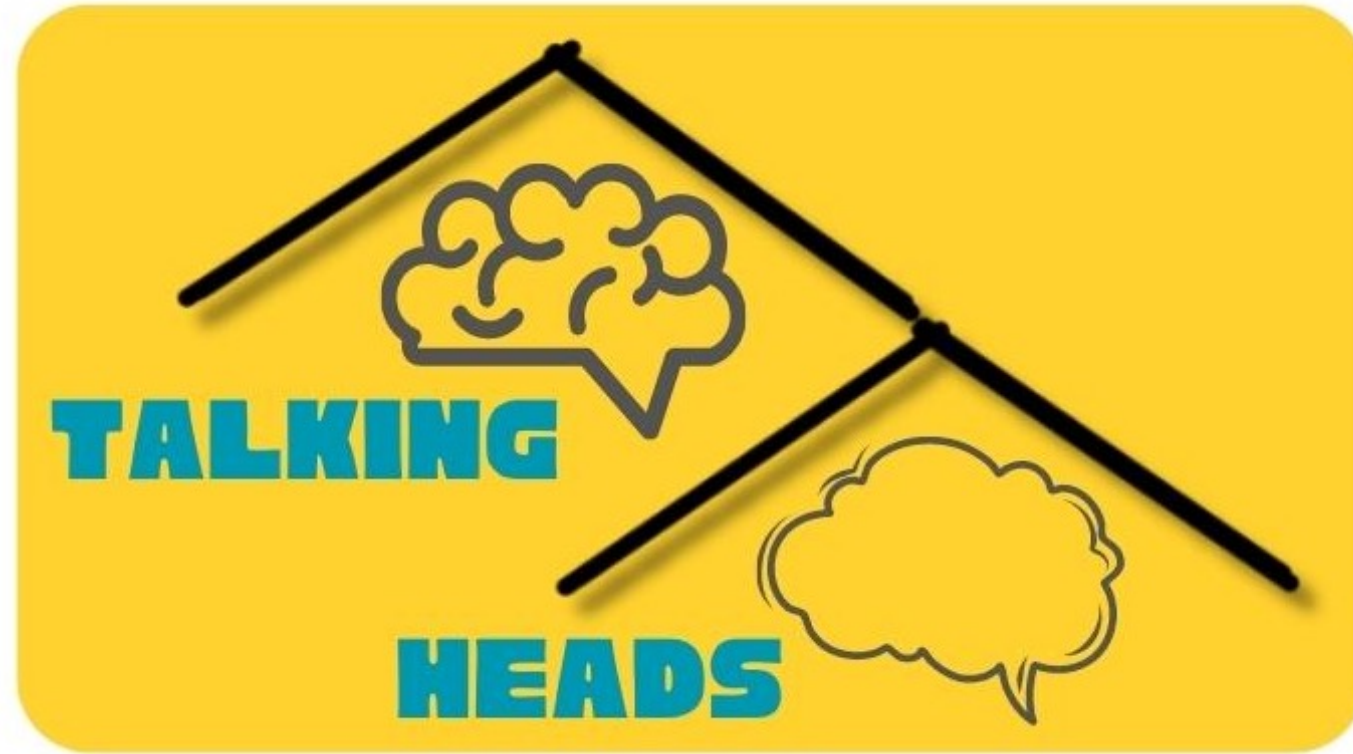


July 10-14 2023

:LOT



The syntax of talking heads

Class 3: Self-talk

Martina Wiltschko

ICREA, Universitat Pompeu Fabra



Overview of the course

1. The framework: reframing thoughts in interaction
2. Discourse markers: using (new) thoughts.
3. A new window: telling yourself what you think??
4. The syntax of emotions
5. The syntax of talking heads



Today



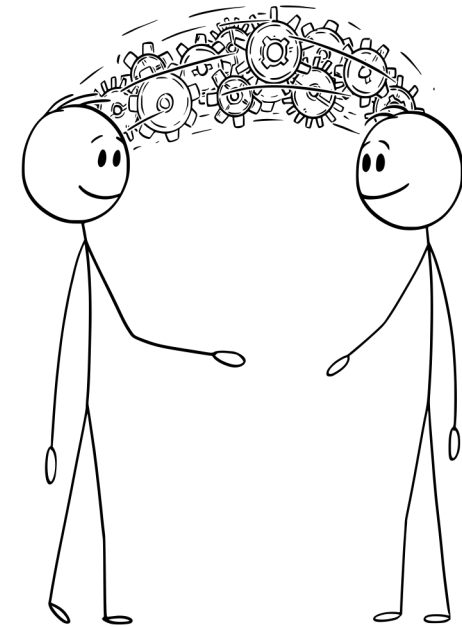
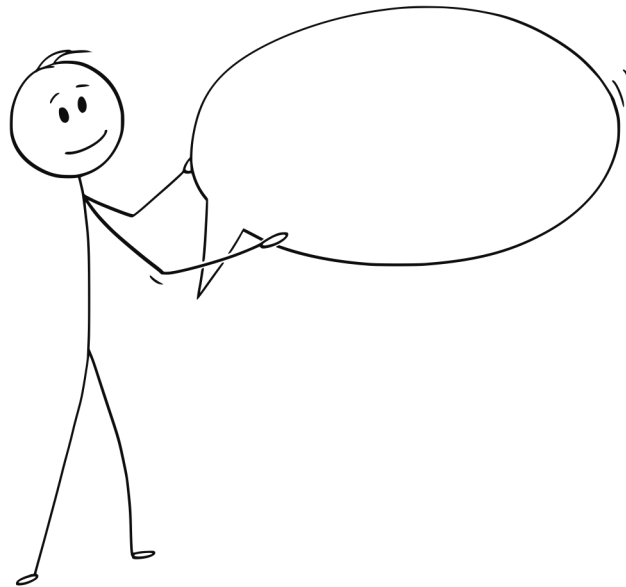
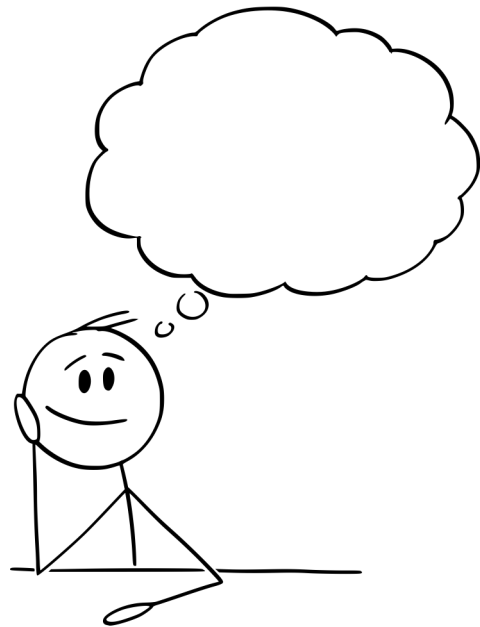
- **A little self-reflection:**
 - How do we think?
 - How do we say what we think? And how do we talk to others about it?
- **Self-talk as a window into the syntax at the very top**
 - Properties of (different types of) self-talk favor the Interactional Spine Hypothesis over “Speech-act structure”
- **Self-talk as a window into the language faculty**
 - If linguistic interaction is built into grammar, language must be an instrument for thought and communication
 - Properties of self-talk suggest that linguistic interaction is not only a matter of externalization

Today



- **A little self-reflection:**

- How do we think?
- How do we say what we think?
- And how do we tell others about it?

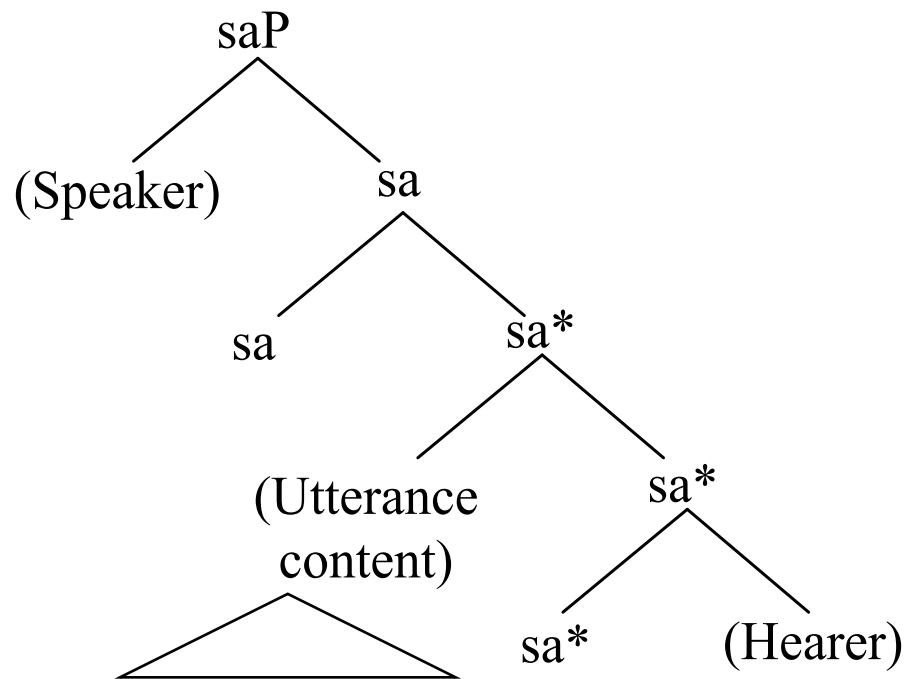


Today



- **A little self-reflection:**
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(Neo)-Performative Hypothesis

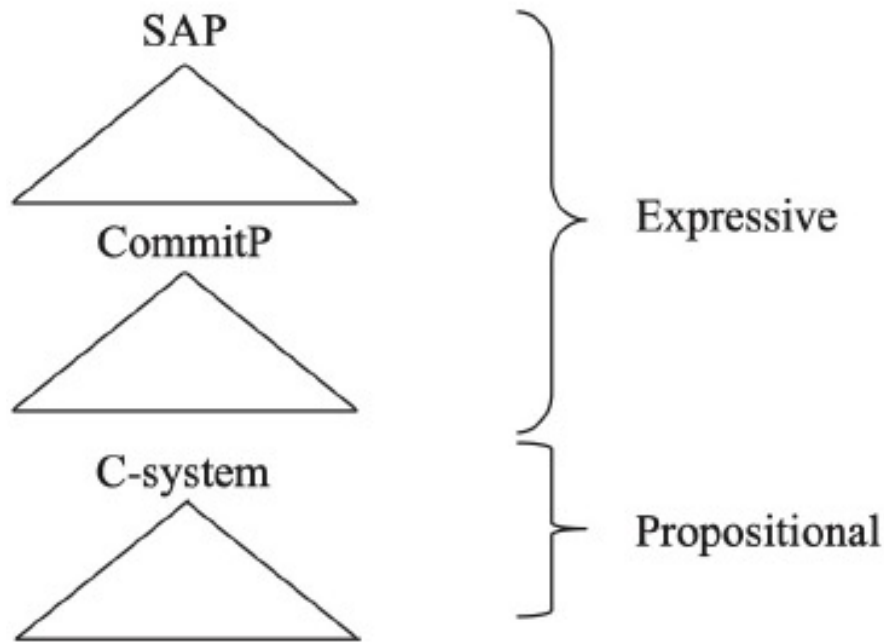


Speas & Tenny 2003: 320

Syntax at the top:

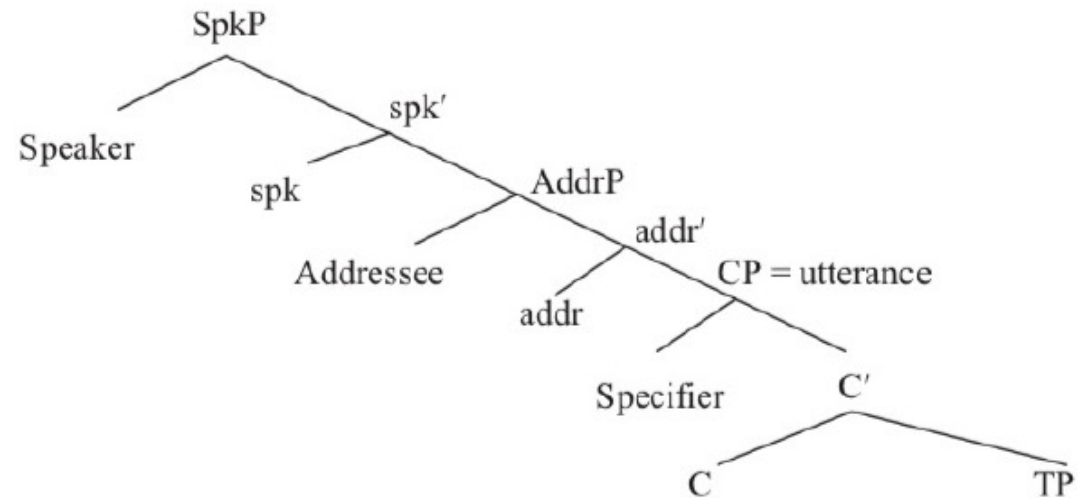
- encodes **speech acts**
- via **functional categories**
- inspired by **Speech Act theory**

(Neo)-Performative Hypothesis



Syntax at the top:

- encodes **speech acts and commitments**
- via **functional categories**
- inspired by **Speech Act theory** and **commitment-space semantics**

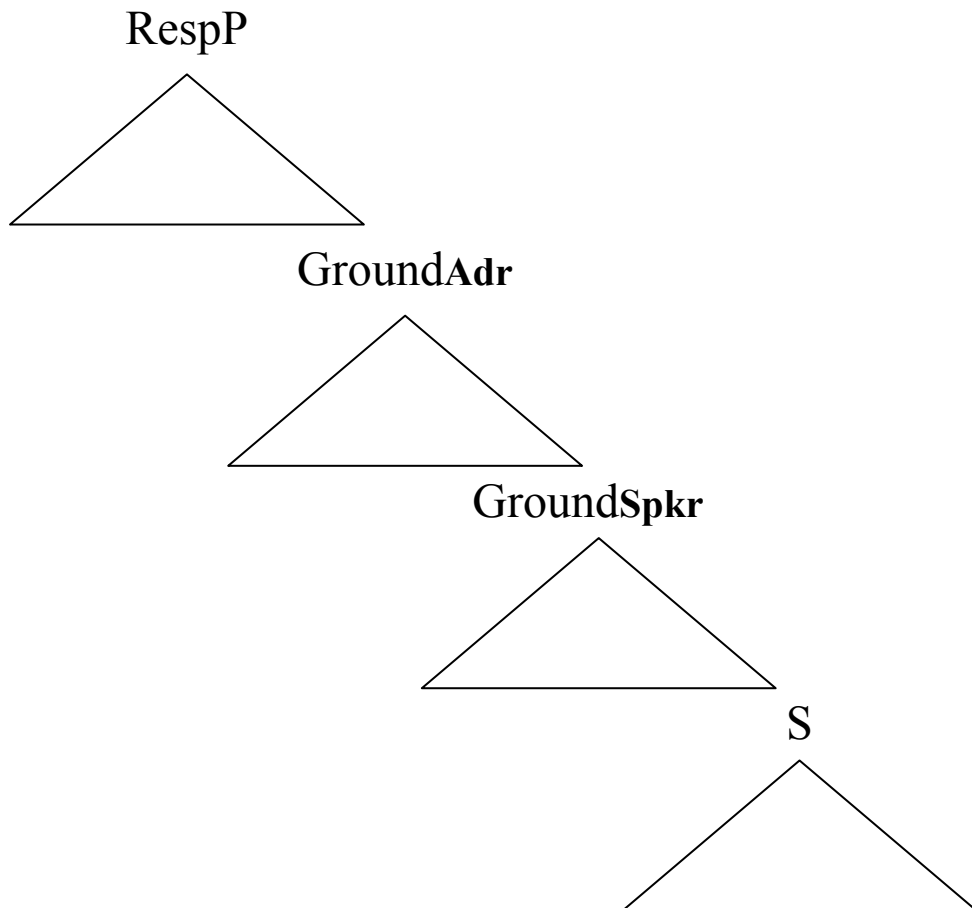


Miyagawa 2022

The interactional spine hypothesis (ISH)

Syntax at the top:

- regulates **grounding and tabling/turn-taking**
- via **functional categories**
- inspired by **Conversation Analysis** and **Interactional linguistics**



ISH vs. (Neo)PH

How do we decide?

	ISH	(Neo)PH
Hierarchy:	X > A > S	S > A
Regulates:	Interaction	Speech acts
Roles:	Ground holders Turn-holders	Speaker Addressee

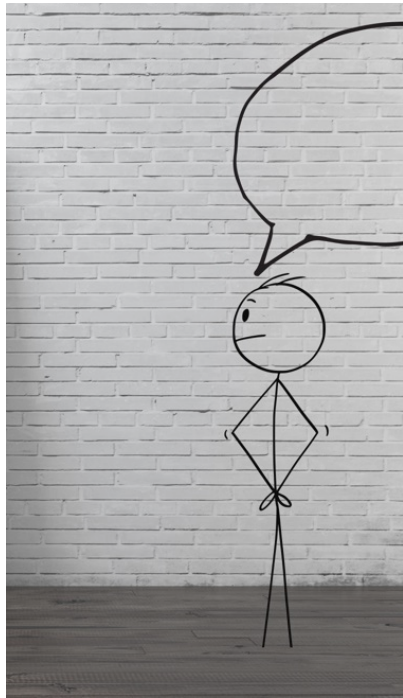
ISH vs. (Neo)PH

	ISH	(Neo)PH	Evidence from...
Hierarchy:	X > A > S	S > A	... 2 types of self talk ... differences to other-oriented talk
Regulates:	Interaction	Speech acts	... absence of restrictions on clause-types/speech acts in self talk
Roles:	Ground holders	Speaker Addressee	... restrictions on verbs of cognition

Two types of self-talk

I-centered self-talk:

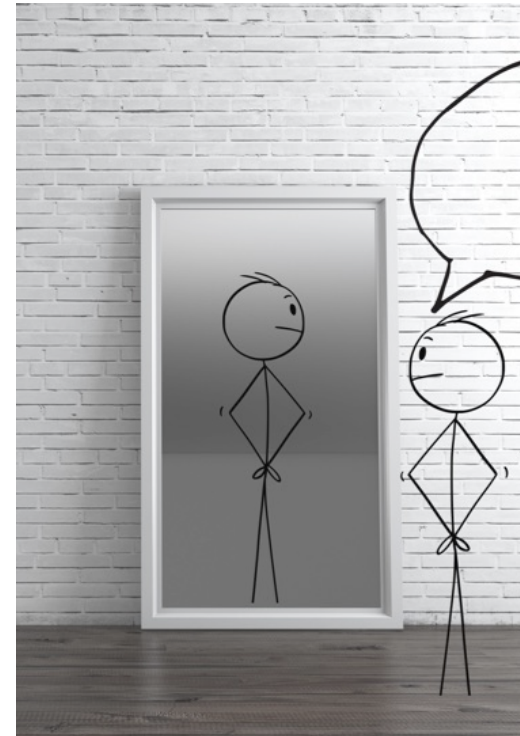
(1) I'm such an idiot!



Holmberg 2010

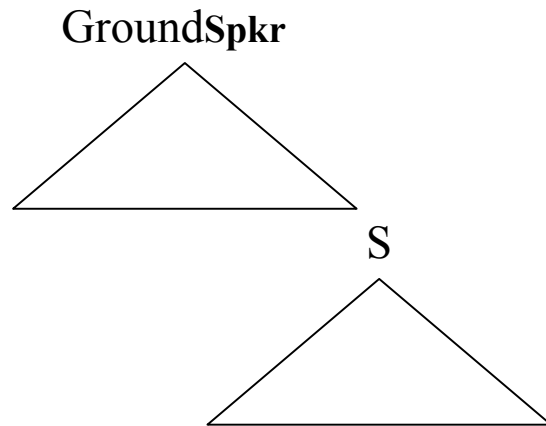
You-centered self-talk

(2) You're such an idiot



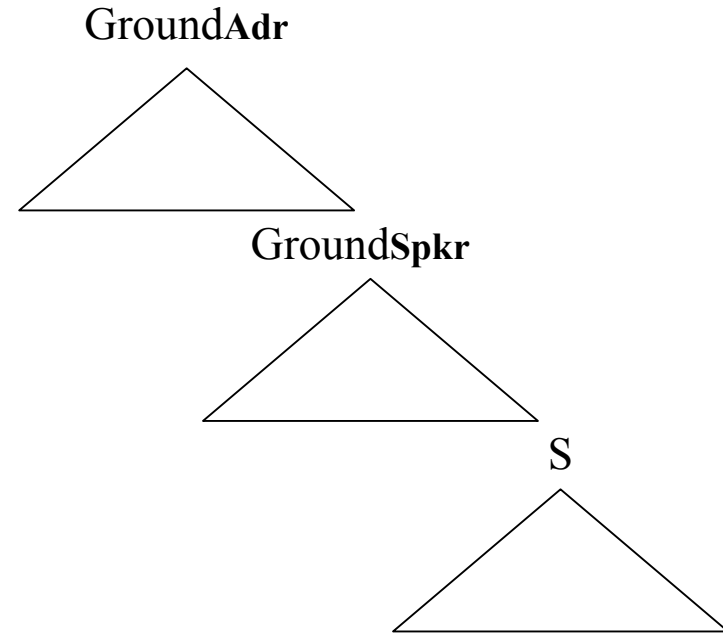
Two types of self-talk: a structural analysis

I-centered self-talk



... is thinking out loud
... there is no addressee

You-centered self-talk



... is a conversation with oneself
... self is both speaker and addressee

Evidence from **Vocatives**

Vocatives
cannot occur
in I-centered
self-talk

- (1) Other-oriented conversation (Someone else to Martina)
 - a. **Martina, you** are an idiot.
 - b. **Martina, I** am an idiot.

