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**| RESEARCH ARTICLE**

**What can a combined Transitive and Appraisal analysis of Japanese government materials reveal about underlying attitudes towards Assistant Language Teachers?**

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**| ABSTRACT**

English education in Japanese schools is often delivered in a team-teaching approach with one Japanese teacher and one non-Japanese Assistant Language Teacher (ALT), many of which are recruited through the Japanese Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme. Whether implicitly or explicitly, there are different roles and expectations assigned to each of these jobs by the students, schools, and wider policy makers within the Japanese Department of Education (MEXT). This combined Transitive and Appraisal analysis of the text of three training videos targeted at new JET teachers entering Japan reveals a lot of positive language being employed however there are some more concerning trends that appear as well, including an expectation for the JET teacher to always follow the lead of their Japanese partner teacher, an emphasis on the presence of the JET teacher over any actual action, and subjects them to some negative presumptions. Academics frequently call for greater cooperation in how language teaching is delivered, therefore understanding the root of the problem as reflected in the discourse used can be a useful first step towards achieving a more effective relationship for all parties involved.

**| KEYWORDS**

Combined Transitive; Appraisal analysis; Japanese government materials; Assistant Language Teachers?

**| ARTICLE INFORMATION**

**ACCEPTED:** 01 March 2026

**PUBLISHED:** 19 March 2029

**DOI:** 10.32996/jpda.2026.5.1.3

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**1) Introduction**

English education in Japan regularly incorporates a team-teaching approach in which a Japanese Teacher of English (JTE) is supported by an Assistant Language Teacher (ALT) from a non-Japanese country. The rationale for this is that the ALT can provide insights into how English is used by first-language speakers with particular emphasis on pronunciation issues (Martin, 2004). One of the most well-known avenues for matching potential candidates from abroad who want to live and work in Japan with schools seeking ALTs is the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program. This program is supported and funded by the Japanese government's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT). As part of the initiation process for successful candidates, MEXT offers numerous online resources to prepare the new ALTs for what to expect from the job and the lifestyle in a new country. Included in these resources are three English text videos made by MEXT specifically for ALTs who will start working in Japanese Elementary, Junior High Schools (JHS), or Senior High Schools (SHS). This report will analyse the text of these videos using Transitivity and Appraisal analysis in order to reveal any implications beneath the surface.

Japan has a relatively small population of foreign residents of 2.2% (Statisia, 2023), but research has suggested that tensions exist between Japanese people and the foreign resident population (Hashimoto, 2015). These tensions are evident even on a governmental level, where significant contrasts in terminology have been noted when discussing Japanese or foreign residence across a range of backgrounds in official materials (Shiobara, 2020). If such discrimination can be found to exist in official education policy as well, this could have serious implications, not only for the ALTs coming to work in the country but for the perception of the rest of the world outside Japan being forged for the students.

This analysis will keep previous research in mind but seek to analyse the three texts on their own merits. It aims to discover if any observations regarding ingrained cultural judgements of non-Japanese education staff can be drawn based on the language used when addressing this audience in their first language of English. With this in mind, the following research question is proposed:

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Successful second language education in any country needs cooperation and understanding of linguistic and cultural differences from all the stakeholders involved (Groom & Littlemore, 2011). There are times where hierarchies in the teaching structure are necessary and beneficial to everyone involved, such as delegating responsibility for grading and curriculum design to more experienced and qualified teachers, as opposed to specialist in-classroom contributions as a supporting role (Mahboob & Golden, 2013). However, hierarchies cannot operate efficiently unless everyone understands and accepts their role within them (Tajino & Tajino, 2000). If new candidates understand MEXT's attitudes towards and expectations of ALTs, it will help them perform that designated role better.

## **2) Methodology**

This report will focus on three texts released through the official MEXT English web site in video format in April 2022. They have not been updated at the time of writing. There is one video for each level of the Japanese education system in which ALTs are employed. Although they are videos, they actually function more like automated slide-shows of text. The only audio that exists is some background music and the only other non-text visual features are the plain backgrounds and simple transitions between the slides. All original text was in English thereby eliminating the need for translation, which would have added a significant additional layer to the analysis. The total word count for all three texts combined is 1,978. All three texts will be considered as one entity in this report because a comparison between the texts – while interesting – would go beyond the scope available here.

