of planning talk with a range of speakers with differing aphasia types is desirable. Further research into planning talk by people with aphasia will also broaden our perspectives and concepts for speech and language interventions that aim to improve conversations involving a PWA (Beeke et al., 2015; Wilkinson, 2010). Our findings show that communication partner training (CPT) could

[10] Again, note the institutional character of Isaksen's (2018) data, in contrast to the interaction with familiar interlocutors in the present study (see also Introduction).

benefit people with aphasia and their families by facilitating activities such as joint planning talk. As part of CPT, PWAs and their family members could be educated by speech and language therapists (SLTs) about how planning talk works and could reflect on their own joint planning, as a way of enhancing participation in planning talk for the PWA.

In summary, these results display how collaboration secures the active participation of a person with severe fluent aphasia in planning talk, and how genuine joint planning between equal partners is accomplished. We show that collaboration can support planning talk and that interlocutors collaborate despite language difficulties. A PWA can be a competent interactant when she actively initiates planning talk and the conversation partner acknowledges PWA's rights to the plan. The present analysis indicates that interlocutors play an important role in supporting PWA's conversational agency by employing conversational practices that enable PWAs' inclusion in planning processes and make participation in a typical everyday activity possible.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors have no conflicts of interest.

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Appendix

Summary of the most important GAT 2 transcription conventions.
(Selting et al., 2011) with additions by present author(s):

Sequential structure	
`[ ]`	Overlap and simultaneous talk
`[ ]`	
`=`	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
In- and outbreaths	
`°h / h°`	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.2–0.5 s duration
`°hh / hh°`	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.5–0.8 s duration
`°hhh / hhh°`	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.8–1.0 s duration
Pauses	
`(.)`	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 s duration appr.
`(-)`	short estimated pause of appr. 0.2–0.5 s duration
`(--)`	intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5–0.8 s duration
`(---)`	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8–1.0 s duration
`(0.5)/(2.0)`	measured pause of appr. 0.5/2.0 s duration (to tenth of a second)
Other segmental conventions	
`:`	lengthening, by about 0.2–0.5 s
`::`	lengthening, by about 0.5–0.8 s
`:::`	lengthening, by about 0.8–1.0 s
`?`	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	
ˋSO	falling
ˊŚO	rising
˗SO	level
ˆSO	rising-falling
ˇSO	falling-rising
↑ˋ	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
↑↑ˋSO 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
Additions by present author(s)	
f:/h:ˆ/*	representing non-verbal behavior (e.g. gestures, movements and gaze)
?:	unknown speaker

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Article 3

Requests to children by parents with aphasia

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Requests to children by parents with aphasia

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ABSTRACT

Background: With an increasing number of young adult stroke survivors, there is a specific need to investigate how aphasia affects parenting. Raising a child happens through interaction, and centrally involves requests, such as 'go to bed', and 'sit still'. Aphasia may impede participation in interaction and thus potentially also the possibilities to make requests to children and – from a wider perspective – do parenting.

Aims: This study aims to explore practices employed by parents with aphasia to ask their children to do or to stop an action during everyday interactions (e.g. mealtimes, games). The design of requests is systematically examined to shed light on the way deontic authority (the right to direct another person's future action) is displayed by parents with aphasia.

Methods & Procedures: Using conversation analysis (CA), we carried out a collection-based study of 46 request sequences in 10 hours of video recordings involving three parents with aphasia (two with mild and one with severe aphasia).

***Outcomes & Results*:** Stopping a child's action may be easier to achieve than getting a child to do something, as it requires less specification of the action. Furthermore, the severity of aphasia may limit the fine-tuning of deontic authority. The persons with mild aphasia adjust the degree of authority for example by adding mitigating words, such as 'a bit'. The person with severe aphasia uses requests that mostly show unmitigated authority for example by using higher volume. Structured contexts, such as games and mealtimes, may offer resources for all three parents with aphasia because they provide scaffolded interaction.

Conclusions: The analysis offers insights into practices that may allow or hinder these parents with aphasia to perform requests and thus to engage in parenting and participate in family life. Our findings suggest that people with aphasia could benefit from training to implement activities such as requesting in rehabilitation.

KEYWORDS

parents with aphasia; requests; directives; deontic authority; conversation analysis

Introduction

About 15% of strokes occur in people aged 18 to 50 years and this percentage is increasing worldwide (Boot et al., 2020). The impact of stroke on this younger population has distinct characteristics due to potential childcare, work and financial responsibilities

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(for example Coppock et al., 2018; Harris & Bettger, 2018; Kitzmüller et al., 2012; Tiar & Dumas, 2015; Visser-Meily et al., 2005). Disabilities caused by stroke, such as aphasia, affect not only the life of stroke survivors, but may cause third party disabilities in family members, such as anxiety and depression (Grawburg et al., 2019). Thus, in the younger stroke population, rehabilitation requires a focus on demands of the whole family, including children (Shrubsole et al., 2020). While much aphasia research over the last 30 years has focused on the impact for spouses and partners, it is only recently that researchers have begun to consider parenting and the impact on young children (for example Grawburg et al., 2019; Manning et al., 2021; Ryan & Pitt, 2018). According to Manning, Mac Farlane, Hickey, Galvin and Franklin (2021), parents with aphasia describe change in communication with their children, loss of parental authority and need for support to engage with their children. Thus, there is some evidence that parent-child interaction changes as a result of aphasia. However, previous studies have mostly utilized interview methods and there is a need for insights into how parents with aphasia and children engage in real time interaction. Raising a child happens through interaction. Thus, the forms of interaction in everyday activities between parents with aphasia and children may have a crucial impact on their wellbeing and development.

Parenting involves supporting children to become competent social members of their culture and society by familiarizing them with normative social rules and behaviour. Parents commonly accomplish this through requests such as 'go to bed' or 'take your feet off the table'. Such requests may serve different purposes. For example, parents may ask children to do a task, or they may tell a child to stop what the child is doing. Parental requests are common and have been described in typical parent-child interaction (for example Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; Cekaite, 2010; 2015; Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin, 2006; Kent, 2011).

A parent-child interaction is usually shaped by asymmetrical authority (Heller, 2011). This gap in authority is not pre-ascribed to parents and children. Their roles are constituted in interaction through their behaviour and manifest their social roles within the family (Ochs & Taylor, 1992). Request sequences are a natural arena for this constitution of authority because during them parents attempt to direct and control a child's behaviour. The ability to display parental authority by interacting competently in authority implicative activities is important because 'doing being a parent' comes about by maintaining the asymmetrical social order. According to Bova and Arcidiacono (2013, p. 209) "While [in request sequences] children are engaged in the process of becoming competent members of a social group as children, parents are engaged in the process of becoming competent members of a social group as parents". Thus, the impact of a communication difficulty on interactional authority may on the one hand threaten the intergenerational social order, and on the other hand, a child's socialization process.

This study explores a crucial activity in the upbringing of children: request sequences in which parents with aphasia request children to do or stop an action. The aim of the study is to understand how interactional authority is constituted in interactions of parents with aphasia and their children. By identifying facilitators and barriers for exerting authority in request sequences, the study examines how parental competence is manifested. Thereby, it adds to the growing body of knowledge about the influence of aphasia on participating in everyday family interactions, giving insights into impacts on quality of life of parents and their families.

Requests and deontic authority

Using conversation analysis (CA), various studies have described requesting (for example Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Heinemann, 2006; Lindström, 2005; Stevanovic & Svennevig, 2015; Urbanik, 2021). The present study examines one type of requests, namely "requests for actions" or short requests (Tse Crepaldi, 2017, p. 21)[1] For these, a requester asks a requestee to do an action ('Could you clean the table?') or to cease an action ('Stop playing with your food.') (Craven & Potter, 2010; Kent, 2011). In response, immediate embodied compliance is preferred (cleaning the table or stopping to play with the food). While request design varies, from interrogatives ('Could you go to bed now?') and imperatives ('Go to bed now!') to noticings ('It's bedtime.') (Kent, 2011), these utterances have in common that they are "designed to get someone to do something" (M. H. Goodwin, 2006, p. 517). Furthermore, requests may be accompanied by iconic gestures which "act" (Streeck, 2016, p. 72) the requested action (Helmer & Reineke, 2021).

Requests are attempts to direct another person's immediate or future action. As such, they involve some claim of rights to do so, which is called *deontic authority* (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Studies about deontic authority draw on Curl and Drew's (2008) notions of *entitlement* and *contingency*. For example, if a speaker frames their request as an imperative ('Go to bed!'), they claim high entitlement and thus power to require the action of going to bed. In contrast, modal constructions, such as 'can you/could you', orient to the contingency that the interlocutor may refuse or resist the action (Rossi, 2015). Formats such as 'I wonder if . . . ' mitigate a request by allocating to the requestee even more power to decide. Furthermore, deontic authority may be up- or downgraded using prosody, embodiment, or hedges, such as 'a bit' (for example M. H. Goodwin, 2006).

Research on typical parent-child interaction emphasizes the consequences of request design for authority. Kent (2011), M.H. Goodwin and Cekaite (2013) and Antaki and Kent (2015) describe the use of or-alternatives ('Put this down or you go to bed.'), imperatives ('Go to bed!'), and interrogatives ('All right, bedtime?'). Kent (2011) shows how parents use these formats for making requests explicit ('Eat your pasta!') or implicit ('You have some pasta left.'). Craven & Potter (2010) and Kent (2011) discuss how parents may not only ask their children to do an action but also to stop or refrain from an action (also called *desistance*).

Verbal requests may be combined with embodiment to get a child to do something. Cekaite (2010, 2015) and Goodwin and Cekaite (2013) show that parents may adjust their children's bodies during request sequences. When for example requesting children to go to bed, parents may push them gently in the direction of their bedroom (a technique also called *control formation* (C-formation) or *shepherding* (Cekaite, 2010)). Goodwin (2006) illustrates how parents secure direct face-to-face interaction by physical movement, for example moving closer to the child and establishing joint attention when negotiating requests. Thereby, parents establish mutual-spatial orientation (also called *facing formation* (F-formation: Kendon, 1990). With respect to calibrating the degree of deontic authority, studies show that parents upgrade their authority with for example imperatives

[1]Recruitments of assistance ("Could you open this bottle?") (Kendrick & Drew, 2016) and requests for material objects ("Could you pass me the bread?) (Kent & Kendrick, 2016) are excluded from the analysis because they attempt to mobilize a requestee's help. In such cases, a requestee executes an action for the requester and becomes "an extended arm" for them..

('Take your feet off the table!') (Kent, 2011) or embodiment by taking the child's feet off the table (Cekaite, 2010; 2015; M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013). Other means of upgrading deontic stance may include referring to 'activity contracts' ('Come here because you promised to x!') (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011) and offering or-alternatives (Antaki & Kent, 2015). Parental authority may be downgraded with modal constructions such as 'can you/ could you' (Craven & Potter, 2010) or by framing the requests as question ('Bedtime?') (M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013). By using these practices, parents make the compliance to a request more contingent on the child's response and thus claim less parental entitlement. In general, Kent (2011) notes that requests initiated with low authority do not easily lend themselves to being upgraded when resisted. Aronsson and Cekaite (2011) consider a request that is too authoritative may hinder a child's potential to develop self-regulation.