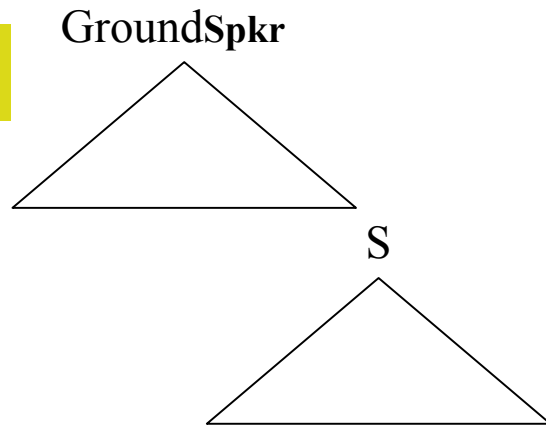
- (2) Self-talk: Martina to herself
 - a. **Martina, you** are an idiot.
 - b. * **Martina, I** am an idiot.

Evidence from **Vocatives**

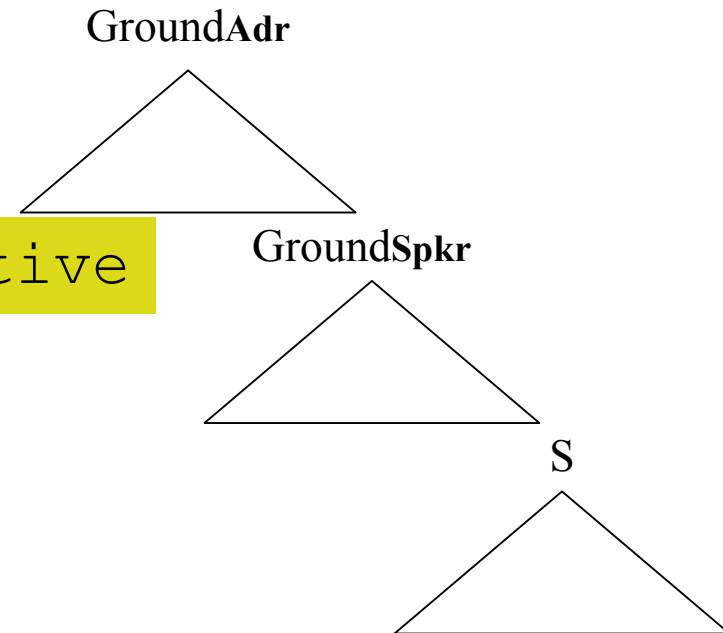
I-centered self-talk

You-centered self-talk

Vocative



Vocative



Imperatives
cannot be used
in I-centered
self-talk

Evidence from Imperatives

Other-oriented conversation

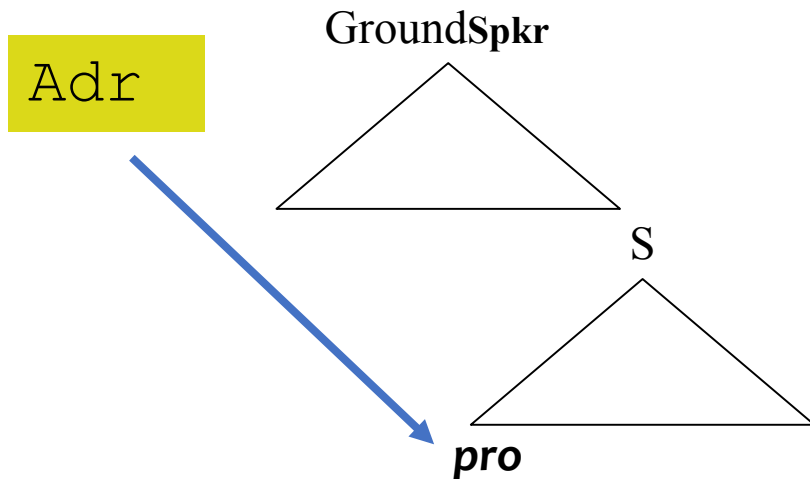
- (1) a. Stop putting **yourself** down!
- b. Stop putting **me** down!

Self-talk

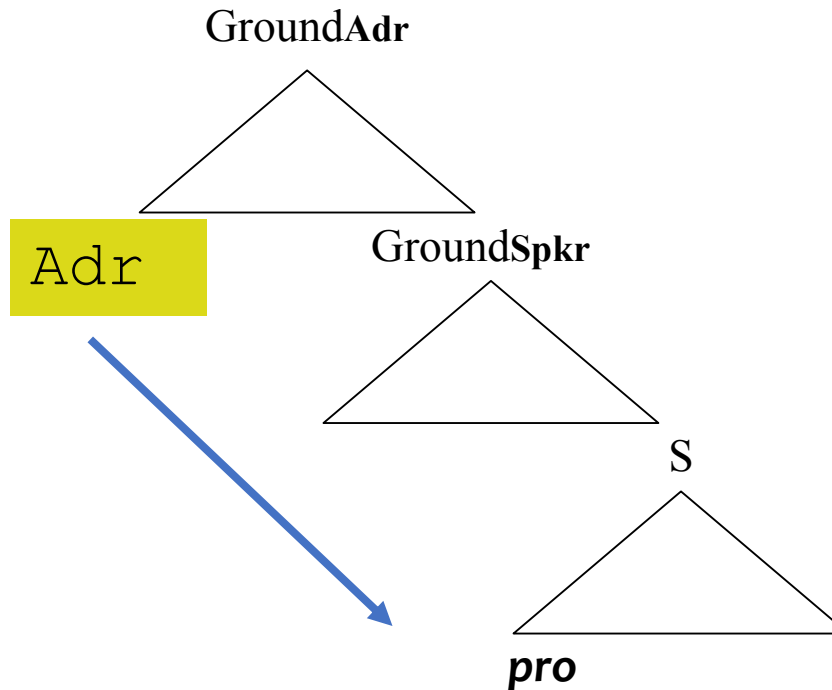
- (2) a. Stop putting **yourself** down!
- b. * Stop putting **me/myself** down!

Evidence from Imperatives

I-centered self-talk



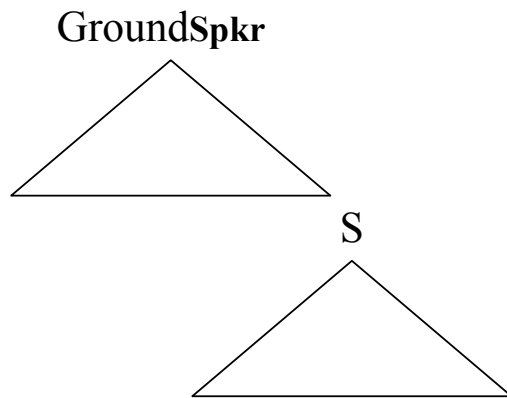
You-centered self-talk



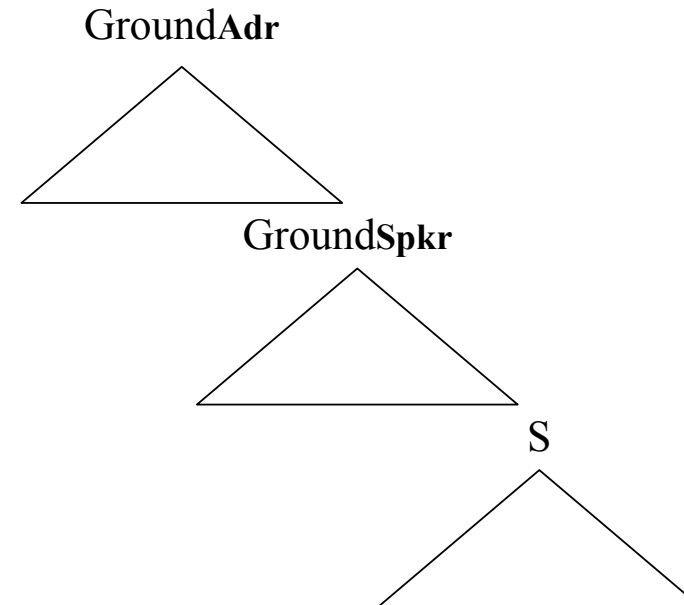
ISH vs. Neo-PH

I-centered self-talk is structurally deficient

I-centered self-talk



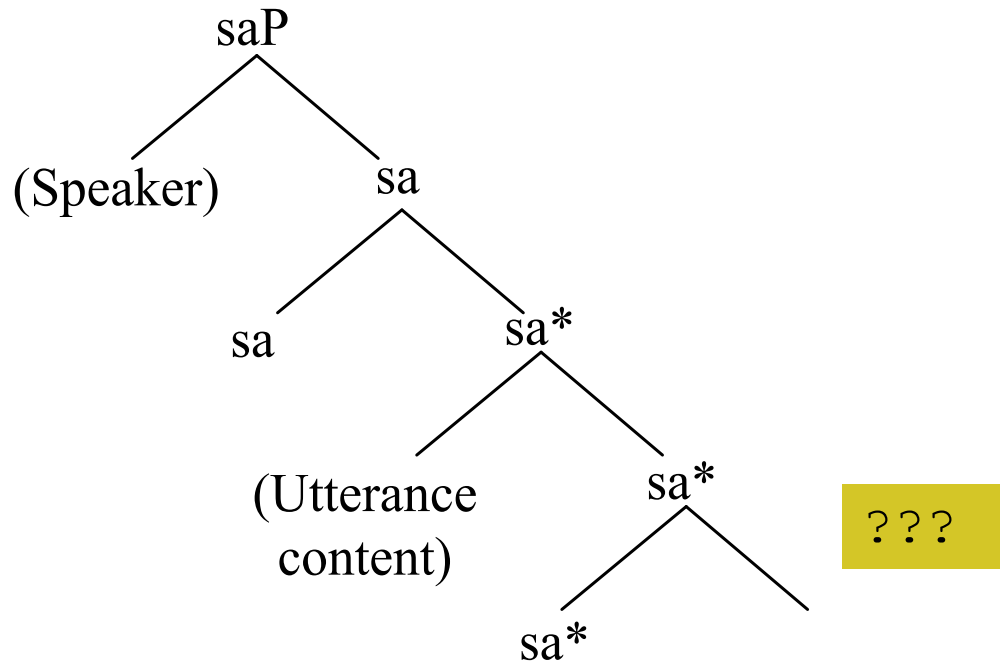
you-centered self-talk



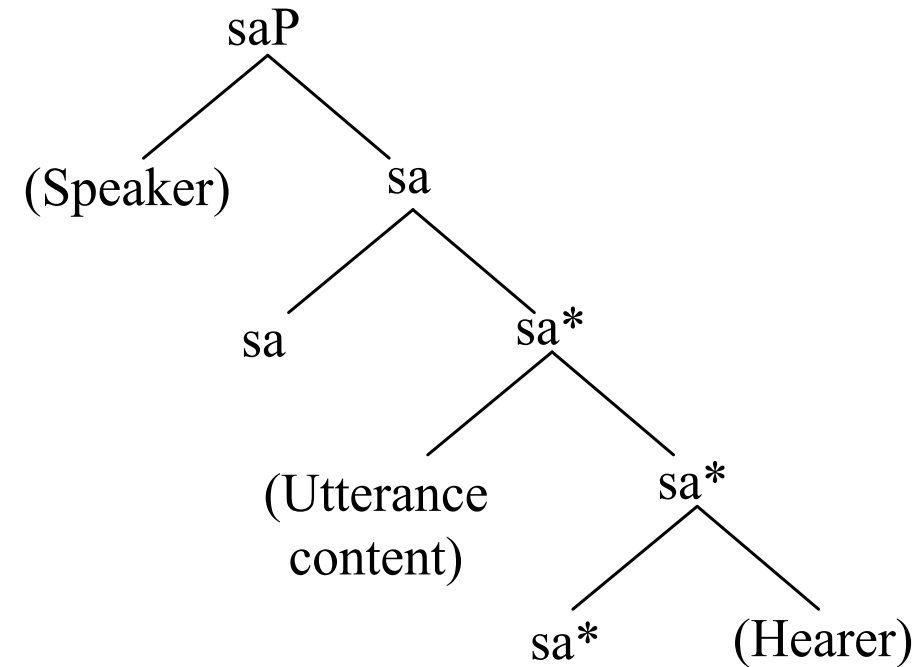
ISH vs. Neo-PH

I-centered self-talk
is intransitive

I-centered self-talk



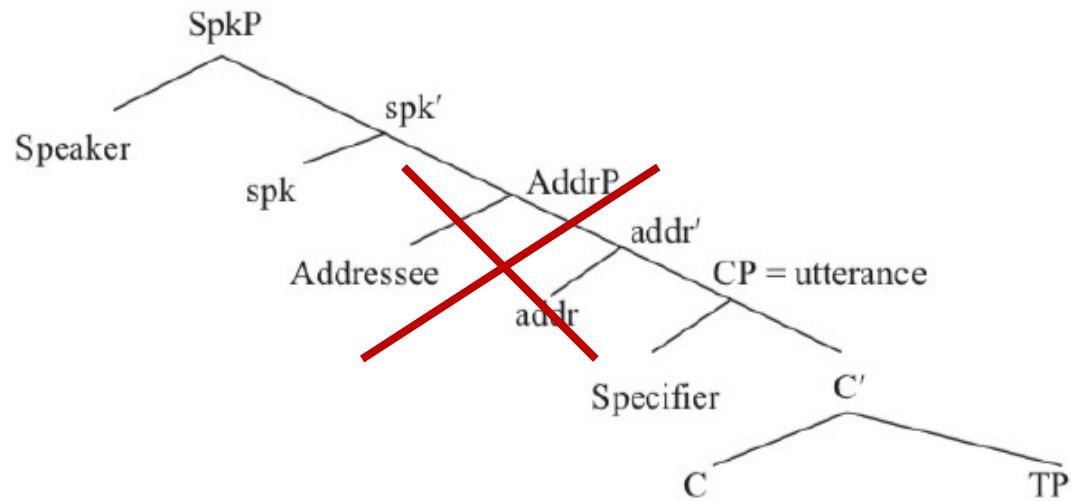
You-centered self-talk



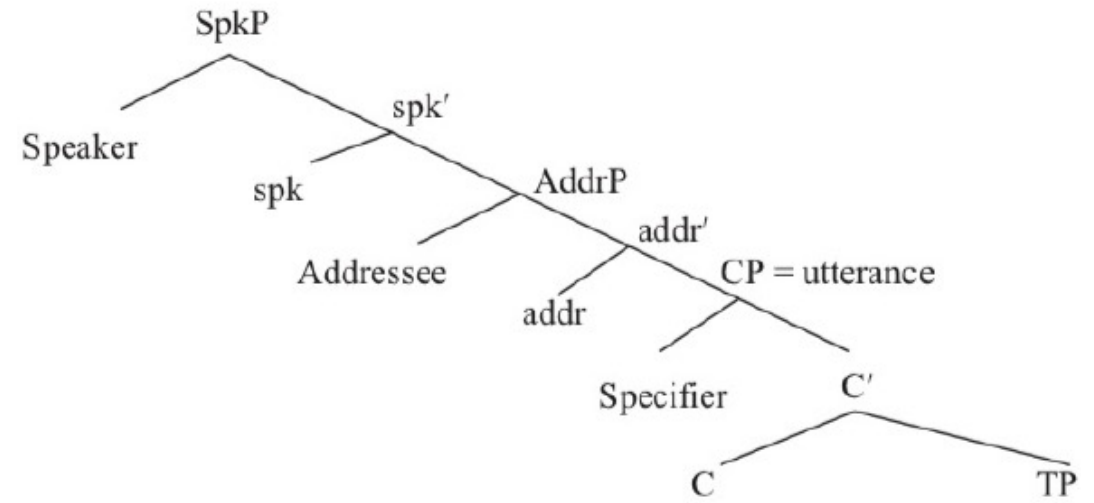
ISH vs. Neo-PH

I-centered self-talk
lacks structure in
the middle

I-centered self-talk



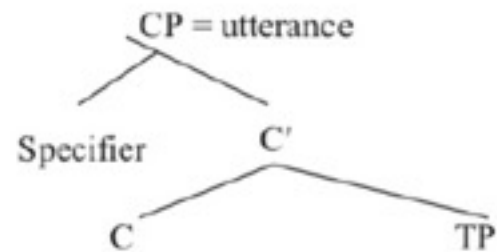
You-centered self-talk



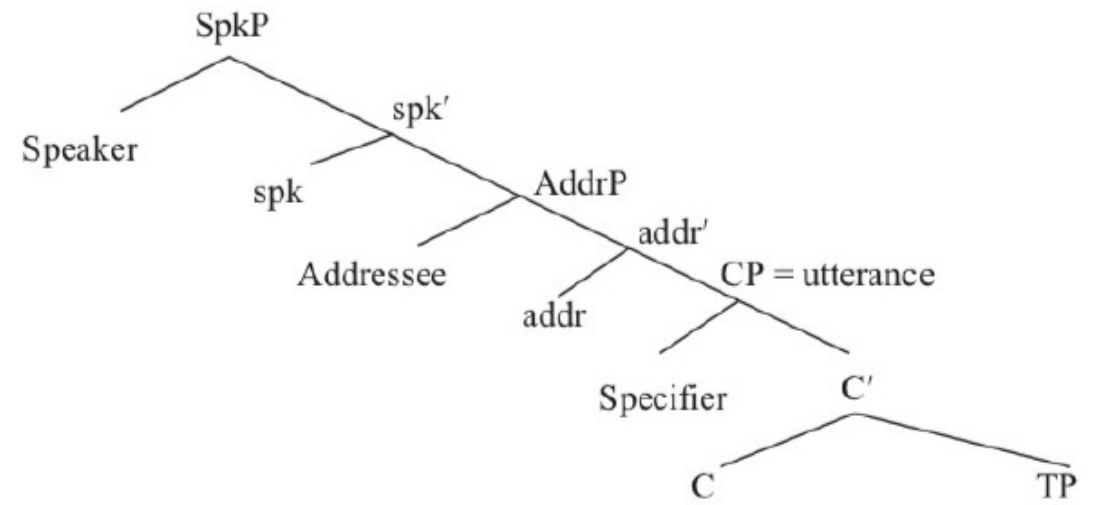
Saving the Neo-PH??

I-centered self-talk
lacks SA structure

I-centered self-talk

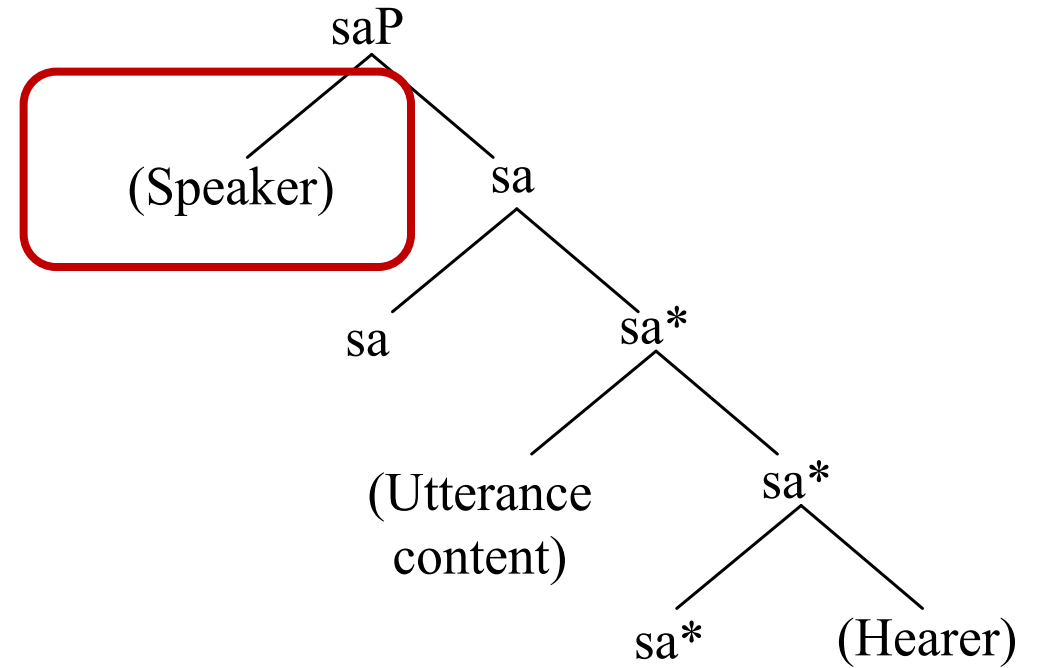
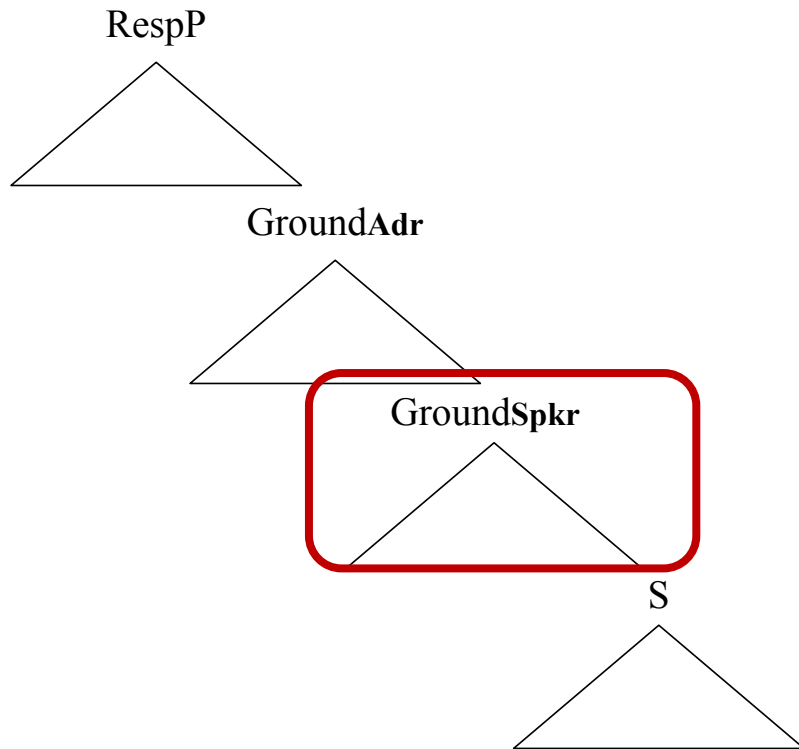


You-centered self-talk



Is there evidence for Speaker role?