Two well established methodologies will be employed in this analysis: Transitivity and Appraisal analysis. As both of these are based on Halliday's (1967) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model in which "language is organized as a system of options" (Fontaine, 2013 p.5), they appear to be quite compatible to pair together. Each of the methodologies will serve a different yet complimentary purpose in the analysis: broadly speaking, Transitivity for quantitative analysis and Appraisal for qualitative.

Halliday (1967) defines Transitivity as "the set of options relating to cognitive content, the linguistic representation of extralinguistic experience, whether of the phenomena of the external world or feelings, thoughts and perceptions" (p.199). The key here is that there are often multiple options available to express the same phenomenon. These options are represented by six Process types: Material, Relational, Mental, Verbal, Existential, and Behavioural. Each of these Process types contain their own features and functions which "constitutes a distinct model or schema for constructing a particular domain of experience as a figure of a particular kind" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014 p.213). Sub-consciously or consciously, choosing one Process type over another can alter the message a text delivers. Put simply; "If we change the structural relation, we get a different meaning" (Fontaine, 2013 p.4).

Although the Process itself serves as the core of the clause in Transitivity, relationships between Participants as expressed by each Process will be of particular interest to this report because outlining the human interaction between ALTs, JTEs, and students is a primary purpose of this text. Quantifying their inclusion in each Participant role in the various Processes may lead to interesting observations about the author's implied stance on the relationship between them. For example, the Senser in Mental clauses can often be linked more directly to the overall ideology of the text, whereas the Actor in Material clauses indicates who performs particular actions in the physical world (Thompson 2014).

While Transitivity is a well-established methodology for identifying grammatical patterns in the structure of a text, the significance of certain lexical choices in creating an ideology can be highlighted using Appraisal analysis. Appraisal theory "aims to systemize a varied set of linguistic resources that speakers and writers use to negotiate evaluations with their addressees and to construct solidarity around shared values" (Thompson, 2014 p.80). Certain lexical and grammatical strategies, such as enhancing or softening the strength of words or phrases, can be employed to manipulate the underlying message of a text.

The key categories of Appraisal theory are: Attitudes of Affect (evaluations of feelings directly expressed by the author), Judgement (evaluations of character associated with the person being appraised), and Appreciation (evaluations of value in non-human elements) (Thompson, 2014). This report will examine which category of Attitude is used in the texts and what impact this has on the meaning. Analysis of when Amplification through graduations of force or focus is used will also provide insight into how positive or negative aspects are manipulated to paint a favourable image for the incoming ALT.

A vital aspect of Appraisal theory is that these strategies do not operate in isolation but weave together throughout a text to create “a ‘prosody’ of attitude” (Martin & Rose, 2003 p.31). Therefore, this report will incorporate Appraisal theory to identify repeated cases of lexical manipulation, as well as acting as a useful tool for highlighting individual cases of relevance.

This report will apply Transitivity analysis to the whole of the three texts in order to produce quantifiable data. In the next section, statistical analysis will be presented with a primary focus on Transitivity. Section four will discuss the implications of the trends identified from the statistics and apply Appraisal analysis for a deeper interpretation.

### 3) Results

A total of 158 clauses were identified across all three texts. Three clauses (the repeated phrase “Good luck!” at the end of each text) were eliminated from the analysis because they didn’t conform to the conditions necessary for Transitivity analysis in that there is no main verb phrase. The remaining 155 clauses were divided into Process types (Table 1):

	SHS	JHS	Elementary	Total
Material (creative)	19	8	10	37
Material (transformative)	17	5	13	35
Relational (identifying)	11	4	2	17
Relational (attributive)	10	6	5	21
Mental	14	14	8	36
Verbal	0	2	3	5
Existential	2	2	0	4
Behavioural	0	0	0	0
				155

Table 1: Division of clauses between each Process type.

