

Reported discourse and text types in early 19th-century German newspapers: a quantitative study*

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Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between text types and the realization of reported discourse in three German-language newspapers (*Wiener Zeitung*, *Berlinische Nachrichten*, *Hamburgischer Correspondent*) between 1830 and 1835. Building on earlier findings (cf. Assenzi 2026), which revealed a divergent use of direct speech and source attribution in the *Wiener Zeitung* after 1800, this study expands the existing corpus by annotating text types and statistically analyzing their influence on the formal realization of reported discourse. Drawing on 12 issues across the three newspapers and employing generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMMs), the analysis demonstrates that text type significantly affects the form of reported discourse. Direct speech appears more frequently in longer, analytically structured text types such as background reports and protocols, which are used more frequently in the *Wiener Zeitung*. Moreover, the *Wiener Zeitung* uses direct speech with a significantly higher than average frequency even in text types in which the other two newspapers avoid it. This suggests that editorial practices specific to the *Wiener Zeitung* may contribute to explaining these differences. The study concludes by proposing future research to include cited source type as an explanatory variable and underscoring the necessity of collaborating with media historians to investigate possible extra-linguistic causes of the *Wiener Zeitung*'s distinctive use of direct speech in this time period, e. g., specific preferences of the newspaper's editorial team.

1 Introduction

A quick glance at one of the first newspapers from 1609 and a contemporary one clearly reveals how much this medium has changed since its inception in the 17th century. In their layout, their selection and delivery of news, and not least in their language, newspapers have undergone continuous evolution over the centuries. The way in which reported discourse is realized in German-language newspapers has also changed significantly over time.

As indicated in Assenzi (2023, 2026), significant developments in the quoting practices of the German-language press can be observed between 1800 and 1835. Through the analysis of a

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corpus of 198,006 words and 1,666 instances of reported discourse in news articles from three German-language newspapers (*Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen*, *Wiener Zeitung*, *Hamburgischer Correspondent*), two central developments in the language of the historical German-language press were identified: the increasing use of direct speech and the rise of explicitly named sources (cf. Assenzi 2026). However, while the *Wiener Zeitung* (henceforward: WZ) had established direct speech and identifiable sources as the dominant quoting practice by 1835, the *Berlinische Nachrichten* (henceforward: BN) and the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (henceforward: HC), transitioned more slowly, continuing to use indirect speech and non-mentioned sources more frequently (cf. Assenzi 2026). Although Assenzi (2026) discussed possible reasons for these differing developments, such as editorial practices, censorship, and regional influences, the specific causes behind the divergence in the quoting style of the *Wiener Zeitung* remain unresolved.

This is where the present study comes in. Building on the previous findings in Assenzi (2026), this study examines whether the divergent evolution of reported discourse observed in the *Wiener Zeitung* can be attributed to a difference in the distribution or features of text types in the three newspapers. To explore this question, the corpus of Assenzi (2026) was expanded to include a systematic annotation of text types for the period years 1830–1835, when the differences between the *Wiener Zeitung* and the two other newspapers became particularly pronounced. The goal is to assess, through statistical analysis using generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMMs), whether there is a correlation between text types and the way reported discourse is realized in the three newspapers, which in turn could explain the divergent development of the *Wiener Zeitung*.

The paper is structured as follows. After a summary of the key findings from Assenzi (2026) concerning the development of reported discourse between 1740 and 1835, a review of the literature on text types in historical newspapers and a description of the annotated text types is given. Then, two hypotheses regarding the relationship between text types and developments in reported discourse across the three newspapers under investigation are formulated. In Section 4, the corpus, the criteria of corpus annotation and the methodological approach are presented, followed in Section 5 by the results of the quantitative analysis, with a particular focus on statistically testing the influence of text type on the forms of reported discourse. Finally, the main findings are summarized, and an outlook on possible avenues for further research is provided.

2 Developments in reported discourse in German-language newspapers (1740–1835)

The late 18th and early 19th centuries offer a particularly compelling backdrop for exploring how societal change shaped both the language of newspapers and the ways in which reported discourse was used in informational journalism. This period marked a significant transformation of the press: as absolutist rule gave way to the first democratic movements, newspapers started their evolution from a medium read primarily by the nobility and upper bourgeoisie into a mass medium with an increasingly broad and urban readership (cf. Wille 2020: 398; Oggolder 2016: 7). This shift in readership was accompanied by changing expectations toward news reporting, especially in the context of a growing and critically engaged bourgeois public (cf. von Polenz 2013: 396) and the emerging Enlightenment ideals of objectivity and impartiality (cf.

Haß-Zumkehr 1998: 38). These broader developments also led to increasing demands for transparency in news reporting (cf. Schröder 2017: 170).

Assenzi (2026) confirms that this societal and media transformation brought about changes in how newspapers handle quotation. Specifically, the study demonstrates that the growing emphasis on objective reporting coincided with a rise in syntactically non-integrated forms of reported discourse, especially direct speech, which is often associated with neutrality and objectivity in the scholarly literature (cf. Marnette 2005: 283; Harry 2014: 1049). However, as shown in Assenzi (2026), this shift did not occur uniformly. Two distinct developmental patterns can be observed. The first pattern appears in the *Wiener Zeitung* (WZ), where a marked increase in both direct speech and the use of clearly identifiable sources can be seen from around 1800 onward. By 1835, the combination of direct speech and explicitly named sources had become the dominant form of reported discourse in the WZ.

In contrast, the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (HC) and the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und Gelehrten Sachen* (BN) follow a different trajectory. Although both newspapers also exhibit an increase in the use of direct speech and clearly identifiable sources, this shift occurs more slowly and to a lesser extent than in the WZ (cf. Assenzi 2026). Reportive markers and reported discourse without explicit source attribution remain common in both HC and BN, whereas by 1835 they are no longer attested in the WZ. Similarly, indirect speech remains more prevalent in these two newspapers than in the WZ (cf. Assenzi 2026).

To explain these divergent developments, Assenzi (2026) showed that the explicit naming of a source is a key prerequisite for the use of direct speech. Since direct speech represents a prototypical quotative strategy, that is a form of reported discourse whose main function is to attribute words to a specific source (cf. Vanderbiesen 2016: 46), it can only occur when the source is clearly identifiable. Thus, an increase in the naming of identifiable sources is a necessary condition for the more frequent use of direct speech. In the WZ, the practice of explicitly naming sources becomes the norm from 1800 onward enabling a rise in the frequency of direct speech (cf. Assenzi 2026). In contrast, well into the 1830–35 period, the HC and BN continue to rely heavily on sources that are either unnamed or impersonal, as well as on sources that are named but not clearly identifiable (cf. Assenzi 2026). As a result, indirect speech remains the dominant form of reported discourse in both HC and BN, as this was more flexible with regard to source attribution during the period under investigation (cf. Assenzi 2026). While indirect speech today typically also serves a quotative function (cf. Vanderbiesen 2016: 63), in the 18th and 19th centuries it was commonly used in impersonal constructions such as *man sagt, dass...* (*it is said that...*). This pattern continues to be widespread in both HC and BN up to 1835 (cf. Assenzi 2026). The evolution of source attribution practices thus helps explain why the WZ increasingly employed direct speech from 1800 onward, whereas such usage remained relatively rare in the other two newspapers.