ISH vs. Neo-PH



Evidence from **Dicourse** markers

(1) [Die Lena hot an neichn Hund]

Det Lena has a new dog

‘Lena has a new dog.’

(2) **Geh** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]

[Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund]

A-oriented:

You should know this

(3) **Ma** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]

[Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund]

S-oriented:

I’m surprised

Evidence from **Dicourse** markers

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. * Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'

 - b. ***Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund
*Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund

 - c. **Ma**, die Lena hot an neichn Hund
Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund

A-oriented:
You should know this

S-oriented:
I'm surprised

Evidence from **Dicourse** markers

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
'Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.'

R: a. ?? Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'

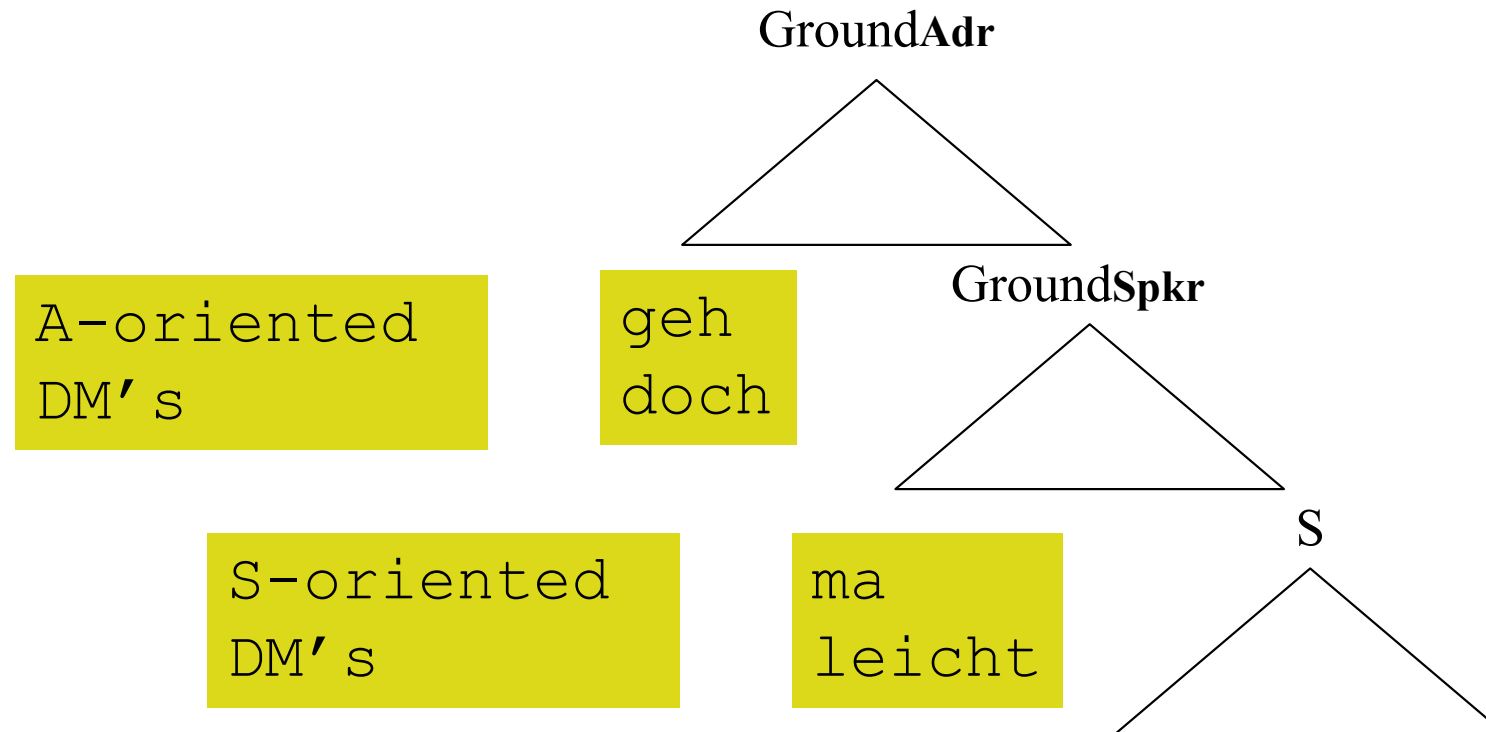
b. **Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund
Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund

A-oriented:
You should know this

c. * **Ma**, die Lena hot an neichn Hund
* Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund

S-oriented:
I'm surprised

Evidence from **Dicourse markers**



Evidence from **Dicourse** markers

A-oriented DMs are restricted to you-centered self-talk

I-centered self-talk

- (1) a. * **Geh** I bin vü'z potschart.
Geh_{Adr} [I am much-too clumsy]
- b. * I bin **doch** vü'z potschart.
[I am prt_{Adr} much-too clumsy]
- c. * **Geh** I bin **doch** vü'z potschart.
Geh_{Adr} [I am prt_{Adr} much-too clumsy]

you-centered self-talk

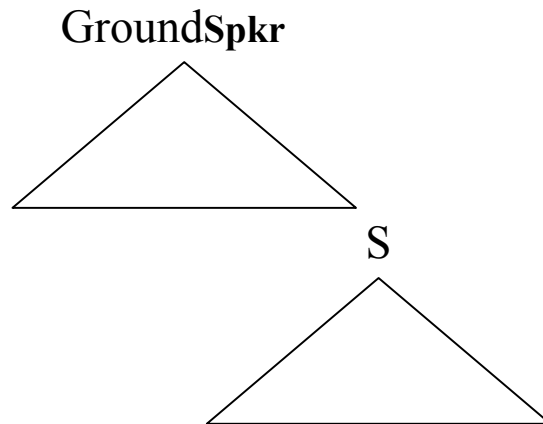
- (2) a. **Geh** du bist vü'z potschart.
Geh_{Adr} [you are much-too clumsy]
- b. Du bist **doch** vü'z potschart.
[you are prt_{Adr} much-too clumsy]
- c. **Geh** du bist. **doch** vü'z potschart.
Geh_{Adr} [you are prt_{Adr} much-too clumsy]

Evidence from Discourse markers

A-oriented DMs are restricted to you-centered self-talk

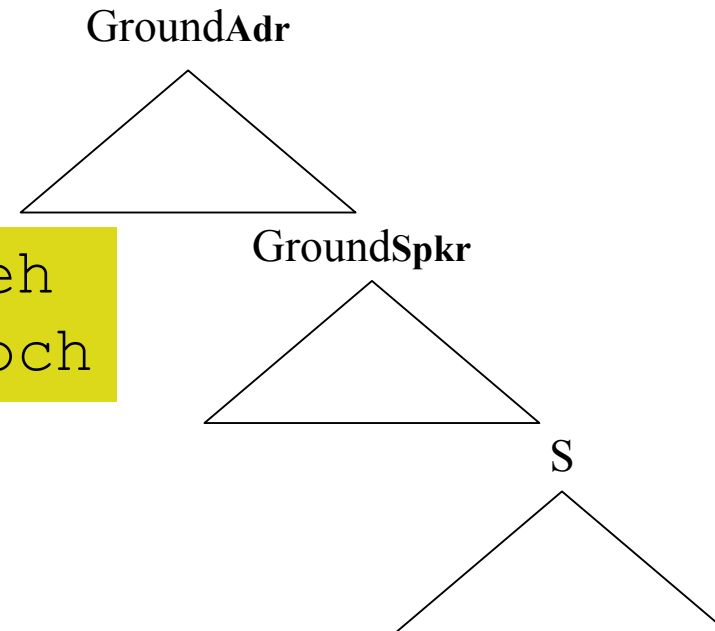
I-centered self-talk

Geh
doch



You-centered self-talk

Geh
doch



Evidence from **Discourse markers**

S-oriented DMs are possible in both types of self-talk

I-centered self-talk

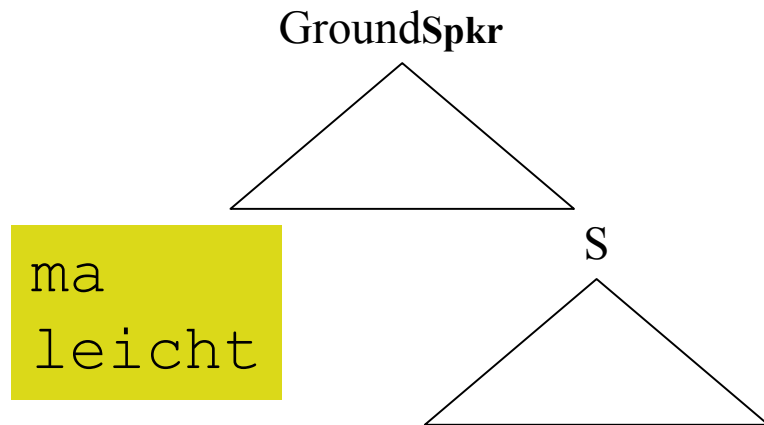
- (1) a. **Ma** I hob gwonna.
Ma_{spkr} [I have won]
- b. I hob **leicht** gwonna.
[I have prt_{spkr} won]
- c. **Ma** I hob **leicht** gwonna.
Ma_{spkr} [I have prt_{spkr} won].

you-centered self-talk

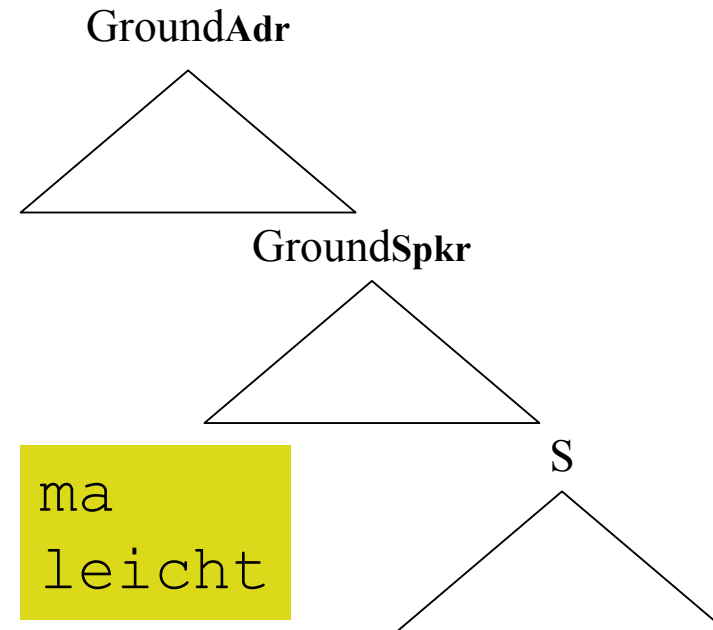
- (2) a. **Ma** du host gwonna.
Ma_{spkr} [you have won]
- b. Du host **leicht** gwonna.
[you have prt_{spkr} won]
- c. **Ma** Du host **leicht** gwonna.
Ma_{spkr} [You have prt_{spkr} won].

Evidence from **Dicourse markers**

I-centered self-talk



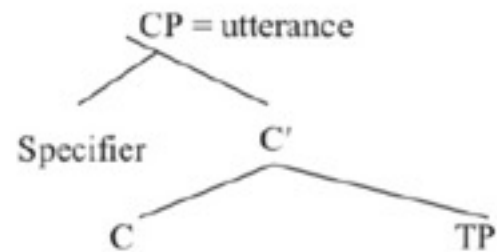
You-centered self-talk



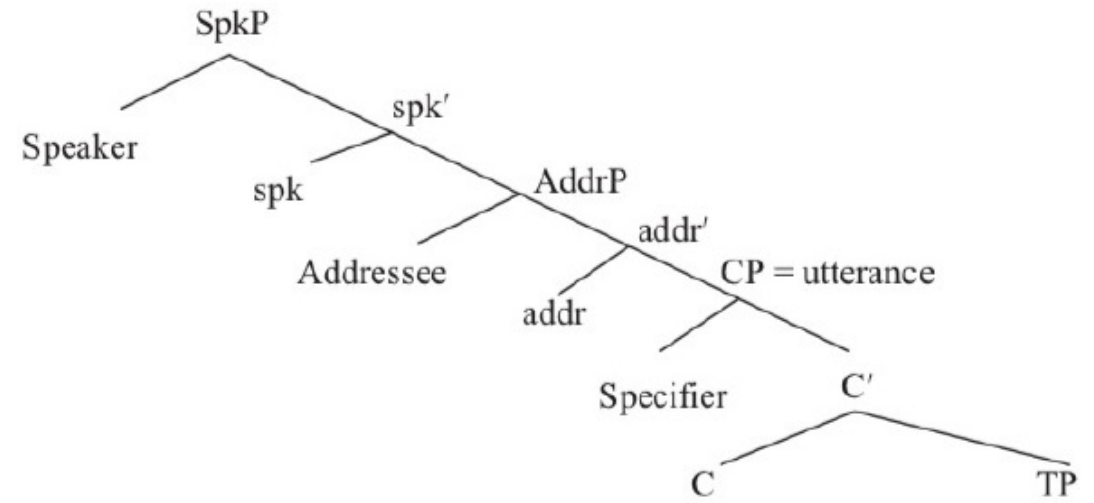
Saving the Neo-PH??

~~I-centered self-talk
lacks SA structure~~

I-centered self-talk



You-centered self-talk



ISH vs. (Neo)PH

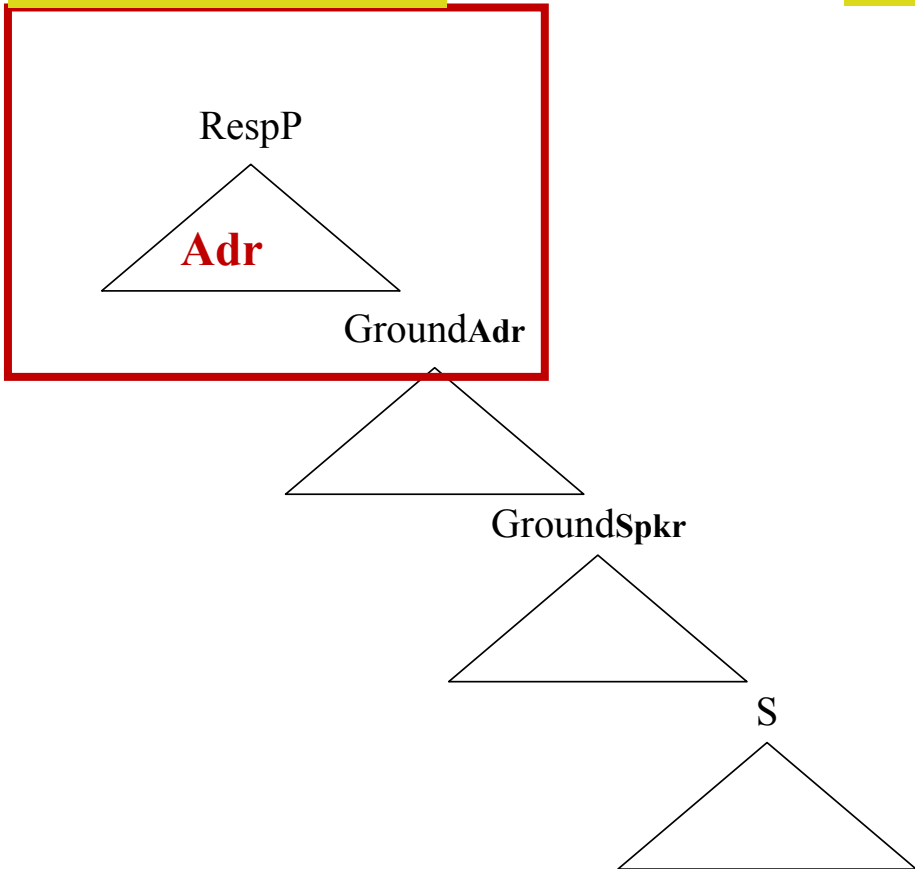
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ISH vs. (Neo)PH

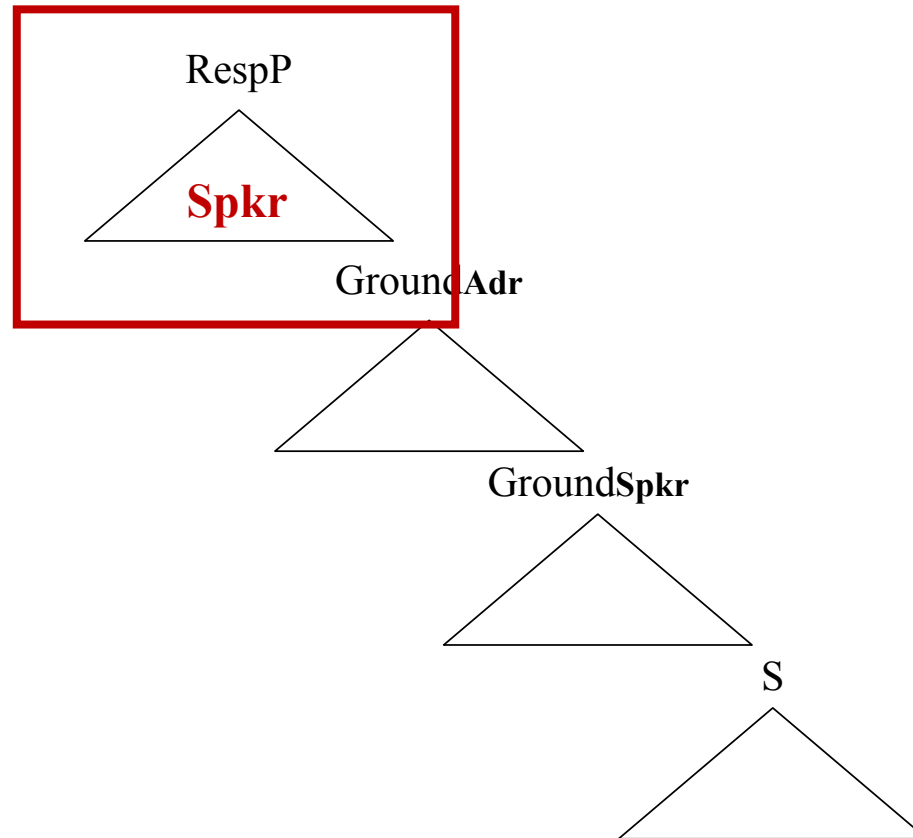
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The interactional spine hypothesis (ISH)

Initiating
move



Reacting
move



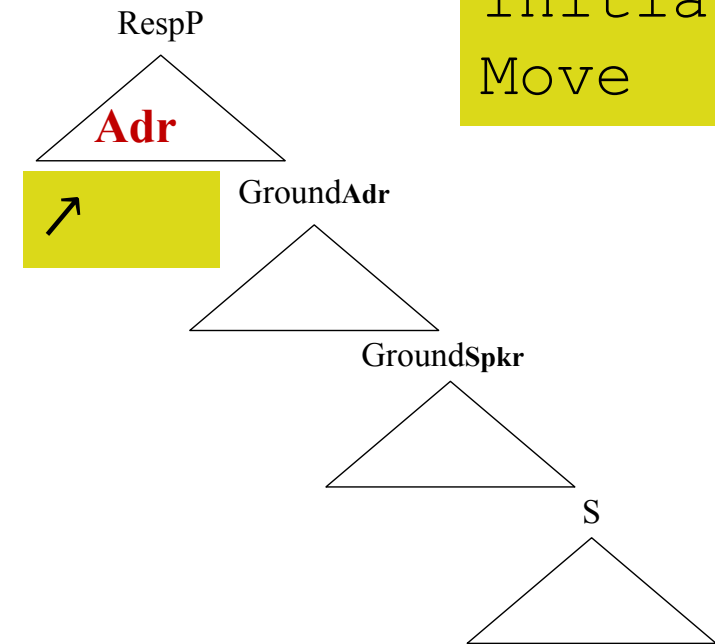
Request for response ↗

Other-oriented conversation

- (1) a. What are you doing ↗
- b. What are you doing ↘

Self-talk

- (2) a. *What are you doing ↗
- b. What are you doing ↘
- (3) a. *What am I doing ↗
- b. What am I doing ↘



- ↘ arises naturally
- pitch declines automatically with the decrease in subglottal air pressure
- Not dependent on presence of RespP
(Cohen & Collier 1982)

Response marker: well

Reacting
move

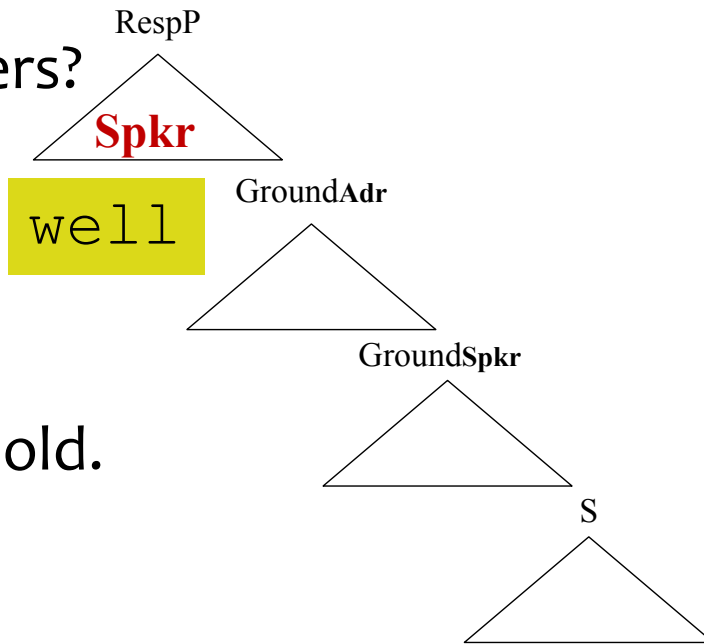
Other-centered conversation

- (1) I: Why are you not going to skydive with the others?
R: **Well**, I want to ... but I'm too old.

- (2) I: Why am I not invited for the sky-diving party?
R: **Well**, they want you to come ... but you're too old.