In order of frequency, the most common processes were: Material, Relational, Mental, Verbal and Existential. Zero examples of Behavioural processes were identified:

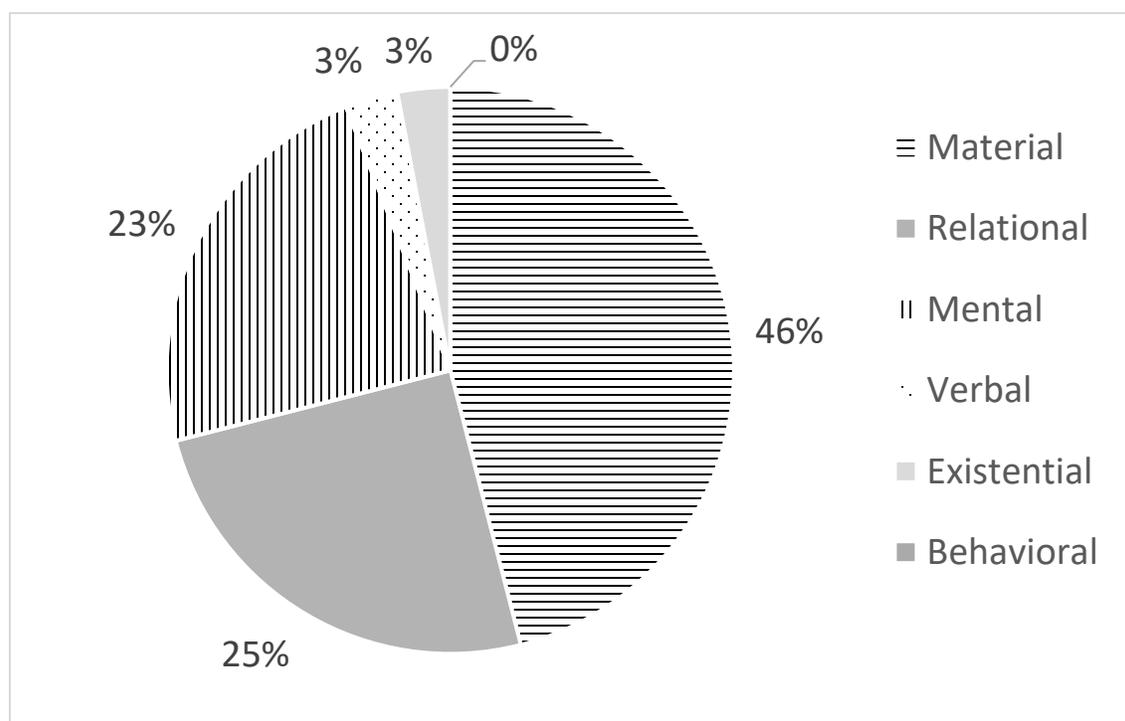


Figure 1: Percentage of each Process type represented across all three texts.

There was consideration for “Students will imitate the way you communicate with JTEs” (SHS, Slide 19) to be classified as a Behavioural Process, but this doesn’t seem to imply any strong emotion in the way students perform the action of imitating, so a Material Process was favoured.

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Actor	Process: material (creative)	Goal	Circumstance (accompaniment)
Students	will imitate	the way you communicate	with JTEs.

A breakdown of further observations for each of the Process type will be given in the next sections.

**3.1) Material**

The Participants of the 72 Material Processes were divided into four categories: the ALT, students, the author (“I” or “we”), and other Participants. The Participant “I” and “we” occurs in 22 clauses. This report assumes that these pronouns refer to MEXT officials rather than anyone making decisions at a local level within the schools, who can be identified in other ways (e.g. “teachers” and “JTEs”).

The Actor Participant is significant because it is the one that performs the actions expressed in the Process in the real world. The results in Figure 2 show that Material Processes significantly favoured the ALTs over other Participants in the role of Actor. The ALT category also includes references of “implicit agency” (Simpson, 1993 p.97) where the Participant is not directly included in the text but is clear from inference. Implicit agency relating to the ALT occurred in 54% of Material clauses.

