WHAT THE INNER SPEECH CAN TELL US ABOUT THE VERBAL AUDITORY HALLUCINATIONS

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Abstract

The «inner speech» experience refers typically to an internal silent dialogue. A wide number of studies showed that it influences several cognitive and behavioral functions, such as memory, thinking and reasoning and self-awareness (e.g. Uttl *et al.* 2011). Furthermore, clinical observations and many empirical studies found that it is related to Verbal Auditory Hallucinations (AVHs) (e.g. McCarthy-Jones, Fernyhough 2011). After having deepened the relationship between inner and open speech and its neural correlations, this paper wants to examine and clarify, its role in schizo-phrenia, and its relationship with AVHs.

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Keywords: Inner Speech, Schizophrenia, Auditory Verbal Hallucinations.

1. INNER SPEECH AND OVERT SPEECH

According to Morin (2009), the phenomenon of inner speech is often taken for granted: it is present and central in every individual's daily life. However, it became a promising research object only since the early XIX century. For example, in 1986, Vygotsky defined it firstly, as a silently talking to oneself or as a speech for oneself. Recently, scholars described this phenomenon as an internal silent dialogue or as the ability to speak mutely in one's head (Uttl *et al.* 2011; Geva *et al.* 2011; Perrone-Bertolotti *et al.* 2014). Accordingly, inner speech is defined as an internalized verbal thought that can be consciously explored (Marverl, Desmond 2012) or, such as a particular personal experience of language that does not need the use of open and audible articulation (Alderson-Day, Fernyhough 2015). In addition, it has also been considered as a form of mental imagery (Oppenheim, Dell 2008).

In the last years, a wide number of empirical studies showed that the inner speech influences several cognitive and behavioral functions. For example, it plays a relevant role in several cognitive and behavioral functions (Fernyhough 2018), such as in the self-regulation of thoughts and/or behaviors (Morin 1993), in the ability to plan future events (Uttl *et al.* 2011; Fernyhough 2018), in the verbal short-term and autobiographical memory (Baddeley, Hitch 1974; Larsen *et al.* 2002), in self-awareness (Morin 2009; Morin *et al.* 2007), in reading and writing tasks (Abramson, Goldinger 1997; Morin *et al.* 2018; Petkov *et al.* 2013), in those tasks that request switching abilities (Miyake *et al.* 2004).

However, as regards the language process, it is still unclear the relationship between the inner speech and the open speech or external language. This issue can be traced back to the behaviorist paradigm of verbal thought. For example, Watson (1982) associated the thought with the production of hidden language as a process of «motor habits in the larynx» (p. 174). In this sense, he suggests that the articulatory movements take place during inner speech. This view of «motor simulation» empathized the existence of a continuum between internal (i.e. inner speech) and external dialogue (i.e. open speech), showing a clear sharing of both mechanisms and neurophysiological correlates (Perrone-Bertolotti et al. 2014). Accordingly, the inner speech would be very similar to the overt speech, yet with one exception: the motor execution and the sound production are absent. This view has been questioned later by Smith, Brown, Toman and Goodman (1947) which argued that inner speech occurs in the absence of larvngeal movements. Even the «abstraction view», opposites to the motor simulation approach, claiming that the internal speech is not affected by articulatory details. More recently, Perrone-Bertolotti and colleagues (2014), maintained that the former spoken speech is a sort of «truncated external language» (p. 222) suggesting that the relationship between the two types of dialogue can be investigated through «language errors», or errors of a phonological or phonemic nature. If such errors also occur during the production of inner speech, as during the open speech, it is possible to conclude that the two types of dialogue are similar (Geva et al. 2011). Oppenheim and Dell (2008) investigated these so-called language errors through tongue-twisting recitation tasks. In particular, they focused on the phonological errors showing «the tendency for error in speech production to produce words more often than non-words during tongue-twister repetition», and on phonemic similarity effects or tendencies to replace phonemes with similar phonemes. The phonetic inner language indicates both types of errors.