Only a few studies have analysed the impact of aphasia on request formulation and deontic authority. Bauer and Auer (2009) describe the resources used for requesting by a German-speaking parent with severe aphasia[2] They analyse how this man, HC, together with his spouse requests their daughter go for a walk with her brother. First, HC attracts attention in order to establish himself as speaker by uttering 'hm'. Then he identifies the requestee, his daughter by nodding towards her. By uttering the word 'zwei' (two), gesturing and employing intonation, he displays the requested action of a walk together with her brother. Additionally, the imperative format 'komm' (come) indicates the activity of requesting. After this, the spouse provides a version of what her husband means to say. Studies describe the use of similar resources across different request types, however, they also document trouble with initiating requests and establishing intersubjectivity (mutual understanding of the requested action) by persons with moderate and severe aphasia (Anglade et al., 2018; 2021; Bauer, 2009; Bauer & Auer, 2009; C. Goodwin et al., 2009). Anglade, Le Dorze and Croteau (2018, 2021) investigated requests for material objects by persons with moderate and severe aphasia to shop assistants during service encounters. It was shown that non-verbal resources, such as pointing and iconic gestures, played an important role in constructing. Although the focus is not on requests, Killmer, Svennevig and Beeke (2022) provides an understanding of practices that secure deontic authority of a man with severe Wernicke's aphasia during planning talk about activities for a future date. The authors find that this man displays his deontic rights both by initiating planning sequences, and by modifying planning sequences launched by a conversation partner. Furthermore, he uses verbal resources, such as modal constructions 'you have to' and 'you can', and non-verbal resources, such as gaze, to modify deontic rights between himself, his wife and their daughter. Additionally, he up- and downgrades rights by using formats such as open questions, alternatives, and asking what the conversation partner wants. In summary, there is emerging evidence that when constructing requests persons with aphasia may profit from non-verbal resources, such as pointing and other gestures. When modifying deontic rights to request however, verbal resources such as specific linguistic formats and modal constructions seem to play a crucial role, and aphasia may impact on the ability to deploy them.

[2]In this study we analyse data from the same individual as Auer and Bauer (2009). The participant called "Norbert" here is called "HC" in their study..

The present study

Using CA, the present study investigates request sequences in interactions of parents with mild and severe aphasia and their children, for example at bedtime, and during mealtimes and game playing. We focus on parental attempts to get a child to do something or to stop doing something, which require an immediate embodied response. Our aim is threefold:

(1) To analyse the conversational practices used by parents with aphasia to make requests.
(2) To examine how severity of aphasia influences the formulation of requests.
(3) To consider what consequences the formulation of requests have for deontic authority of parents with aphasia.

By examining parental request sequences and the consequences of request design for parental authority, the present study illustrates what doing being a parent with aphasia may look like in everyday interaction.

Materials and method

The present study employs CA (for example Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Ethical approval for the present study was obtained from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). All participant names and places reported are pseudonyms to safeguard anonymity.

Materials

The data originate from a corpus stored in the data bank AphaDB provided by Prof. Dr Auer (University of Freiburg, Germany) and Dr Angelika Bauer (School of Speech and Language Therapy, Freiburg)[3] The first author was granted access to the data for research purposes but was not involved in data collection. Data were collected in Germany between 2000 and 2005 within the project "Adaptationsstrategien in der familiären Kommunikation zwischen Aphasikern und ihren Partnerinnen" (Adaption strategies within the family communication between aphasics and their spouses). For the original project, 12 persons with aphasia were asked to video record themselves for approximately 2 hours during different typical interactions at home, five times after they returned from a rehabilitation centre after the stroke (immediately, 1, 3, 6 and 12 months after returning from rehabilitation). The participants chose to video record themselves while having conversations with their friends, spouses and/or their children. After data collection, the videos were transcribed according to "Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem" (GAT) conventions (Selting et al., 1998) and saved in the data bank AphaDB together with the transcripts (the first author was not involved in this). The data bank stores 142 recordings and transcripts (in total circa 150 hours) from nine German-speaking persons with aphasia (eight males and one female) and five interview recordings. Five data sets involving young

[3]For further information about the data see Bauer (2009).

Table 1. Overview: Demographic and medical information of participants with aphasia who recorded conversations with their children

Parent with aphasia (age, profession)	Gender	Aetiology and lesion side	Type of aphasia[4]	Severity of aphasia[4]	Family members: spouse (age, profession), children (age)
Udo (50, lawyer)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Anomic aphasia	Mild	Tina (43, housewife), Florian (12), Annika (14)
Tim (38, truck driver)	M	Extensive cerebral haemorrhage in the left temporal lobe	Anomic aphasia	Mild	Julia (36, part-time carpenter), Anna (9)
Norbert (46, senior businessman)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Initially: global aphasia, After 1 year: Broca's aphasia	Severe	Marina (36, part-time office clerk), Florian (1), Hannah (14), Denise (18)

children are available in this data bank. However, one participant did not do requesting to her children and another only made one request for an action to his daughter. Therefore, the present study chose to analyse three parents with aphasia and their children across 10 hours of interaction. All three participants were in the post-acute phase when the recordings were made. At the time of the transcripts shared in this paper, Tim and Udo were 4 months post onset and Norbert was 3 months post onset. This means that the aphasic symptoms were quite stable at that time. Demographic and medical information for the participants is available in Table 1.

Method

CA attempts to identify participants' practices to achieve intersubjectivity, and to construct and organize interactions (Peräkylä, 2007). The CA approach takes recordings of instances of naturally occurring interactions as an initial step for conducting research (Ten Have, 1999) because they provide access to the minutest details of the interaction as well as the opportunity to scrutinize the same data repeatedly (Cameron, 2001). Alongside the recordings, transcripts are used for analysis. They provide verbatim information about participants' utterances together with paralinguistic features such as intonation, volume and multimodality (gaze, gesture, artefact use, facial expression). For the present study, the first author re-transcribed the original transcripts according to the "Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2" (GAT 2) conventions (Selting et al., 1998, 2009) (see Appendix for conventions), translated them into English (provided in bold in the extracts) and added a multimodal transcription (Mondada, 2006) when this was of analytical interest. In the transcripts, participants are designated by the capital letter of their pseudonym. Because the participant Norbert occasionally produces neologisms (sound strings that are non-words), a gloss line is inserted if relevant, in which unintelligible word forms are transcribed according to German orthography and marked with curly brackets (Laakso & Godt, 2016).

[4]Diagnosed with the Aachener Aphasie Test (AAT) (Huber et al., 1983).

Table 2. Requests for action

Person	Total time per person	Total requests per person
Tim	04:04:00	13
Norbert	03:53:00	25
Udo	01:20:00	7

The analytic procedure followed three stages: identification of a phenomenon, building of a collection of instances, and qualitative analysis of action formation (Levinson, 2013). Initial localization of a potentially interesting phenomenon in the data (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008) provided different types of requests (for example requests for objects, recruitments, requests for information, requests for action, offerings). To identify requests, we relied on the next turn proof procedure (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). According to CA, next actions display how a previous action (in our case requesting) has been understood. This resulted in almost 200 instances of requests across three participants with children, identified by the first author. Subsequently, analysis focused on sequences of parental attempts to get a child to do or stop an *action*, which required an immediate embodied response by the child. To be able to shed light on parenting with aphasia, we focussed on requests typically applied in parenting, such as requests for "personal and domestic tasks" (Cekaite, 2010, p. 4), for "change in recipient's conduct" (Craven & Potter, 2010, p. 424) as well as "corrective instructions" (Deppermann, 2020, p. 211). The amount of "requests for action" (Tse Crepaldi, 2017, p. 21), as we decided to call them, can be found in Table 2. Because the present article is part of a larger study that will analyse negotiation of requests (Killmer, in prep.), we decided to focus on children able to negotiate verbally. Therefore, we excluded interactions with babies and toddlers due to their preverbal communication. Furthermore, we decided to focus on the influence of mild versus severe aphasia on deontic authority, because we observed differences in the design of requests. To develop the analysis, two sequences were discussed in multidisciplinary data sessions and at a conference. Data sessions are undertaken in CA research to increase a study's validity and reliability by reviewing video recordings and transcripts of the phenomenon collaboratively multiple times (Peräkylä, 2011).

Results

Our data reveal a variety of request designs and ways of modifying deontic authority by parents with aphasia. The analysis is divided into two parts to reflect two prominent request types: first, requests to do an action, followed by requests to stop doing an action. In each of these sections, extracts from a person with mild aphasia are analysed first, followed by extracts from a person with severe aphasia.

Requesting a child to do an action

In the following extract, Udo, a person with mild aphasia, requests his son Florian to clean his (Florian's) chin. The family (Udo, his wife Tina, Florian and daughter Annika) is sitting and chatting at the kitchen table. In the beginning of the extract, Tina and Annika are having

a dispute about Annika being slow when having to catch a bus (lines 1-5) and Florian expresses his annoyance by uttering 'hoa' and covering his face with both hands (lines 4 and 6).

Extract 1. Chin

```
01  Tina:     du bisch en äh du bisch a [schlAfmütz            ]
              you are a eh you are a sleepy head

02  Annika:                              [<<ff>ja entSCHULdigung>]
                                               yes sorry

03  Tina:     hhmm

04  Florian:  tz
              ts

05  Annika:   SO hab ich des ja [jetzt AU net gmeint]
              I did not mean it like that

06  Florian:                    [hoa °(2 syllables)^]
    f:                               °covers face with both hands
    u:                                          ^looks at Florian

07  Tina:     hm?

08            ^°(-^°-^)
    u:  -->   ^moves left hand to his chin
    f:         °uncovers his face and looks at Tina
    u:  -->     ^points at Florian with left hand
    f:           °looks at Udo
    u:             ^moves left hand to his chin

09  Udo:-->   ^PUTZ dich mal Ab,
              clean yourself once
    u:        ^moves left hand ←→ in front of his chin

10            da Unten
              down there

11            °(-)^
    f:        °wipes his chin
    u:            ^nods

12  Tina:     und °wie geht=es deine APHthen
              and how are your ulcers
    f:            °looks at Tina
```

The sequence begins with a gesture by Udo who moves his left hand to his chin (line 8). During this movement, he looks at Florian, while Florian looks at his mother, Tina. By pointing at Florian, Udo gains Florian's attention and mutual eye contact between father and son is established (line 8). Now Udo requests Florian to clean himself, simultaneously saying "Putz dich mal ab" (clean yourself once) and using non-verbal resources (moving his left hand from left to right and back in front of his chin, see line 9). After Udo adds specificity 'da unten' (down there, line 10), Florian complies by wiping his chin (line 11). The sequence ends with Udo nodding as an acknowledgment of Florian's action (line 11).

