

## ФОНЕТИКА И ФОНОЛОГИЯ

### Психологическая реальность фонем

Понятие «фонемы» (функционально значимого элемента в строго определенной звуковой системе, характеризующей некоторый язык), противопоставленное понятию «звука», или «фонетического элемента» как такового (объективно определяемой единицы в артикуляторном или перцептуальном универсуме речи), становится все более и более привычным для лингвистов. Трудности, которые, как кажется, многие продолжают ощущать при различении этих двух категорий, должны, вероятно, исчезать по мере роста понимания того, что никакая сущность в человеческом опыте не может быть определена адекватно как механическая сумма или производное ее физических свойств. Эти физические свойства, разумеется, необходимы, чтобы передать нам реальный сигнал для идентификации данной единицы как некоторой функционально значимой точки в сложной системе отношений, однако замечательно, сколь многими из этих свойств — для всякого заданного контекста — можно пренебречь, при том, что какая-то одна из этих характеристик, обладающая на данный момент в силу социальной договоренности необычной знаковой силой, может приобрести решающее значение для определения данной единицы, совершенно не соответствующее ее «физическому весу».

Однако как только мы принимаем, что все значимые для восприятия единицы есть результат пропускания физических сущностей через фильтр функциональных отношений, как только мы обнаруживаем, что никогда не сможем установить шкалу изменения значений, которая была бы контгруентна шкале физических величин, мы имплицитно признаем разграничение — осознаем мы это или нет — между фонемой и звуком в той специфической области опыта, которая известна как язык (актуализованный как речь). Утверждение, что данную фонему недостаточно определить в артикуляционных и акустических терминах и она нуждается в отождествлении в качестве члена целостной системы звуковых отношений, присущих данному языку, в конце концов, не более загадочно, чем утверждение о том, что для нас неприемлемо определение клюшки для гольфа как пред-

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The psychological reality of phonemes. — Первоначально опубликовано по-французски под названием «La Réalité Psychologique des Phonèmes». — «Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique», 1933, 30, pp. 247–263.

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