Self-talk: looking at a group of skydivers

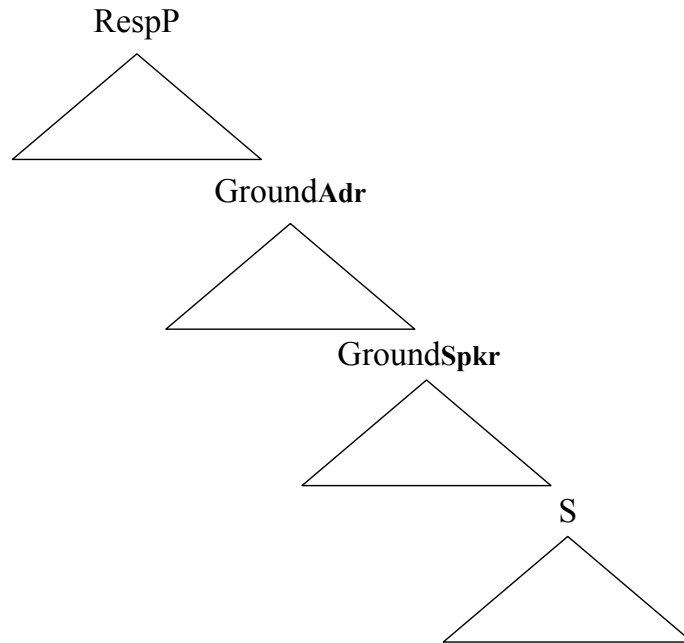
- (3) a. (***Well**) I want to ... but I'm too old.
b. (***Well**), they want you to come ... but you're too old.



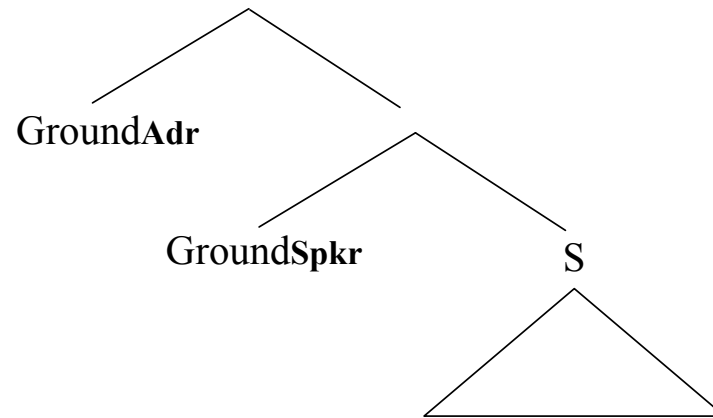
Modes of talking

Degrees of structural deficiency

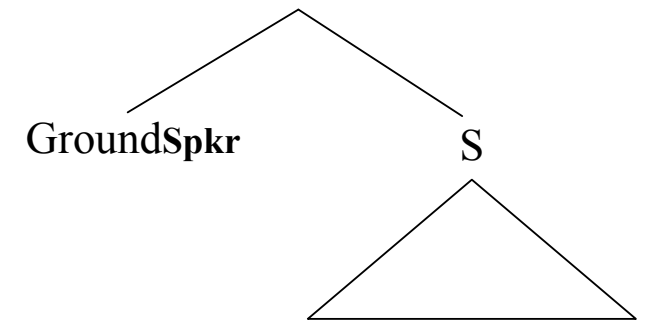
Conversation with other



Conversation with oneself



Thinking out loud



???

(Neo)-Performative Hypothesis

A syntax tree for the (Neo)-Performative Hypothesis. The root node is **saP**. It branches into **(Speaker)** and **sa**. The **sa** node branches into **sa** and **sa***. The **sa*** node branches into **(Utterance content)** and **sa***. The **sa*** node branches into **sa*** and **(Hearer)**. A triangle is drawn under the **(Utterance content)** node.

Speas & Tenny 2003: 320

A syntax tree for Miyagawa 2022. The root node is **SpkP**. It branches into **Speaker** and **spk'**. The **spk'** node branches into **spk** and **AddrP**. The **AddrP** node branches into **Addressee** and **addr'**. The **addr'** node branches into **addr** and **CP = utterance**. The **CP = utterance** node branches into **Specifier** and **C'**. The **C'** node branches into **C** and **TP**.

Miyagawa 2022

ISH vs. (Neo)PH

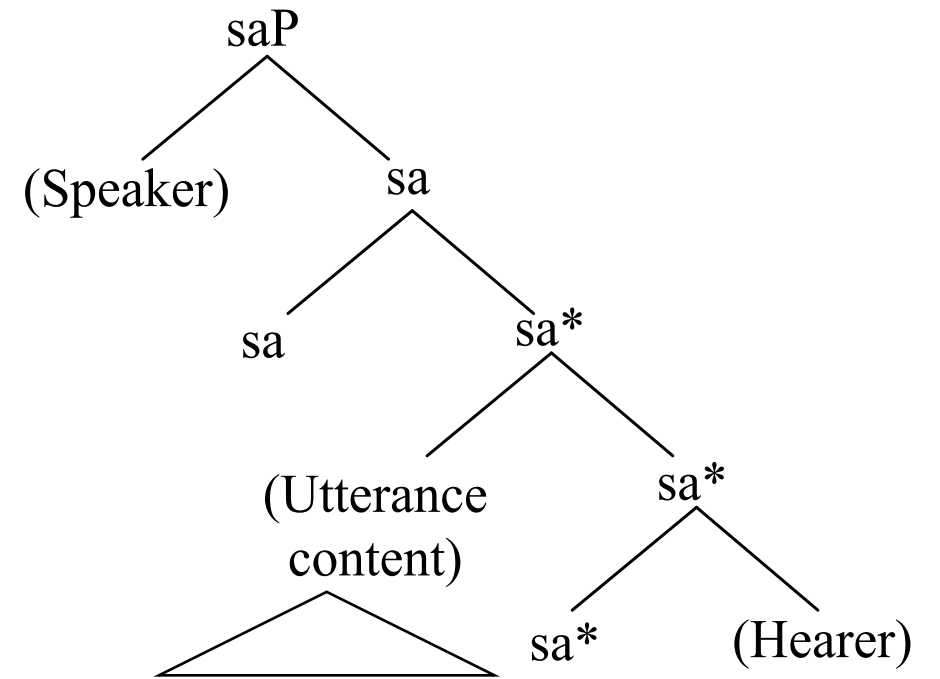
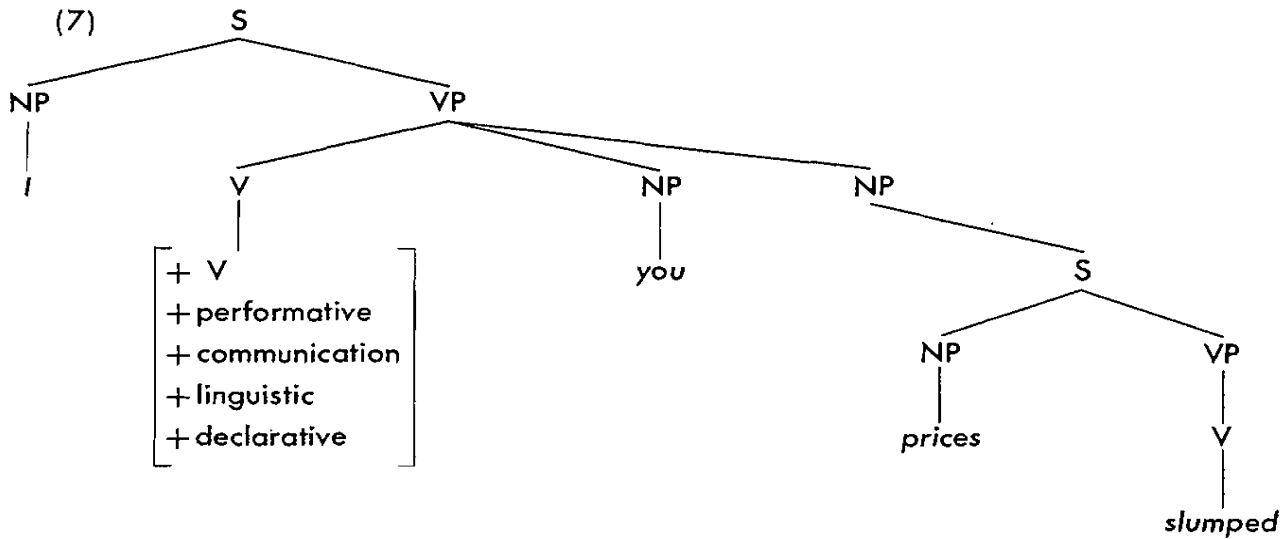
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(Neo)-Performative Hypothesis

Declaratives/
Assertions contain
Spkr & Adr



Declarative - Assertions

Declaratives/
Assertions are
possible in self-
talk

Self-talk

- (1)
 - a. I really live in Barcelona now.
 - b. You really live in Barcelona now.

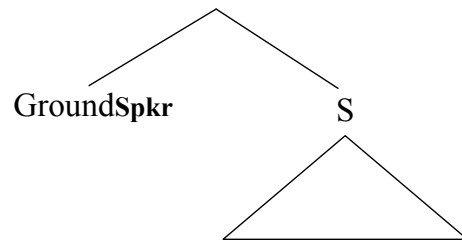
- (2)
 - a. I can do it.
 - b. You can do it.

- (3)
 - a. I did it.
 - b. You did it.

Declarative - Assertions

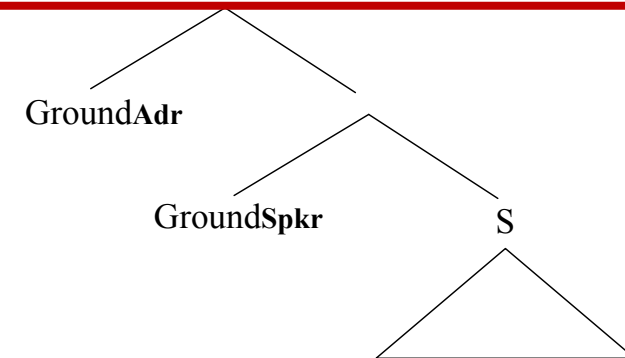
The clause-type
itself does not
require Addressee

Thinking out loud



I can have a
declarative thought

Conversation with oneself



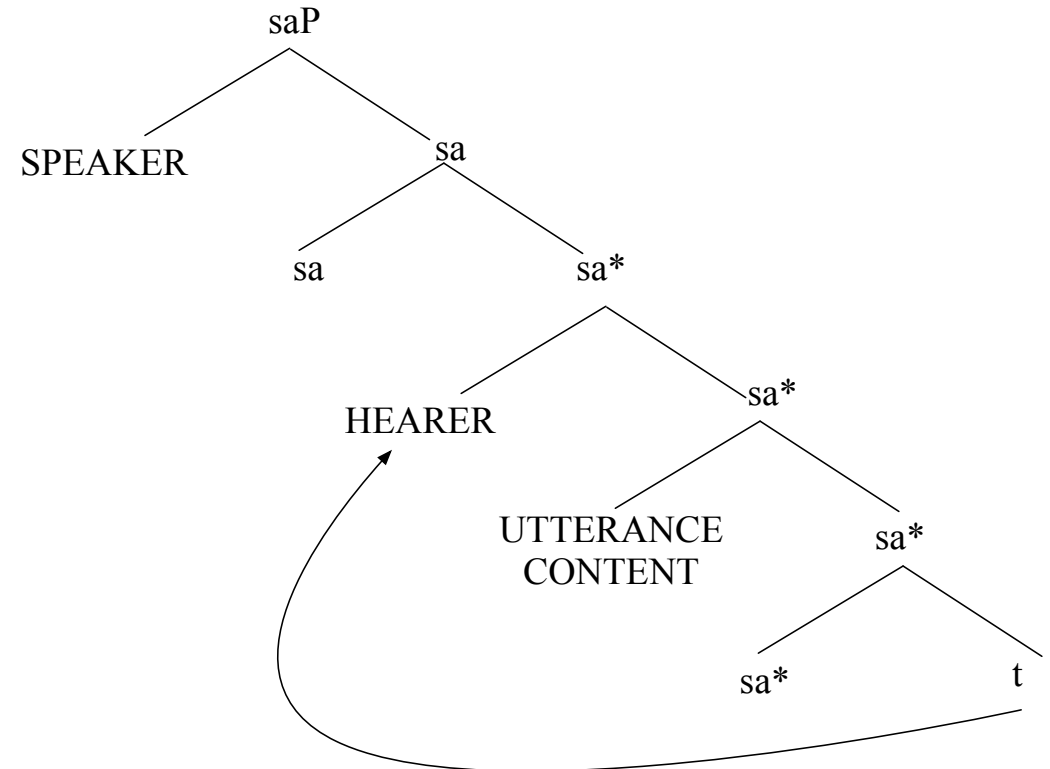
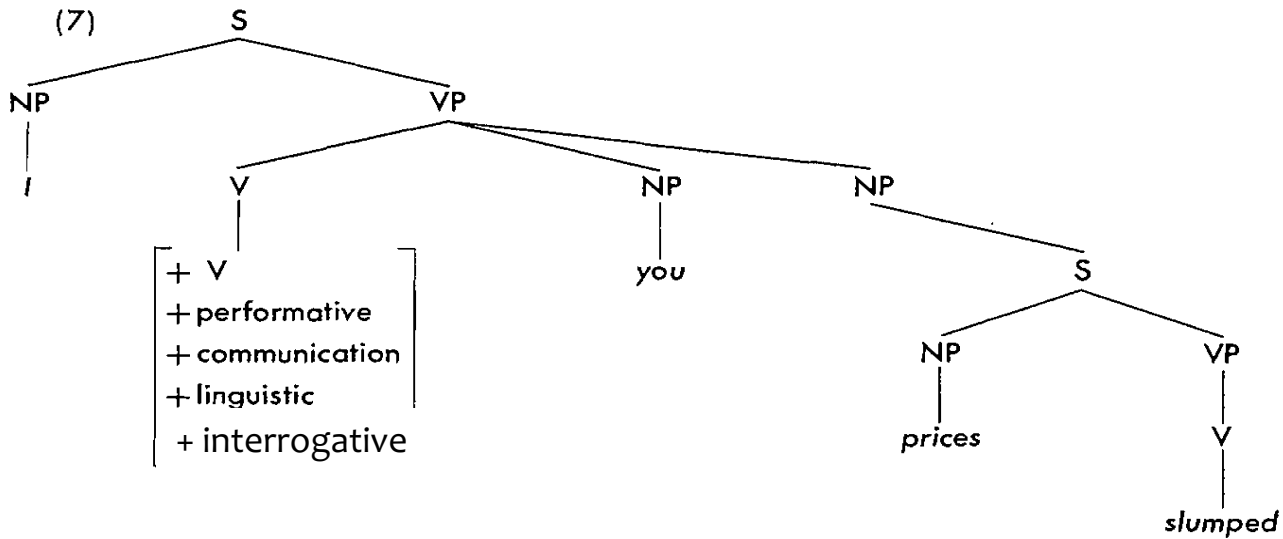
Why use declaratives/assertions in self-talk?

- Classic assumptions about assertions:
 - S knows
 - A doesn't know
 - S wants A to know
 - If $S=A$ why bother?
- if communication is information exchange, all self-talk is redundant.
- if communication is about expressing commitments, self-talk is a form to make commitments to yourself

(Geurts 2018)

(Neo)-performative hypothesis

Interrogatives/
Questions contain
Spkr & Adr



Speas & Tenny 2003: 231

Interrogatives/
Questions are
possible in self-
talk

Interrogatives - Questions

- (1)
 - a. Do you want to do this?
 - b. Do I want to do this?

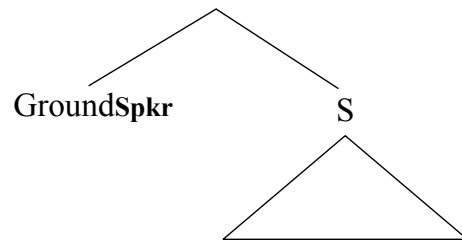
- (2)
 - a. Will you be able to do this?
 - b. Will I be able to do this?

- (3)
 - a. What can you do now?
 - b. What can I do now?

Interrogatives - questions

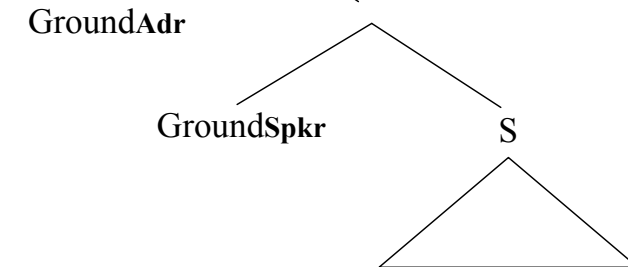
The clause-type itself does not require Addressee

Thinking out loud



I can have an interrogative thought

Conversation with oneself



Why use interrogatives/questions in self-talk?

- Classic assumptions about questions:
 - S doesn't know
 - S assumes that A knows
 - S wants A to let them know
 - If $S=A$ why bother?
- if communication is information exchange, all self-talk is redundant.
- if questions are about demanding commitment, then self-talk is a form to require yourself to commit (Geurts 2018)

ISH vs. (Neo)PH

	ISH	(Neo)PH	Evidence from...
Hierarchy:	X > A > S	S > A	... 2 types of self talk ... differences to other-oriented talk
Regulates:	Interaction	Speech acts	... absence of restrictions on clause-types/speech acts in self talk
Roles:	Ground holders	Speaker Addressee	restrictions on verbs of cognition

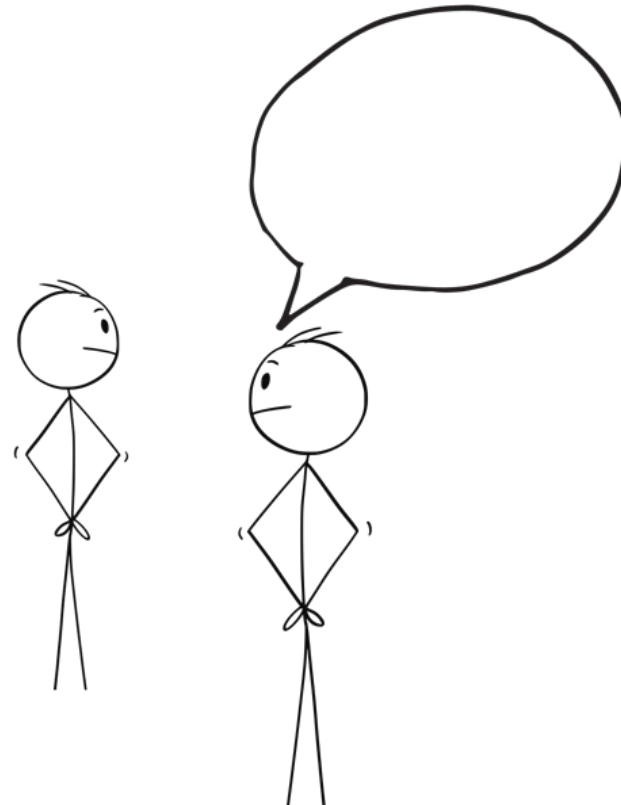
ISH vs. (Neo)PH

	ISH	(Neo)PH	Evidence from...
Hierarchy:	X > A > S	S > A	... 2 types of self talk ... differences to other-oriented talk
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A constraint on verbs of cognition

I can't tell you how you feel

1. I'm so fed up with myself.
2. I'm so fed up with you.
3. ?*You're so fed up with yourself
4. ?*You're so fed up with me.

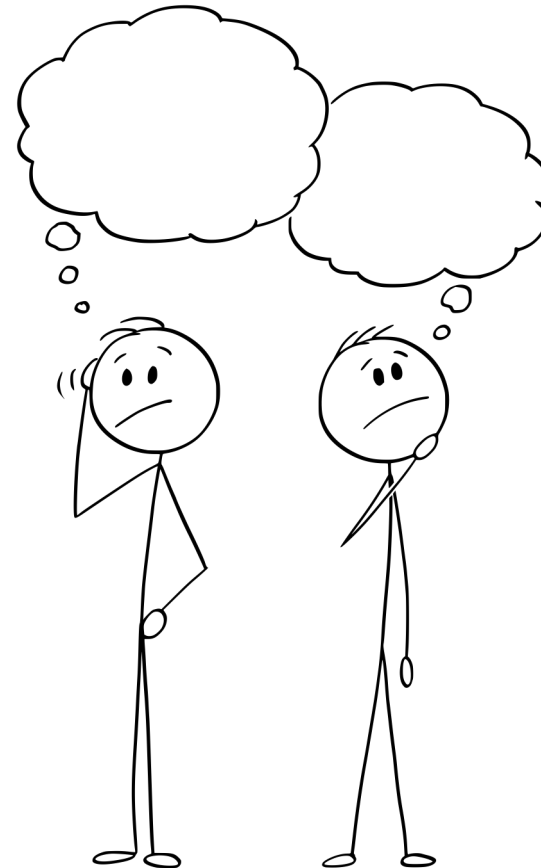


A constraint on verbs of cognition

I can't tell you how you feel

I can't look
inside your mind

1. I can't believe my luck
2. I can't believe your luck
3. ?*You can't believe your luck
4. ?*You can't believe my luck.



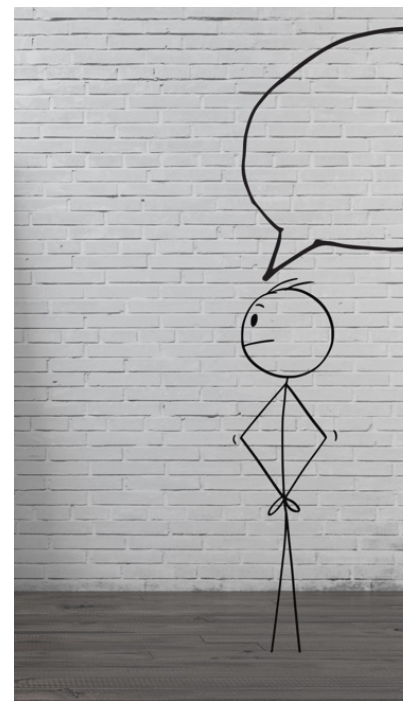
A constraint on verbs of cognition

But I can look
inside my own mind

The same is true in self-talk

1. I'm so fed up with myself.
2. I'm so fed up with you.
3. ?*You're so fed up with yourself
4. ?*You're so fed up with me.