Nevertheless, the question remains as to why the quoting practices of the three newspapers, which had been largely similar up to 1800, developed in such divergent ways thereafter. Assenzi (2026) discusses three possible explanations: the emergence of distinctive editorial styles, differing censorship regulations in the respective cities, and regional media influences. However, none of these hypotheses could be conclusively confirmed. This raises the possibility that

the observed developments may instead be linked to differences in the features of text types across the three newspapers.

The findings discussed so far refer to the results of Assenzi (2026), which was based on a corpus that did not include two of the text types incorporated in the present study (protocols and external documents, see 3.1). Before turning to the potential explanatory role of text types, it is therefore necessary to assess whether these earlier observations remain valid for the expanded corpus. Figure 1 presents a comparison of the results from Assenzi (2026) with those obtained using the expanded corpus. As can be seen, the general diachronic tendencies identified in the earlier study, in particular the sharp rise of direct speech in the WZ, remain fully robust. A similar robustness is observed for the distribution of indirect speech and source identifiability. The inclusion of additional text types slightly shifts absolute frequencies to some degree but does not alter the overall developmental patterns.

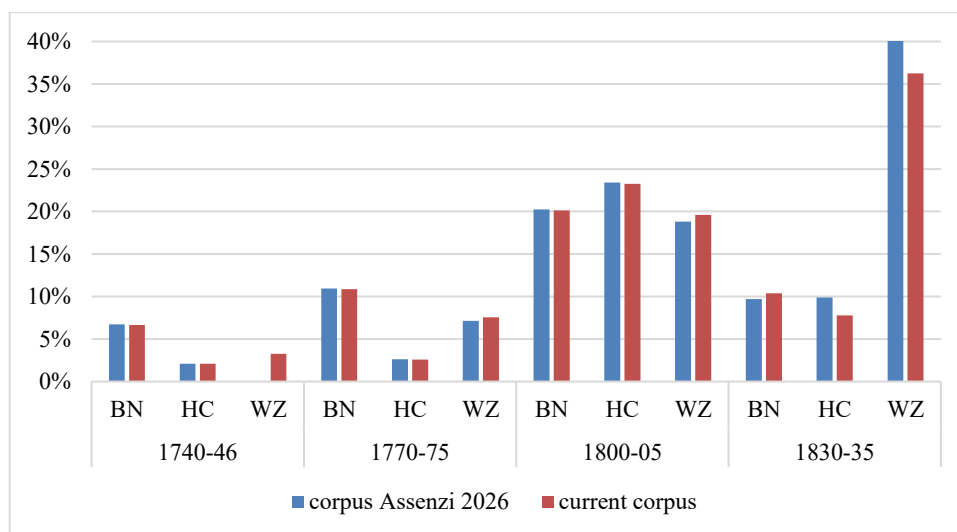


Figure 1: Frequency of direct speech in the three newspapers in Assenzi (2026) and in the current corpus

3 Reported discourse and text types: context and hypotheses

3.1 Text types in German-language newspapers (1740–1835)

From a historical-linguistic perspective, text types are understood as “conventionalized forms of communication that, over the course of time, have proven to be suitable means for addressing specific communicative tasks within a particular domain” (cf. Wille 2020: 83f.).¹ The prototypical features of text types at any given time are a result of historical developments and result from the long-term repetition of recurring patterns in lexis and syntax, textual structure and dominant communicative functions within specific communicative contexts (cf. Schuster/Haaf 2023: 22; Wille 2020: 48f.). Text types are, therefore, dynamic constructs that evolve flexibly in response to changing social, technological, and media conditions (cf. Hauser/Kleinberger/Roth 2014: 7). This, of course, also applies to newspaper text types.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of quotations from German are the authors’ own.

Early newspapers are described by Slauter (2019: 61) as “stigmergic collaborations”, that is, “publications that rely on the contribution of individuals who do not necessarily know that they are all contributing to the same work”. From the very beginning, newspapers have thus been collections of heterogeneous texts and text types. To differentiate newspaper genres, the research literature typically starts with a broad distinction between two main categories: informational and opinion-oriented texts (cf. Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023: 14). However, the boundaries between these categories, as well as the terms and definitions used for specific subtypes, vary depending on the theoretical framework and the historical period under consideration (cf. *ibid.*). As text types are constantly evolving, a definition developed for one historical context may no longer apply in a later one.

Since the present study focuses on reported discourse in informational texts from the 1830s, the following discussion will concentrate specifically on this overarching category and timeframe. As outlined in Section 2, this period can be considered a transitional era in the history of the press. During these years, newspapers changed in parallel with and as a consequence of the social and political transformations brought about by early industrialization, the Enlightenment, and the first democratic movements. A broader and more diverse readership also necessitated the growing professionalization of journalism, which, over time, led to an increasing differentiation of newspaper genres. This process was accompanied by linguistic developments that not only helped mark journalistic writing as a distinct form of communication but also contributed to further specialization within the various press-related text types (cf. Schuster/Wille 2015: 9).

Although the transformations of the late 18th and 19th centuries occurred as part of a gradual continuum, existing research on newspaper genres typically focuses on one century or the other. For instance, Schuster (2014), Schuster/Wille (2015) and Wille (2020) concentrate on the 18th century, Püschel (1991a; 1991b) and Hausendorf (2023) on the 19th. The *t.evo* project (cf. Schuster et al.) investigates the period from 1830 to 1929 (cf. Georgi/Haaf 2023; Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023). These studies often rely on slightly different definitions and nomenclature of text types, depending on their specific temporal and theoretical frameworks.

As the time frame of this study falls between the centuries covered by existing research, neither the definitions of text types developed for 18th-century newspapers nor those used for the 19th-century proved fully adequate. Moreover, the present investigation does not focus on the analysis of text types per se, but rather on the relationship between text types and forms of reported discourse, which is the actual object of inquiry. It was therefore necessary to adopt categories suited both to the specific time under study and to the research question itself. For these reasons, we draw our definitions of text types both from Wille (2020) and Thielert/Schuster/Haaf (2023): from Thielert/Schuster/Haaf (2023), we took the categories ‘news item’ (*Meldung*), ‘brief report’ (*Nachricht*), ‘background report’ (*Hintergrundbericht*), and ‘first-person account’ (*Verlaufsbericht*); from Wille (2020), the ‘external document reproduction’ (*externe Dokumentenwiedergabe*) and *Verlaufsbericht*. However, since the *Verlaufsbericht* in Wille (2020) refers to a different text type than in Thielert/Schuster/Haaf (2023), this genre was renamed ‘protocol’ (*Protokoll*) in the present study for the sake of clarity.

The news item is a characteristic genre of so-called “fact-based journalism”, as it presents the essential facts about a past event in a concise form (cf. Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023: 15). It

follows the principle of pure reporting and focuses strictly on the key aspects of the event, namely, the classic *wh*-questions: who, what, when, and where (cf. Schröder 1995: 151). In other words, the news item serves solely to report that an event has taken place (cf. Püschel 1991b: 435); further contextualization or analysis is absent. A defining feature of the news item is its brevity, which distinguishes it from the slightly more detailed brief report (cf. Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023: 15). Linguistic compression has characterized the news item since the 18th century, particularly through condensed sentence structures and a stronger reliance on nominal constructions (cf. *ibid.*). This trend continued into the 19th century, with explicit sentence structure becoming even more reduced (cf. Püschel 1991b: 435). The stylistic conciseness is not merely an economic measure to save space, it also reinforces the news item's factual orientation and its claim to journalistic objectivity, making it a particularly stable and "timeless" text type (cf. Püschel 1991b: 435). Example (1) can be considered a prototypical news item: it informs readers concisely about an event that has taken place, without any additional explanation:

- (1) Se. K. Maj. haben die Geheimen Canzlei-Räthe Niemeier und Arenhold zu außerordentlichen Beisitzern des Königl. Geheimen-Raths-Collegii ernannt.