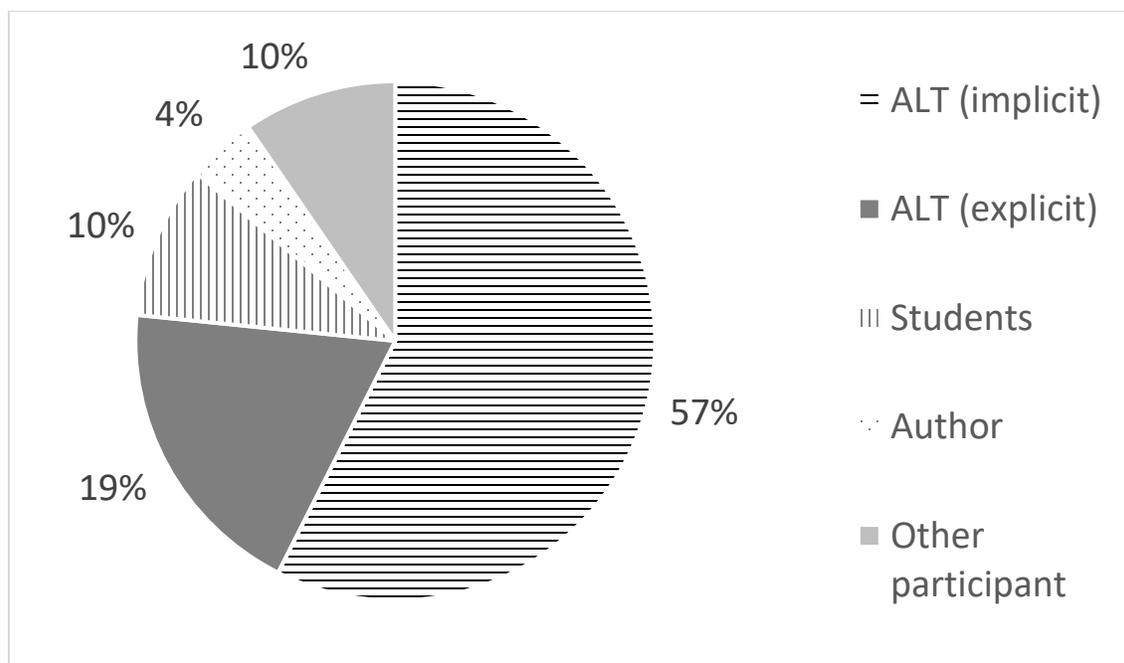


Figure 2: Percentage of Actor distribution represented across all three texts.

There were seven cases (9%) across all Process types in which the Participant was identified as “The presence of the ALT” rather than the ALT themselves. This will be discussed in depth later but for now it will be noted that all seven of these clauses contained elements recognised by Appraisal theory designed to amplify the value of the Participant.

**3.2) Relational**

There were 38 Relational clauses across the three texts. Of these, 21 were Attributive clauses and 17 were identifying clauses. Although there were fewer cases overall, the Identifying clauses were examined further to determine the Token / Value distribution, as this can reveal which Participants are given greater importance in a text. In 76% of these clauses, the ALT took the role of the Token.

**3.3) Mental**

The Senser Participant is significant because it is the one who holds the thoughts or beliefs expressed in the Process in their minds. There were 36 Mental clauses across the three texts. Again, the Senser Participants were categorised into: ALT, students, author (“I” or “we”), and other Participants. The results in Figure 3 show that Mental process favoured Participants other than the

ALT in the role of Senser. The author is the Senser in the majority of cases and the ALT and students have a similar level of representation in this Participant role. This is a significant contrast to the earlier observation that Material processes favoured the ALT in the role of Actor. An image starts to appear that a certain amount of inequality between Participants may be implied.