Holmberg 2010

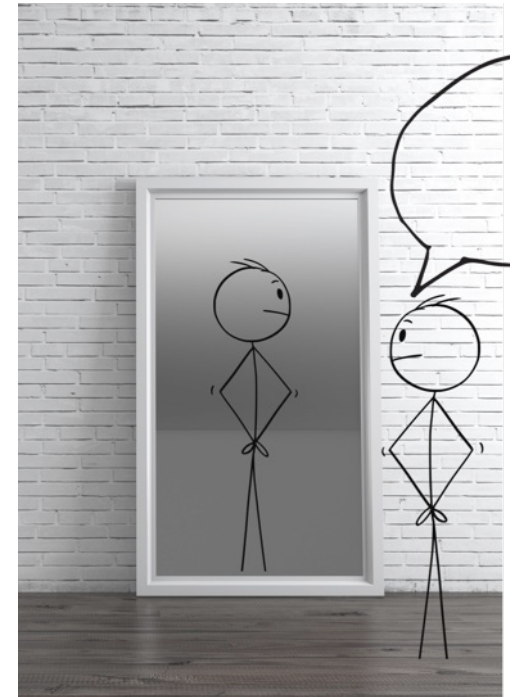
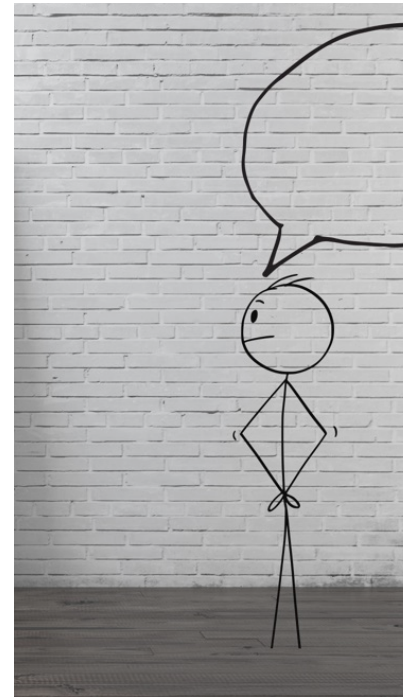


A constraint on subjective predicates

The same is true in self-talk

So why are these still odd?

1. I can't believe my luck
2. I can't believe your luck
3. ?*You can't believe your luck
4. ?*You can't believe my luck.



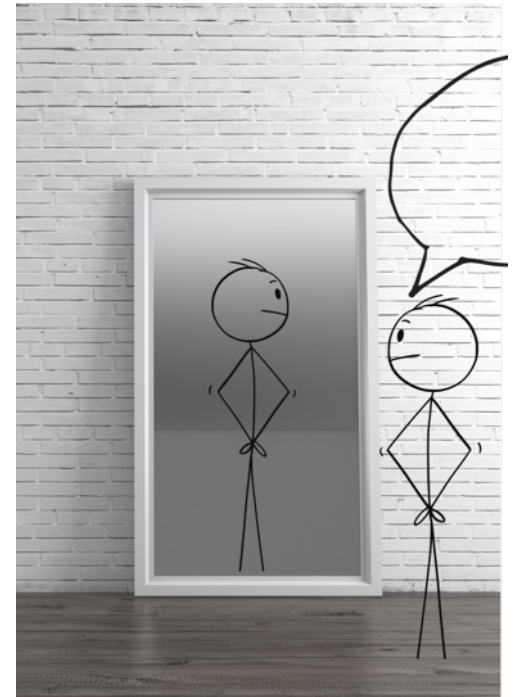
A constraint on verbs of cognition

Apparently, *you* can't refer to the self as an experiencer of feelings or holder of intentions or plans, either. Generalising, *you* can't refer to the self in assertions about the self's state of mind, including thoughts, feelings, and intentions; only *I* can.

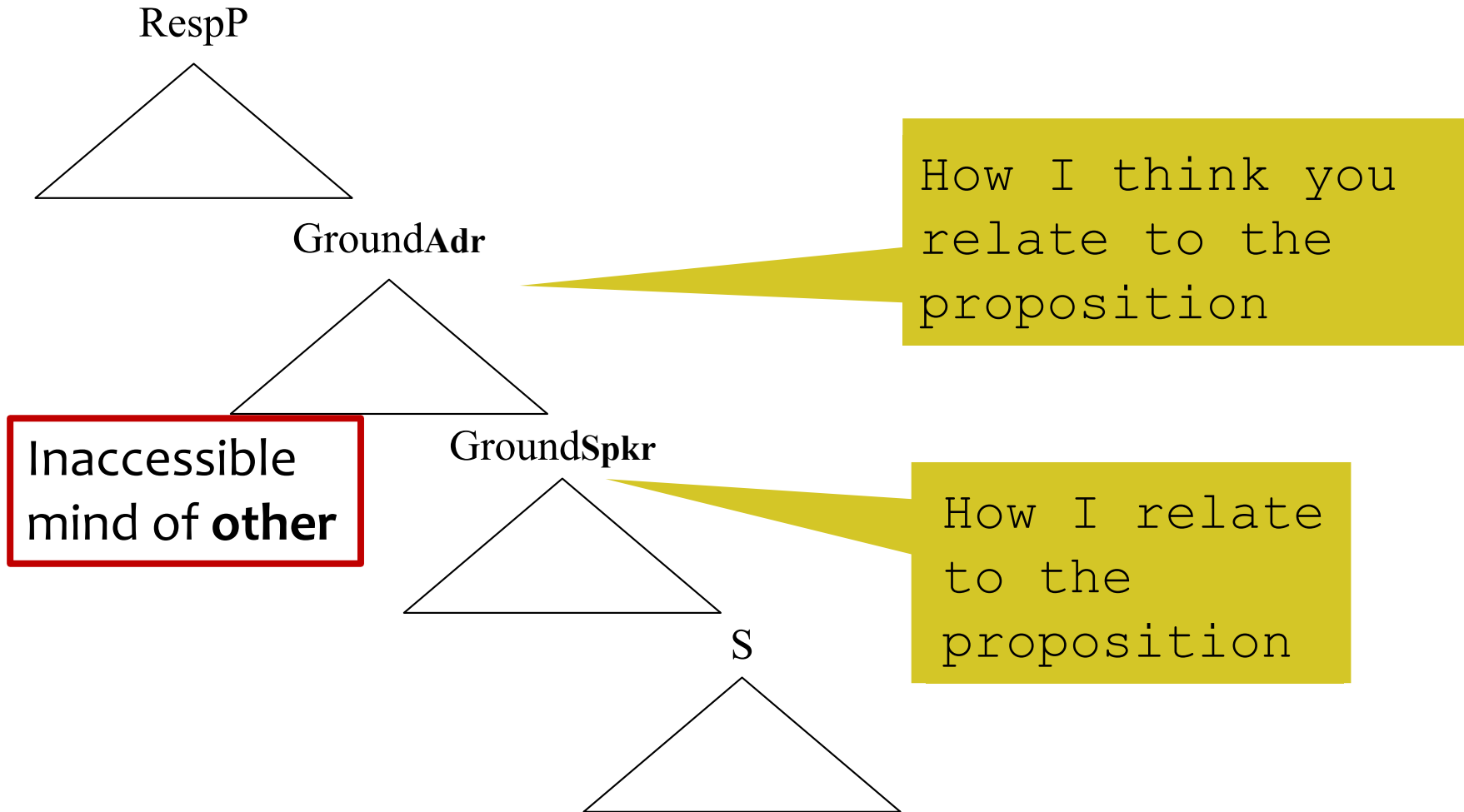
Holmberg 2010: 60

”you can't refer to the self as holder of thoughts or beliefs, in self-talk... [because it is] a mindless self ”

(Holmberg 2010: 60)

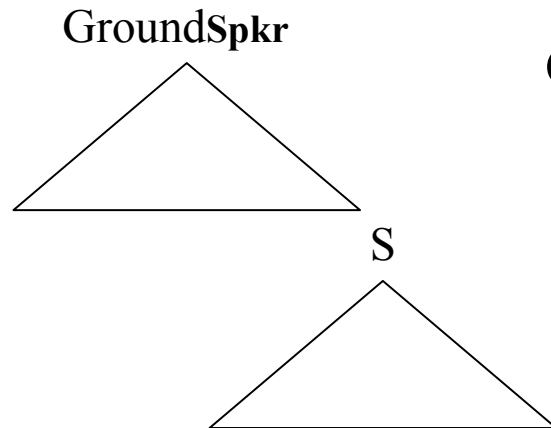


The interactional spine hypothesis (ISH)



The constraint on subjective predicates

My mind is
accessible to
myself



Ground_{Spkr} represents the SELF's knowledge state

I can't **believe** my luck.

The constraint on subjective predicates

Ground_{Adr}

Ground_{Adr} represents the SELF's assumptions about the knowledge state of OTHER

Other's minds are inaccessible

Inaccessible mind of **other**

Ground_{Spkr}

Ground_{Spkr} represents the SELF's knowledge state

S

***You can't believe your luck.**

The constraint on subjective predicates

Ground_{Adr}

Ground_{Adr} represents the SELF's assumptions about the knowledge state of OTHER

Grammar
doesn't care
if Adr=spkr

Inaccessible
mind of **other**

Ground_{Spkr}

Ground_{Spkr} represents the SELF's knowledge state

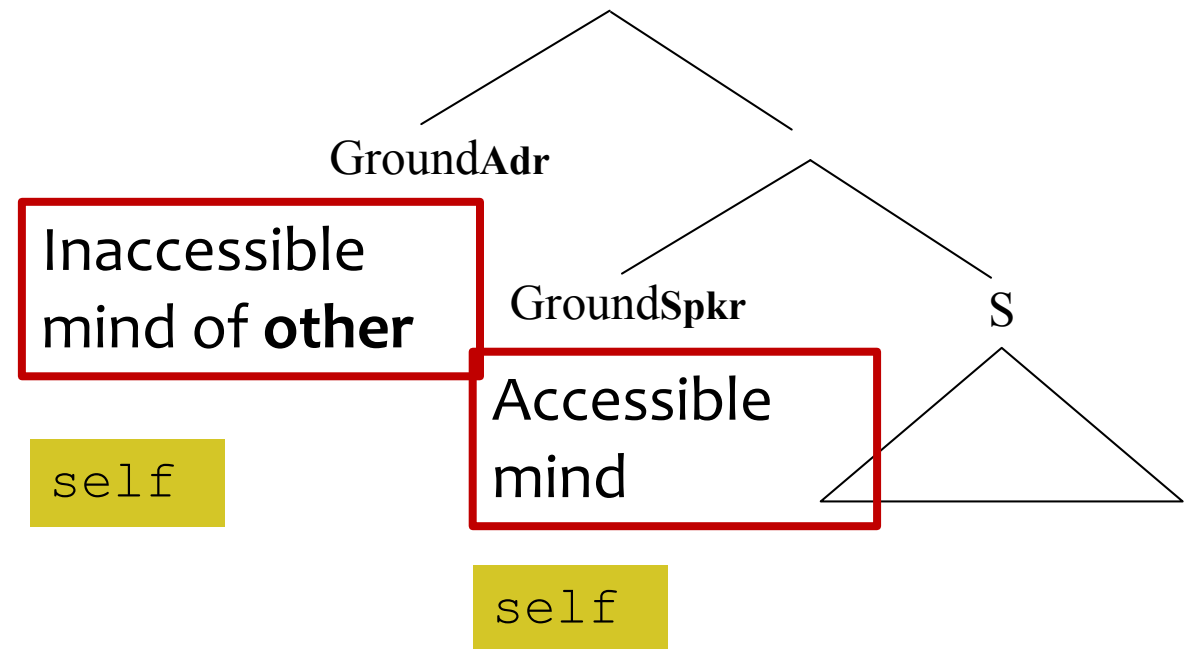
S

***You can't believe your luck.**

Speaker/addressee roles as grammatical constructs

1. I'm so fed up with you
2. You're so fed up with me/yourself.

- Real world knowledge cannot override grammatical constraints

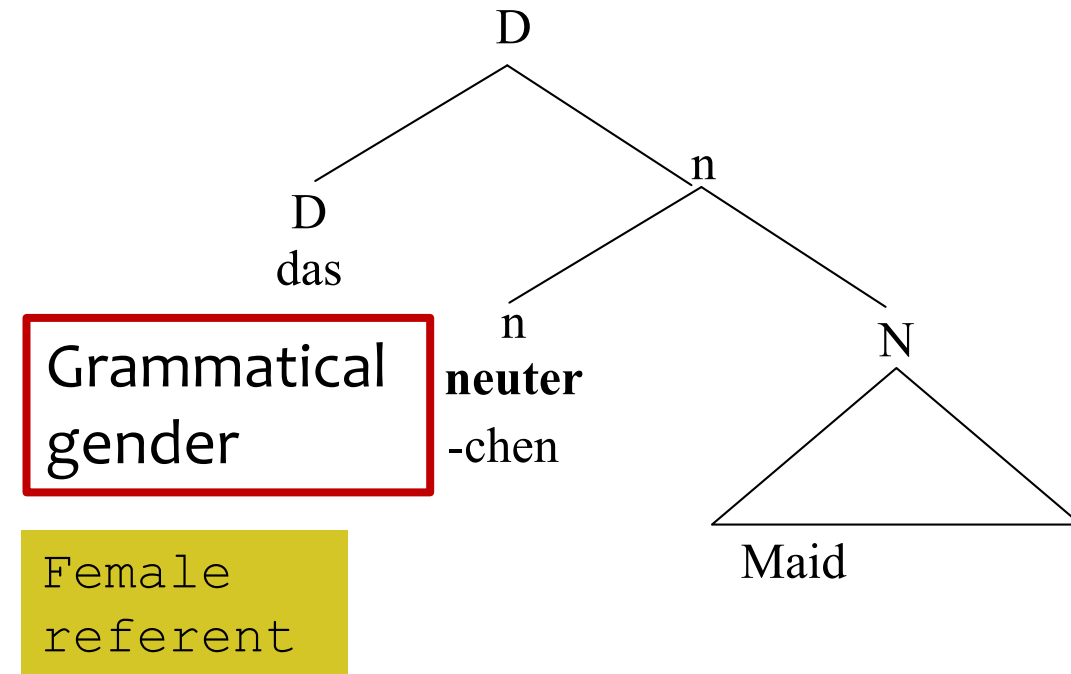


Grammatical gender

das Mäd.chen
the.neut girl.dim
'the girl'

*die Mäd.chen
the.fem girl.dim

- Real world knowledge cannot override grammatical constraints



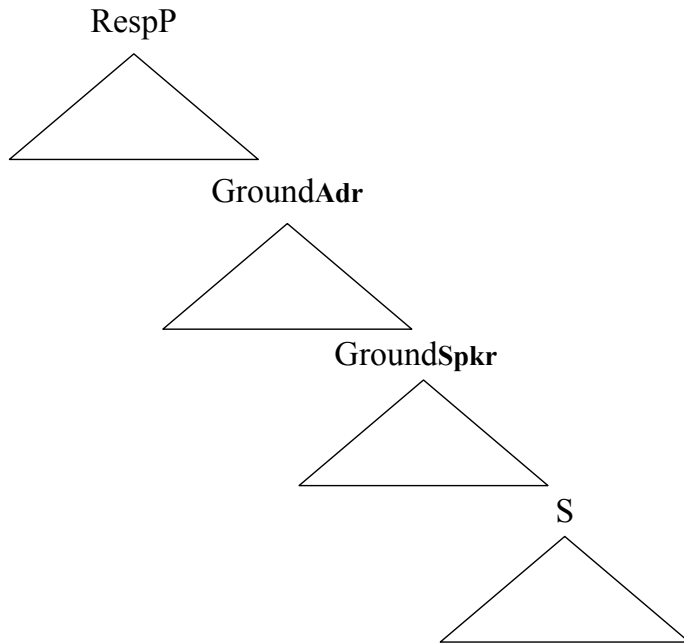
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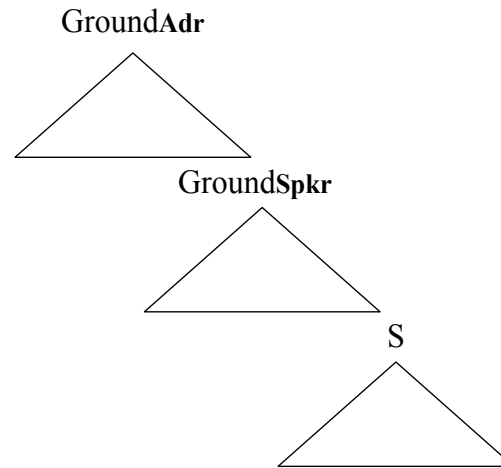
The grammar of interaction

Interactional structure allows us to understand the grammatical differences in modes of talking

Conversation with other
Adr = active participant

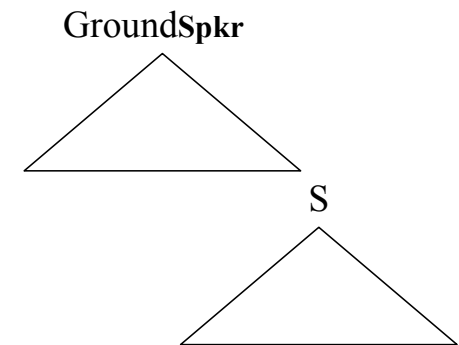


Conversation with oneself



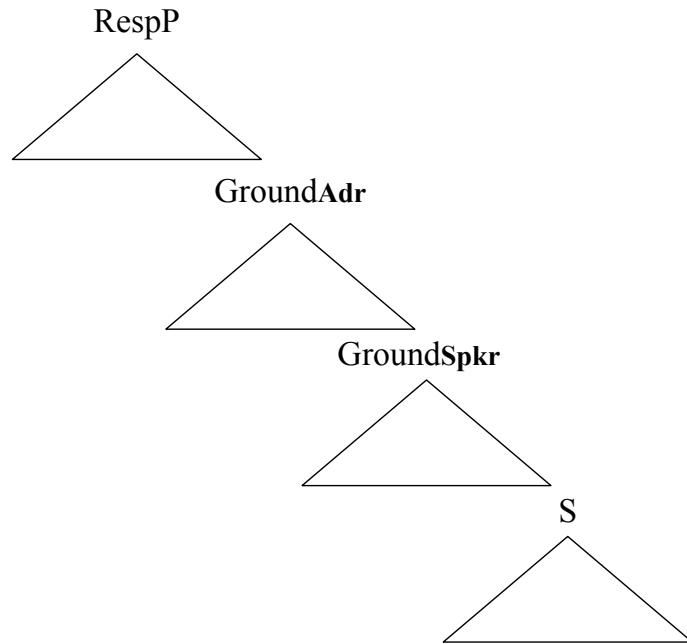
Interactional structure makes available different modes of self-talk

Thinking out loud

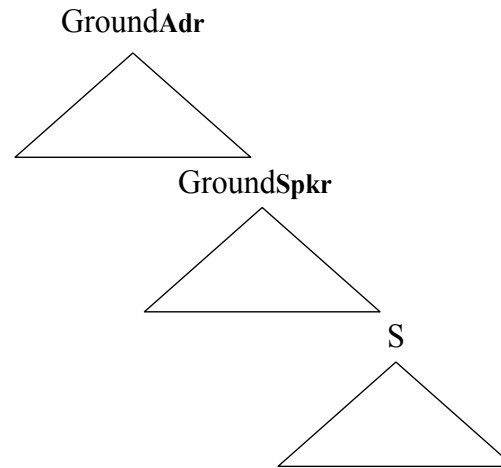


The grammar of interaction

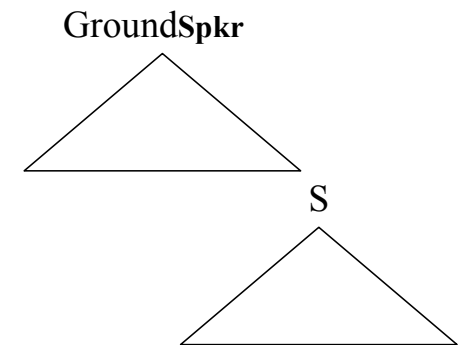
Conversation with other
Adr = active participant



Conversation with oneself



Thinking out loud



Today

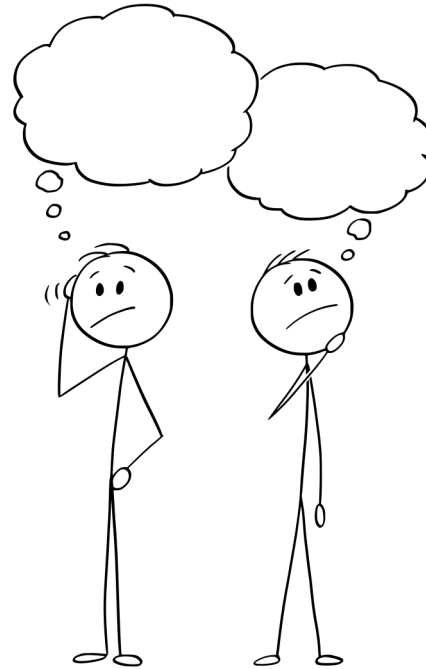


- **A little self-reflection:**
 - How do we think?
 - How do we say what we think? And how do we talk to others about it?
- **Self-talk as a window into the syntax at the very top**
 - Properties of (different types of) self-talk favor the Interactional Spine Hypothesis over “Speech-act structure”
- **Self-talk as a window into the language faculty**
 - If linguistic interaction is built into grammar, language must be an instrument for thought and communication
 - Properties of self-talk suggest that linguistic interaction is not only a matter of externalization

What is language for?