(HC, 1 June 1832: 5)

(‘His Royal Majesty has appointed the Privy Chancellery Councillors Niemeier and Arenhold as extraordinary members of the Royal Privy Council’)

If a text goes beyond merely reporting that an event has occurred and also describes its course, possible consequences, and context, it is referred to as a ‘brief report’ (cf. Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023: 15). A brief report is characterized by a somewhat more detailed contextualization, as illustrated in (2). Here, the text states not only that Dr. Elben has died, as a news item would. It also provides information on the final weeks of his life, the course of his illness, and the circumstances of his death. In addition, it acknowledges his contributions to science and announces the potential consequences of his passing for the future.

- (2) Am 17. Nov. starb zu Silistria der Dr. Elben aus Stuttgart, auch in Berlin rühmlichst bekannt. Kaum von einer bedeutenden Krankheit genesen, wurde er von Kalarasch, wo er bei einem kaiserl. russ. Militär=Spital ärztliche Dienste leistete, nach Silistria berufen, und erlag dort, nach wenigen Wochen, einem, durch die Anstrengungen seines Berufs herbeigeführten, Nervenfieber, in einem Alter von 31 Jahren. Die Pest hatte er früher glücklich überstanden. Sein Tod ist für die Wissenschaft ein großer Verlust, indem er sich seit zwei Jahren mit der Beobachtung und den möglichen Heilmitteln der Pest fast ausschließlich beschäftigte. Der russ. Armee an der Donau und den dortigen Spitalern, hat er sehr wichtige Dienste geleistet, und sein Name wird dort noch lange mit Achtung genannt werden.

(BN, 5 January 1830: 6f.)

(‘On 17 November, Dr. Elben from Stuttgart, also held in high regard in Berlin, passed away in Silistria. Having only just recovered from a serious illness, he had been called from Kalarasch, where he had been serving at an imperial Russian military hospital, to Silistria, and there, after only a few weeks, he succumbed to a nervous fever brought on by the demands of his profession, at the age of 31. He had previously survived the plague. His death is a great loss to science, as he had devoted the past two years almost exclusively to studying the plague and its potential cures. He rendered highly valuable services to the Russian army on the Danube and its hospitals, and his name will be remembered there with respect for a long time.’)

The third annotated text type is the background report. This more complex genre goes beyond simply describing an event and places it within broader historical and political contexts (cf. Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023: 16). A key characteristic of the typically longer background report is its detailed supplementary contextual information. Püschel (1991b: 437) notes that this more extensive reporting format can be traced back to the late 18th century, with the earliest (rare) attestations in 1798 (cf. Schuster/Wille 2015: 17). Background reports appear in our corpus only from 1830 onwards. Example (3) illustrates this genre well. It not only announces the publication of a book series on the project of a maritime canal to Paris but also provides information on the project's larger geopolitical and economic context. The report explains how the canal could establish Paris as a seaport and commercial hub, thereby strengthening France's trade autonomy in relation to Great Britain:

- (3) Ueber die äußerst wichtige Unternehmung des See=Canals [sic] von Paris nach Rouen wird in wenigen Tagen ein Werk in 4 Theilen erscheinen, herausgegeben von der Uebernehmer=Compagnie (*compagnie soumissionnaire*) dieses Journales.

Durch ihre geographische Lage sind die Häfen Frankreichs, und besonders die des Seine=Bassins, die natürlichen Häfen von Central=Europa; denn für diesen ganzen Theil Europas sind sie die nächsten Häfen an den Küsten des Oceans [...]

Paris, als Seestadt, als Centralpunct des vorgeschlagenen Canals nach Rouen und des Rhein=Canals, kann mit seinen ungeheuren Capitalien allein den Kampf mit London aushalten und die Verproviantirung von Central=Deutschland mit Colonial= und andern Waaren, die ihm durch England entrissen wurde, wieder erobern. Dieß, sagt die *compagnie soumissionnaire* des See=Canals von Paris nach Rouen, dieß ist der Zweck der Unternehmung, von welcher wir jetzt den ganzen Plan den Urtheile des Publicums in einem 4 Bände starken Werke unterwerfen. Im *Messenger des Chambres* vom 19. December liest man folgenden hierauf bezüglichen Artikel: »Eine Nachricht von der höchsten Wichtigkeit für den Handelsstand von Paris ist uns gestern Abends bey einem unserer ersten Banquiers gegeben worden. Die Stadt Paris wird endlich, ohne Einschränkung, das Entrepot=Recht für die Colonial= und alle Waaren, die vom Ausland eingeführt werden, genießen. [...]«

Man liest im *Journal du Commerce*: Das Entrepot, um das der Pariser Handel seit 15 Jahren ansucht, ist nichts anders als der Credit für die Verbrauchgebühr, den die Mauth dem Handel der Seehäfen und einiger Städte im Innern, z. B. Lyon, Metz, Straßburg, bewilligt [...] Doch versichert man, es frage sich, ob das Entrepot von Paris als Folge des See=Canals betrachtet werde, wodurch dasselbe vom Bau eines See=Canals abhängig würde.

(WZ, 2 January 1830: 2)

(‘A work in four volumes on the highly important undertaking of the sea canal from Paris to Rouen is set to be published in the coming days, issued by the contracting company (*compagnie soumissionnaire*) of this journal.

Due to their geographic location, the ports of France, and particularly those in the Seine basin, are the natural ports of Central Europe; for this entire part of the continent, they are the closest access points to the ocean [...]

Paris, as a seaport and central hub of the proposed canal to Rouen and the Rhine canal, is in a position, thanks to its immense capital resources, to stand up to London and to reclaim the provisioning of Central Germany with colonial and other goods that had been taken over by England. This, according to the *compagnie soumissionnaire* of the Paris–Rouen sea canal, is the aim of the project, the complete plan of which is now being submitted for public judgment in a four-volume publication.

The *Messenger des Chambres* of 19 December contains the following related article: “A piece of news of the highest importance for the Parisian trade community was brought to us last night by one of our foremost bankers. The city of Paris will finally, without restriction, enjoy entrepôt rights for colonial and all imported goods. [...]”

From the *Journal du Commerce*: The entrepôt that Parisian merchants have been seeking for the past 15 years is essentially a credit system for customs duties, granted by the customs authority to the ports and to certain inland cities, such as Lyon, Metz, and Strasbourg [...] However, it is now being claimed that the Paris entrepôt is being viewed as a consequence of the sea canal, making it dependent on the canal’s construction.’)

Another long format of news article was the first-person account. According to Thielert/Schuster/Haaf (2023: 16), this genre belongs to the category of descriptive and narrative text types. The first-person account can be considered a forerunner of today’s on-site reporting. It provides a detailed description of how an event unfolded by addressing the “how?” question and reconstructing its chronological progression (cf. Thielert/Schuster/Haaf 2023: 16). Many such texts were originally written in the form of letters: correspondents often reported from a collective “we” perspective, and occasionally from a personal “I” perspective but without adopting the subjective tone typical of modern reportage (cf. Püschel 1991b: 437). In example (4), this on-the-ground reporting is made evident by deictic expressions like *hiesig* (‘local’) or *hier* (‘here’), as well as through the narrative structure in which the events are laid out chronologically. This is particularly apparent in the use of dialogue, temporal clauses (e. g. *als der König bemerkete...* ‘when the king noticed...’), and in the labeling of the incident itself as a *scene*.

