

Nouns in History: Packaging Information, Expanding Explanations, and Structuring Reasoning

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THE ABILITY TO READ is well-recognized as essential to being successful in school history.¹ To be able to read history textbooks effectively, students can be made aware of some features typical of history discourse. Knowledge of how nominal groups are functional in history discourse can help students and teachers engage with the meanings presented in textbooks.

This article analyzes the use of nouns and nominal groups in history textbooks, using sample passages to illustrate the complexities of history discourse and the challenges presented, especially for English language learners and other students who may have limited experience in academic language. The context of this discussion is not only linguistic but also educational, with practical suggestions for focusing students on these often-difficult linguistic features.

The work presented here originates from my involvement with the California History-Social Science Project. As one of the literacy leaders of this program at the History Project from the University of California, Davis, my main responsibilities included analysis of history texts, both primary and secondary sources; assistance in the development of curricula for teacher workshops based on historical text analysis; guidance for history teachers in the application of different literacy strategies; and collaboration with other history project sites. I worked one-on-one with teachers during summer institutes and year-long courses to assist them in incorporating

literacy strategies in their own lessons. The main goal of this work is to help teachers become aware of the challenges of the discourse of history and make grade-level content accessible to students who struggle with academic language, especially English language learners.

This literacy work demonstrated that, as students progress at school, they need to understand how textbook authors and historians construct the narratives, explanations, and accounts pervasive in school history. Drawing on linguistic features of academic registers, the language of textbooks often becomes distanced from the everyday language of many students. Reading textbooks may be a hurdle for students who are unfamiliar with the complexities embedded in history discourse.

History Textbooks and Learning History

Student learning in history is highly dependent on reading texts. Knowledge of text organization is an important part of learning from textbooks.² Reading in history is also intrinsically connected to being able to write historical essays effectively. Involvement in the enterprise of critical analysis and understanding of numerous texts is a pathway to the construction of narratives, explanations, and arguments.³

Studies of history textbooks have examined reading strategies students need to employ to make sense of academic texts⁴ and investigated textbooks' strengths and weaknesses.⁵ As the major source of historical discourse students are exposed to in school history,⁶ social studies textbooks have had a great influence on the education curriculum, some argue more than any other factor.⁷ In fact, Tyson and Woodward maintain that the textbook is the organizing device of 75% to 90% of all classroom instruction in different subject areas, showing the importance of textbooks in education.⁸ A recent study on student learning from textbooks reports that a textbook-centered history curriculum is the reality of many classrooms today.⁹

History textbooks have been under scrutiny by researchers of student learning in history. Some argue that textbooks do not develop a clear and logical chain of events, making it difficult for students to make connections between events and ideas and master the subject matter.¹⁰ According to Paxton, a number of studies have made an attempt to produce more interesting history textbooks by incorporating vivid language and captivating details, but these additions did not necessarily lead to superior text comprehension.¹¹ Despite the apparent inadequacies of history textbooks, they still constitute a major part of the history curriculum, and most history teachers use them to support student learning in history. Because textbooks are a crucial resource in history classes, students need to be able

to read and understand them to be successful in school history. Being able to access the language used by textbook authors and historians is highly linked to content knowledge development.

My view on content knowledge development emerges from a functional linguistics perspective that sees content knowledge as constructed both in language and through language. This perspective sees the grammar as the means through which content knowledge is realized and presented.¹² Research on history textbooks from this linguistic perspective has found certain typical characteristics used by history writers.¹³ Eggins, Wignell, and Martin describe how language is used to represent and teach history, illustrating that when facts are organized, explained, and generalized, the discourse of history textbooks dissociates actors from actions with the construction of “things” through the use of nominalization.¹⁴

Nominalization is a grammatical resource for the construction of nominal groups. It refers to expressing as a noun or nominal group what would in everyday language be presented as a verb, an adjective, or a conjunction. Nominalization occurs in many academic and scientific genres and is typical of academic discourse.¹⁵

The Functions of Nouns in History Discourse

History texts use the resource of nominalization to construct and present information about the past. Martin argues that nominalization is an essential tool for the discourse of history.¹⁶ The process of nominalization enables writers to package information about events into a single noun, to expand explanations by presenting nouns as the starting point of a clause, and to structure reasoning by condensing the meanings presented in previous clauses. Although this study examines each function separately here, they often occur together in history discourse, as the following example textbook passages show.