A classic dichotomy

Function of
Language
|
Thought



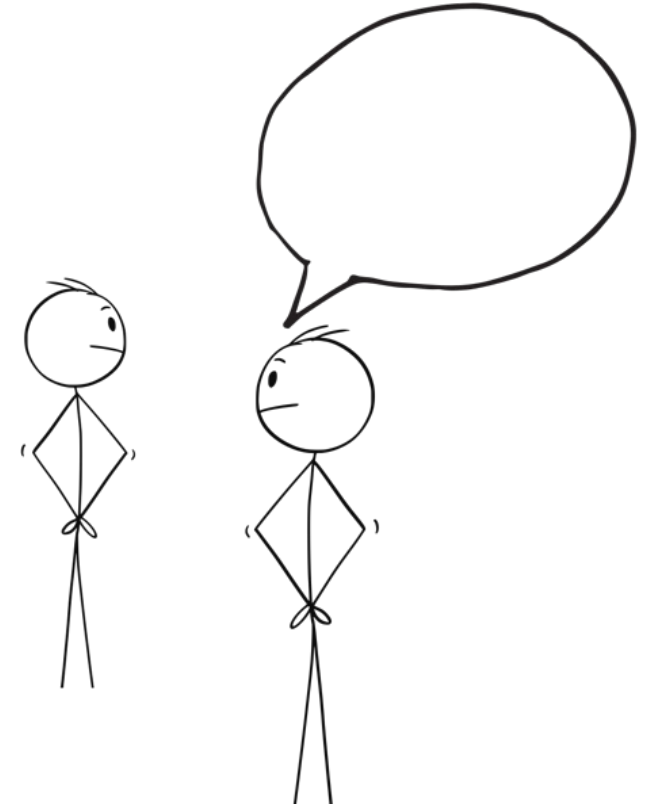
“the modern doctrine that communication is somehow the “function” of language is mistaken... Language is fundamentally a system of thought.”

Chomsky (2017: 298)

What is language for?

A classic dichotomy

Function of
Language
|
Communication

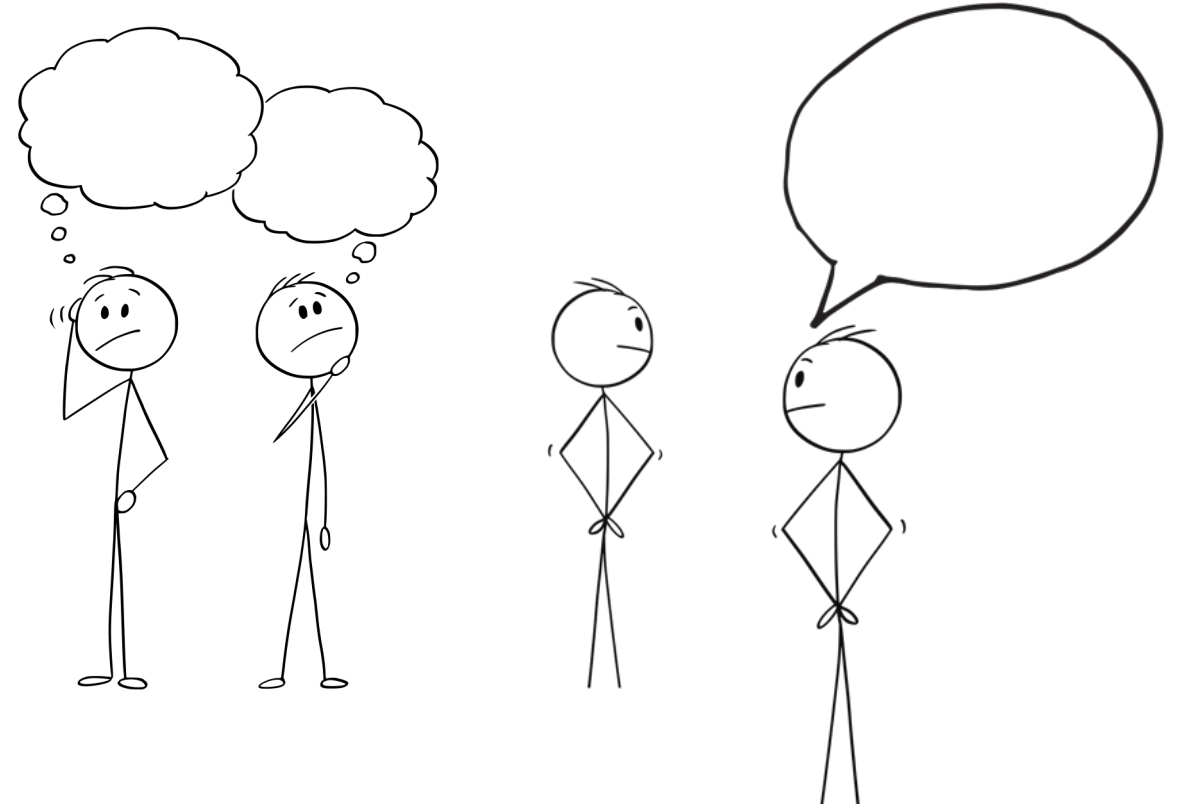
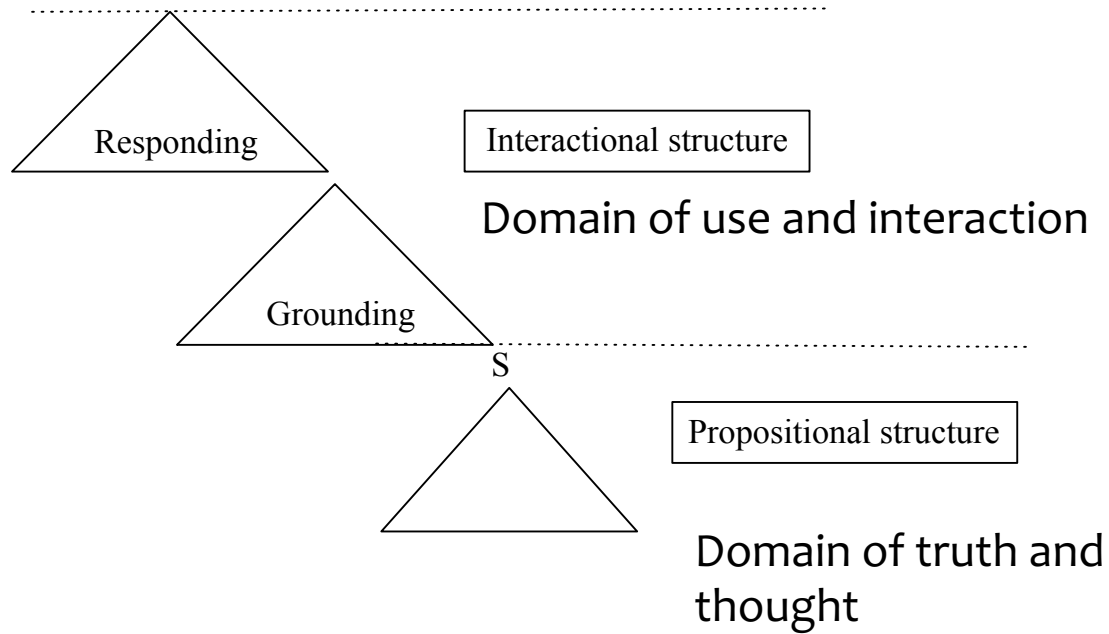


“language arose primarily in the interests of enhancing communication, and only secondarily in the interests of enhancing thought.”

Jackendoff (2002: 123)

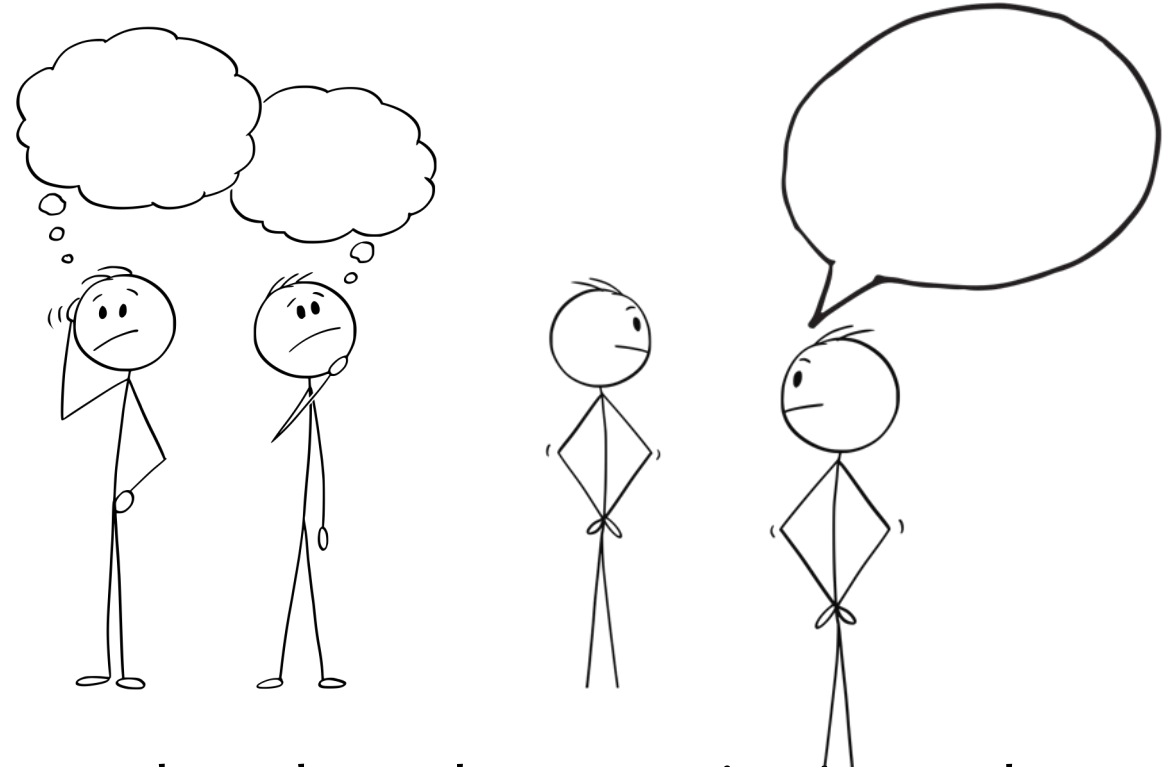
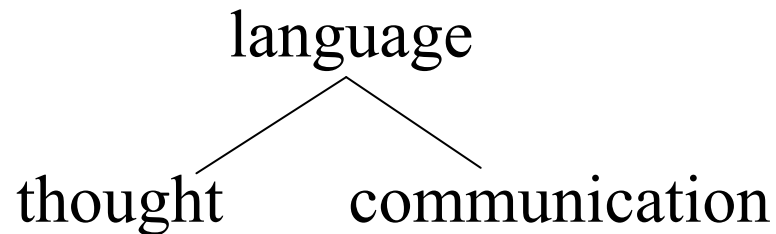
What is language for?

Since interaction is built into the system, language must be for **thought and communication**



What is language for?

Dissolving the dichotomy



“Language is a system that equally incorporates thought and communication and arguably contributes to the fact that both take on their human-specific characteristics”

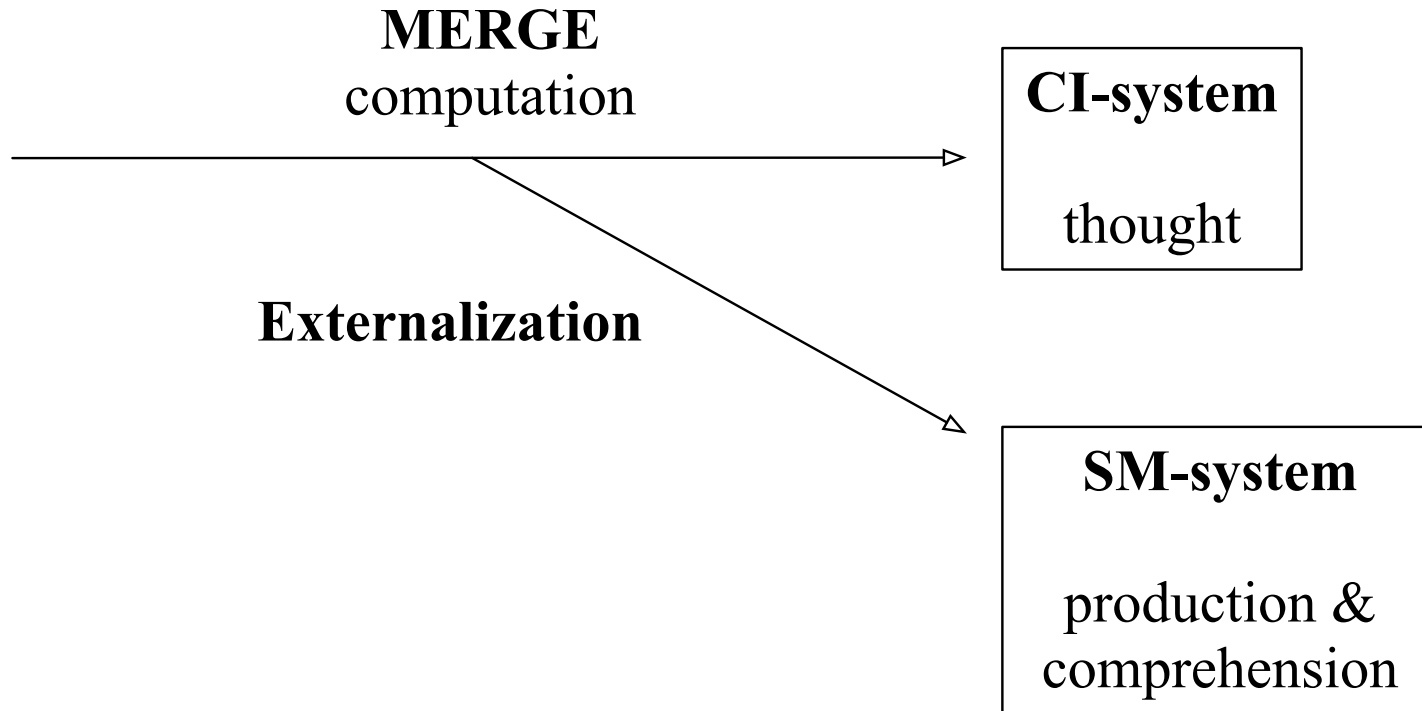
Wiltschko, to appear

Today



- **A little self-reflection:**
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 - How do we say what we think? And how do we talk to others about it?
- **Self-talk as a window into the syntax at the very top**
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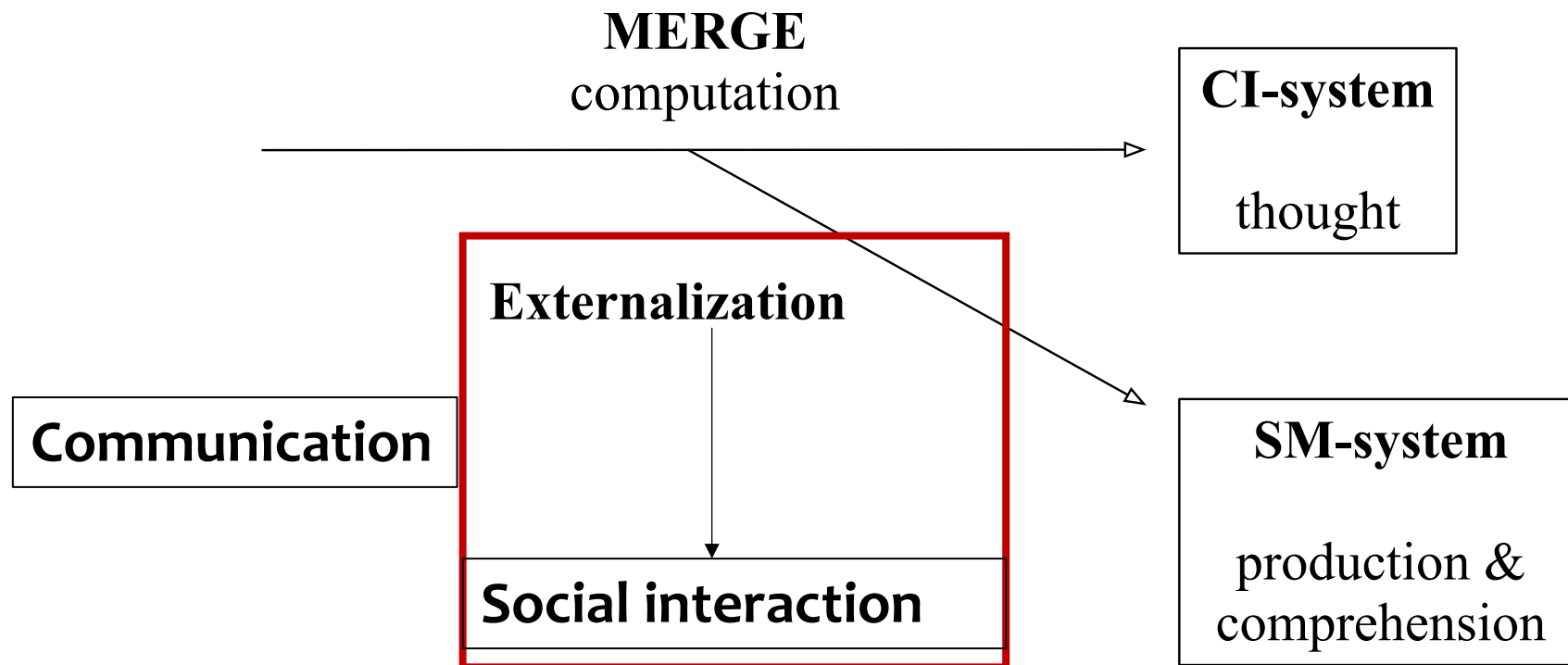
What does this tell us about the language faculty?



How does FLN interface with social interaction?

What does this tell us about the language faculty?

Hypothesis 1



Communication ≠ externalization

Problem # 1: interactional language displays properties of grammar (MERGE)

→ i-language has to be computed before externalization

Problem # 2: I-centered self-talk

→ Thought can be externalized without communication



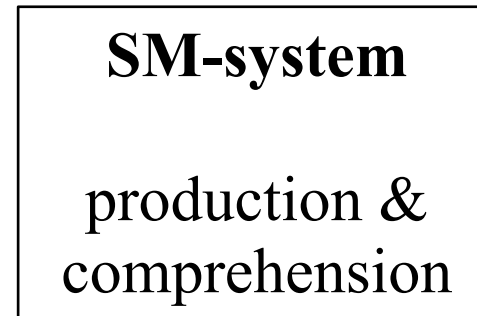
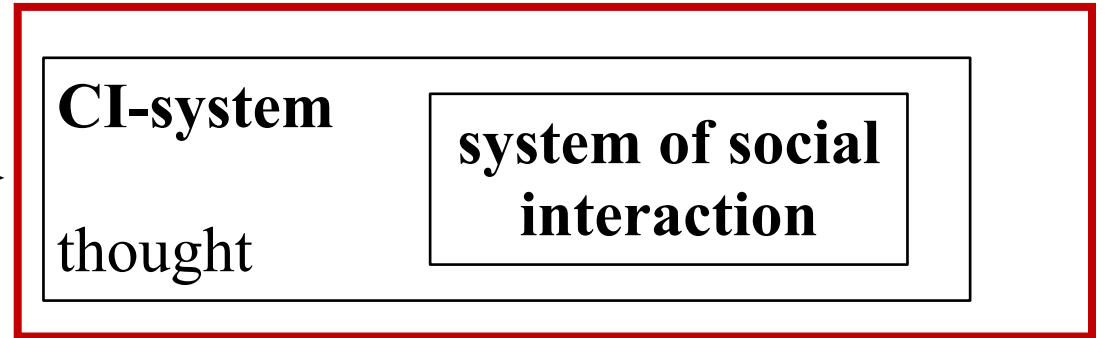
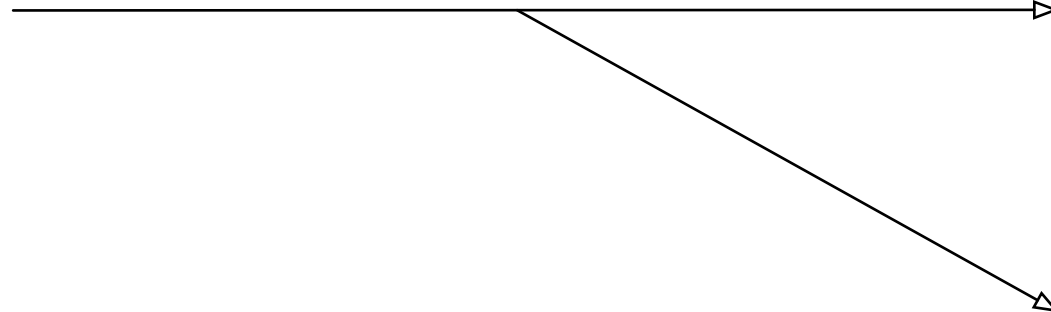
... is thinking out loud
... there is no addressee

Wiltschko, to appear

Beyond the CI-interface

Hypothesis 2

MERGE



Social interaction ≠ thought

Interactional language is not part of “thought” (CI-system)

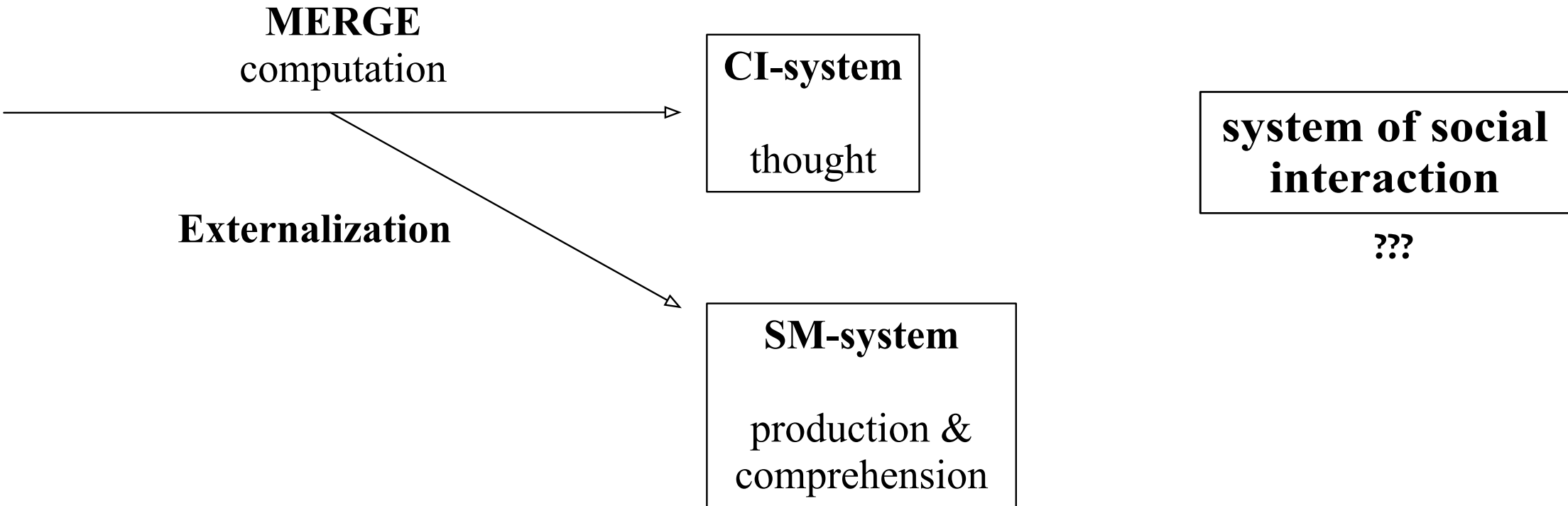
a. Charlie: It's hot!