- (4) Eine Deputation des hiesigen Magistrats war am Tage vor der Abreise Sr. Maj. des Königs nach Sternberg vorausgeeilt, um hier dem hohen Reisenden, mit einem nochmaligen Lebewohl, die innigsten Glückwünsche zu überbringen. Es war eine ergreifende und rührende Scene [...] Als der König bemerkte, wie die im Dienste begriffene Gastwirthin umsonst die Tränen zurückzuhalten suchte, und endlich in lautes Weinen und Schluchzen ausbrach, fragte er sie theilnehmend: „Warum weinen Sie so heftig, liebe Frau?“ – „Wie sollte ich nicht weinen.“ war ihre Antwort, daß Ew. Maj. sich so weit und so lange von Ihrer Familie und Ihrem Lande entfernen!“ – „Beruhigen Sie sich.“ erwiderte der König, selbst über dieses Mitgefühl und diese Theilnahme tief bewegt: „Gott wird mich schützen, und mich glücklich wieder in Eure Mitte zurückführen. Ich weiß es, mein Volk wird für mich beten, wie ich für sie Alle täglich zu Gott bete.“ Hierauf verlangte er von ihr ein Gebetbuch [...] Die Posthalterfrau hat das Gebetbuch dem Hrn. Bürgermeister als ein theures Andenken des unvergeßlichen Abschiedes überlassen.

(BN, 2 December 183: 1)

(‘A delegation from the local magistrate had set out the day before His Majesty the King’s departure for Sternberg to offer him one final farewell and express their heartfelt wishes. It was a moving and emotional scene [...] When the king noticed that the innkeeper’s wife, who was still on duty, was struggling in vain to hold back her tears and finally broke into loud weeping and sobs, he asked her with compassion: “Why are you crying so bitterly, dear lady?” – “How could I not cry,” she replied, “when Your Majesty is going so far away, and for so long, from your family and your country!” – “Do not be troubled,” the king responded, himself visibly moved by her empathy and concern. “God will protect me and bring me back safely to you all. I know my people will pray for me, just as I pray for them every day.” He then asked her for a prayer book [...] The postmaster’s wife later gave the prayer book to the mayor as a treasured keepsake of this unforgettable farewell.’)

The next information-based text type we identified in our corpus is the protocol. This genre encompasses longer, “protocol-like” texts (cf. Wille 2020: 156), which in our corpus take on the form of summaries of council or parliamentary meetings. An example is given in (5):

- (5) [...] Gestern in der Repräsentanten-Kammer [...] brachte Hr. Dumortier jene Angelegenheit zur Sprache, mit der Bemerkung, es sey nicht das erste Mal, daß unser Botschafter in London eine Note in die Tasche gesteckt habe, und welche Bewandniß es mit der ministeriellen Verantwortlichkeit habe, wenn ein Regierungs-Agent sich dergleichen erlauben dürfe? Der Minister der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten beklagte, daß die Note zu einer unzeitigen und nachtheiligen Oeffentlichkeit gelangt sey, inzwischen entspreche sie ganz seiner Ansicht und jener der Regierung. [...] Der Minister erwiederte, Hr. van de Weyer habe sein Ehrenwort darauf gegeben. Die HH. Osy und Lebeau meinten, ein Minister, dessen Befehlen man keine Folge leiste, müsse abtreten [...]

(HC, 1 June 1832: 2f.)

(‘[...] Yesterday in the Chamber of Representatives [...] Mr. Dumortier raised the issue, remarking that this was not the first time our ambassador in London had pocketed a note, and questioning what this meant for ministerial responsibility if a government agent was allowed to act in such a way. The Minister of Foreign Affairs lamented that the note had become public at an inopportune and damaging time, though he added that it entirely reflected his own views and those of the government [...] The minister replied that Mr. van de Weyer had given his word of honor. Messrs. Osy and Lebeau argued that a minister whose orders were not followed ought to resign [...]’)

The external document reproduction refers to treatises, official records, contracts, cabinet notes, legislative texts, government announcements and letters, as well as speeches by high-ranking officials, ministers, kings or emperors which are reproduced either in full or in excerpts in their original wording (cf. Wille 2020: 158). The reproduced documents are not accompanied by commentary or placed into a broader interpretive framework. Only a thematic heading contextualizes the document’s content (cf. Wille 2020: 158). This can be seen in (6), the reproduction of a royal decree:

- (6) Das neueste baier. Regierungsblatt enthält folgende k. Verordnung: „Ludwig etc. [...] so verordnen und befehlen wir hiermit, das in solcher Beziehung die näheren Bestimmungen, wie sie in der Beilage zusammengefaßt sind, unverweilt durch das Regierungsblatt des Königreiches und durch des Amtsblatt des Rheinkreises zur Wissenschaft und Darnachachtung bekannt gemacht werden. München, am 22. Dez. 1828. Ludwig. – Graf v. Armanberg. Auf k. allerhöchsten Befehl; durch den Minister, der Generalsekretair v. Baumüller.“

(BN, 5 Janury 1830: 1)

(‘The latest Bavarian government bulletin contains the following royal decree: “Ludwig, etc. [...] we hereby decree and command that the specific provisions related to this matter, as summarized in the annex, be promptly made known for public awareness and observance via the government bulletin of the kingdom and the official gazette of the Rhine district. Munich, 22 December 1828. Ludwig – Count of Armanberg. By royal highest command; through the minister, General Secretary von Baumüller.”’)

3.2 Hypotheses

The following sections will investigate whether the distribution of the previously described text types varies across the three newspapers, and whether these differences can account for the divergent developments in reported discourse, particularly the marked increase in direct speech

in the *Wiener Zeitung*. Based on the assumption that there is a relationship between the text type and the realization of reported discourse, we formulate the following null hypothesis:

H₀ – There is no relationship between text types and the forms of reported discourse in the three newspapers studied. Differences in text type distribution cannot account for the observed developments in reported discourse.

The corresponding main hypothesis assumes, by contrast, that text types do indeed influence the choice of reported discourse forms. From this, the following hypotheses are derived:

H₁ – Text types influence the realization of reported discourse.

Given that direct speech in this period tends to be relatively long, we can reasonably formulate the following sub-hypothesis:

H_{1.1} – Direct speech appears less frequently in shorter formats such as news items and brief reports, and more frequently in longer formats, particularly in first-person accounts and background reports.

Another sub-hypothesis is derived from the dialogic nature of protocols, which are based on the reproduction of parliamentary sessions and often involve frequent speaker changes:

H_{1.2} – Protocols favor the use of more dynamic forms of reported discourse, such as direct speech, *berichtete Rede*, or indirect speech with verb-second word order, that more strongly convey the perspective of the quoted speakers (cf. Leistner 2016: 169; Assenzi 2023: 147f.).

If **H₁** is confirmed, the next step is to test **H₂**:

H₂ – The differing developments in reported discourse in the *Wiener Zeitung* compared to the *Berlinische Nachrichten* and the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* can be attributed to differences in the frequency of particular text types.

H_{2.1} – The *Wiener Zeitung* features fewer short formats such as news items, while longer forms such as first-person accounts and background reports are more common.

H_{2.2} – In the *Wiener Zeitung*, certain text types that are typically realized without direct speech in the other two newspapers contain more instances of direct speech.