One cannot say whether Udo moves his hand to his chin in line 8 to signal a noticing, or to initiate an implicit request (i.e. 'you have something there'). However, our inspection of data involving Udo shows that he often displays problems with initiating sequences verbally, and this may speak in favour of interpreting the gesture as initiating an implicit request. This is also

in line with previous studies showing that persons with aphasia experience trouble with initiating requests (Anglade et al., 2018; 2021; Bauer, 2009; Bauer & Auer, 2009; C. Goodwin et al., 2009) as well general problems with initiating topics and sequences (Barnes et al., 2013; Beeke et al., 2011; Leaman & Edmonds, 2020; Wilkinson, 1999).

The request is constructed in two parts. First, the pointing gesture at Florian (line 8), establishes mutual orientation between the two, as well as identifying Florian as the addressee of the upcoming utterance. Second, the actual request is expressed through an imperative, telling Florian to clean himself and demonstrating how to do the requested action (line 9). Streeck (2016, p. 72) refers to this as "acting" the request. The establishment of mutual orientation and the synchronization of verbal requests and gesturing that we see here has been observed across different request types by persons with aphasia (Anglade et al., 2018; 2021; Bauer, 2009; Bauer & Auer, 2009; C. Goodwin et al., 2009), in typical parent-child requests (Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin, 2006) and in typical requesting (Helmer & Reineke, 2021). Extract 1 thus demonstrates the complex structure of initiating requests. In order to succeed, two interactional tasks are accomplished: establishing mutual orientation and formulating the request.

Upgraded authority is claimed by Udo in this request. By formatting the request as an imperative (line 9), non-compliance by Florian is not presented as an option (Craven & Potter, 2010). Rather, the request format claims Udo's heightened entitlement to get Florian to clean his chin. However, the request is mitigated with the hedge 'mal' (short for 'einmal' - once or one time), which minimizes the requested action by indicating that it should be executed only once and is not repetitive or long-lasting (Tsuitsui, 2006).

In the next extract, we will analyse a request made by Norbert, a man who has severe aphasia. Here he is playing Monopoly with his family. He requests his daughter Hannah to put her money in a line in front of her. This is the way Monopoly players typically sort their money. The family (Norbert, his wife Marina, Hannah and other daughter Denise) is sitting at the living room table and they are preparing to play. Hannah is in charge of the bank and distributes the money from the Monopoly box on her lap. In the beginning of the extract, Marina, who has just joined the group, asks which game piece belongs to each of them. Hannah is explaining (lines 1-3) when Norbert begins to speak.

The sequential organization is similar to Extract 1 in that it includes two stages. First, mutual orientation is secured, and then a request is uttered. In line 4, Norbert initiates the request by attaining Hannah's attention and identifying her as addressee with the non-word 'mogen' as well as by shifting his gaze from Marina to Hannah. The non-word 'mogen' probably also functions as a means to establish himself as speaker (Bauer & Auer, 2009). When mutual gaze is established and Hannah stops sorting the money, Norbert utters 'so so' (like this, like this, probably expressing 'do it like this') (line 4). Depending on the intonation and the sequential organization, 'so' may indicate different actions in German, such as questioning (rising intonation), requesting (flat intonation) or it may serve as a discourse marker. When 'so' is used for requesting, typically an iconic gesture accompanies it (Helmer & Reineke, 2021). Although there is no accompanying gesture here, the sequential placement and intonation of 'so' indicates that Norbert is doing requesting and not, for example, asking. However, in the following course of action, Hannah withdraws her gaze and continues sorting the money (line 4). Hannah's withdrawal may be a result of a lack of intersubjectivity or it may serve to express her non-

Extract 2. Money

```
01  Marina:        wer isch welcher?
                    who is which one
02  Hannah:        @^ich bin der HUND du bisch der SPRINGER
                    I am the dog you are the knight
    h:             @looks up and stops sorting money
    n:              ^looks at Hannah
03  Hannah:        ^DEnise isch der HUT un norbert is [(3 syllables). ]
                     Denise is the hat and Norbert is
                   ^looks at Marina
04  Norbert:-->                                        [@^MOgen @SO SO.@]
                                                        {mogen=non-word}
                                                        {mogen} like this
                   like this
    h:                                                 @looks down at money
                   and sorts it
    n:                                                  ^looks at Hannah
    h:                                                         @looks up and
                   stops sorting money
    h:                                                                 @looks
                   down at money and sorts it
05  Norbert:-->    MOgen.^
                   {mogen=non-word}
                   {mogen}
    n:                    ^prods Hannah's upper arm with left hand
06  Hannah:        <<whispers> vier (x syllables)>
                              four
07  Marina:        ah [(x Silben)]
08  Norbert:-->       [^SO SO    ]
                       like this like this
    n:                 ^stretches out left arm and moves hand in front of
                   Hannah ←→
    n:                 ^looks at his left hand
09  Hannah:        @ja.
                   yes
    h:             @looks in Norbert's direction and puts money on table
```

compliance with Norbert's request. Either way, Norbert repeats the twofold request structure. First, he repeats the non-word 'mogen' and prods Hannah's upper arm (line 5). Mutual orientation is not established, instead Hannah demonstrably ignores her father's action and continues to count the money, saying 'vier' (four) (line 6). In line 8, while again uttering 'so so' (like this, like this), Norbert stretches out his left arm and draws an imaginary line by moving his left arm back and forth over the table in front of Hannah (Helmer & Reineke, 2021). This action appears to indicate that Hannah should put the money in a line in front of her. While the performance of the gesture in Hannah's field of vision inevitably secures mutual orientation, the gesture itself demonstrates the requested action, namely to place the money on the table. Hannah treats Norbert's turn as a request by responding with 'yes' and initially complying to put some money on the table (line 9). Further analysis of her response is beyond the scope of the present article.

In Extract 2, Norbert acts out the requested action instead of verbalizing and acting it at the same time, as seen in Extract 1. This may be less demanding for him given his severe aphasia. However the meaning of the request depends on the child's interpretation of the gesture (Auer & Bauer, 2011), because no verbal request disambiguates the requested action (C.

Goodwin et al., 2009). This may lead to the need for more interactional work by Hannah – a consequence of aphasia which has been described previously in the context of gesture use, for example concerning iconic gestures (Auer & Bauer, 2011; Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). Extract 2 reveals the same twofold structure for requesting an action as was described in Extract 1. Furthermore, it exemplifies how mutual attention before requesting may be established in an enforced (prodding the arm) or intrusive way (gesturing in the requestee's field of vision).

In common with Extract 1, here the person with aphasia claims upgraded entitlement. However, no mitigating words are employed when requesting. Norbert displays high deontic authority to initiate the requests by attempting to obtain attention through touching Hannah (line 5). Furthermore, he acts the requested action in Hannah's field of vision (line 8) so that she cannot avoid seeing it. The requests in lines 4 and 8 are framed as instructive requests with the token 'so' (like this) (Helmer & Reineke, 2021), which expresses high entitlement and low contingency. This format is upgraded with high volume and by repeating the token during both requests. High entitlement to initiate and express the request through verbal and physical resources. In contrast to Extract 1, authority is not mitigated. Such high entitlement when initiating requests may hinder possibilities for upgrading authority in the unfolding sequence after children's non-compliance (Kent, 2011).

Requesting a child to stop an action

Extract 3 exemplifies how Tim, diagnosed with mild aphasia requests his 9-year-old daughter Anna to stop trying to attach a piece to a puzzle, which they are completing together sitting on the floor of the living rooming. They are engaged in this activity silently side by side over long stretches of the recording, including the 16 second gap shown in line 1. At the beginning of this sequence, Tim attempts to connect different pieces to the puzzle (line 1). After 5 seconds, Anna takes a piece from the heap of puzzle pieces, leans forward and tries to connect it to the same part of the puzzle Tim is working on (line 1). Two seconds later, Tim takes his hand away from the puzzle and scratches his cheek, before moving his hand back to the puzzle (line 1).

Extract 3. Piece

```
01            (16.0)^^(5.0)@@@(2.0)^(3.0)^
    t:              ^looks at puzzle
    t:               ^tries to connect different pieces to the puzzle with
              his left hand
    a:                      @takes a piece from the piece heap and moves whole
              body forward
    a:                       @looks at puzzle
    a:                        @tries to connect piece to puzzle
    t:                              ^scratches his cheek with the index finger
              of his left hand
    t:                                    ^moves left hand to puzzle
02  Tim:-->   <<p>²hm↑²hm:.>@^
                  ²m²m
    a:                      @takes piece away
    t:                       ^takes hand away from puzzle and moves it to his
              mouth
03            ((voices in the background 10.0))
```

Tim requests Anna to stop her action of trying to connect her piece to the puzzle with ‘ʔhmʔhm’ (ʔmʔm) (line 2). This reduplicated token with a glottal closure is often used for negation in German (Selting et al., 2009) and is presented here with a pitch up-step and prolongation on the second ‘hm’. Anna complies with the request, stops trying to connect her piece and moves it away from the puzzle (line 2).

The design and structure of this sequence is simple. There is only one action in progress, namely Anna trying to connect her piece to the puzzle (line 1). This action is in the field of both participants’ attention. Therefore, expressing disagreement with this action is sufficient for requesting to stop it. Here, a simple ‘ʔhmʔhm’ (ʔmʔm) shows disagreement and Hannah subsequently suspends her action. Thus, for Tim, the demand this request puts on his interactional resources is low. Furthermore, in contrast to the complex dual structure described in Extract 1 and 2, whereby establishment of mutual orientation precedes the request, one verbalisation is sufficient to stop the child’s action here. It is unnecessary for Tim to describe exactly the requested action and Hannah has no difficulty understanding his request. A highly structured context such as puzzling may thus provide opportunities for constructing such request types requiring simple resources and only one interactional task, and facilitate requesting despite aphasia.

High authority is claimed by Tim in this extract. The simple ‘ʔhmʔhm’ (ʔmʔm) is a strong claim of authority as it demonstrates an absolute prohibition, which is comparable to an imperative. At the same time, Tim’s entitlement is mitigated as the request is uttered with low volume.

In the data as a whole, we observed a wide range of resources for up- and down-grading deontic authority in the requests of parents with mild aphasia. Therefore, we provide a second extract exemplifying further resources employed also by Tim.

In Extract 4, Tim requests that his daughter stops covering up the puzzle. As in Extract 3, father and daughter are doing a puzzle together. Anna sits beside the puzzle (line 1). Then she moves her body forward, gets on her knees and hands and covers the puzzle with her upper body while she tries to connect pieces to it (line 1). Tim also gets on his knees, takes a piece from beside Anna and moves in the direction of the puzzle in front of Anna (line 1).