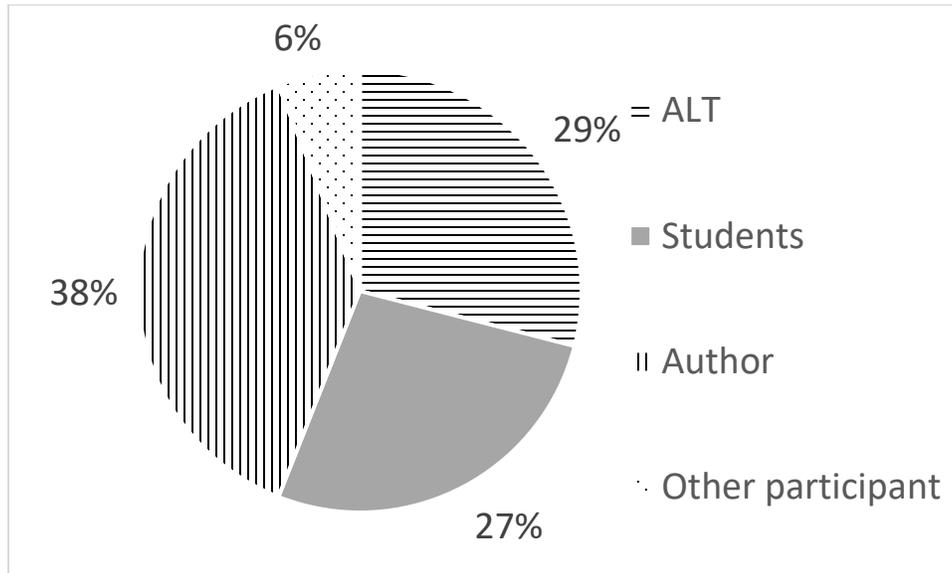


Figure 3: Percentage of Senser distribution represented across all three texts.

**3.4) Other Processes**

While Verbal, Existential and Behavioural Processes have important roles to play in SFL, their relatively low occurrence among these texts (5% of all identified clauses) and the limited scope of this report meant that any deeper analysis into these categories was not explored. However, it will be stated that the lower frequency of these processes could be seen as somewhat significant in forming the voice of these texts as one that minimises the influence of ALTs, so they will not be neglected completely from the final discussion.

**4) Discussion**

This section will make observations on the implications of the data presented above. Every attempt will be made to maintain neutrality in these observations but it must be acknowledged that this is difficult in any analysis because no text ever exists in a vacuum and it is somewhat inevitable (indeed, often beneficial) for external factors, including previous SFLs research and personal experience of the wider context, to contribute to an analysis. Simpson (1993) posits “writing *about* ideology does not automatically mean release *from* ideology” (p.115, emphasis in original). I will endeavour to only make claims that can be supported by evidence presented in the text.

The first observation made with regard to the most salient process type, Material Processes, was that the ALT took the role of Actor in the majority of the clauses. This is interesting when contrasted with the Mental Processes, in which non-ALT Participants fill the role of Senser in the majority of cases. Material Processes are concerned with physical activities in the real world, whereas Mental Processes materialize internal thoughts and feelings, including opinions on policy making. This could suggest that the text expects the pedagogical ideology (represented by Mental Processes) to initially come from the governing body, MEXT (the Source of the text), and then be interpreted into ground-level policy by JTEs or other decision makers at the school, or shaped by the expectations of the students. The low distribution of ALTs as Sensers could suggest that the text does not expect ALTs to be heavily involved in the decision-making process. One example where the ALT’s opinion on lesson content is encouraged is instantly qualified by indicating that there is no guarantee of the inclusion of any of their ideas:

Circumstance (extent)	Actor	Process: material (creative)	Circumstance (manner)
sometimes	ideas that you propose	may not be able to be used	immediately;

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On the other hand, the actions themselves (represented by Material processes) are expected to be enacted by the ALTs in the classroom. This is represented in two of the slides that are repeated in both the JHS (Slide 8) and Elementary (Slide 7) videos:

Senser	Process: Mental	Phenomenon	Circumstance (extent)	Circumstance (manner)
I	want	the ALT to be a model for speaking English,	not to only try to be funny or entertaining or to perform greetings or chants	with a facetious pronunciation or manner.