Section 4 first presents the corpus we used to test these hypotheses, and the criteria used for corpus annotation. This is followed by a descriptive analysis of the text-type features in each newspaper, and then a statistical testing of these results.

4 Corpus and method

To test the hypotheses outlined above, a corpus was compiled from three German-language newspapers published between 1830 and 1835. The corpus comprises four issues each of the *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen* (BN), the *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheiischen Correspondenten* (HC), and the *Wiener Zeitung* (WZ). In total, it comprises 60,753 words, distributed across 572 annotated text samples containing 660 instances of reported discourse at Level 1, i. e., instances of reported discourse not embedded within a higher-level reported discourse segment. The BN issues were digitized on-site during a research stay at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (2021). The WZ issues were retrieved via the online platform ANNO; its issues, along with those of the BN, were consequently

transcribed using *Transkribus* (cf. read-coop). For the HC, the digitized and transcribed editions present in the *Deutsches Textarchiv* were used.

The study was carried out in four phases: 1) annotation of reported discourse, 2) annotation of text types, 3) descriptive analysis of the collected data (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2), and 4) statistical analysis using generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMMs). The details of the statistical analysis are presented in Section 5.3.

Newspaper	Issues	Words	Nr. Texts	Nr. RD Iv11
<i>Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und gelehrten Sachen</i> (BN)	5 January and 3 June 1830 / 1 May and 2 December 1835	23.094	316	260
<i>Staats und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheiischen Correspondenten</i> (HC)	1 June, 2 June, 4 June and 5 June 1832	19.981	156	231
<i>Wiener Zeitung</i> (WZ)	2 January and 1 June 1830 / 3 January and 3 June 1835	17.678	100	169
		60.753	572	660

Table 1: Corpus composition

The annotation of reported discourse was conducted as part of Assenzi (2026). In the project, reported discourse is broadly defined as the reproduction of the content of an earlier communicative situation A in a later communicative situation B (cf. Assenzi 2026). A detailed account of each category is provided in Assenzi (2026); a summary is given below, with a brief explanation of those forms of reported discourse that are specific to German. In the following examples, the reporting clause is underlined with a solid line, the reported clause with a dotted line.

Direct Speech (DIR):

- (7) Weiterhin meldet sie [= die *Gazette*]: „Gestern ist Se. Maj. nach Compiègne abgereist und wird erst Sonnabend zurückkommen [...]“

(BN, 3 June 1830: 4)

(‘It (= the *Gazette*) further reports: “Yesterday His Majesty departed for Compiègne and will not return until Saturday [...]”’)

Embedded Indirect Speech with Finite Verb or Infinitive Construction (IND):

- (8) Man schreibt aus Livorno, daß nicht bloß der Herzog von Modena, sondern auch der König von Neapel das Geld zu der Expedition der Herzogin v. Berri hergeschossen habe.

(HC, 2 June 1832: 2)

(‘It is reported from Livorno that not only the Duke of Modena, but also the King of Naples contributed funds to the expedition of the Duchess of Berri.’)

Indirect Speech with Verb-Second Position (IND.V2):

- (9) Er sagte unter Anderm, das Englische Tory=Ministerium sey jetzt vollständig [...].

(WZ, 3 January 1835: 8)

(‘Among other things, he said the English Tory ministry was now complete’)

Berichtete Rede (BER) – a form of reported discourse specific to the German language that takes the shape of an independent main clause in the present subjunctive (*Konjunktiv I*). In

German, this mood is used specifically to mark reported discourse (cf. Fabricius-Hansen/Solfjeld/Pitz 2018: 132–136). In our corpus, BER always occurs within extended passages of reported discourse, and it is always clear from the preceding context whose words are being reported. For example, in (10), the sentence in the BER must be interpreted as a continuation of the previously quoted speech act by Mr. Constant: It is Mr. Constant himself who stated that he would soon comment on the issue:

- (10) Im *Courr. fr.* setzt Hr. B. Constant das System auseinander, welches die Kammer in der nächsten Session befolgen müsse. [...] Ueber die Angelegenheit der Budgets=Verweigerung werde (SBJ) er sich nächstens aussprechen.

(BN, 5 January 1830: 4)

(‘In the *Courr. Fr.*, Mr. B. Constant sets out the system that the chamber should follow in its next session. [...] He will (SBJ) soon comment on the issue of budget refusal.’)

Incorporation (INC) – in this condensed form of indirect speech, the reported information is conveyed through a prepositional or nominal phrase embedded under a speech act predicate (cf. Leistner 2016: 89). This form is also known as narrative report or narrator’s representation of speech acts (cf. Semino/Short 2004: 52f.).

- (11) Der Redner spricht von der allgemeinen Abneigung gegen die Jurisdiction des Pairshofes [...]

(WZ, 3 June 1835: 648)

(‘The speaker talks about the general aversion toward the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Peers’)

Prepositional Indication of an Information Source (PP) (cf. Carlsen 1994):

- (12) Laut den diesen Abend uns zukommenden Tagsblättern haben Freitag Abends und Sonnabend Morgens zu Nancy Unordnung vor mehreren Bäckerladen stattgehabt.

(HC, 5 June 1832: 3)

(‘According to the daily papers that reached us this evening, there were disturbances in front of several bakeries in Nancy on Friday evening and Saturday morning.’)

Parenthetical Indication of an Information Source (PAR) (cf. Pittner 1993; Pittner/Frey 2023):

- (13) Die Minister Peyronnet und Capelle können sich, wie es heißt, über die Abgränzung ihrer Ministerien nicht einigen.

(BN, 3 June 1830: 4)

(‘Ministers Peyronnet and Capelle, as it is said, are unable to agree on the delimitation of their respective ministries.’)

Reportive *sollen* (SOLL) – the modal verb *sollen* (‘should’) can mark a sentence as being reported from a source without mentioning it. Thus, *sollen* is a reportive marker, or a marker of hearsay (cf. Vanderbiesen 2018):

- (14) Die Arbeiten über die Liquidation der Staatsgüterankäufe sollen beendigt seyn.

(WZ, 3 June 1835: 649)

(‘The work on the liquidation of the purchases of state property is said to be completed.’)

Reportive *wollen* (WOLL) – In German, the verb *wollen* (‘want’) can be used to attribute a statement to the subject of the sentence while simultaneously signaling skepticism towards the truth of the reported content (cf. Mortelmans/Vanderbiesen 2011; Vanderbiesen 2014). In this function, *wollen* is comparable to English verbs such as *claim* or *allege*.

(15) Man wollte Nachrichten aus Madrid vom 18 d. erhalten haben.

(BN, 2 December 1835: 3)

(‘One claimed to have received news from Madrid dated the 18th.’)

The annotation of text types was carried out according to the categories and criteria presented in Section 3.1. Segmenting the news texts posed a particular challenge due to the specific structure of historical newspapers, which typically consist of dense text blocks with little to no typographic structuring in which various reports are arranged in order of arrival and with only brief headings (cf. Schuster 2014: 259). However, these headings are not thematic titles, but merely indicate the origin of the news, sometimes supplemented by a date, such as “Hanover, 29 May” (HC, 1 June 1832: 5). It was therefore necessary to manually separate consecutive reports within these blocks. Possible indicators for segmentation included the rare use of paragraph breaks, horizontal lines, or shifts in topic or perspective (Figure 2). In addition, the word count of each report and the number of reported discourse instances (Level 1) were annotated.