Packaging Information

Historians usually present series of events to describe and explain the past through history texts, which typically build up information using the resources of the grammar such as nouns and nominal groups. In the process, events or activities can be summarized and presented as a noun. In other words, detailed or extensive information is “packaged” into a single noun that refers to a series of events. For example, the nominal group “The Industrial Revolution” does not denote a single instant of revolution, but instead summarizes many events and activities. Grammatically, we know that this is a nominal group, but semantically, this nominal group refers to many events and actions. Nominalizations enable historians to

re-present *events* as *things*, such as in the following sentence from an 8th-grade U.S. history textbook “*This increased trade led to the growth of major port cities in the South.*”¹⁷ Two nominal groups are linked by the causal process “*led to*”—“*this increased trade*” summarizes the entire process of trading between Great Britain and the South; “*the growth of major port cities in the South*” summarizes the process of growth, which itself implies a number of different processes and events, and is a consequence of such trade. Understanding that nominal groups package a lot of information is important, as students need to be aware that a nominal group may refer to a series of events and actions that become condensed into a single element.

Expanding Explanations

In history discourse, nominal groups are used to realize events as grammatical participants, substituting abstract nouns in place of actual people involved in the processes.¹⁸ For instance, in the statement: “*The loss of trade with Britain combined with inflation created a depression,*”¹⁹ it is the abstract noun “*the loss of trade with Britain*” that is the actor in the clause, doing the action of “*creating*.” In history, elements in the grammar that are typically presented as processes and qualities are presented as entities, i.e., things, and may function as actors. This change enables expansion of meaning so that more information can be added, such as numbers, descriptions, classifications, or even interactions among other nominalized entities.²⁰ This is an important function of nouns because explanations can be expanded through this grammatical resource. Causal relationships, for instance, are realized as nominalized actors that act on other nominalizations instead of as connections between clauses.²¹ An example of such causal relationships is found in a world history textbook: “*frequent changes in government made it hard for democratic countries to develop strong leadership.*”²² “*Changes*” is a nominalized actor that is causing the difficulty of developing strong leadership in democratic countries. By presenting the noun “*changes*” as a nominalized actor, the historian is able to expand the explanation and build on existing knowledge. This also occurs in the clause presented earlier, where the nominalized actor, “*the loss of trade,*” enables the historian to expand the explanation.

Structuring Reasoning

Nouns also have the function to structure reasoning and contribute to the flow of information in a text. The process of nominalization allows history writers to use abstract participants such as institutions, ideas, things, or places as historical actors, removing agency from the real human actors. For example, an 11th-grade textbook chapter on the Vietnam War reads:

*United States forces also used chemical weapons against the Vietnamese. Pilots dropped an herbicide known as Agent Orange on dense jungle landscapes. By killing the leaves and thick undergrowth, the herbicide exposed Viet Cong hiding places. Agent Orange also killed crops, and later it was discovered to cause health problems in livestock and humans, including civilians and American soldiers.*²³

Here, “United States forces” is the first actor, being presented by the textbook author as responsible for the action of using chemical weapons. The second actor, “pilots,” is less abstract and indicates the actual human actor causing the action. However, this agency is removed from the rest of the paragraph, when the textbook author presents “the herbicide” and “Agent Orange” (a thing) rather than a “pilot” (a person) as doing the actions of exposing and killing. In this example, the real historical actors are given less prominence, making it more difficult for the reader to recognize them. To understand the real historical actors, the reader must process who used the herbicide.

Nouns and nominal groups used in history discourse can present challenges for students who may be unfamiliar with academic language. Effective use of nominalization in textbooks therefore requires both “packaging” by the author and “unpackaging” by the reader. To model this process, in the next section, we take a close look at a world history textbook passage and the functions that nouns and nominal groups take in the text.

A Close Look at a History Text

The text analyzed here, presented in Figure 1, is a passage from a 10th-grade world history textbook about Hitler’s defiance of the Versailles Treaty and his resulting actions. This text is constructed as an explanation for Hitler’s decisions and the conditions and events behind them, and is characteristic of the abstract discourse of history. The analysis of this text shows how different events led to Hitler’s growing strength, and how nouns and nominal groups are developed and employed.

This passage in Figure 1 employs nouns and nominal groups to summarize and reiterate central ideas throughout this text. The first paragraph’s last sentences, “Germany had already begun rebuilding its armed forces. The League issued only a mild condemnation,” are echoed in the second paragraph’s nominal group, “the League’s failure to stop Germany from rearming,” condensed and presented to preface yet even more information. The reader has to make the connection between the rebuilding of Germany’s armed forces, the issuing of a mild condemnation, and “the League’s failure to stop Germany from rearming.” The nominal group is used as the actor of the sentence—this account offers that it was the

Figure 1: World History Textbook Passage²⁴

Hitler defies Versailles Treaty

Hitler had long pledged to undo the Versailles Treaty. Among its provisions, the treaty limited the size of Germany's army. In March 1935, the Führer announced that Germany would not obey these restrictions. In fact, Germany had already begun rebuilding its armed forces. The League issued only a mild condemnation. 1

