

speaker status. As speakers, consciously or unconsciously, people use their speech to create an image of themselves to others. By using speed and pausing, and variations in pitch, volume and intonation, they also create a texture for their talk that supports and enhances what they are saying. The sound of people's speech is meaningful, and that is why this is important for assessing speaking.

The sound of speech is a thorny issue for language assessment, however. This is first of all because people tend to judge native/non-native speaker status on the basis of pronunciation. This easily leads to the idea that the standard against which learner pronunciation should be judged is the speech of a native speaker. But is the standard justified? And if it is not, how can an alternative standard be defined?

The native speaker standard for foreign language pronunciation is questioned on two main accounts (see e.g. Brown and Yule, 1983: 26–27; Morley, 1991: 498–501). Firstly, in today's world, it is difficult to determine which single standard would suffice as *the* native speaker standard for any language, particularly so for widely used languages. All languages have different regional varieties and often regional standards as well. The standards are valued in different ways in different regions and for different purposes, and this makes it difficult to choose a particular standard for an assessment or to require that learners should try to approximate to one standard only. Secondly, as research into learner language has progressed, it has become clear that, although vast numbers of language learners learn to pronounce in a fully comprehensible and efficient manner, very few learners are capable of achieving a native-like standard in all respects. If native-like speech is made the criterion, most language learners will 'fail' even if they are fully functional in normal communicative situations. Communicative effectiveness, which is based on comprehensibility and probably guided by native speaker standards but defined in terms of realistic learner achievement, is a better standard for learner pronunciation.

There are, furthermore, several social and psychological reasons why many learners may not even *want* to be mistaken for native speakers of a language (see e.g. Leather and James, 1996; Pennington and Richards, 1986): a characteristic accent can be a part of a learner's identity, they may not want to sound pretentious especially in front of their peers, they may want recognition for their ability to have learned the language so well despite their non-native status, and/or they may want a means to convey their non-native status so that if they make any cultural or politeness mistakes, the listeners could give them the benefit of the doubt because of their background.

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