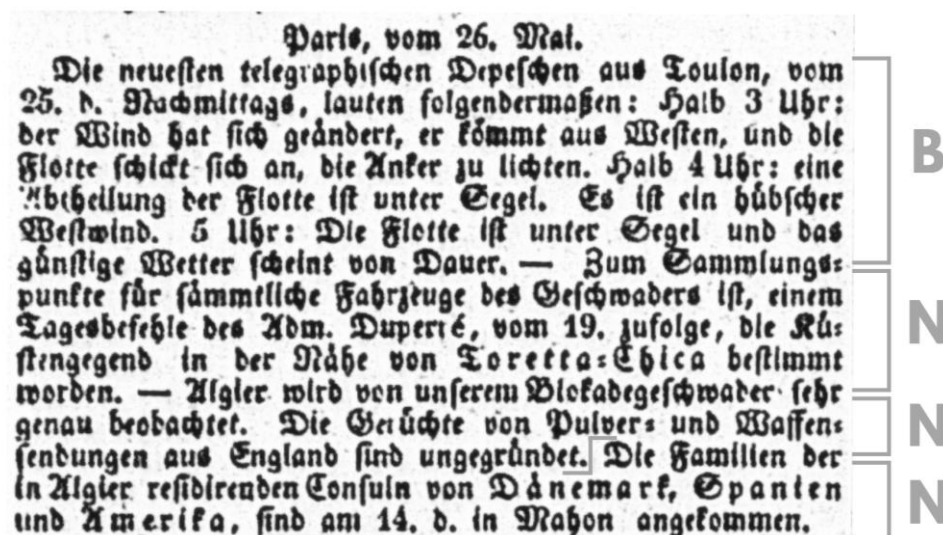


Figure 2: Separation of individual items by horizontal lines or thematic shifts (BN 3 June 1830: 4)

The following sections present the results of the corpus analysis. First, a descriptive account is given of the characteristics and distribution of text types across the three newspapers, followed by the presentation of the statistical findings. The methodological details of the statistical analysis are discussed in depth in Section 5.3.

5 Results

5.1 Characteristics and distribution of text types in the three newspapers

As a first step in the analysis, the word count of each report was annotated in order to determine the average length of each text type. This is relevant because, according to Hypothesis 1.1, a correlation is assumed between text length and the frequency of direct speech. If it is true that direct speech tended to be longer in this period, it would be expected to appear less frequently in shorter formats such as news items and brief reports and more frequently in more extensive formats like the first-person account or the background report.

The results show fundamental differences among the analyzed text types. With an average length of just 28.70 words per item, the news item (N) emerges as the shortest form of journalistic writing in the corpus. This aligns with its characteristic function: to deliver concise, factual information, stripped down to the essential elements of an event. The brief report (B) is longer, averaging 94.87 words. This greater length reflects the function of this text type, that goes beyond simply reporting that an event occurred by including additional contextual or descriptive details. As shown in Figure 3, all other text types are longer, which can again be explained by their specific communicative functions: the first-person account (FP) presents chronological developments in detail and addresses questions of how events unfolded, while the background report (BG) situates events within a broader context. Protocols (P) are characterized by their structured rendering of meetings or negotiation outcomes, and external document reproduction (ED) involves the full reproduction of original documents such as treaties or legal texts.

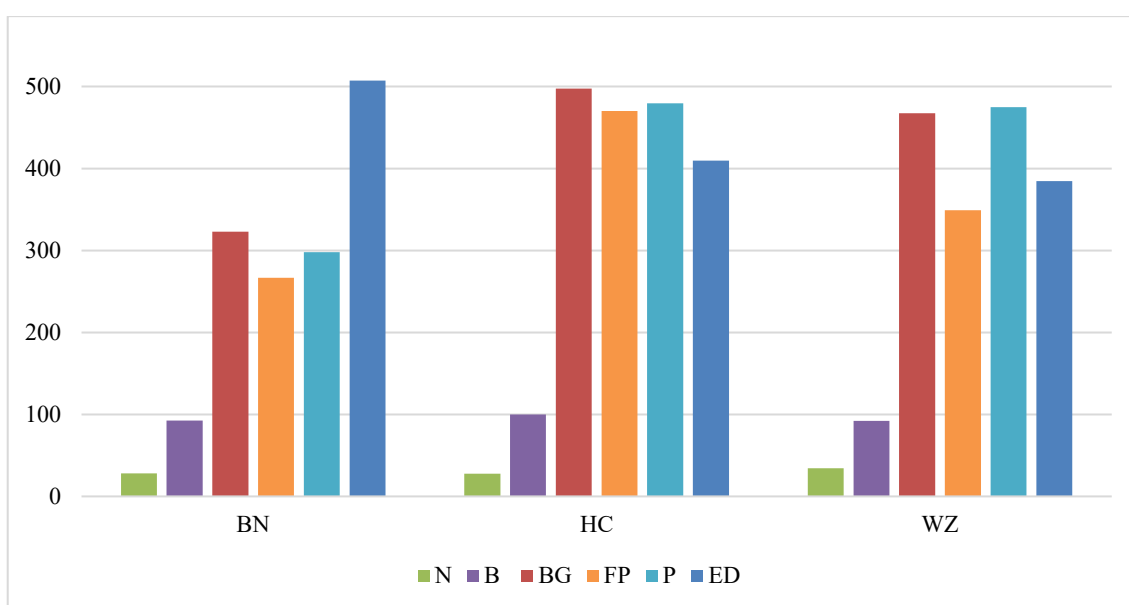


Figure 3: Average length of individual reports by text type (in words)

Notably, both news items (N) and brief reports (B) exhibit similar average lengths across all three newspapers. By contrast, the other text types display greater variation in length from one newspaper to another. This, however, is likely due to their lower frequency in the corpus.

As shown in Figure 4, news items (N) and brief reports (B) are the most frequent text types across all three newspapers, although their exact frequency varies by press product. News items appear more often in the BN, while they are somewhat less common in the HC and WZ. In the HC, the brief report is the most frequent text type, whereas in the BN and WZ it ranks second.

