

АСПЕКТЫ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ПРОБЛЕМЫ СООТНОШЕНИЯ
УСТНОЙ И ПИСЬМЕННОЙ РЕЧИ

Т.А. Пережогина

Решение проблемы соотношения языка и письма, устной и письменной речи тесным образом связано с господствующими в лингвистике научными концепциями. Разные научные направления высветляют различные стороны проблемы и по-разному определяют статус письма по отношению к языку.

При генетическом подходе письменный язык отходит на второй план, рассматривается как явление искусственное, вторичное, более позднее, чем естественный, звуковой, язык.

Отношение к письменной речи как явлению вторичному имеет давнюю историю. Как известно, в период античности искусство публичных выступлений, владение мастерством устной речи ценились очень высоко. Поэтому и устная речь ставилась неизмеримо выше письменной. Интересно, что в то время письменные тексты всегда озвучивались: люди читали написанное вслух и слушали собственную звучащую речь. О положении письменной речи в период античности можно судить по высказыванию Платона: «Письмо — это несправильное использование языка, а чтение про себя — это лишь суррогат речи»¹.

Мнение о том, что письменная речь представляет собой непосредственное отражение звукового языка, что звуковой язык является исходным, сформировало отношение к письму как к явлению внешнему, не стоявшему внимания языковедов.

Статус письма как своеобразного нароста на естественном, устном, языке сохранился и в структурной лингвистике. Пожалуй, в наиболее гипертрофированном виде эти представления о языке и письме выразил Л. Блумфилд. По его мнению, письмо, на основе которого создается письменная речь, — такое же внешнее средство, как фонограф, используемый при записи звучащей речи².

Таким образом, пока письменная речь рассматривалась как простое отображение речи устной, проблемы письма оказывались чуждыми для лингвистики.

Однако уже во второй половине XIX века внимание языковедов переключается с исследования письменных текстов на изучение

звучащей речи. В фонетике разрабатываются экспериментальные методы, позволяющие выявлять тончайшие звуковые оттенки, возникает необходимость обоснования различий между звуком и буквой.

Одним из первых ученых, обратившихся к проблеме соотношения языка и письма с новых позиций, был И.А. Бодуэн де Куртене. Он заметил, что устная и письменная речь — это два различных вида речевой деятельности, которыми владеют грамотные люди. В основе устной и письменной речи лежат разные психофизиологические механизмы, изучение которых необходимо для выявления соотношения языка и письма. В своей работе «Об отношении русского письма к русскому языку» ученый пишет: «Несомненно существующие взаимоотношения между письмом и языком мы можем установить только в том случае, если сведем их на надлежащую почву, на почву психическую»³. При этом Бодуэн де Куртене отмечает, что главенствующая роль принадлежит устной форме.

Положения Бодуэна развиваются во второй половине XX века в работах специалистов по психолингвистике. Так, А.А. Леонтьев отмечает, что «в мозгу грамотного человека сосуществуют всегда две языковые системы»⁴. Это позволяет ученому рассматривать речевую деятельность грамотного человека как своеобразный вид билингвизма: «Сосуществование устного и письменного "языков" в языковом сознании говорящего аналогично тому виду билингвизма, который Л.В. Щерба охарактеризовал как владение "смешанным языком с двумя терминами" (*langue mixte à deux termes*)»⁵. Каждая из двух форм представляет собой «креолизованный» язык, то есть обнаруживает следы влияния другой формы, значит, имеет место их взаимодействие. При этом А.А. Леонтьев, как и Бодуэн, не считает устный и письменный языки равноправными, поскольку устный является для грамотного человека «родным», а письменный — всегда второй, как бы насаждающийся на устный.

Начиная с 30-х годов XX столетия письменный язык становится специальным объек-

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