Actor	Process: Material (creative)	Goal
[ALT]	Provide	a model for the pronunciation and usage of the vocabulary and expressions.

The initial Mental Process clause outlines the ideology attributed to MEXT (“I” in this clause) and the subsequent Material Process clause delegates responsibility for bringing it into reality to the ALT. This establishes a hierarchy in the teaching structure, prescribed at an official level, which is reinforced in other clauses across the texts, such as highlighting different workload expectations in the SHS video (Slide 5):

Carrier	Process: relational (attributive)	Attribute
Your colleagues	are	much busier than you may imagine.

and the JHS video (Slide 4) where there is little doubt over the hierarchy:

Adjunct	Actor	Process: material (transformative)	Goal
However,	the ALT	does not take	the leading role in the class.

Applying the Appraisal methodology to the Circumstances of the above Mental clause reveals details about the author’s values. Dissuading ALTs away from adopting “**facetious** [force: attitudinal lexis] pronunciation” can be interpreted either positively (pronunciation is important and should be addressed seriously), or negatively (ALTs have a reputation for acting more as entertainers than educators). There appear to be multiple cases supporting both interpretations (Table 2) which builds a somewhat mixed prosodic message across the text.

Phrase	Appraised	Source	Category	Pos / Neg	Graduation
It will depend on your <b>ingenuity</b> on how to overcome such situations.	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Pos	Force, attitudinal lexis (ingenuity)
However, do not party <b>too much!</b>	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Neg	Force, intensifier (too much)
ALTs are <b>especially</b> popular among the students when they are animated and cheerful.	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Pos	Force, intensifier (especially)
Being able to learn from the <b>actual</b> exemplars of other cultures and languages	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Pos	Focus, sharpen (actual)
the ALT should not just stand <b>vacantly</b> to the side	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Neg	Force, metaphor (vacantly)
Never <b>fail</b> to look through the textbooks	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Neg	Force, attitudinal lexis (fail)

Table 2: Positive and negative Judgement appraisal examples

This suggests that MEXT may have previously encountered enough cases of negative behaviour to warrant caution but also believes that the positive attributes are feasible standards. Therefore, MEXT wishes to make it clear to incoming ALTs how they should act inside and outside the classroom to fit their ideal image.

This intention of constructing an ideal image of an ALT leads to the next point of discussion: the repeated use of “the ALT’s presence” as a Participant. An implication that could be drawn from this choice of words is that simply having an ALT in the classroom is enough and their actual ability to teach is inconsequential because a JTE is present for that role. In fact, it has been suggested that some JTEs would prefer their ALTs not to interfere with their lessons for various reasons such as difficulty in communication or clash of teaching styles (Tajino & Tajino, 2000). It can even be said that the text is aware of its own bias in this respect, as Graduation strategies are used in many of the examples when “presence” is given as a Participant (Table 3):

Phrase	Appraised	Source	Category	Positive / Negative	Graduation
	ALT’s presence	Writer	Appreciation	Positive	
It is <b>clear</b> that the presence of an ALT can become a great <b>motivation</b>					force, attitudinal lexis (great)
ALTs have a very <b>valuable</b> presence					force, intensifier (very)
<b>Precisely</b> because of the presence of an ALT					
The presence of an ALT <b>spurs</b> the students’ desire to learn and communicate more					
the presence of ALTs is very <b>encouraging</b>					force, intensifier (very)
The presence <b>itself</b> of an ALT enables us to show a real-life back-and-forth interaction to the students.					force, attitudinal lexis (itself)
ALTs have an <b>important</b> presence					focus, sharpen (important)

Table 3: Positive Appreciation appraisal adding value to the Participant “ALT’s presence”

Defining the categories for Appraisal can be hazy but Appreciation was favoured here because it is the non-human presence that is being discussed rather than the human ALTs themselves. Compared to Affect, both Judgement and Appreciation are “less direct in that the source of the evaluation in our emotions is not made explicit” (Thompson, 2014 p.81). An effective way to demonstrate the impact of certain strategies is to replace them with the identified elements removed. In this case, changing to an Affect style presentation would result in: “**we believe** ALTs have a very valuable presence”. By avoiding this style, the author can be seen as intending to make more objectively true statements rather than a personal opinion.