Extract 4. Puzzle

```
01          (1.0)®(4.0)^(5.0)^(4.0)
    a:      >>sits beside puzzle
    a:          ®moves forward on knees and hands – upper body covers
            puzzle – tries to connect pieces>>
    t:                ^gets on his knees
    t:                     ^takes piece from beside Anna and moves into
            direction of puzzle

02  Tim:--> lass me doch au  BISsle® da na↑:.
            let me also still a bit closer there
    a:                      ®moves backward – body uncovers puzzle

03          ^du hocksch scho wieder' ganz' DRINne.^® (---)
            you are sitting again completely in there
    t:      ^gazes at Anna                        ^gazes at puzzle
    a:                                             ®takes sitting position
            beside the puzzle – not covering puzzle

04  Anna:   hm'

05          (9.4)
```

Tim expresses the request as an imperative 'lass me doch au bissle da na' (let me also still a bit closer there) (line 2). This request does not specify exactly what action is required from Anna, that is, what she should do in order to let him get closer. However, before Tim has finished his turn, Anna moves backwards and uncovers the puzzle (line 3). Then, while gazing at Anna, Tim gives an account for why she should move aside, formulated as a declarative 'du hocksch scho wieder ganz drinne' (you are sitting again completely in there) (line 3). Anna takes a sitting position beside the puzzle (line 3) and utters the receipt token 'hm' (line 4). Her position is similar to the one she had before she moved forward in line 1.

Obviously, more verbal resources are used to construct this imperative request format than to design the negation 'ˀhmˀhm' (ˀmˀm) in Extract 3. However, it is striking that in Extract 4 just as in Extract 3, Anna complies with the request at a point when opposition to the ongoing action (Anna covering the puzzle, line 1) is expressed. Although Tim does not make explicit what action he requests from his daughter, Anna treats his comment as a request to move away from the puzzle. Again, the context of doing a puzzle provides resources that may be exploited in the formulation and understanding of this type of request.

The imperative format claims high entitlement perform the request. Yet, the request is mitigated by the hedge 'bissle' (ein bisschen - a bit). This mitigation is emphasized through intonation by stressing the first syllable of 'bissle'. Furthermore, the intonation of 'na' (dran - closer) with an up- and down-step of pitch and sound prolongation highlights Tim's annoyance and underlines the urgency of the request. The account in line 3 explains the need for action, but may simultaneously be heard as a complaint (Schegloff, 2005). Both of these actions upgrade the speakers' entitlement to make the request. Extract 4 thus demonstrates further resources for fine-tuning deontic authority.

The fifth extract exemplifies how Norbert, with severe aphasia, requests his daughter to stop throwing a dice. Norbert, his spouse Marina and their daughters Denise and Hannah are sitting in the living room playing Monopoly. Before the sequence, Marina has thrown the dice and moved her game piece. Hannah moves her hand to the dice as Marina announces that she would like to buy the 'Seestrasse' (line 1), as part of her ongoing turn. Then Hannah announces that it is her go to take a turn (line 2).

Norbert requests his daughter not to throw the dice by saying 'nein' (no) four times, lifting up his left hand and moving it from left to right (line 3, Image 1). At this point, mutual gaze between Norbert and Hannah is established. Following this, while saying 'nix' (nothing), Norbert holds his left hand up in an open position in Hannah's direction (line 4 and Image 2). Then he looks down at his cards again and begins to sort them. Hannah complies with the request by moving her hand away from the dice (line 5). Yet she also expresses her protest with the token 'hm' by elongating the 'm' and producing a distinct pitch up- and down-step (line 5) as well as asking for an account 'warum nit' (warum nicht - why not) (line 6). Then Norbert initiates a next action, the continuation of the game, with 'so' (well[5]) (line 7) without giving an account.

Norbert attempts to prohibit his child's action of taking and throwing the dice with 'nee' (no) and a prohibiting gesture (line 3, see also Image 1). Although the request is brought about by disagreement (see also Extract 3 for stopping an action with 'ˀhmˀhm' (ˀmˀm) expressing disagreement), Norbert extends the request. The extension is realized with the negation term 'nix' (nothing), probably indicating 'du machst nix' (you do

[5]Note that "so" has different functions in German due to the sequential placement and the intonation. While "so" was used as an instructive request in Extract 2 (equivalent to "like this"), here it is used as a discourse marker (equivalent to "well").

Extract 5. Dice

```
01  Marina:       @ich MÖCHT die seestrasse KAUfe.
                  I would like to buy the Seestrasse
    h:            @moves hand to dice
02  Hannah:       also ich kann ja schomal würfeln.
                  thus I can already throw the dices
03  Norbert:-->   NEE=NEE=^NEE=^@NEE.
                  Nononono
    n:                      ^looks up from table and at Hannah
    n:                           ^lifts left hand and moves it
                  ←→(Image 1)
    h:                           @looks at Norbert
04            -->   ^NIX.^
                  nothing
    n:            ^holds left hand still (Image 2)
    n:                 ^looks down at cards and sorts them
05  Hannah:       @hm:↑:@↓:
    h:                 @moves hand away from dice
    h:            @looks in front of her
06                warum nit?@
                  why not
    h:                      @leans forward
07  Norbert:      so;^
                  well
    n:               ^looks over table
```

Image 1. Line 3: Norbert makes a hand movement from left to right – indicating 'NO' (image: Pointon, 2018; arrows added by first author)

Image 2. Line 4: Norbert holds his open hand up – indicating 'STOP' (image: Pointon, 2018)

nothing), as well as by stopping the movement of his hand, indicating cessation (line 4, see also Image 2). Extract 5 is another example of how asking someone to stop doing something may require fewer resources than asking them to act, by exploiting the participants' mutual orientation to the action under way.

We already observed that Norbert, with severe aphasia, mainly produces requests with high deontic authority, as illustrated Extract 2. In Extract 5, Norbert repeats the 'no' in quick succession, which upgrades his entitlement (line 3). Furthermore, extending his initial turn (line 3) with a second one (line 4) reinforces the request by being repeated. Additionally, both turns are louder than the previous ones, which upgrades the intensity and thereby the displayed entitlement to make the request. Moreover, the reduplication of the request in several different modes (verbal and gestural) upgrades the insistence and leaves no room for contingencies. Extract 5 shows once more that despite severe aphasia, Norbert is able to express a request with strong deontic authority, and does not appear to have the resources to mitigate the request.

Discussion

These three parents with aphasia do requesting and thus express their entitlement to request actions from their children. We identified structures and contexts, such as games and mealtimes, that may support the demonstration of parental authority despite aphasia because they provide for scaffolded interactions. However, we also uncovered a practice that may lead to loss of authority in aphasia. Stopping a child's action appears easier to achieve than getting a child to do something because it requires less interactional tasks; a simple disagreement in the right sequential position can achieve this. Furthermore, it appears the severity of aphasia may limit the fine-tuning of deontic authority. While the persons with mild aphasia express their authority subtly in requests, the person with severe aphasia uses requests that mostly claim strong authority. The present study provides insights into factors, such as the structure of a request and the severity of aphasia, that might cause the loss of parental authority due to aphasia, which chimes with participant self-report (Manning et al., 2021). We expand on previous findings by revealing how a typical parent-child activity, such as requesting, may influence deontic authority in real time interaction. Thereby, we illustrate how doing being a parent and the socialization process of a child may be influenced by aphasia in everyday life.

The first aim of this study concerned the conversational practices used by parents with aphasia to make requests. Our data show that requesting a child to do something may be more complex than asking a child to stop or refrain from an action. All three parents with aphasia employ a two-stage structure to accomplish requests for action. First, they identify the requestee and gain mutual attention for example by looking at, pointing towards or prodding the children. Second, they produce the request proper. The two persons with mild aphasia achieve this by describing the requested action verbally, using imperatives or declaratives, much as in typical parent-child interaction (Kent, 2011). At the same time, they may demonstrate the action with gestures. The establishment of mutual orientation as well as the synchronization of verbal requests and gesturing has been observed in previous studies across different request types by persons with aphasia (Anglade et al., 2018, 2021; Bauer, 2009; Bauer & Auer, 2009; C. Goodwin et al., 2009), in typical parent-child requests (Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin, 2006) and in typical

requesting not involving children (Helmer & Reineke, 2021). However, the person with severe aphasia expresses the requested action solely with gestures. While the children of the two parents with mild aphasia can rely on verbal and non-verbal information to understand the requested action, the child of the parent with severe aphasia depends solely on non-verbal information, which requires more interpretive work (Auer & Bauer, 2011; Tuomenoksa et al., 2021). In contrast to requests for action, requests to stop a child's action are performed with one simple action, namely expressing opposition or disagreement. All three parents with aphasia achieve this with few resources for example by simply saying 'no'. This is possible due to the participants' mutual orientation to the action underway. Overall, stopping an action may thus be easier for a parent with aphasia than requesting the initiation of one.

The second aim sought to examine how severity influences the formulation of requests. Our data show that the power of deontic authority expressed in a request may be influenced by severity of aphasia. Generally, all three parents with aphasia do requesting, which shows their parental authority. The two persons with mild aphasia calibrate deontic authority by means of various resources for up- and downgrading. For example, imperative formats are downgraded with verbal devices such as hedges, e.g. 'a bit'. In this way they employ similar techniques to those described for a person with severe Wernicke's aphasia that uses modal constructions such as 'can you' (Killmer et al., 2022), in typical parent-child requests (Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013; Kent, 2011), and in typical requesting (Rossi, 2015; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). However, such fine-tuning is not present in requests made by the parent with severe aphasia. He mostly claims strong deontic authority, for example through increased volume and by repeating the request. He does not appear to have access to verbal resources such as specific linguistic formats and modal constructions, which are available to persons with mild aphasia for adjusting deontic authority. In sum, it seems that severe aphasia limits this person's ability to calibrate the expression of deontic authority.

Last, we aimed to scrutinize what consequences the formulation of requests have for the authority of parents with aphasia. We will highlight three. First, the complex structure of requests for action may become a barrier to requesting for a person who has aphasia, which may impede the socialization of a child and the exertion of parental authority. Second, the constant initiation of requests with high deontic authority may become a hindrance to expressing authority in the long run, as well as restricting the child's autonomy. In request sequences, parents attempt to socialize their children by regulating and controlling their actions, while at the same time preparing their children for adulthood by gradually guiding them toward self-regulation and autonomy, certainly as the children grow older. Kent (2011) notes that requests initiated with high authority do not easily lend themselves to being upgraded when resisted. Furthermore, with regard to children's socialization, Aronsson and Cekaite (2011) discourage regulating a child's behaviour with formats that are overly authoritative. They propose using less authoritative formats that guide the child towards self-regulation. Thus, both notions promote using requests with low deontic authority. Third, highly structured interactional contexts such as mealtimes and games may facilitate the expression of parental authority when one has aphasia. Our data show that although requests by a person with aphasia may not be expressed explicitly, children understand the requested actions because they are

familiar with the routines and rules of the structured activity. Parental authority can be displayed by implicit invocation of an activity's context. Therefore, habits and routines seem to provide a resource for persons with aphasia to scaffold requesting.