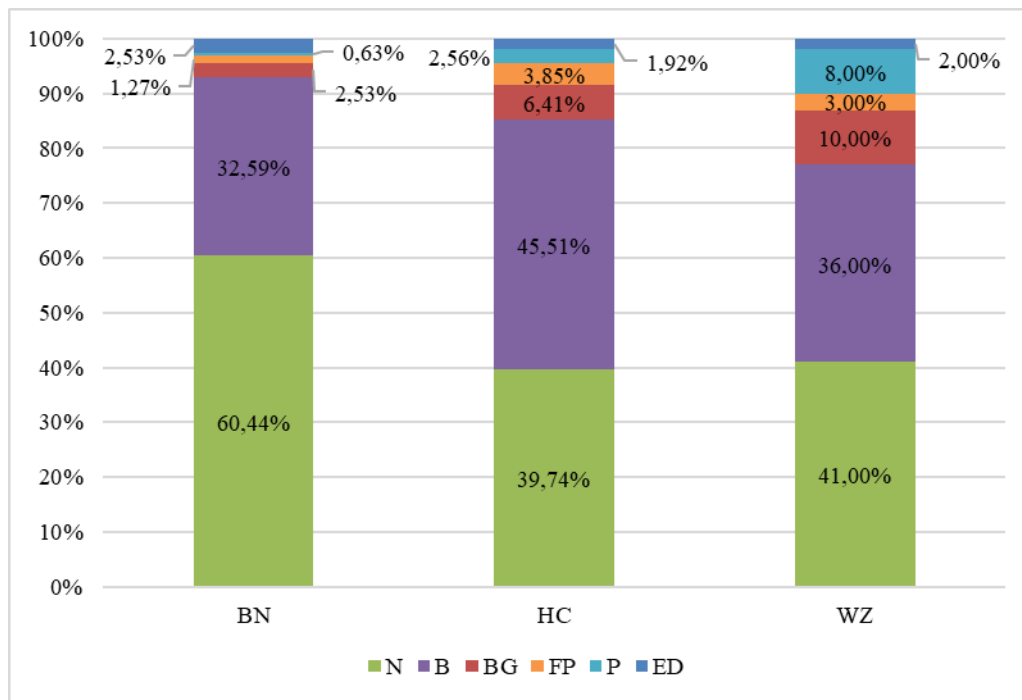


Figure 4: Distribution of text types in the three newspapers

The uneven distribution of text types also explains why more than half of all annotated reports in the corpus come from the BN (see Table 1). Since the BN contains a particularly high proportion of news items, by far the shortest text type, each issue of the BN includes more individual texts in absolute terms than comparable issues of the other two newspapers. A closer look at the distribution of text types across the three newspapers also reveals that the WZ uses longer text types more frequently than the BN and HC. While shorter formats such as news items (N) brief reports (B) also dominate in the WZ, the longer text types such as protocols (P) and background reports (BG) occur more frequently there than in the BN and HC. In addition to average length and distribution, the analysis also revealed how many instances of reported discourse (Level 1) occur, on average, within each text type. Figure 5 illustrates that the use of reported discourse varies considerably across text types, and that some text types often contain no reported discourse at all.²

² In the box plot, the X represents the arithmetic mean, while the horizontal line within each box indicates the median, i. e., the central value of an ordered data set that divides it into two equal halves. To illustrate this with an example: the median for protocols is 7. This means that half of all protocols contain between 2 and 7 instances of reported discourse, while the other half contain between 7 and 31. In this case, the median is more representative than the mean value of 10.5, which is skewed upward by a small number of outliers that contain up to 31 instances of reported discourse.

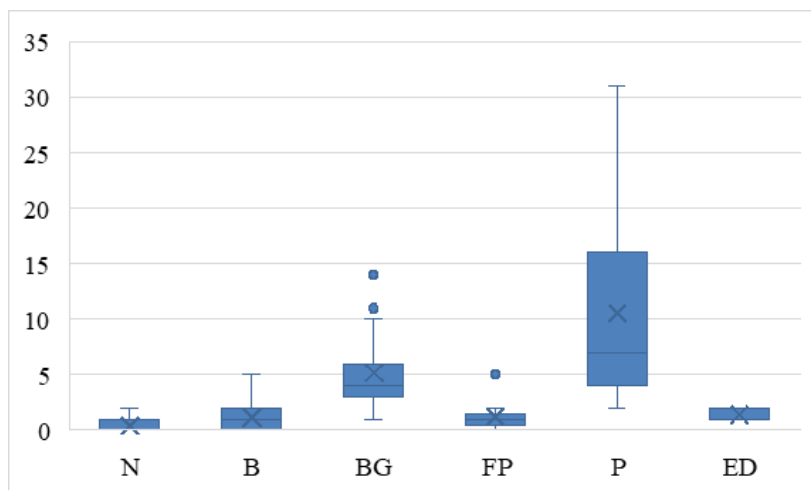


Figure 5: Number of reported discourse instances (level 1) per text type

For news items (N), Figure 5 shows a very low median close to zero. This indicates that the vast majority of news items contain no instances of reported discourse. A typical example is (16). This example reflects the characteristic brevity and compactness of the news item, which confines itself to the straightforward communication of a single event, often without referencing others' statements. The mean is slightly higher than the median, which is due to a few news items containing one, or very rarely two, instances of reported discourse.

- (16) Der österr. Botschafter, Graf Appony, hat gestern früh eine Conferenz mit dem Herzog v. Broglie im Ministerium der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten gehabt.

(BN, 1 May 1835: 4)

(‘The Austrian ambassador, Count Appony, had a meeting yesterday morning with the Duke of Broglie at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.’)

A substantial portion of brief reports (B) contain no reported discourse at all, only a few include as many as four or five instances, and the majority features exactly one, as illustrated in (17). Here, indirect speech is used to integrate information from an official document issued by the Secretary of State:

- (17) Aus Bogota sind Nachrichten bis zum 12 (sic) März angelangt [...] Ein Bericht des Staatssecretsairs der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten besagt, daß die Verhältnisse Neugranadas mit England auf dem freundschaftlichsten Fuße fortbestehen, obwohl der Posten eines Ministers am Londoner Hofe durch den Tod des Hrn. Madrid erledigt ist [...]

(HC, 4 June 1832: 7)

(‘News has arrived from Bogotá up to 12 March [...] A report by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs states that the relations between New Granada and England remain on the most amicable terms, despite the fact that the ministerial post at the Court of London has been left vacant by the death of Mr. Madrid [...].’)

First-person accounts (FP) show a similar median to brief reports, but the smaller box indicates less variation. In fact, most first-person accounts contain exactly one instance of reported discourse. The mean is only slightly higher than the median, due to a single outlier with five instances that slightly raises the average. The generally low number of reported discourse instances in first-person accounts can be explained by the characteristics of this text type: in on-site reporting, external sources are not necessarily required, as the correspondent primarily acts

as an eyewitness, documenting events directly. In the few cases where reported discourse is used, it typically involves utterances by key figures involved in the reported event. For instance, the mentioned outlier with five instances of reported discourse results from the inclusion of a dialogue rendered in direct speech (see (4) in Section 3.1).

Background reports (BG) invariably contain at least one instance of reported discourse. For this text type, the median is four instances, with maximum values reaching up to 14. The high number of reported discourse instances in background reports can be attributed to their detailed nature and the need to incorporate multiple sources of information. As illustrated in example (3) in Section 3.1, a typical background report brings together different perspectives and statements in order to convey a comprehensive picture of the reported event.

External document reproductions (ED) likewise never appear without reported discourse and typically contain only one or two instances. As EDs serve to directly reproduce content from other sources, they mostly contain only one instance of reported discourse in order to introduce the quoted document. This is clearly illustrated in example (6) (Section 3.1).

Protocols (P) contain, on average, more instances of reported discourse than any other text type. This is due to the fundamental structure of parliamentary protocols, which are characterized by frequent speaker changes. An example of this can be seen in the abbreviated protocol presented in example (5). Protocols fulfill their documentary function precisely by recording the utterances of various speakers within an institutional communicative setting.

These distribution patterns reinforce the distinct communicative functions of the respective text types: while short, information-focused formats such as news items typically contain no reported discourse, and brief reports generally include just one instance, certain text types, such as background reports, protocols and external document reproductions, are inherently dependent on the presence of reported discourse.

5.2 Text Types and Reported Discourse Forms

Section 5.1 has already identified initial differences in the distribution and use of reported discourse: some text types, such as brief reports, first-person accounts, or external document reproductions, contain only a small number of instances, while others, e. g., news items, are typically realized without any reported discourse at all. In contrast, background reports and protocols tend to feature a higher number of reported discourse instances.