The author is trying to take steps to appeal to the ALT audience but at the same time still commits to referencing their “presence” rather than “actions” or “contributions” in these clauses. This contributes to the aforementioned hierarchy of power in the schools expected by the author. This is made clear in one clause where the definition of ALT is provided in no uncertain terms.

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
The ALT	should completely share	the same lesson goals with the JTE

Adjunct	Actor	Process: material (transformative)	Goal
and	[ALT]	act	as an “assistant”.

Interestingly, this is one of the few times when the ALT acts as a Senser but the purpose is to ensure that their beliefs match with the JTE.

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Again, the Appraisal methodology reveals additional implications regarding these clauses. Adding “**completely**” [force, intensifier] emphasises the necessity of cooperation and suggests little room for negotiation in the formation of the lesson goals. Adding the scare quotes to “assistant” makes it clear that this is not a definition being proposed by the author in this one text but rather a universally accepted one, thereby giving it more authority (Martin & Rose, 2003). The underlying message of these texts, therefore, could be read as ensuring the ALTs are aware of their duties in relation to supporting the JTEs, as opposed to operating on the same level as them.

There is further evidence of an implicit assumption of key differences between the roles and responsibilities of ALTs and JTEs. For example, the repeated use of the phrase “try to” when discussing possible challenges the ALT may face living in Japan (Table 4). If these are analysed as cases of invoked appraisal where “the speaker or writer tells us something which is not directly evaluative but which is intended to invoke an attitude” (Thompson, 2014 p.82), they could be read as implying that the suggested activities will not be easy for the ALT. Again, taken on their own, could either be seen as positive (encouraging) or negative (critical) stances.

Phrase	Appraised	Source	Category	Pos / Neg	Graduation
	ALT	Writer	Judgement	Pos	
<b>try to</b> talk to your students during recess or lunch time					
You should <b>try to</b> find a time that is convenient for them to have a chat.					
<b>try and</b> give super-positive feedback!					Focus, sharpen (super-positive)
<b>try to</b> communicate with not only English teachers but also teachers who are NOT teaching English					Focus, sharpen (not only)
<b>try to</b> learn some easy Japanese and see how they react.					
<b>trying to</b> use Japanese through trial and error					
<b>Try to</b> give the students a sense of achievement that they can really communicate in English.					
enthusiastically <b>try to</b> understand what they are trying to communicate					Force, intensifier (enthusiastically)

Table 4: Positive Judgement appraisal encouraging effort from ALTs

All the examples above could be changed to more direct, inscribed clauses which give a stronger idea of the challenges to be expected by replacing “try to...” with “It may be difficult, but you should make the effort to...”. By favouring invoked appraisal, the author is acknowledging certain challenges but it is left to the reader to infer the level of difficulty to be expected.

So far, this discussion has leaned slightly more towards negative interpretations of the texts but there is certainly a great deal of evidence on the contrary, often expressed through Relational Processes which make statements on the state or characteristics of things (Thompson, 2014). Many of these clauses can be read as portraying a positive image of ALTs and their contribution to the classroom. In fact, the very first sentence of the Senior High School video makes this clear from the start:

Identified (Token)	Process: Relational (Identifying)	Identified (Value)	Circumstance (manner)
An ALT's important role at school	Are	to teach students how to interact with people from different backgrounds	by introducing local cultures as well as your own language and culture

Additional Relational (Identifying) Process clauses across all three texts shine a positive light on what the author regards as important. The Token and Value elements of Identifying clauses, whereby the Token represents an embodiment of the more general Value in the specific context of the text, “will often guide us towards the broader concerns and values of the writer” (Thompson, 2014 p.104). The ALT and their role feature as the Token in the majority of these clauses. This suggests that the author is actively trying to express their appreciation for ALTs and their unique contributions to Japanese classrooms.