Whilst it should be acknowledged that this is an analysis of requests of three individuals with aphasia and their children, many of the practices we observed are characteristic of typical parental request sequences, and, therefore, it may be the case that other parents with aphasia do requesting in similar ways. They might also experience similar barriers, which might be part of an explanation for the few or no requests seen in the data from the other two parents with aphasia in the AphaDB data bank. In order to strengthen our results, a broader study of requesting is desirable. Our next study will analyse the negotiation of requests to children by parents with aphasia (Killmer, in prep.). While it is a striking finding that the person with severe aphasia in this study mostly claimed upgraded authority, one could argue that this might be related to a personal communication style. First, a feature such as high volume may be an individual choice of communication, however, an increased use of gestures is often found in conversations of persons with aphasia (Auer & Bauer, 2011). Thus, resources that are specifically accessible to persons with severe aphasia increase their deontic rights. Second, although there is not much research on this topic, studies have shown that, for example, L2 learners - although familiar with the concept of deontic authority and modal constructions in their L1 – use fewer modal constructions in the early stages of L2 learning (Leclercq & Edmonds, 2017). Thus, a subtle expression of deontic authority is limited when L2 proficiency is low. The use of modal constructions increases with proficiency (Leclercq & Edmonds, 2017), which allows L2 speakers to modify their deontic rights. It seems that we can find a similar effect due to aphasia. In summary, on the one hand, resources particularly used by persons with aphasia, such as gestures, increase deontic rights, and on the other hand, subtle expression of authority is limited with few linguistic resources. However, because findings may partially interfere with previous parenting styles and the influence of availability of linguistic resources on deontic rights has not been sufficiently explored, we suggest that future research should analyse a larger data set that includes persons with varying degrees of aphasia severity. Further research into parental requesting by people with aphasia will broaden our perspectives and concepts for speech and language interventions that aim to facilitate family interactions. Our findings suggest that communication partner training (CPT) could further benefit people with aphasia and their families by encouraging reflection on interactional activities such as requesting, and ways to support this. As part of CPT, parents with aphasia and their family members could talk with speech and language therapists (SLTs) about how requesting works in everyday conversations. Parents with aphasia, their co-parenting partners and their children could then be supported to reflect on how requesting works for them. Goals could then be negotiated as a way of enhancing participation in requesting for parents with aphasia, with a focus on practice in (1) employing complex request structures, (2) modifying authority, and (3) identifying routine family activities or contexts for interaction that may provide a scaffold for requesting.

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Appendix

Summary of the most important GAT 2 transcription conventions (Selting et al., 2011) with additions by present author(s):

Sequential structure	
[ ] [ ]	Overlap and simultaneous talk
=	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
In- and outbreaths	
°h/h°	in-/ outbreaths of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
°hh/hh°	in-/ outbreaths of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
°hhh/hhh°	in-/ outbreaths of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
Pauses	
(.)	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration appr.
(-)	short estimated pause of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
(–)	intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
(—)	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
(0.5)/(2.0)	measured pause of appr. 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.
ʔ	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 accentHT
!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

(*Continued*)

(Continued).

Changes in pitch register	
≪l> >	lower pitch register
≪h> >	higher pitch register
Intralinear notation of accent pitch movements	
`SO	falling
´SO	rising
-SO	level
ˆSO	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

Additions by present author(s)

t:/h: ^/*	representing non-verbal behavior (e.g. gestures, movements and gaze)
?:	unknown speaker

Article 4

How parents with aphasia deal with children's resistance to requests

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How parents with aphasia deal with children's resistance to requests

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ABSTRACT

Negotiating bedtime or table manners with children can be challenging, probably even more so for parents with aphasia. This study aims to explore how parents with aphasia deal with children's resistance to requests in everyday interactions. It examines the interactional practices of parents with aphasia and their consequences for deontic authority (the right to direct another person's future action). Using conversation analysis, I conducted a collection-based study of request sequences in 10 hours of video recordings involving three parents with aphasia (two with mild and one with severe aphasia). Two different types of child resistance following a parental request were analysed: passive resistance (indicated by the child's inaction) and active resistance (indicated by the child's attempt to bargain or give an account for not doing the requested action). It is shown that all three parents with aphasia respond to passive resistance with pursuits, such as 'hey' and other prompts. However, while the two parents with greater linguistic resources deal with active resistance by seeking compliance with counterarguments and by cautiously upgrading their deontic rights, such fine-tuning is not present when the parent with more limited linguistic resources deals with his child's resistance. This parent uses intrusive physical practices, gestures, increased volume and repetition. This analysis offers insights into practices that appear to affect the ability of these parents with aphasia to negotiate with their children and thus engage in parenting and participate in family life. In order to be able to offer support when engaging with children as desired by parents with aphasia, it is important to gain further insights into how aphasia can affect the organisation of everyday family life.

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Introduction

Family conversations are the vehicle for parenting. Through such conversations, a child internalises cultural and social knowledge, rules and behaviour. Parents try to convey this through for example requests for action, such as 'go to bed', and 'sit still' (for example Craven & Potter, 2010). Yet, children frequently resist such requests and parents have to deal with this resistance. Consequently, family life is often shaped by the negotiation of requests.

Negotiating requests includes negotiation of deontic authority (the right to direct another person's future action) (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Usually, a parent-child

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interaction is characterised by asymmetrical authority (Heller, 2011). This authority imbalance is not a priori confined to parents and children. Their roles are constituted in the interaction through their behaviour and the behaviour manifests their social roles within the family (Ochs & Taylor, 1992). The ability to display parental authority by interacting competently, for example by negotiating requests, is important because parenting involves maintenance of the asymmetrical social order. Typically, parents have a broader linguistic repertoire for engaging in this than children themselves (Kent, 2012). They try to convince a child to do a requested action with careful counterarguments (M. H. Goodwin, 2006) and are commonly the ones who do most argumentation work (Bova & Arcidiacono, 2013). The way parents deal with child resistance is thus both important for the role of parents as well as for children's socialisation.

Although it is well known that aphasia affects the entire family, not just a person with aphasia (Grawburg et al., 2019), there are few studies addressing parenting with aphasia (for example Manning et al., 2021; Ryan & Pitt, 2018). These studies document that parents with aphasia wish for support to engage with their children and that families with aphasia strive to communicate well, which contributes to better living with aphasia (Brown et al., 2011). However, we lack insights into how aphasia can affect the organisation of ordinary, everyday family life to be able to offer relevant support.

As a first attempt to improve our understanding of the influence of aphasia on typical conversational activities of families, the present study examines how parents with aphasia deal with their children's resistance to requests. Little is known about the communicative practices of parents with aphasia when responding to children's resistance to requests or how negotiation is conducted in situations where a child continues to resist and a parent with aphasia works towards compliance. The following is an overview of negotiation within request sequences and the consequences for deontic authority in typical interaction, parent-child interaction, and interactions of parents with aphasia.

Negotiation and deontic authority

Intergenerational disputes resulting from requests are recurrent actions in family interactions and therefore a fruitful field for analysing the unfolding of parent-child negotiation. The present study examines one type of request, namely 'requests for actions' or short requests (Tse Crepaldi, 2017, p. 21). Other request types, such as requests for objects, are beyond the scope of this study. Different types of requests take various linguistic formats, from interrogatives ('Could you go to bed now?') and imperatives ('Go to bed now!') to noticings ('It's bedtime.') (Kent, 2011). They have in common that they are 'communicative projects' (Luckmann, 1995, p. 180) that attempt 'to get someone to do something' (M. H. Goodwin, 2006, p. 517) and require an immediate physical action in response. Requestees orient to requests as first actions by complying with or resisting them. The present study focuses on the extended negotiation sequence that ensues after resistance.

Analysis reveals that compliance responses are produced quickly to progress the initiated action (Schegloff, 2007). Following compliance, the third action is the requester's acknowledgement or a next action (Zinken et al., 2020). Requestees use a variety of formats to express resistance. These resistance formats are often prefaced with features such as hesitation, delaying and hedging as well as the requestee might account for non-compliance

(Pomerantz, 1984). If the request is not met, requesters may deal with the resistance by working towards compliance in an unfolding extended negotiation sequence. Thus, negotiating requests involves three interactional actions: making a request, resisting the request, and the process of dealing with the resistance.

Requests are attempts to direct the future actions of another person. As such, they involve some claim to the right to do so, which is referred to as *deontic authority* (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Studies of deontic authority draw on Curl and Drew's (2008) notions of *entitlement* and *contingency*. For example, when a speaker phrases their request as an imperative ('Go to bed!'), they are claiming high entitlement and thus power to demand the action of going to bed. In contrast, modal constructions such as 'can you/could you' orient to the contingency that the interlocutor may resist the action or be unable to perform the action (Rossi, 2015). Formats such as 'I wonder if . . . ' mitigate a request by allocating to the requestee even more power to decide. Furthermore, deontic authority may be up- or downgraded using prosody, embodiment, or hedges, such as 'a bit' (for example M. H. Goodwin, 2006). Speakers can increase and decrease their deontic authority by shaping their turns with words, phrases and syntax that heighten or lower their rights to decide about the future action. Claiming high deontic authority, by increasing one's entitlement or reducing one's orientation to contingencies, does not guarantee compliance. A requestee may still refuse to comply with a request, and then the requester is faced with the dilemma of how to get the requestee to perform the desired action. While previous literature used the term *requests* to refer to requests claiming low entitlement and the term *directives* for requests claiming high entitlement (Craven & Potter, 2010), the present study uses the term *request* for requests claiming both high and low entitlement because the distinction made in previous studies seems a 'grammatical distinction without a practical difference' (Antaki & Kent, 2012, p. 878). Entitlement and contingency can be negotiated in an unfolding request sequence. Authority, then, is a variable power that requesters and requestees negotiate.

The basic structure of parental requests to children is similar to requests from adults to adults (for example Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011). With regard to children's resistance, parents may reissue the request (M. H. Goodwin, 2006). In data from Craven and Potter (2010) and M. H. Goodwin et al. (2012), parents respond to their children's passive resistance (indicated by children's inaction) by incrementing their requests with 'please', or 'okay?'. Children may also respond with active resistance such as attempts to bargain ('not yet'), accounts ('I had a bath yesterday') or pleading ('please'). They are usually met with refusal and accounting by parents (Aronsson & Cekaite, 2011; M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012). Together with these verbal formats, parents may also deal physically with their children's resistance by adjusting their children's bodies by, for example, taking a child's foot off the table, also referred to as control formation (C-formation) or shepherding (Cekaite, 2010, 2015). In terms of calibrating the degree of deontic authority, studies show that when parents' requests are met with resistance, they increase their entitlement and lower the children's contingency during negotiation sequences (for example from a modal request 'Could you go to bed?' to an imperative-format 'Go to bed!' as second request) (Craven & Potter, 2010).

