

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-

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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Table of Contents Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika

1. Understanding the eBook Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika User Reviews and Ratings
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika Free and Paid eBooks
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika Public Domain eBooks
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika eBook Subscription Services
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiia I Fonetika eBook Formats

- ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika Compatibility with Devices
 - Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Interactive Elements Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 8. Staying Engaged with Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Setting Reading Goals Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Serednonaddniprianskii Dialekt Fonologiiia I Fonetika
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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