The League's failure to stop Germany from rearming convinced Hitler to take even greater risks. The treaty had forbidden German troops to enter a 30-mile-wide zone on either side of the Rhine River. Known as the Rhineland, it formed a buffer zone between Germany and France. It was also an important industrial area. On March 7, 1936, German troops moved into the Rhineland. Stunned, the French were willing to risk war. The British urged appeasement, giving in to an aggressor to keep peace. 2

Hitler later admitted that he would have backed down if the French and British had challenged him. The German reoccupation of the Rhineland marked a turning point in the march toward war. First, it strengthened Hitler's power and prestige within Germany. Cautious generals who had urged restraint now agreed to follow him. Second, the balance of power changed in Germany's favor. France and Belgium were now open to attack from German troops. Finally, the weak response by France and Britain encouraged Hitler to speed up his military and territorial expansion. 3

Hitler's growing strength convinced Mussolini that he should seek an alliance with Germany. In October 1936, the two dictators reached an agreement that became known as the Rome-Berlin Axis. A month later, Germany also made an agreement with Japan. Germany, Italy, and Japan came to be called the Axis powers. 4

League's failure to stop Germany from rearming that "convinced" Hitler to take even greater risks. By writing that the nominal group is doing the action of convincing, the author uses abstraction to *package information* from previous clauses while at the same time enables the *expansion of the explanation*.

In the third paragraph, the nominal group "*the German reoccupation of the Rhineland*" summarizes what was presented in the second paragraph as "On March 7, 1936, German troops moved into the Rhineland." The reader has to make the connection between the noun "*reoccupation*" and the process "*moved into*." The reader also needs to know why the noun "*reoccupation*" is used, and not just "*occupation*" (i.e., the Germans had

occupied the region in 1921). This nominal group is the starting point of the clause, being further *expanded* by the rest of the clause.

The third paragraph's "*Finally, the weak response by France and Britain encouraged Hitler to speed up his military and territorial expansion*" contains additional nominal groups. In this sentence, the nominal group "*the weak response by France and Britain*" evokes processes presented in all of the previous paragraphs. The reader needs to realize that France and Britain were part of the League of Nations, and the "*weak response*" nominalization is linking back to the "*mild condemnation*" nominalization from the first paragraph and British appeasement policy described in the second paragraph. The nominal group that appears at the end of the clause, "*his military and territorial expansion*," also evokes previously presented information, such as Hitler's development of his armed forces or his military forces referenced in Paragraph 1 and Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland or his territorial expansion referenced in Paragraph 2. These nominal groups stand for the succession of events explained in the text. It is important to point out that this last sentence of the third paragraph functions as a summary sentence of several events previously presented in the passage, functioning as *packagers of information* from other parts of the text.

Finally, "*Hitler's growing strength*" in the last paragraph of the passage is a nominal group that condenses information from the previous paragraphs. Each paragraph presents information about Hitler's actions and his continuous power and influence. The nominal group is again the actor of the sentence, responsible for "*convincing Mussolini that he should seek an alliance with Germany*."

These nouns and nominal groups show the choices of a writer for structuring a text from clause to clause, presenting information and developing an explanation by building up information, using the resources of the grammar such as nominal groups. It is important to point out that many of these nominal groups are introduced in one section and further developed later, as the history author condenses what has already been presented by *packaging information* into nominal groups, thus presenting that information as given, and then *expanding the explanation* by adding further, new information.

Implications for Practice: Teaching History and Developing Literacy

The zigzag movement from the presentation of a new idea in one clause or previous paragraph to the re-presentation of the same information as a nominalized element of a following clause is a common feature of history

Figure 2: Zigzag movement: Nominal groups and links to prior discourse

Hitler defies Versailles Treaty

Hitler had long pledged to undo the Versailles Treaty. Among its provisions, the treaty limited the size of Germany's army. In March 1935, the Führer announced that Germany would not obey these restrictions. ***In fact, Germany had already begun rebuilding its armed forces. The League issued only a mild condemnation.*** 1

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discourse, contributing to the complexity of text organization. This feature is difficult for English language learners and students who are unfamiliar with academic discourse. Figure 2 shows how teachers can deal with organizing information derived from texts such as this. By focusing on the different nouns and nominal groups that package information, expand explanations, and structure reasoning in history, teachers can help students uncover the embedded meanings presented in history texts.