Few studies have examined the effects of aphasia on formulation of requests and deontic authority. In a study of how parents with aphasia make requests to their children, Killmer et al. (2022b) found differences in resources used for making requests. The study illustrates

how two parents with greater linguistic resources combine a variety of verbal request formats with gestures for requesting, while a parent with more limited linguistic resources mainly uses gestures for the same activity. Bauer et al. (2009) describe how a parent with severe aphasia constructs a request to his child together with his wife, who provides a version of what her husband means to say. Studies describe the use of similar resources in different types of requests by individuals with moderate and severe aphasia (Anglade et al., 2018, 2021; Bauer, 2009; Bauer et al., 2009; C. Goodwin et al., 2009). In terms of calibrating the degree of deontic authority, Killmer et al. (2022b) show that all three parents with aphasia display their rights to make a request to their children. Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates that aphasia may limit the fine-tuning of deontic authority in making requests to children. Whereas the two persons with greater linguistic resources adjust the degree of authority, for example by adding mitigating words such as 'a bit', the person with more limited linguistic resources uses requests that mostly show unmitigated authority, for example by using higher volume. They argue that this man lacks the linguistic tools to adjust his deontic authority. In another study, although not focused on requests, Killmer et al. (2022a) describe practices that secure deontic authority of a man with severe Wernicke's aphasia in planning activities with members of his family. This man uses verbal resources, such as modal constructions 'you have to' and 'you can', open questions, and non-verbal resources, such as gaze, for up- and downgrading his deontic rights. In summary, individuals with aphasia may benefit from nonverbal resources such as pointing and other gestures when constructing requests. However, in modifying deontic rights to requests, verbal resources such as specific linguistic formats and modal constructions seem to play a crucial role, and aphasia may affect the ability to use them.

The present study

The present study uses CA to examine a series of request sequences involving negotiation in interactions between parents with aphasia and their children, such as at bedtime, mealtimes, and during game play. The analysis focuses on how these parents with aphasia deal with children's passive or active resistance to requests. The aim of the study is twofold:

(1) To show the ways these parents with aphasia respond to their children's resistance.
(2) To examine the consequences of these ways of responding for the deontic authority of these parents with aphasia.

By examining how these parents with aphasia use resources in order to accomplish their interactional projects and display deontic authority, the present study illustrates what parenting with aphasia may look like in everyday interactions when parental authority is challenged by children.

Materials and method

CA is used in the present study (for example Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) gave ethical approval for the study. All names of participants and locations reported are pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

Materials

Data were obtained from the AphaDB database provided by Prof. Dr. Auer (University of Freiburg, Germany) and Dr. Angelika Bauer (School of Speech Therapy, Freiburg, Germany).[1] The author was given access to the data for research purposes but was not involved in the data collection. The corpus includes 142 recordings and transcripts (in total approximately 150 hours) elicited from nine German-speaking persons with aphasia (eight men and one woman). Participants videotaped themselves while talking with their friends, spouses, and/or their children. Five data sets with young children are available in this database. However, one participant did not make any requests to her children and another asked his daughter to do an action only once. Therefore, in the present study, three parents with aphasia and their children were analysed over 10 hours of interaction. Demographic and medical information about the participants can be found in Table 1.

Method

CA is a qualitative methodology that aims to examine the structure and order of talk in interaction (Schegloff, 2007). It relies on repeated viewing of recordings of natural occurring interactions to identify the practices participants use to achieve social action (Cameron, 2001; Ten Have, 1999). In the present study, recordings were examined for instances of resistance to requests for actions. These were identified based on the 'next-turn-proof procedure' (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). According to CA procedure, participants' next actions indicate how a previous action (in this case resistance to requests) was understood.

Table 1. Overview: Demographic and medical information of participants with aphasia who recorded conversations with their children.

Parent with aphasia (age[a], profession)	Gender	Aetiology and lesion side	Type of aphasia[b]	Severity of aphasia[b]	Family members: spouse (age[a], profession), children (age[a])	Same participant as in the following studies
Udo (50, lawyer)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Anomic aphasia	Mild	Tina (43, housewife), Fabian (12), Annika (14)	Killmer et al. (2022b)
Tim (38, truck driver)	M	Extensive cerebral haemorrhage in the left temporal lobe	Anomic aphasia	Mild	Julia (36, part-time carpenter), Anna (9)	Killmer et al. (2022b)
Norbert (46, senior businessman)	M	Ischemic left middle cerebral artery stroke	Initially: global aphasia, After 1 year: Broca's aphasia	Severe	Marina (36, part-time office clerk), Florian (1), Hannah (14), Denise (18)	Called 'HC' in Auer and Bauer (2009); Killmer et al. (2022b)

[a]Age at first recording.
[b]Diagnosed with the Aachener Aphasie Test (AAT) (Huber et al., 1983).

[1]For further information about the data see Bauer (2009).

Table 2. Information about recordings and children's resistance to requests per recording.

Person	Months after person came home from rehabilitation	Number of recording[a]	Length of recording in minutes[b]	Description of situation	Requests	Resistances
Udo	0	1	36	Dinner	3	0
	1	2	23	Chatting	4	3 (A, P, A)
Tim	0	1	14	Dinner	2	2 (P (Extract 1), A)
		2	12	Dinner	0	
		3	20	Doing a puzzle	6	3 (P, P, P)
		4	7	Dinner	0	
	1	5	19	Playing Ludo	1	0
		6a	7	Chatting	1	0
		6b	3	Chatting	1	1 (A (Extracts 3&4))
		7	14	Lunch	0	0
		8	16	Lunch	2	0
		9	15	Lunch	0	0
	6	10	60	Dinner	0	0
	12	11	57	Coffee time	0	0
Norbert	0	1	40	Dinner	3	2 (A, P)
		2	16	Changing diapers	1	1 (P)
		3	52	Playing Monopoly	17	8 (P, A, A, U, P (Extract 2), U, P, A)
	1	4	33	Dinner	0	0
		5	39	Dinner	1	1 (A (Extract 5))
	3	6	9	Planting flowers	1	1 (P)
		7	44	Dinner	2	1 (A)

Legend: Type of (first) resistance (P – passive, A – active, U – unclassified).
[a]Recording b being the succession of recording a.
[b]Parent with aphasia and child present in video, whole video might be longer.

The analytic procedure followed three steps: identification of a phenomenon, building of a collection of instances, and qualitative analysis of action formation (Levinson, 2013). First, I identified 200 instances of requests in the data of three participants with children. I then focused on sequences of parental attempts to get a child to do or stop an *action* that required an immediate embodied response from the child. For more information on these 'requests for action' (Tse Crepaldi, 2017, p. 21), as I decided to call them, see Killmer et al. (2022b). Following this, I identified instances of resistance to requests (Table 2). The four sequences presented below were selected to provide detailed insight into typical negotiation practices and were chosen because they provide the best examples of practices of the three parents when dealing with active and passive resistance. Since the present study focuses on request sequences involving negotiation, I decided to focus on children who are able to negotiate verbally. Therefore, I excluded interactions with infants and toddlers due to their preverbal communication.

For the present study, data were transcribed according to the conventions of the *Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2* (GAT 2) conventions (Selting et al., 1998, 2011) (see Appendix for conventions) and a multimodal transcription (Mondada, 2006) is added when of analytical interest. In the transcripts, participants are referred to by the capital letter of their pseudonym. Because participant Norbert occasionally produces neologisms (sound strings that are non-words), a gloss line is included if necessary, in which incomprehensible word forms are transcribed according to German spelling and marked with curly brackets (Laakso & Godt, 2016).

Results

The analysis illustrates a number of relevant practices that parents with aphasia use when responding to their children's resistance. The practices are organised around two ways children are seen to show resistance. First, I analyse the responses of parents with aphasia to passive resistance (inaction). Then, I examine responses to active resistance, such as accounts and bargaining.

Responding to passive resistance with a pursuit

The first extract shows how Tim responds to his daughter Anna's passive resistance with pursuits. Tim, his wife Julia and their daughter Anna are sitting at the dinner table. They have just started dinner and each has a slice of bread on their plate. Anna announces that she is going to open the blue one (a carton of Philadelphia cheese), which implies that she is going to spread the Philadelphia cheese on her bread (line 1). Tim requests Anna to take butter first (lines 4). Instead of taking butter, Anna sits still (line 6).

Anna does not respond to Tim's request. At a point where she could perform the requested action (taking butter) (line 4) or deny the request, she remains inactive and silent (line 4). Tim treats Anna's (non-)response as resistance. Given the fact that one way of projecting misalignment with a previous action is to preface a turn with silence rather than to comply with it immediately (Schegloff, 2007), Tim understands Anna's inaction and silence as withholding action. He makes a response from Anna more relevant by adding the tag-question 'gell' (right) (line 5). Again, Anna remains silent (line 6). Tim then uses the vocative 'Fräulein' (missy) (line 7), dedicated to pursuing a response and to reproaching Anna (Svennevig, 2012). 'Fräulein' (literally: Miss) is the diminutive form of 'Frau' (Mrs.). It is an archaic form of address for unmarried women in German and typically used today to express disapproval of a girl's behaviour. Nevertheless, Anna remains silent. Again, Tim demands uptake to his request by incrementing the pursuit with the tag-question 'ne' (right) (line 8). Now Anna actively expresses her resistance with a counter (Schegloff, 2007) (line 9). Tim accepts the counter (line 10) with Julia's assistance (line 11). This *co-authoring* practice has been described previously in typical interactions (Goffman, 1967) and in aphasia (Bauer, 2009). The extract shows that Tim treats inaction as resistance-implicative. Each of the extensions (the tag-questions and the vocative) makes a response more relevant (Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012).

It is possible that Anna's inaction may be difficulty with hearing or trouble understanding the request. However, previous research has shown that such problems are resolved by repeating the request or clarifying an understanding problem, respectively (Pomerantz, 1984). Because these markers are absent in Tim's response to silence, he visibly treats the inaction as resistance.

With regard to the negotiation of deontic authority, the fact that Anna announces her next action (line 1) seems to show her orienting to the contingency that the action might not be approved of by her parents. While claiming entitlement to her planned action by announcing it, she is granting her parents an opportunity to disapprove her plan. Following this, Tim presents his request as an announcement by using present tense (line 4). He does not ask if Anna *could* first butter her slice of bread. He displays high entitlement and shows that the request is not contingent on Anna's ability to perform the action. Since Tim's request does not generate an immediate action, he upgrades his attempts to generate an action by the following three means. First, tag-questions (lines 5&8) intensify

the request and upgrade Tim's entitlement to the requested action. Second, high entitlement is claimed by addressing Anna directly and reproaching her with a vocative (line 7). This device emphasises parental authority. Third, non-verbal devices such as stalling his ongoing action of moving objects on the table in order to look directly at Anna (line 6) reinforce Tim's entitlement. This extract shows how Tim lowers Anna's right to resist by increasing his deontic authority through repeated and intensified pursuits (Craven & Potter, 2010).

A similar combination of verbal and non-verbal resources to make a child's response more relevant is found in the pursuits of Norbert. Norbert is pursuing a response from his daughter Hannah after she fails to respond to his request during a board game. He, his wife Marina and their daughters Denise and Hannah are sitting in the living room playing Monopoly (a board game where players buy up streets represented by cards). The extract shows a sequence in which it is Hannah's turn to decide whether to buy a street. To evaluate her decision, Hannah takes a card from the stack that represents a street and contains information about it (line 1).