According to the authors, the inner speech should be thus specified at a sub-phonemic level, since the inner speech can be produced in the same way as an open language. Therefore, it seems that inner speech has much in common with external language, being the lexical error quite frequent. Yet, at the same time, it distances itself from spoken language as it is poor and abstract. Furthermore, Oppenheim and Dell (2010) proposed to differentiate the self-talk experience in two different types of dialogue: the standard inner speech, without motor articulation, and the intermediate inner speech, characterized by silent articulation. Through other experiments, Oppenheim and Dell (2010) tried to demonstrate that the intermediate inner speech shows phonemic similarities exactly like spoken language, unlike the standard one. From their point of view, silent articulation increases the amount of activation of the articulatory (sub-phonemic) characteristics, consequently increasing the number of errors involving phonemes articulated similarly. Finally, a lack of phonemic similarity was observed in the inner speech standard. Thus, according to Oppenheim and Dell (2008), these results support another hypothesis called «flexible abstraction»: having the inner speech multiple facets, it could not involve some articulatory representations, but, on the opposite, may incorporate a level of articulatory planning lower when the speakers articulate silently. Further studies on inner speech led Fernyhough (2004) to propose the existence of four different types of inner speech entitled: 1) external dialogue; 2) private speech; 3) expanded inner speech, and 4) condensed inner speech. The external dialogue is considered such as a verbal mediated reciprocal exchange, while the private speech is defined as an overt self-directed speech. Then, the expanded inner speech is a deeper, extended private speech that has been internalized. Finally, the condensed inner speech is even deeper and it is similar to the Vygotsky's stage labeled: «thinking in pure meanings, syntactic and semantic abbreviation processes». According to Fernyhough, the inner speech has also a specific development in the child that is composed of four levels that go from an external dialogue to an internal one, as described in figure 1. Furthermore, he suggested that even during adulthood can occur shifts among these levels and that under particular conditions, such as under cognitive load or stress, there may be a transition from fully condensed inner speech to expanded inner speech and even private inner speech or external dialogue.



FIG. 1. Fernyhough's (2004) four-stage model of the development of inner speech.

Clinical observations and many empirical studies found that the inner speech can turn to be pathological under some conditions like, for example, in people suffering from autism spectrum, social anxiety, mood disorders and psychosis, such as Schizophrenia. In what follows we want to examine and clarify, the role of the inner speech in schizophrenia, and its relationship with a typical symptom of this disturb: the verbal auditory hallucination (AVHs).

2. INNER SPEECH AND AVHS

According to the DSM-V (2013), the schizophrenia spectrum is characterized by abnormalities in one or more of the following five domains: delusions, hallucinations, disorganized thinking (speech), grossly disorganized or abnormal motor behavior (including catatonia), and negative symptoms. Common symptoms of schizophrenia also involve a range of cognitive, behavioral, and emotional dysfunctions. Yet a single symptom is not pathognomonic of the disorder (cf. Cardelli, Gangemi 2019), given that it involves impairment in one or more major areas functioning (DSM-V, 2013). «Listening to other people's

voices» is an example of Auditory Verbal Hallucinations (AVHs), one of the most typical symptoms of patients suffering from schizophrenia. They are defined as sensory experiences that occur in the absence of external stimulation, despite there are some patients able to perceive a «silent voice» (no sound) with semantics that provides information (Jones, 2010). The content of the AVHs is commonly exaggerated, bizarre, repeated, and often involve unfamiliar topics (Leudar *et al.* 1997; Hoffman *et al.* 2008), and, according to Jones (2010), they have remarkable phenomenological parallels with inner speech. In what follows, we will see how this symptom is correlated with the inner speech phenomenon.

2.1. THE LINK BETWEEN AUDITORY VERBAL HALLUCINA-TIONS (AVHS) AND INNER SPEECH

While AVHs are usually considered a typical symptom of people affected by psychosis, hearing voices is something that can actually also occur to «normal» or healthy people (e.g., Cardella, Gangemi 2019). However, thanks to the presence of a self-monitoring mecha*nism*, which they are equipped with, «normal» or healthy people can distinguish between the two types of voice. Recently, some scholars (Agnati et al. 2018, 2012) also added that inner speech can be a kind of «exaptation» activity, strongly connected to the evolution and development of the human brain (specifically, it can be derived following the acquisition of the language itself). Thus, it is involved in different cognitive processes and is useful for many cognitive operations (Loevenbruck 2018; Baldo et al. 2015; Morin 2005, 2009, 2012; Miyake et al. 2004). It is considered «exaptation» because, for example, it allows the individual to plan his behavior within the social environment (Agnati et al. 2012), like a «guide». On the contrary, it is sometimes considered an «exaptation error» (Agnati et al. 2012), a sort of «maladjustment», especially when it causes behavioral paralysis or when it occurs in people affected by autism, social anxiety, mood disorders (Allen et al. 2007; Beazley et al. 2001; Wallace et al. 2009), or when it becomes repetitive, negative and self-critical (Watkins 2008; Nalborczyk et al. 2017), giving rise to an episode of AVH (Loevebruck 2018; Ford et al. 2012; Hugdahl 2009). In particular, AVHs appear to arise when an internal mental event is mistakenly attributed to external or non-autonomous sources (Mitropoulos 2020; Loevebruck 2018; Mc-Carthy-Jones, Fernyhough 2011). Electromyography studies, committed to testing subvocalization (small laryngeal movements that occur during inner speech) while patients experience AVH, have confirmed that inner speech is the foundation on which AVHs are based (Gould 1948; Inouve et al. 1970). Therefore, according to what has been said so far, auditory voices may be self-generated. Studies have focused on investigating the relationship between self-monitoring mechanism and psychosis, yet not always achieving positive results. Jones (2010), for example, criticizes this theory adding that if voices were *«misidentified inner speeches*», schizophrenics should report less inner speeches than healthy individuals, but this fact does not occur. Versmissen and colleagues (2007) did not find a correlation between the two phenomena as well. Other scholars, like Wu (2012), tried instead to investigate the reason why psychotics consider inner speech and voices as something different when, in essence, they are the same thing.