Me: Charlie thinks it's hot.

b. Charlie: It's hot, **eh?**

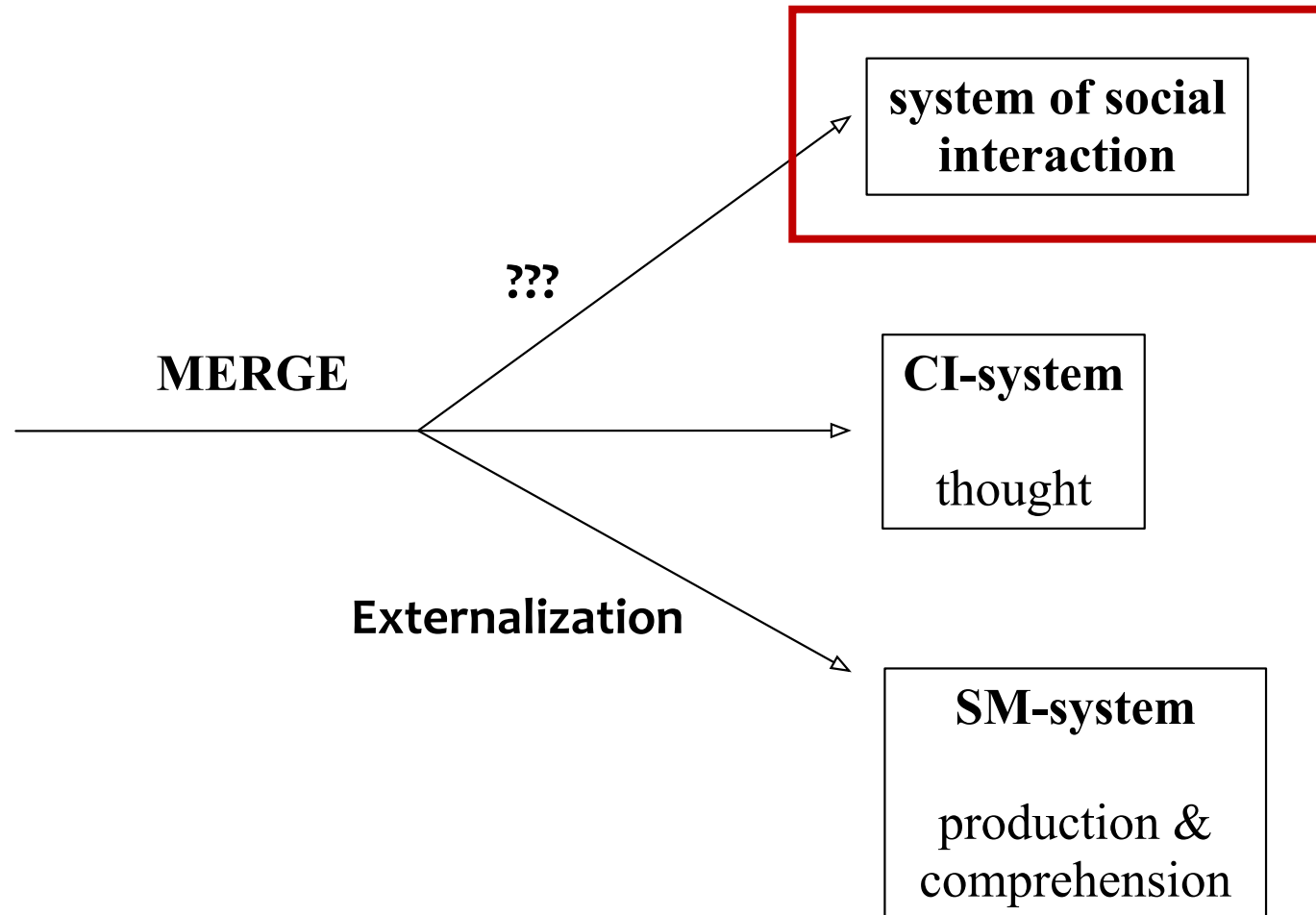
Me: *Charlie thinks it's hot, **eh.**

What is linguistic competence?

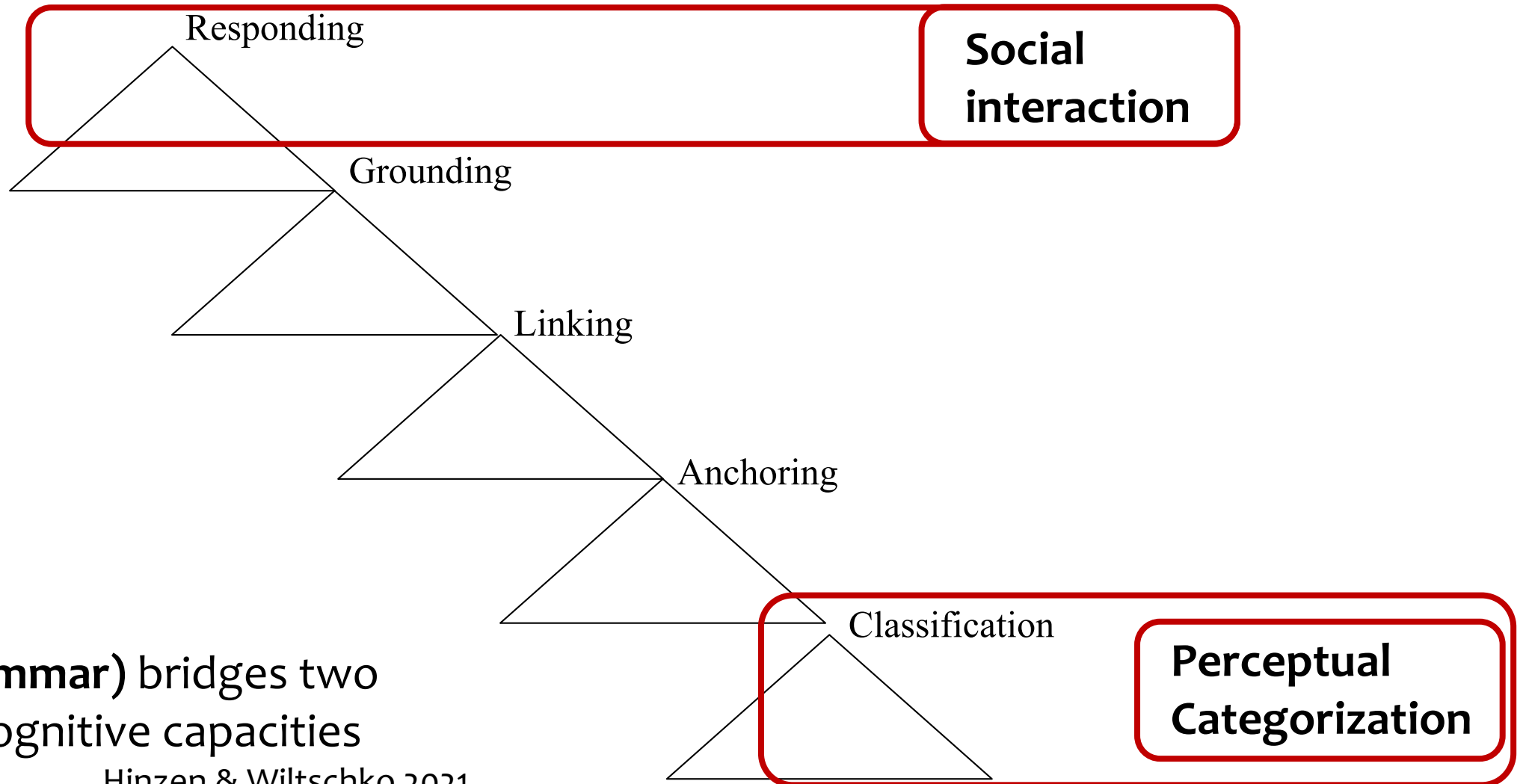


Beyond the CI-interface

Hypothesis 3



Beyond the CI-interface

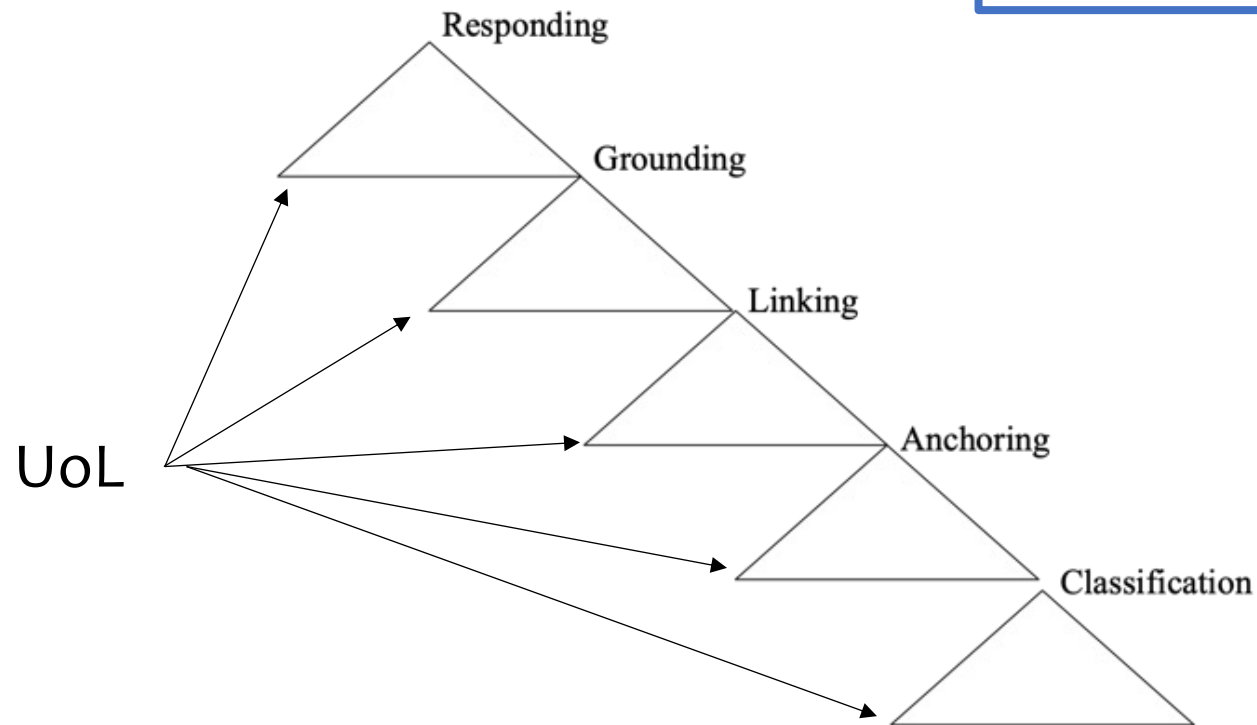


The spine (grammar) bridges two pre-linguistic cognitive capacities

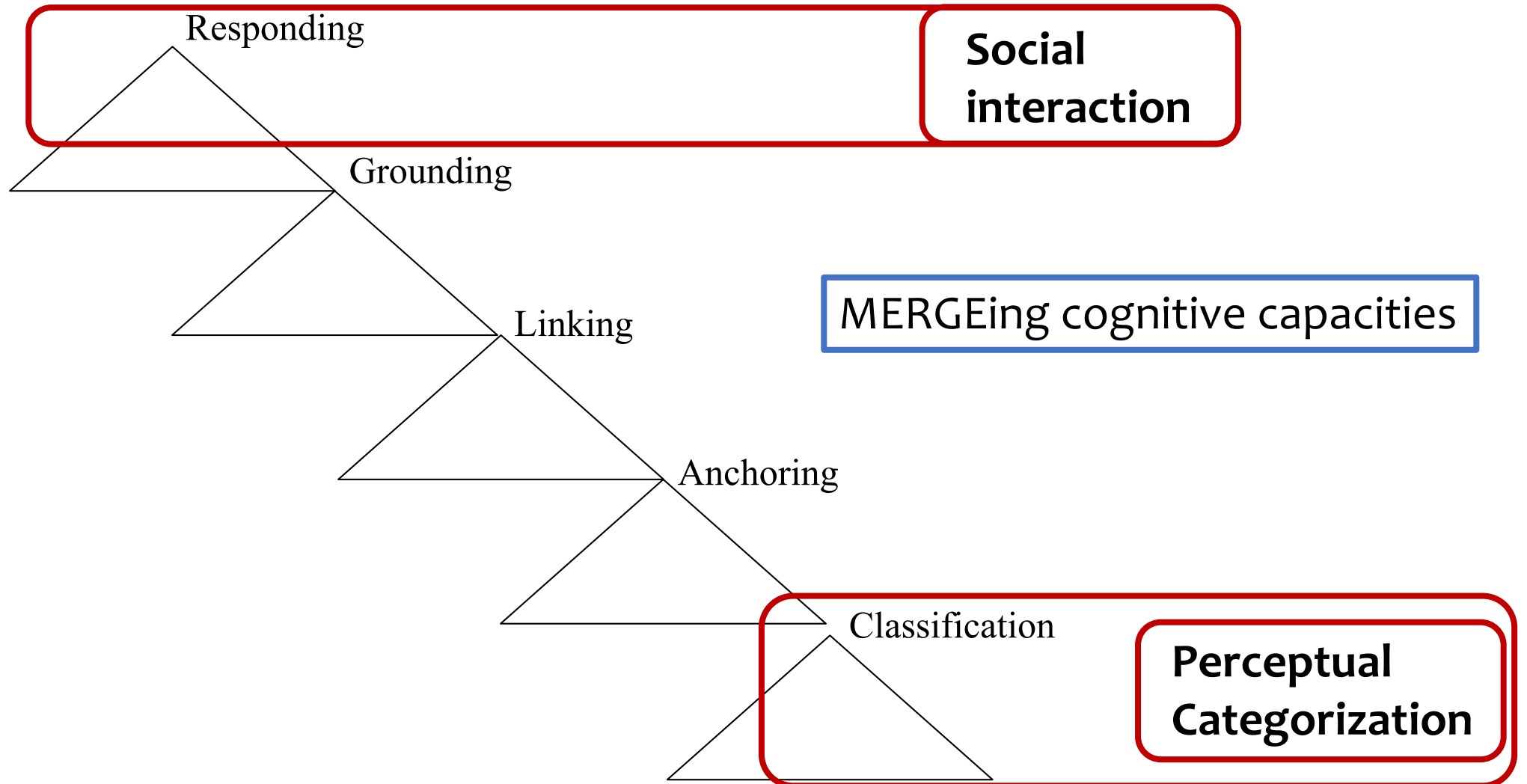
Hinzen & Wiltschko 2021

Beyond merging features

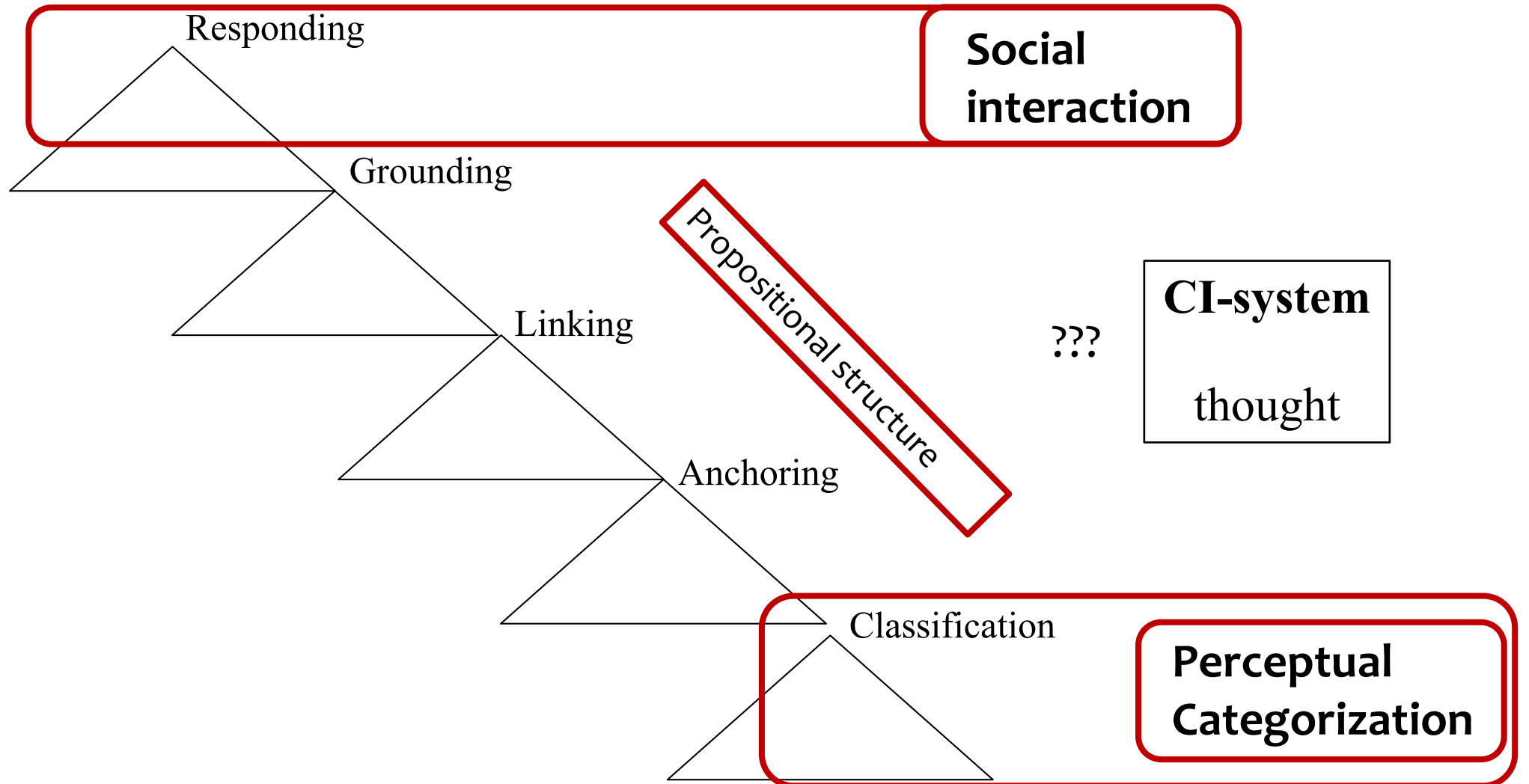
MERGE is mediated via the spine
(ASSOCIATE)