Often just as much can be inferred from what is absent from a text as what is included, so it is worth speculating on why Verbal Processes are not used very often in these texts. The reason may be that Verbal Processes associate an opinion with one particular source (the Sayer) whereas Mental Processes are more appropriate for expressing ideologies of larger authorities (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013). Therefore, Verbal Processes could be seen as being used sparingly throughout the texts in order

to avoid including too many individual voices whilst simultaneously enhancing the impact of the times it is used. For example, the JHS video opens with a quote from a student (Slide 1):

Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon
"I	will never forget	the joy I felt when I communicated to the ALT what I wanted to say."

Verbiage	Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Circumstance (cause)
That is what	my student	said	to me	was the reason she began to like English.

This gives the student a direct voice as evidence that the ALT will be appreciated in the classroom. The Receiver "me" is credited as a JTE in this slide, so it is interesting that the ALT is not a Participant in either of these clauses, suggesting that perhaps valid feedback between students and teachers can only operate through the JTEs.

The Elementary video uses a Verbal Process (Slide 4) to offer guidance on exactly what language the ALT should be using in the classroom:

Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Adjunct	Verbiage
[ALT]	Ask	each student,	for example,	"What fruit do you like?"

A positive analysis of the intention behind this inclusion would argue that it supports new, often unqualified, ALTs unfamiliar with the challenges of language teaching, particularly at the elementary level, where comprehension would generally be much lower (Yokoyama, 2018). However, a case could also be made for this structure to be considered somewhat patronising to the ALT's ability to form appropriate questions in their own first language.

Finally, the Appraisal analysis of the texts highlighted a number of contradictions in the overall message being portrayed, which are in line with wider research into English education policy in Japan (Yoko, 2023). One example is regarding the ALT's Japanese language ability as highlighted in the JHS video (Slide 12):

"Speaking Japanese will be **greatly** [focus, sharpen] welcomed when you are speaking to other teachers, but please **refrain** [force, attitudinal lexis] from speaking Japanese to students".

There is no mention of JTEs facing the same restrictions on their use of Japanese in the classroom. Japan is known for favouring the "English-only" policy from its ALTs (Hashimoto, 2015) but evidence also points to grammar translation tasks and Japanese explanations from JTEs being the norm (Sato & Kleinsasser, 2004). Although it remains a debated issue, more people appear to be supporting the positive role the L1 can play in English language learning (Kerr, 2016). The author's insistence on "English-only" policy from its ALTs may reflect pedagogy that is not quite in keeping with global standards.

## 5) Conclusion

This Transitivity analysis reveals that the author, MEXT, favours structures that build expectations for ideas (represented by Mental processes) to come from Japanese Participants, but for the actions in the classroom (represented by Material processes) to be carried out by the ALTs. However, the role of the ALT is held in high esteem, as evidenced by the Value / Token distribution. Appraisal analysis allows us to examine how the Source presents these claims by adding objectivity to evaluations of Appreciation, and seeks to *invoke* certain meanings rather *inscribe* them. This allows the author to not fully disguise potential negative aspects of the role but seek to soften these as challenges that can be recognised and overcome by the ALT's individual means. In this way, MEXT could be seen as trying to pre-emptively absolve itself of any blame for any negative experiences the ALT may encounter. This fine balance between good and bad is logical with regard to the overall purpose of the text: to provide an honest and accurate, but encouraging, guide for incoming ALTs on what to expect from life and work in Japan.

It can be concluded that MEXT appears to value the potential benefits of having an ideal candidate ALT in the classroom. This is in itself evident from the very fact that the government funding for the JET program persists, even despite historic objections (Kobayashi, 2023). As with any profession, this ideal standard is not (indeed cannot) be met with every single candidate. In an effort to tease out the most desirable qualities, MEXT could be criticized for (perhaps unintentionally) harming future ALTs by accusing them of displaying behaviours or qualities that they do not.

There are, as always, limitations to the scope of this report. Further research into this topic could include an analysis of texts provided in the home countries of JET candidates to see whether the same values are expressed. Also, comparisons to historic material of a similar nature provided by MEXT could reveal changes in policy stance over time.

**Funding:** This research received no external funding.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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