2.2. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN INNER SPEECH AND AVHS

It is important to underline that a distinction between inner speech and AVH exists. Voices are a complex phenomenon that can be sent back to gods or other spiritual entities, aliens, known people both living and deceased (Jones, Luhrmann 2015; Rosen et al. 2018;). Precisely these, in the most recent literature, are described as having «a mind of their own» or a distinct personality, like a developed interactive personification or a social role (Wilkinson, Bell 2016; Humpston 2017). Therefore, the distinction between inner speech and AVH occurs at the point of loss of «paternity» of the content and with which the listener gives meaning to the voice (Waters, Jardri 2015; Deamer, Wilkinson 2015; Bell et al. 2017). Furthermore, this hypothesis suggests that the hallucinations reported by psychotics are separated from the self, as they are experienced as extreme and completely unfamiliar. Thus, particular attention must be given to the interpersonal relationship between oneself and the voices, as the experience is always clearly distinct from the self.

3. CORTICAL AREAS ACTIVE DURING INNER SPEECH AND AVHS

In this paragraph, we will deepen the brain areas activated during the inner speech and if these are the same areas that are activated during the AVH. Most of the cognitive studies (Moseley *et al.* 2013; Nathou *et al.* 2019) that have investigated this point have confirmed the activation of the same areas.

In particular, for what regards the inner speech, the use of neuroimaging techniques, such as the positron emission tomography (PET), the electroencephalography (EEG), the transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS), and the functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), have allowed studying in deep the brain regions activated during an inner speech. Specifically, the use of neuroimaging techniques also made possible to scan the hemispheres of the participants, engaged in the silent reading of sentences expressed both directly and indirectly, finding that most of the subjects make use of this phenomenon (Yao et al. 2011; 2012; Geva et al. 2019). The results obtained so far, revealed the activation of several fronts brain areas included: left frontal inferior gyrus (IFG) (including the Broca area), the Wernicke area, the right temporal cortex, the supplementary motor area (SMA), the insula, the right superior parietal lobule (SPL) and the right superior cerebellar cortex (e.g. Geva et al. 2011; Jones et al. 2007; Marvel et al. 2012; Morin et al. 2007). Other studies in this direction have shown, in addition, the existence of projections between areas related to vocal production and the auditory cortex considered as a relevant process in verbal selfmonitoring of inner speech (Jones et al. 2007). Finally, another investigation showed the activation of temporal vocal areas, or TVA, in the auditory cortex, during the perception of the human voice (Belin et al. 2000). In particular, it was founded a greater activity of inner speech during the silent reading of sentences expressed in the direct form. It also seems that the nature of the inner speech mentally simulates implications supra-segmental acoustic representations. Indeed, the neural correlates of these vocal simulation processes involved the anterior, central and posterior parts of the upper right temporal sulcus (STS) (Yao et al. 2012). Therefore, some areas in the auditory cortex, those along the part of the superior temporal sulcus (STS), are particularly sensitive to the auditory stimulation from the bottom up of the human voice (Belin *et al.* 2000). As regards the AVHs, it was possible to detect

the activation of similar areas in the presence of AVHs to those of the inner speech. Neuroimaging studies (Nathou *et al.* 2019; Mondino *et al.* 2016; Moseley *et al.* 2013) also confirmed the activation of the same cortical areas of inner speech. Some studies were able to detect the morphological (Jardri *et al.* 2011; Ford *et al.* 2012) and the functional markers (Modinos *et al.* 2013) that manifest respective activations. In particular, the left temporo-parietal areas (Allen *et al.* 2012; Hoffman *et al.* 2000; Jardri *et al.* 2011), the middle and superior temporal gyri, the Wernicke's area, the left inferior frontal areas (Leroux *et al.* 2014; Jardri *et al.* 2007), the Broca's area, the frontal operculum, the anterior insula, the precentral gyrus, as well as the right homologues, as the supplementary motor area (SMA) and the insula (Shergill *et al.* 2010). These data are in line with previous other neuroimaging investigations (e.g., Friedman *et al.* 1998; McGuire *et al.* 1996b).