Beyond merging features

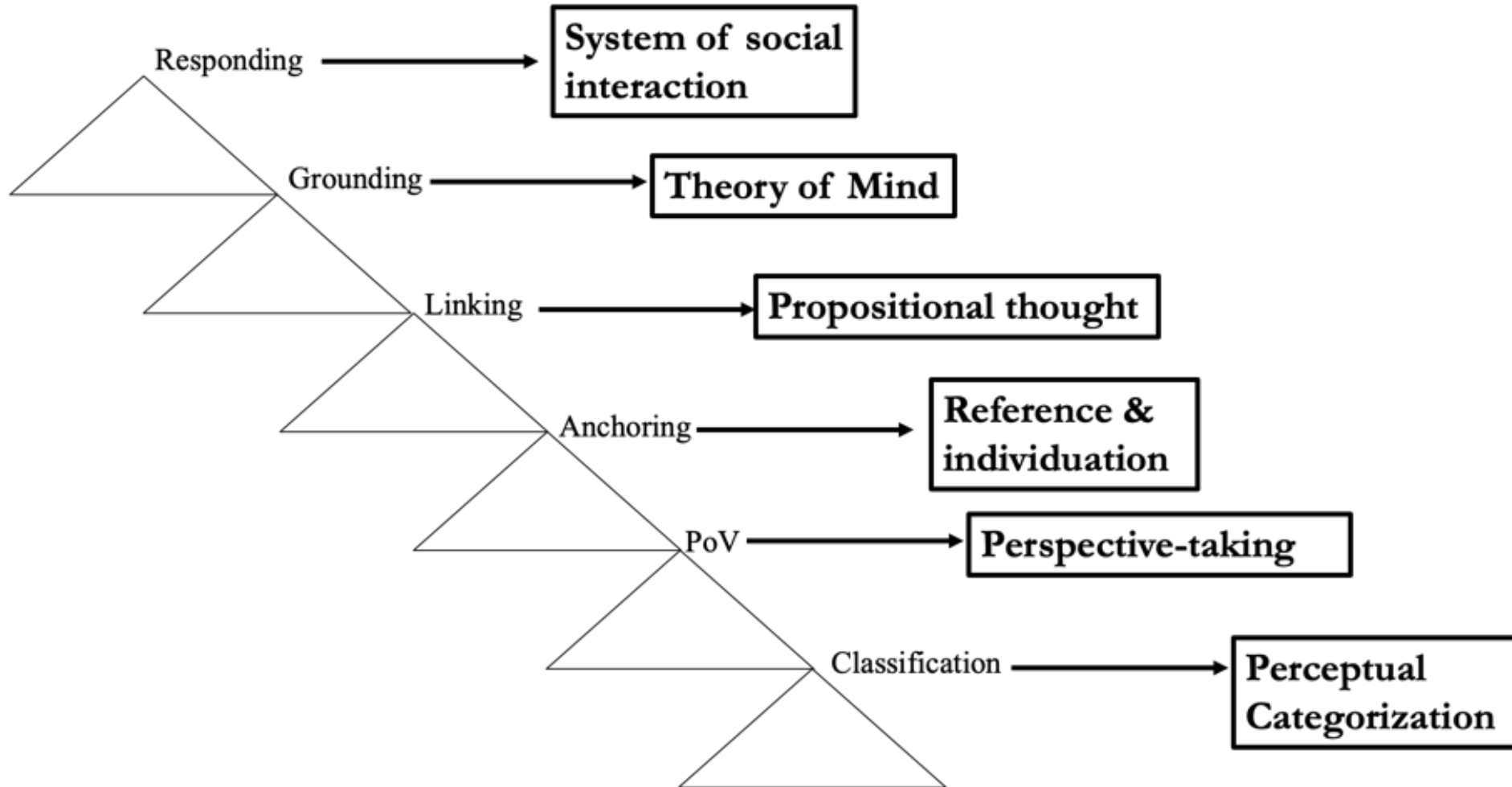


Beyond thought



Beyond thought

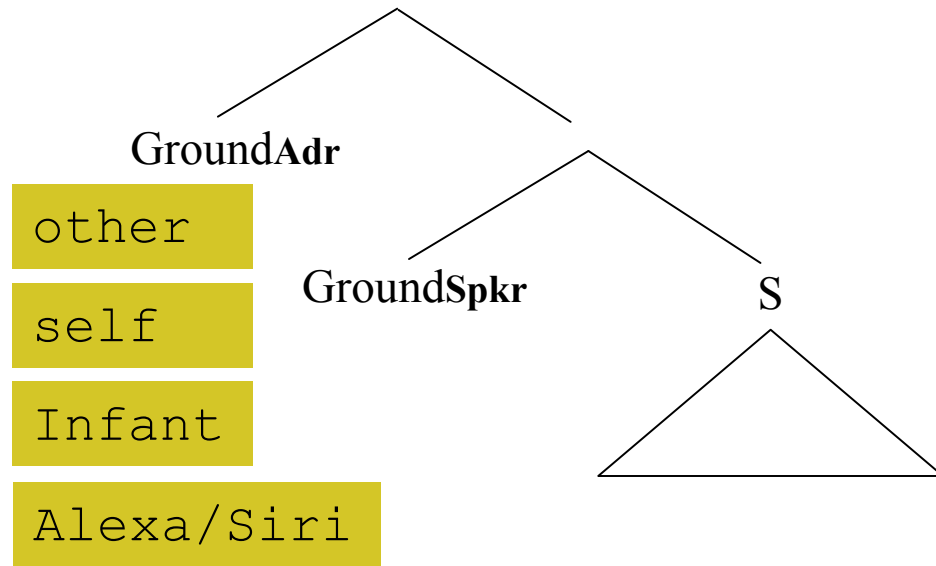
The CI-system (and thought) can be decomposed



CI-system
thought

Appendix: methodology

The significance of non-canonical conversation



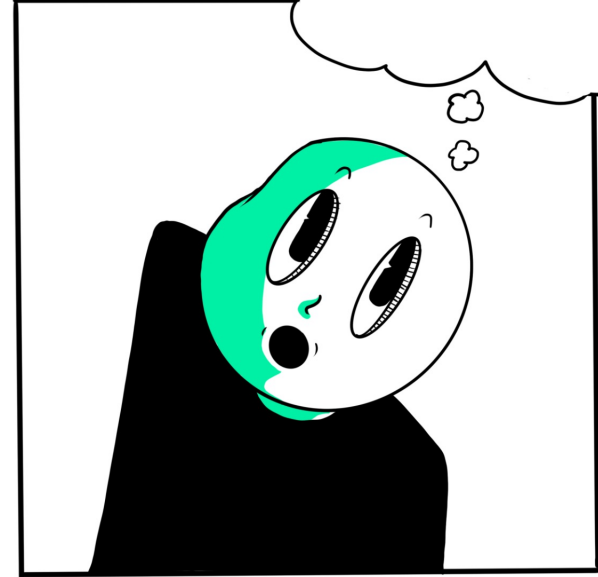
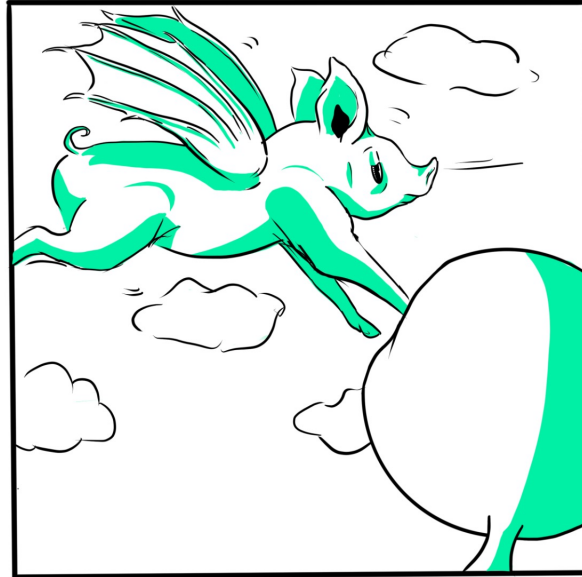
Who we talk to affects the way we talk

Non-canonical conversation allow us to explore the (grammatical) constraints on addressees and linguistic interaction, more generally

Current study



What is he thinking? Write your own caption below!



Complete the comic by picking the best dialogue option to fill in the thought bubble! (You may pick more than one)

Look at that pig!

I can't believe it!

What kind of horse is that?

None of the above (Write your own response below!)

Current study



Complete the comic by picking the best dialogue option to fill in the thought bubble! (You may pick more than one)

- You don't know what this is!
- It must be raining outside.
- What is this?
- None of the above (write your own response below!)



Complete the comic by picking the best dialogue option to fill in the thought bubble! (You may pick more than one)

- That dog must like ice cream!
- I have three ears!
- That dog has three ears!
- None of the above (write your own response below!)

How study self-talk?

Movies:

- Characters talking to themselves
 - Seinfeld episodes (Goddard, in progress)
- Characters listening to other's thoughts/inner speech
 - Sookie Stackhouse (True Blood)
 - Mel Gibson's character in "What women want"
- Novels
- Plays
 - Soliloquy in Shakespeare
- ...



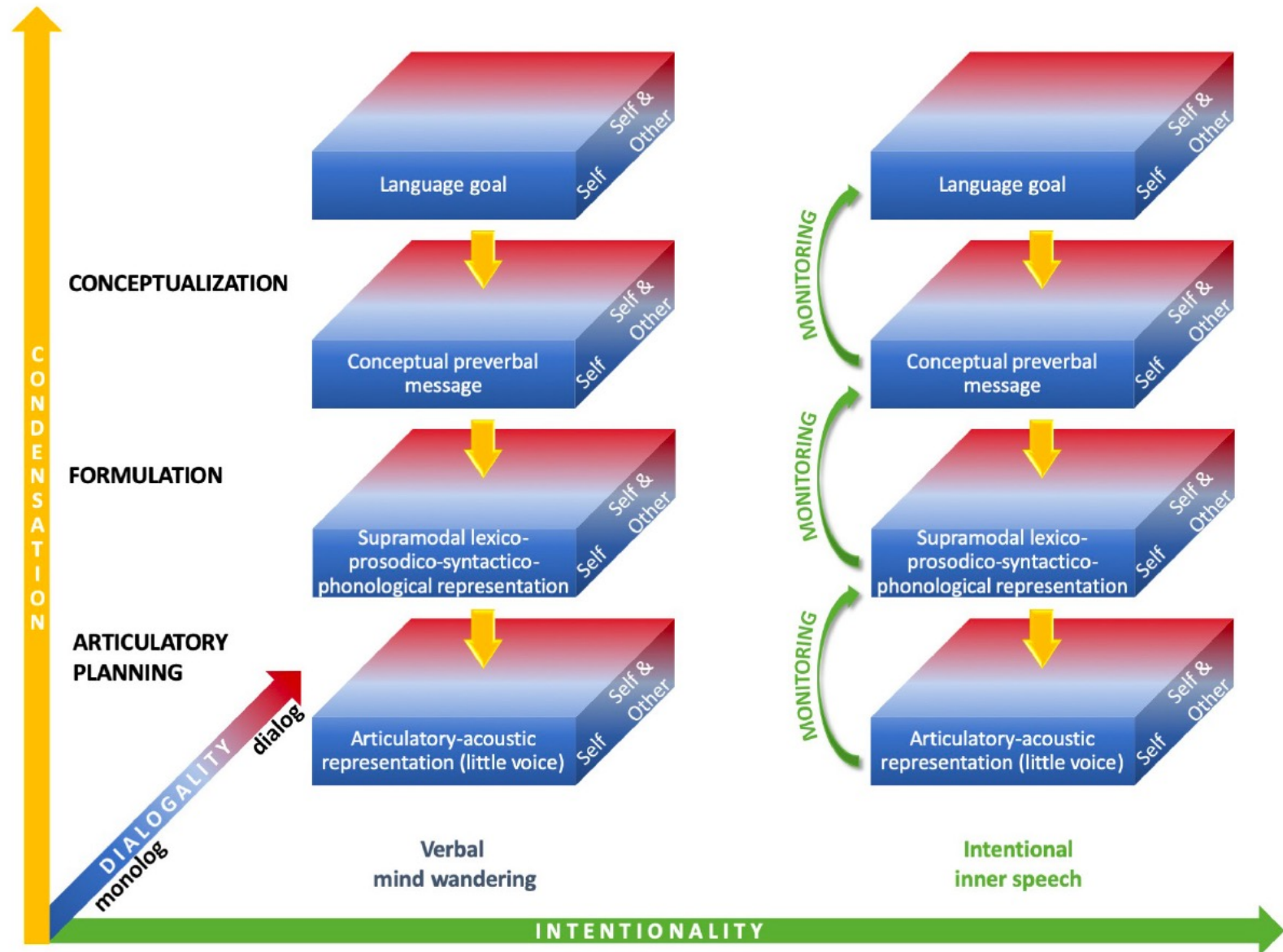
How study self-talk?

In collaboration with non-linguists
who study **inner speech**

- What is its role in thought?
- How does it relate to inner speech?
- What does its acquisition path look like?
- Is it affected in neuro-diverse populations?

Appendix: a typology of self-talk

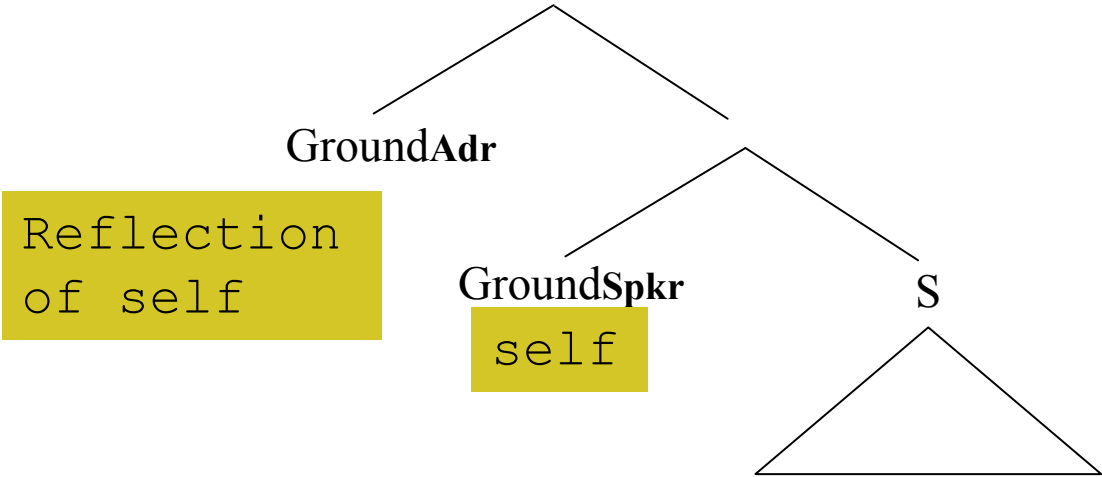
Varieties of inner speech



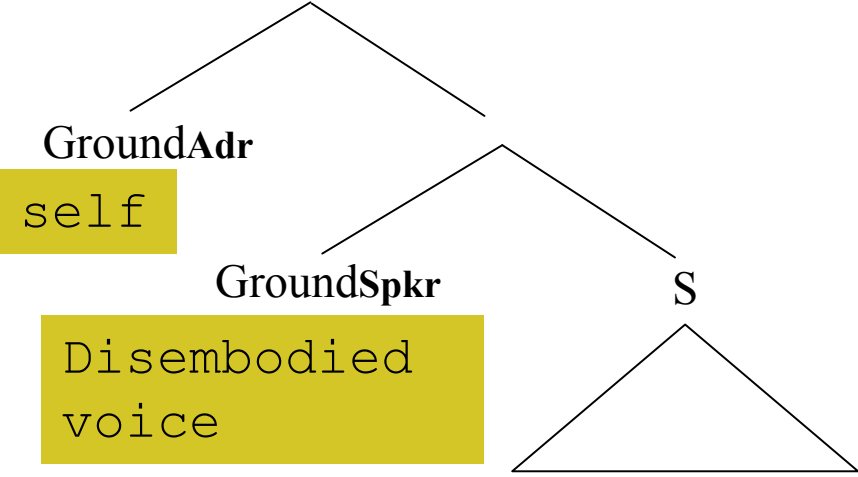
Grandchamp, et al. "The ConDialInt model: Condensation, dialogality, and intentionality dimensions of inner speech within a hierarchical predictive control framework." *Front. Psychol.*, 18 September 2019 | <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02019>

A more fine-grained typology of self-talk

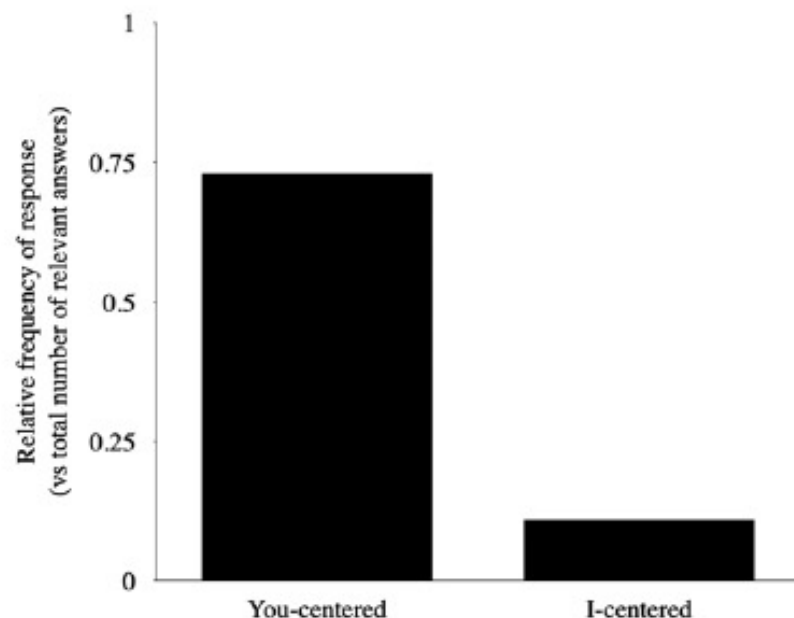
Mirror-assisted self-talk



Mirror-less self-talk



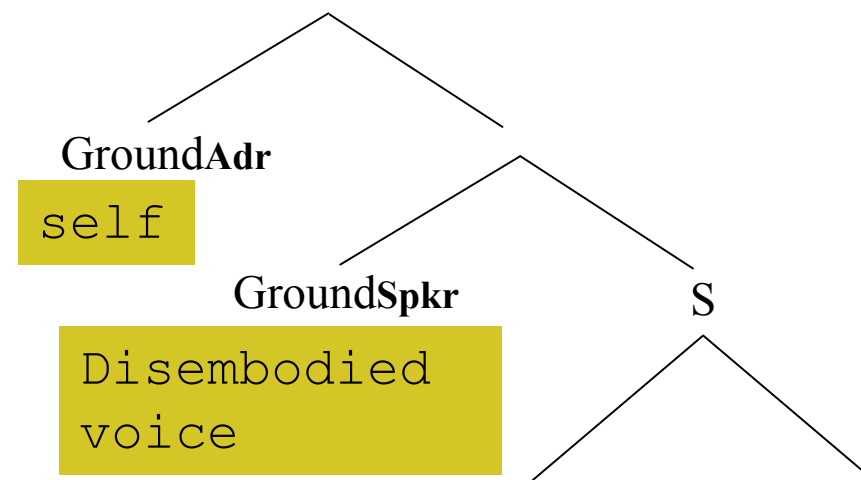
A more fine-grained typology of self-talk



We conclude that the mirror provides an environment that facilitates both social deixis (e.g., sociolinguistically-loaded pronouns) and spatial deixis (e.g., pointing)

A more fine-grained typology of self-talk

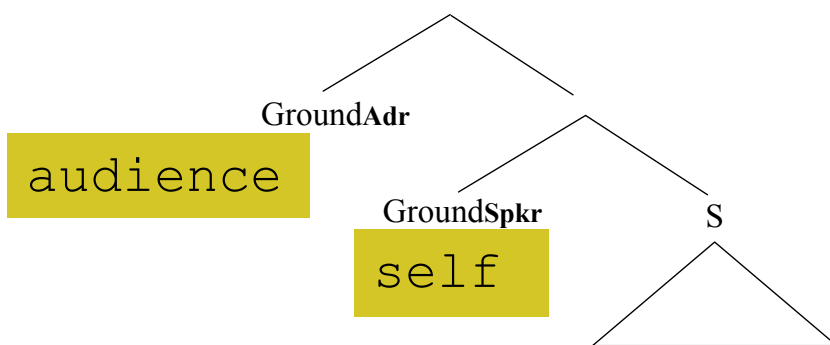
Mirror-less self-talk



- the self takes on the perspective of the addressee and treats the speaker as “tak[ing] on the voices of others” (Gacea, 2020: 34).
- voice can either be an inner critic or an inner coach

A more fine-grained typology of self-talk

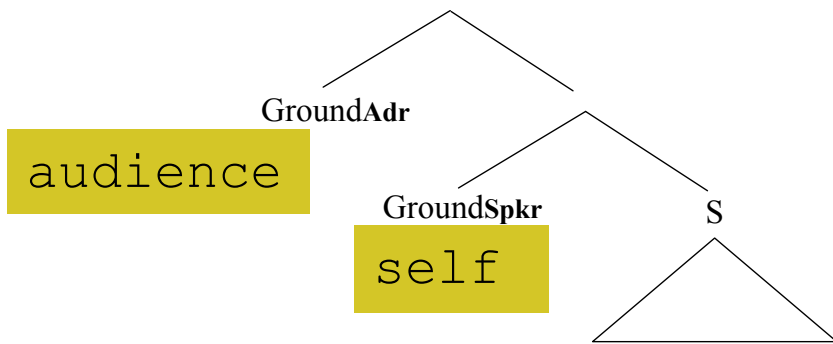
Soliloquy (stage self-talk)



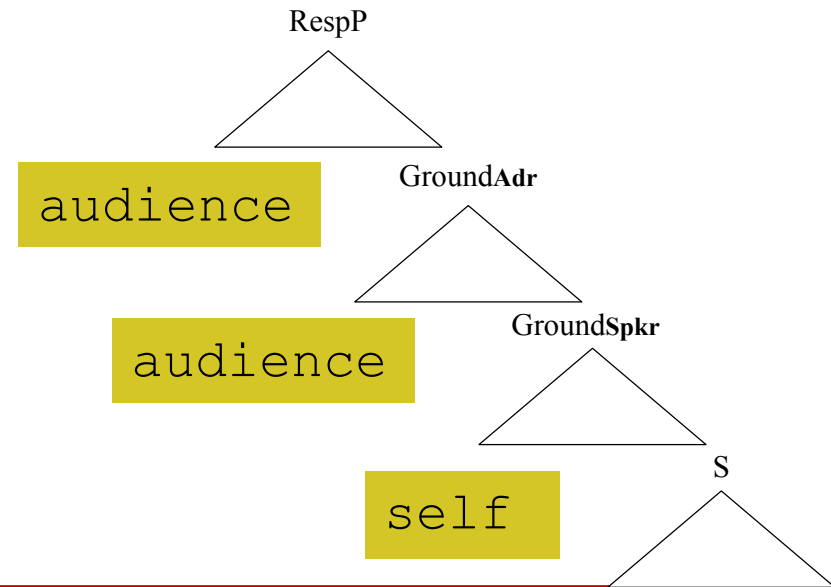
A soliloquy is a monologue addressed to oneself, thoughts spoken out loud without addressing another. Soliloquies are used as a device in drama to let a character make their thoughts known to the audience, address it directly or take it into their confidence.

A more fine-grained typology of self-talk

Soliloquy (stage self-talk)



Breaking the 4th wall



(esp of a character in a television programme, film, or play) to refer to, acknowledge, or address the audience, usually for comedic effect or as an avante-garde technique

Collins English dictionary

<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/break-the-fourth-wall#:~:text=break%20the%20fourth%20wall%20in,as%20an%20avante%2Dgarde%20technique>