Norbert attempts to stop Hannah's action of taking the card with a trouble alert that expresses his displeasure, 'böta' (a non-word) (line 2), while he tries to take the card out of Hannah's hand. It should be noted that it is not entirely clear to the analyst why Hannah is not allowed to take the card. Hannah understands Norbert's action as a request to put the card back on the stack, and says that she will only look at the card (line 3) – she will not take the card without paying for it. A side sequence between Norbert and Denise is not relevant to this analysis (lines 4–6). In line 7, Norbert displays that he is monitoring Hannah for a reaction by looking at her. However, this does not lead to any action on Hannah's part (line 7). Norbert pursues his request by prompting her with the imperative 'komm' (come) and indicating with a finger movement to give him the card (line 8, Image 1). Again, there is no reaction from Hannah (line 8). Then, Norbert reproaches Hannah with 'he' (hey) (line 9), which makes an action even more relevant. Finally, he takes the card from Hannah and puts it back on the stack (line 9). This elicits a response; Hannah decides to buy the street (line 10). Extract 2 shows that this father with more limited linguistic resources responds to his daughter's inaction with verbal and non-verbal pursuits. Similar to the father with greater linguistic resources in Extract 1, Norbert treats his child's inaction as passive resistance.

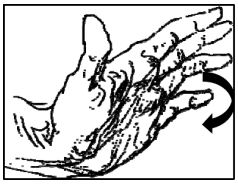

Image 1. Line 8: Norbert moves fingers from left to right – indicating 'give it to me' (image: Firkin, 2017; arrows added by author).

In terms of deontic authority, Hannah's initial announcement along with her physical action displays her entitlement to her action (line 1). She does not ask for permission and thus her action is not contingent on the action of the other Monopoly players. Norbert objects to Hannah's action with a strong request format by using increased volume (Aronsson & Thorell, 1999) and trying to physically take the card away from Hannah (line 2). He does not make the request contingent on her acceptance. Hannah acknowledges Norbert's

Extract 1. Philadelphia.

1	Anna:	I mach den blue u:f^
		I open the blue one
	t:	^looks quickly at Philadelphia
2	Julia:	danke SCHÖ:N; ((to Tim, unrelated))
		thank you
3		**^(2.0)@(1.0)^(0.4)**
	t:	^moves objects around on the table >>
	a:	@opens package with sliced cold meat while looking at it
	t:	^looks quickly at package with sliced cold meat
4	Tim:-->	aber ersch' ersch' nimmsch eh' BUTter; (---)
		but first first you take eh butter
5		gell?
		right
6		**(1.0) @^(1.0)**
	a:	@takes hand away from package with sliced cold meat and sits still
	t:	^stops moving objects and looks in Anna's direction
7	-->	FRÄUlein;
		missy
8		ne?
		right
9	Anna:	=will aber phila^DELphia auf=s brot. (---)
		but want philadelphia on the bread
	a:	^points at Philadephia and looks in parents' direction
10	Tim:	DANN nimm a::' (---)
		then take a::
11	Julia:	**philaDELphia.**
12	Anna:	**he'he'he'**
13		**(10.0)**

complaint with 'ja' (yes) but displays her entitlement by accounting for her resistance (line 529). In the following course of action, Norbert continues to express high deontic authority by four means. First, he upgrades his claim of authority with an imperative, 'komm' (come) (line 8). An imperative is a fitting action and 'komm' is one of Norbert's seven word repertoire (come, yes, no, one, two, three, so/good[2]). Second, he reproaches Hannah's inaction (line 9) – not orienting to contingencies. Third, Norbert increases his entitlement through raised volume (line 9) (Aronsson & Thorell, 1999). Fourth, he claims high entitlement with physical action (lines 9&10). He performs the requested action by taking and replacing the card himself, displaying it as not contingent on Hannah's ability or willingness to perform the action. Similar upgraded formats involving physical intervention in parent-child request sequences have been described in typical parent-child interaction (Cekaite, 2010; Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin, 2006). In these typical interactions, however, requests were verbally initiated and evolved into physical action. Unlike this sequence, they were not

[2]The meaning of 'so' in German depends on intonation.

Extract 2. Card.

```
1   Hannah:       mal @gucken.
                  let me have a look
    n:            <<sorts cards or money on table in front of him while
                  looking at it
    h:                 @takes a card with left hand from stack while looking
                  at it
2   Norbert:-->   <<f>^BÖta>
                       {böta}
                        böta
    n:                ^tries to take card from Hannah while looking at her
3   Hannah:       @=ja ich will nur @^GUCKEN.@
                  yes I only want to look at it
    h:            @looks in Norbert's direction
    h:                              @holds card in front of her with both
                  hands while looking at it>>
    n:                               ^sorts cards or money on table in front
                  of him while looking at it>>
    h:                                    @leans head to the right while
                  looking at card>>
[3 rows]
7                 (0.5)^(0.9)
    n:      -->        ^looks at Hannah
8   Norbert:-->   ^komm. (---)
                  come
    n:            ^makes finger movement (Image 1)
9   Norbert:-->   <<f>HE.^>
                      hey
    n:                   ^grabs card from Hannah
10  Hannah:       mja KAUF ich.^
                  I buy it
    n:                           ^puts card on stack
11                (5.0)
```

initiated with physical action. This extract shows that Norbert initiates the request sequence with upgraded authority (for more information about upgraded requests see Killmer et al., 2022b). His use of non-verbal practices further increase his claim of authority. Whereas Tim, with greater linguistic resources, used fine-tuned verbal practices, such fine-tuning is not present in Norbert's physical actions. His actions reveal his agency and display his actions as not contingent on the actions of the child.

Responding to active resistance with a counterargument

The following extract shows how Tim responds to his daughter Anna's active resistance by engaging in her line of argumentation. Tim and his wife Julia are sitting at the kitchen table talking when their daughter Anna enters the room. Julia and Anna are talking about which needle Anna should use for something she wants to sew. Julia remarks that they will not solve the needle problem tonight (line 1–3) before Tim requests Anna to go (to bed) (line 4). Anna responds by trying to delay going to bed (line 7). A long negotiation sequence ensues because Anna repeatedly shows active resistance, to which Tim responds with second requests (marked with arrows in the extract). Due to the length of the sequence, I present it in two parts.

Extract 3. Bedtime I.

1	Julia:	**m=hm.**
2		ma muß au ä bißle geDULD han kind,(-) **one has to be a bit patient child**
3		muß ja HEUT abend au net sei oder? **it doesn't have to be tonight right**
4	Tim:-->	^jetzt GOHsch du nämlich^- **because now you go**
	t:	^looks at Anna
	t:	^looks at his watch
5	Julia:	wieviel uhr isch denn? **what time is it actually**
6	Tim:	^ACH[te vorbei] **after eight**
	t:	^looks at Anna
7	Anna:	<<creaky >[darf ich] bis @neu:n?> **may I until nine**
	a:	@leans over chair
8	Tim:	^[nein] **no**
	t:	^shakes head
9	Julia:	[nee] **nah**
10		oh kind nein. **oh child no**
11	Tim:-->	du kannsch jetzt ZÄHne putzen- **you can brush your teeth now**
12		^und dann AB ins bett.@(--) **and then off to bed**
	t:	^points head to the left
	a:	@tilts head to the right
13		nein.*(-) **no**
	j:	*shakes head
14		NEIN. **no**

Tim treats Anna's attempt to bargain as resistance and responds with 'nein' (no) as well as shaking his head (line 8). Julia reinforces Tim's rejection by upgrading it (lines 9&10). This is followed by a three-part re-request sequence between Tim and Anna (lines 11–14). First, in a second request, Tim presents the subsequent actions he requests Anna to do as a list (lines 11&12). In response, Anna reacts with resistance by tilting her head to the side (line 12) – a non-verbal plea made by conveying cuteness, a likely repeat of her bargain at line 7. Finally, Tim responds to Anna's resistance by denying the request to stay up until 9 (lines 13&14). This pattern is repeated three times over the subsequent sequence with little modification (see Extract 4 lines 30–32, lines 41–44 and 46–51). After further negotiation, Anna finally leaves the room and presumably goes to bed.

Extract 4. Bedtime II.

[15 rows]

30 Tim:--> jetzt gohsch zu d (ut)
now you go to d (out)

31 Anna: <<dim>ich bin neun also darf i uf <<dim>bis neun.
I am nine thus I may stay up until nine

32 Tim: nein.
no

[8 rows]

41 Tim:--> du gohsch jetz
now you go

42 Anna: **<<mumbles>( )>**

43 **(( ))**

44 Tim: ^[nein]
no
^looks down and up again

45 Julia: [na dann] simmer ja ganz arg [(furchtbar)]
well then we are terribly (awfull)

46 Tim:--> [du gohsch jetz]ZÄHne putze
you go brush your teeth now

47 SCHLAfi an [und dann^] ins bett
jammies on and then to bed
t: ^moves head down, stays looking at Anna and moves eyebrows up

48 Anna: [<<p>und weg] ((mumbles))>
and away

49 <<pp><<mumbles and whispers>du musch (mal bei mir)>
you have to (come to me sometime)

50 Tim: ^nein.
no
^shakes head

51 noch nicht.
not yet

52 Anna: ah::. ((hh))^
ah
t: ^looks down and at Anna again

53 Tim: ja.
yes

54 Tim: **(2.0)**

55 --> ts so scho müß mir gar nicht in ins bett nach deine WORte^
ts thus yet we do not have to go to bed according to your words
t: ^
smiles

56 Julia: <<p> nee.>
nah

57 deine beRECHnunge(--)
your calculations

58 Tim:--> ^jetzt komm.
come on now
t: ^looks down

59 ^hopp.
off you go
t: ^looks at Anna

Anna's rejections set the stage for Tim's next second requests. Either he responds to the active resistance with simple negation, thus, ignoring her line of argumentation (lines 8, 32, 44) or he engages in her argumentation by addressing her line of reasoning (lines 51&55). When addressing her in line 51, he partially rejects Anna's resistance with 'noch nicht' (not yet). In line 55, Tim counters Anna's argument that she is allowed to stay up until nine because she is nine years old (line 31) by arguing jokingly that he and his wife (because of their age) would never have to go to bed at all (line 55). Furthermore, as in typical parent-child interaction, he uses the adverb 'jetzt' (now) in the second requests (lines 11, 30, 46&58) to 'work towards reclaiming the sequential position of the first [. . .][request], with the associated effect of deleting the recipient's non-compliant response' (Craven & Potter, 2010, p. 439). This sequence shows that Tim uses second requests and counterarguments to manage Anna's active resistance and to work towards her compliance (Bova & Arcidiacono, 2013; M. H. Goodwin, 2006).