Specifically, in an fMRI study by Sommer and colleagues (2008), greater activity was highlighted during AVHs in the homologous Broca area of the right hemisphere (IFG), in the right superior temporal gyrus, as well as in the bilateral insula and the anterior cingulate gyrus. Being the AVH considered as an anomaly of the inner speech, and referring to the studies of Frith, Done (1988), it has been identified the cognitive capacity responsible for this verbal self-monitoring mechanism, (VSM). Indeed, the improper monitoring of the inner speech = may cause those verbal thoughts not recognized as one's own and instead as someone else. The VSM appears to operate through a corollary discharge system in which the expulsions or discharges coming from the speech-producing motor areas in the frontal lobes may «advise» the auditory cortex about the fact that the self-produced speech is going to be said soon, dampening its response (Ford and Mathalon, 2005; Martikainen *et al.* 2005). In this regard, different neuroimaging studies (e.g, Jones et al. 2007) have been concerned with investigating the neural correlates, all agreeing that the correlates of inner speech are the same in subjects with AVH. The major activation in these regions can be linked to deficits in self-monitoring functions (Allen *et al.* 2007; Waters et al. 2012), to motor-sensory transformation functions (Ford, Mathalon, 2005; Tian, Poeppel, 2012), as well as to gating sensory (Bak et al. 2014). Therefore, the cause of AVH could be related to anomalies in these same functions.

Finally, other attempts have been made to evaluate the role of inner speech in schizophrenic subjects and with AVHs during an fMRI

session, before and after undergoing a rTMS therapeutic treatment. In an interesting study of Bais and collaborators (2017), it has been empathized the role of the changes affecting the neural networks involved in a mechanism capable of promoting not only inner speech but also AVHs. They found greater activation of the areas of the auditory-sensorimotor cortex in schizophrenic patients with AVHs, compared to the control group and subjects without AVHs. In a similar experiment (Fitzgerald *et al.* 2007), that included a word generation task, administered to a small group of schizophrenic subjects during an fMRI, and previously subjected to an rTMS treatment, findings showed an increased activity in the left temporoparietal cortex and in the cortex front lower part that falls within a network of processes involved in the generation of vocal intervention. Therefore, in light of the evidence collected so far, the scientific literature shares the common idea that both phenomena compete for the same neural responses.

5. CONCLUSION

The scientific literature of the past 50 years on the phenomenon of inner speech shows a rich growing literature with encouraging results. So far, it has been considered not only as evolutionary exaptation but rather also as an element present in various cognitive functions. As it has been said, inner speech, in its non-pathological condition, plays a key role in many cognitive processes, such as self-control of thoughts and changes, in autobiographical memory, in finding and reading etc. However, in its pathological form, it is associated with various mental disorders, including schizophrenia, social anxiety or mood disorders. These results have empathized the possible interaction between inner speech and AVH, a relevant phenomenon characterizing schizophrenia, and also described the boundary between these elements as indistinguishable. Several neuroimaging studies (e.g. Geva *et al.* 2011; Jones et al. 2007; Marvel et al. 2012; Morin et al. 2007) demonstrated that during the inner speech there is the activation of the temporal vocal area, or TVA, areas that are sensitive to the perception of the human voice (e.g. Belin et al. 2010). These results are intertwined with the findings reported about the brain areas of AVHs, confirming that both phenomena have in common the application of similar brain regions. It has also been founded that the relationship between AVH and

inner speech is specifically in the auditory modality and not in hallucinations in general (McCarthy-Jones, Fernyhough 2011).

In conclusion, the themes that fascinate scholars on inner speech are many, as well as the questions that still require to be answered. For example, the relationship between inner speech and AVH remains a field of investigation that still needs to be explored, considering the outline of the complexity of phenomena. In addition, further neuroimaging studies to elucidate the cognitive dynamics and neural mechanisms underlying this relationship are warranted.

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