Making Connections to Prior Discourse

Figure 2 depicts building knowledge by identifying parts of the text and

making connections between nouns and nominal groups. First, nominal groups are highlighted in bold. Second, arrows link each nominal group to information from the prior discourse, represented by sentences in bold italics. In classroom use, teachers can underline the nouns and nominal groups and ask students to draw arrows from the noun to what it refers to in the text, as modeled in Figure 2. This strategy will help students become familiar with nominalization and the building of history texts.

As we see in the analysis, nominal groups make a text more dense and abstract. The complexity of the nominal group structure constructs a clausal structure in history texts that is different from interactional discourse. These features work together to enable the history author to present information by condensing what has already been presented in previous paragraphs. This is an important aspect of history discourse. Students can be made aware of these features when reading history.

Uncovering Human Agency

Another strategy that teachers can use is to focus on nonhuman participants that occur as nouns and nominal groups in texts. For example, the Vietnam text previously presented provides excellent opportunities for students to move the discussion beyond the literal aspects of the text to a more interpretive and critical level of analysis. The text uses nonhuman participants as actors doing things, downplaying human agency. History teachers can help students uncover who the real historical actors are by asking a series of questions, such as “who is acting?”, “who is being acted on?”, and “who is the real historical actor?” Students can reflect on who the actual actors in historical events are by recognizing the human agency concealed by the use of abstract participants. A further topic of discussion with students can be the intention of history authors in their use of such language. Are nonhuman participants being intentionally used in textbooks to reduce the possibility of assigning blame or cause to identifiable human actors? Students can explore interesting discussions and reflect about the nature of history writing.

As explained in this section, teachers can help students “unpack” the information presented in history texts through an explicit focus on the meanings embedded in nouns and nominal groups. This close look at language helps students uncover the meanings condensed in difficult language and understand how texts are organized. The idea is to help students recognize the history writer’s approach in using these nouns and nominal groups to make it easier for students to read texts on their own. Going through a difficult text that has many nouns enables teachers to be proactive in helping students to make sense of history texts. We can provide

history teachers with opportunities to understand these patterns so they are more able to assist their students to focus on these nouns when they are reading, thus becoming a natural resource when students encounter this type of discourse pattern.

In addition to working with the discourse structure of the text, we recommend that history teachers ask historical questions that link the language analysis and the content focus. The point of the work with the language is to help students understand the content being presented in the text, so historical questions that bring out the meanings in the text are essential. For instance, working with the nominal group from the Hitler text, "*the weak response by France and Britain*," history teachers can ask students why the text used the term "*weak response*" or why the response by France and Britain could be considered "*weak*." Teachers could ask students to think of how France and Britain could have responded in ways that would not have been considered weak, bringing out key historical ideas and concepts that the work with the language can facilitate.

This close reading and deconstruction of texts has been shown to help students learn and write about history.²⁵ Hundreds of teachers across California have been through workshops that focused on developing academic literacy through this scrutiny on the language of history. Many report that students are better able to read and write history after having opportunities to work closely with the language in history texts.²⁶ As one history teacher reported after a series of workshops:

I didn't realize, prior to coming to this institute, how complex the language in our history books is. I assumed, prior to coming, that students made the "obvious" connection, but just couldn't answer the related questions. Now, I know that I must help them make those connections.

The most crucial element of the work presented here is to help teachers and students to make these "connections." By connecting the language itself with the content presented through the language, we hope to help students and teachers unpack the historical information and bring out the relevant meanings presented in historical texts.

Conclusion

Nominal groups enable historians to re-present *events* as *things*. Nominalization is a common resource in history, enabling the packaging of information, the expansion of historical explanations, and the structuring of reasoning throughout a text.

Nominal groups evoke processes already described within the text, but complex nominal groups may pose difficulties for students because

they need to be able to make the connections between the different parts of the text themselves. That may be an easier task for good readers, but it may be a daunting task for those unfamiliar with this type of patterning in history discourse. Both teachers and students of school history can develop a certain linguistic awareness of some typical discourse features of history. In addition, to be able to read history textbooks effectively, students can be made aware of organizational strategies used by textbook writers. Knowledge of nominal groups in particular and how they function in history discourse can help students and teachers engage with the meanings presented in textbooks.

The linguistic demands of history discourse pose challenges for both English language learners and students who are unfamiliar with academic discourse. These demands should be better understood and addressed in history classes. Discourse structure is seldom attended to in history classrooms. Content is never separate from the language through which that content is manifested. Learning history means learning the language that expresses history. This article shows an example of the kind of discipline-specific academic support in language and literacy development that would enable students to be more successful in their reading of history.

Notes

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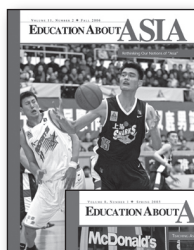
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