As the sequence develops, requests are expressed with higher deontic authority, a pattern also described in typical parent-child negotiation sequences (Craven & Potter, 2010). Tim expresses his initial request as a declarative announcement in the present tense (line 4), claiming high entitlement (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Anna's subsequent resistance challenges parental authority by showing that she has the right to negotiate a parental request and thus demonstrates agency. In the following course of action, Tim employs three means for upgrading deontic authority. First, countering Anna's resistance with second requests displays Tim's entitlement to request an action from his daughter (lines 11, 30, 41 and 46). Second, Tim uses linguistic formats such as imperatives (lines 12, 57&58) and declaratives (lines 30, 41, 46&47) that upgrade his entitlement. Such upgraded formats withdraw any orientation to Anna's willingness with respect to the requested action. Third, Tim employs non-verbal means to reinforce his deontic authority. He underpins his rejections in lines 8 and 50 with a shake of his head. He also enhances the second request by pointing with his head, a deictic gesture (line 12). In line 46, by raising his eyebrows and thus changing his facial expression, Tim makes his second request even more active. This extract shows that as well as responding to active resistance from his daughter with counterarguments, Tim upgrades his deontic authority.

The next extract is an example of how Norbert, unlike Tim, responds to his daughter's active resistance without engaging with her reasoning. Norbert, his wife Marina and their children Hannah and Fabian are sitting in the dining room eating dinner when Hannah cuts the crust off her bread (line 1). She initiates the sequence by giving reasons for why she does not want to eat the crust of bread and holds up the crust (line 2). By providing an explanation, Hannah likely aligns with the conventions of eating her crusts while simultaneously mitigating her action. Hannah repeats the same account (line 10) – challenging the legitimacy of Norbert's request and contesting his parental authority.

While Hannah hands the crust of bread to her mother (line 5), Norbert utters a noticing 'ja so' (yes like this) and makes a quick movement with his fork in Hannah's direction (line 6). As we will see in the unfolding sequence, Hannah understands Norbert's action as an attempt to stop the planned course of action of giving away the bread crust. Marina now has the crust and Hannah sits still (line 7). In the slot immediately following Norbert's request to keep the crust, Hannah's action shows resistance. As in Extract 2, Norbert then mobilises a response from Hannah with a loud 'hey' while looking at her with an angry expression (line 8). Hannah responds with active resistance by accounting for turning down the request (lines 9&10). She demonstrates the legitimacy of her resistance. Norbert

responds with ‘äh so äh so’ (eh like this eh like this) while looking at Hannah and making a gesture in her direction (line 11). His turn is characterised by word searching and lacks content words. Marina appears to joining in with his criticism (line 12). Norbert closes the sequence with a complaint about Hannah’s resistance (line 14) – a turn that finalises the rejection of his request and does not require a response. Extract 5 illustrates how this father with more limited linguistic resources tries to work towards his daughter’s compliance, but it seems that he has difficulty constructing a line of reasoning for this type of resistance, which is typically responded to verbally. In contrast to Tim’s verbal engagement with his

Extract 5. Crust of bread.

1	Hannah:	**((coughing))**
	h:	<<cuts out bread crust
2		brotrand isch BRU@TAL hart.
		bread crust is brutally hard
	h:	@holds up crust in left hand and winks with it
3	Marina:	HM (.) [GIB] ihn mir.
		hm give it to me
4	Hannah:	[ja?]
		yes
5	Marina:	**hm=hm.**@*
	h:	@starts to hand over crust
	m:	*reaches out for crust
6	Norbert:-->	^ja ^so?
		yes like this
	n:	^looks at crust
	n:	^makes quick movement with fork in left hand into Hannah’s direction
7	Marina:	*@hm: (.) isch doch [gut.]
		hm but it is all right
	m:	*takes crust
	h:	@moves hand back to plate and sits still
8	Norbert:-->	**[<<f>^HEY.>]**
	n:	^looks at Hannah with wrinkled eyebrows
9	Hannah:	[der isch-]
		it is
10		der isch so arg HART.
		it is so terribly hard
11	Norbert:	^äh SO äh <<f>^SO.>
		eh like this eh like this
	n:	^looks down and puts fork on table
	n:	^looks at Hannah and makes quick movement with left hand into Hannah’s direction
12	Marina:	du bisch noch jung du musch echt gute ZÄHNE haben.
		you are still young you must have really good teeth
13	Hannah:	**hm.**
14	Norbert:	**^hm.**
	n:	^looks at his plate and shakes head

daughter's line of reasoning, Norbert seems unable to present a counterargument as a way of handling active resistance.

Norbert mostly non-verbally upgrades his deontic rights in the unfolding negotiation sequence. In the course of action, five different means are central to the upgrading of Norbert's deontic authority. First, by presenting his request with rising final intonation (line 6), he indicates his request as contingent on Hannah's response (line 6). Second, the initial request is accompanied by a hand gesture that upgrades it (line 6). This gesture is repeated in line 11 and enhanced because Norbert is no longer holding his knife. Third, while he only looks at the crust in the initial request (line 6), in line 8 he looks directly at Hannah while frowning. Fourth, increased volume in lines 8 and 11 underscores Norbert's entitlement to forbid Hannah's action. Finally, the repetition of the utterance 'äh so' (eh so) (line 11) reinforces Norbert's entitlement. Extract 5 shows how Norbert, responds to active resistance by enhancing his deontic rights with volume, gestures, gaze and repetition. While Tim, who has greater linguistic resources, mainly upgrades his rights verbally, Norbert mainly uses non-verbal means.

Discussion

This analysis, illustrated with extracts from two of three parents with aphasia, reveals all three work persistently towards compliance with their requests, when they encounter resistance from a child. While Killmer et al. (2022b) reported how these three parents with aphasia successfully express their entitlement to request actions from their children, the current study shows how they continue to pursue their entitlement when challenged by child resistance. Dealing with passive child resistance appears easier than dealing with active child resistance because it requires fewer interactional resources; a simple pursuit in the right sequential position can accomplish this. However, limited linguistic resources seem to restrict the ability to address the child's counterarguments. Whereas the two speakers with greater linguistic resources attempt to convince their children to do a requested task by presenting counterarguments, the person with more limited resources upgrades his deontic authority by non-verbal means, such as prosody or physical action. These findings contribute to previous research by providing a deeper understanding of opportunities and challenges to participate in negotiating requests to children for parents with aphasia.

The first objective of this study concerned the various ways these parents with aphasia respond to their children's resistance. The data show that all three parents with aphasia treat inaction as delay or hesitation, and pursue a response by various prompts such as 'hey' or 'right'. This is similar to parents' responses in typical interaction (Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin et al., 2012). In contrast, active resistance requires actions that are more complex. The child's attempt to resist must be denied and accounting for the request is required. The two persons with greater linguistic resources accomplish this by engaging in their children's reasoning. They seek compliance based on mutual agreement and by legitimising their requests. The person with more limited linguistic resources, on the other hand, expresses his displeasure with the child's resistance but fails to address the child's accounts and perspectives. He pursues compliance to his request without engaging with the child's stance. For this speaker, limited access to linguistic resources seems to influence his way of responding to active resistance.

The second objective was to examine what consequences the way of formulating responses has for the deontic authority of these parents with aphasia. The data show that linguistic resources may influence the way deontic authority is expressed in a request. In general, all three parents with aphasia pursue an answer, which shows their parental authority. They also upgrade their requests when they are not met with immediate compliance, similar to parents in typical interactions (Craven & Potter, 2010). The two persons with greater linguistic resources calibrate deontic authority in their second requests using various resources for up- and downgrading. For example, they use increments such as a vocative 'missy' or declaratives such as 'now you go to bed' to responsively upgrade their deontic authority. In this way, they employ techniques similar to those described for typical parent-child negotiation (Craven & Potter, 2010; M. H. Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013; Kent, 2011). However, such fine-tuning is not present when the parent with more limited linguistic resources negotiates with his children. Norbert uses intrusive physical practices, gestures, repetition and volume for getting a requested task done. This restricts the child's interactional space, in contrast to verbal practices that indicate the requested action as more contingent on a child's response. Norbert does not appear to have access to linguistic formats greater linguistic resources for adjusting deontic authority. For this one speaker at least, limited linguistic resources seem to restrict the ability to calibrate deontic authority.

Regarding the limitations and implications of the present study, this is an analysis of only three individuals with aphasia and their children. Many of the practices observed are characteristic of typical parental requests, and thus it may be that other parents with aphasia negotiate in similar ways and therefore may encounter similar challenges. However, from the observation of only three participants, we cannot deduce generalisations for parenting with aphasia. We can observe that these participants in question interact in these ways, but it is necessary to observe other parents living with aphasia to strengthen the findings. A more comprehensive study of negotiation would be desirable. Future research should analyse a larger dataset to examine the practices of negotiating authority in various everyday activities of individuals with a range of aphasia types and severity and their children.

Investigating the interactional realisation of key activities between parents with aphasia and their children appears valuable to understand how people living with aphasia can continue to perform the various social roles expected of them. Aphasia affects the entire family (Grawburg et al., 2019) and parents with aphasia want support to engage with their children (see for example Manning et al., 2021; Ryan & Pitt, 2018). Communication partner training (CPT) may benefit people with aphasia and their families by promoting reflection on interactional activities such as negotiating requests and ways to support such activities. Training may provide the opportunity for parents with aphasia and their children to identify key activities and communicative practices for engaging in them that both support and hinder talk. Although some social roles are more or less withdrawn from when aphasia occurs (voluntarily or not), such as working or socialising, parenting is not a role that can be abandoned. It may change, but parents with aphasia will continue to be parents. Therefore, securing engagement in parenting is most crucial for the social roles and relationships of parents with aphasia and their children.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study reports findings based on video recordings of three persons with aphasia interacting with their children. The analysis focused on how these parents with

aphasia respond to instances of resistance from their children. The study offers insights into practices that seem to affect the ability of parents with aphasia to negotiate with their children and thus engage in parenting and participate in family life. In order to be able to offer support when engaging with children as desired by parents with aphasia, it is important to gain further insights into how aphasia can affect the organisation of ordinary, everyday family talk and life.

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Appendix

Summary of the most important GAT 2 transcription conventions (Selting et al., 2011) with additions by present author:

Sequential structure	
[] []	Overlap and simultaneous talk
=	fast, immediate continuation with a new turn or segment (latching)
In- and outbreaths	
°h/h°	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.2–0.5 sec. duration
°hh/hh°	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.5–0.8 sec. duration
°hhh/hhh°	in-/outbreaths of appr. 0.8–1.0 sec. duration
Pauses	
(.)	micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. duration appr.
(-)	short estimated pause of appr. 0.2–0.5 sec. duration
(–)	intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5–0.8 sec. duration
(—)	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8–1.0 sec. duration
(0.5)/(2.0)	measured pause of appr. 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
?hm?hm	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
<<l> >	lower pitch register
<<h> >	higher pitch register

(*Continued*)

(Continued).

Intralinear notation of accent pitch movements	
ˋSO	falling
ˊSO	rising
¯SO	level
ˆSO	rising-falling
ˇSO	falling-rising
↑ˋ	small pitch upstep to the peak of the accented syllable
↓ˊ	small pitch downstep to the valley of the accented syllable
↑¯SO bzw. ↓¯SO	pitch jumps to higher or lower level accented syllables
↑ ↑ˋSO bzw. ↓ ↓ˊSO	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 commentwith 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
Additions by present author(s)	
f:/h: ^/*	representing non-verbal behaviour (e.g. gestures, movements and gaze)
?:	unknown speaker