The next step is to examine whether there are also differences in the forms of reported discourse used across these text types, and whether those differences are statistically significant, that is, whether the text type has a measurable influence on how reported discourse is realized. As this article focuses in particular on the divergent developments in the frequency of direct speech across the three newspapers under investigation, the following analysis concentrates on this form of reported discourse. *Berichtete Rede* (BER) and indirect speech with verb-second (IND.V2) are also included, as they are relevant for testing Hypothesis 1.2.

Table 2 and Table 3 present the distribution of different forms of reported discourse across text types, aggregated across all three newspapers. Particularly revealing are the normalized frequencies shown in Table 3, which provide initial indications that the form in which reported

discourse is realized may depend on text type. For instance, first-person accounts (FP) and external document reproductions (ED) are realized with direct speech (DIR) at above-average rates. However, since these two text types account for only 24 of the 660 instances of reported discourse identified in the corpus, the explanatory power of this result is likely limited. More meaningful, by contrast, appears to be the correlation between background reports (BG) and direct speech (DIR), as well as the marked rarity of direct speech in news items (N).

	DIR	BER	IND.V2	IND	INC	PAR	PP	SOLL	WOLL	total
N	3	1	3	31	33	3	13	17		104
B	25	8	28	69	63	7	18	21	2	241
BG	37	8	10	34	35	6	4	10		144
FP	9			3	3	1				16
P	18	27	23	43	25	1				137
ED	14			1	2			1		18
total	106	44	64	181	161	18	35	49	2	660

Table 2: Reported discourse across text types – all newspapers, absolute numbers

	DIR	BER	IND.V2	IND	INC	PAR	PP	SOLL	WOLL
N	2.88%	0.96%	2.88%	29.81%	31.73%	2.88%	12.50%	16.35%	
B	10.37%	3.32%	11.62%	28.63%	26.14%	2.90%	7.47%	8.71%	0.83%
BG	25.69%	5.56%	6.94%	23.61%	24.31%	4.17%	2.78%	6.94%	
FP	56.25%			18.75%	18.75%	6.25%			
P	13.14%	19.71%	16.79%	31.39%	18.25%	0.73%			
ED	77.78%			5.56%	11.11%			5.56%	
total	16.06%	6.67%	9.70%	27.42%	24.39%	2.73%	5.30%	7.42%	0.30%

Table 3: Reported discourse across text types – all newspapers, percentages

The *berichtete Rede* (BER) is comparatively rare, accounting for only 6.67% of all instances of reported discourse in the corpus. However, in protocols (P) this form of reported discourse is particularly frequent, reaching 19.71%. A similar distribution pattern is found for indirect speech with verb-second (IND.V2), which occurs in noteworthy numbers only in protocols (P) and brief reports (B).

By contrast, indirect speech and incorporation are well represented across all text types. The remaining forms of reported discourse are infrequent overall but exhibit notable text type preferences: prepositional indications of an information source (PP) and reportive *sollen* (SOLL) occur at above-average rates in news items (N). As especially compact forms of reported discourse, they align well with the brevity that characterizes this text type.

Not only the text type but also the individual newspaper appears to influence how reported discourse is realized. As illustrated in Figure 6, direct speech is used more frequently across

nearly all text types in the WZ than in the BN or HC. This difference is particularly striking in the cases of brief reports (B), first-person accounts (FP) and background reports (BG).

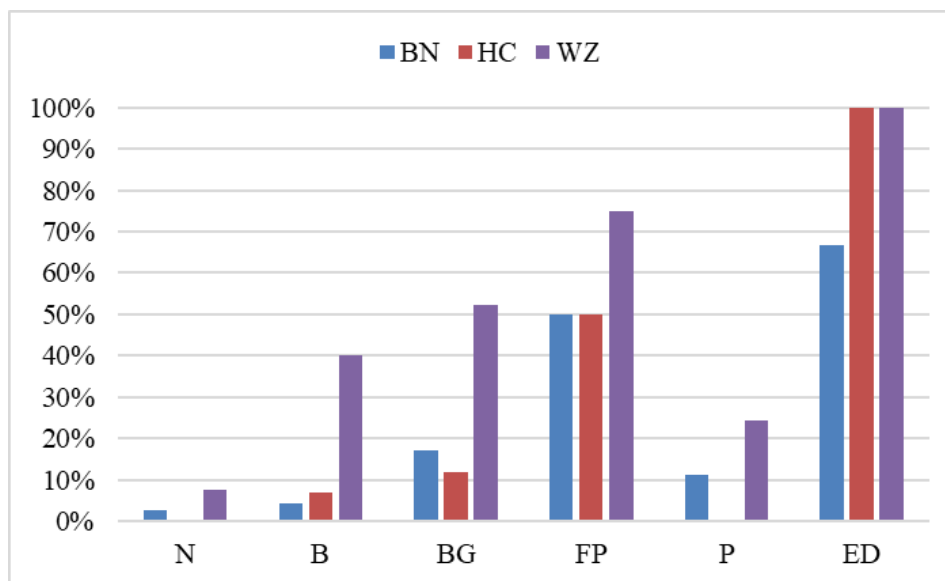


Figure 6: Frequency of direct speech (DIR) by text type and newspaper

A similar pattern applies to *berichtete Rede* (BER) and indirect speech with verb-second (IND.V2). BER is used primarily in protocols (P) and background reports (BG) across all three newspapers. It is less common in brief reports (B) and appears there only in the BN and WZ. In news items (N), it is extremely rare and occurs only in the BN. Notably, BER appears more frequently in protocols (P) of the WZ than in those of the HC or BN, as shown in Figure 7.

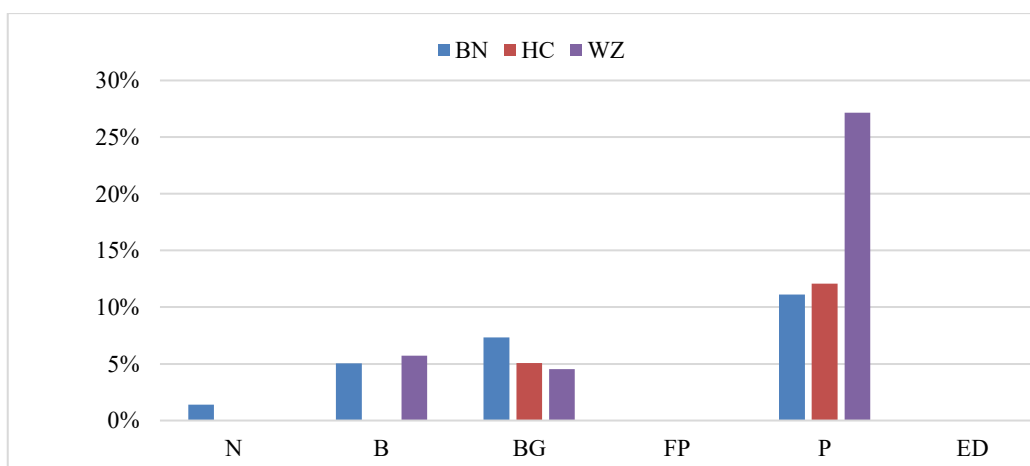


Figure 7: Frequency of *berichtete Rede* (BER) by text type and newspaper

Figure 8 shows that the use of indirect speech with verb-second (IND.V2) also displays both similarities and differences across the three newspapers. In all three papers, IND.V2 occurs primarily in protocols (P) and brief reports (B), and less frequently in background reports (BG) and news items (N). However, it is significantly more common in protocols (P) and brief reports (B) from the HC than in those from the WZ, and it is entirely absent from protocols (P) in the BN.

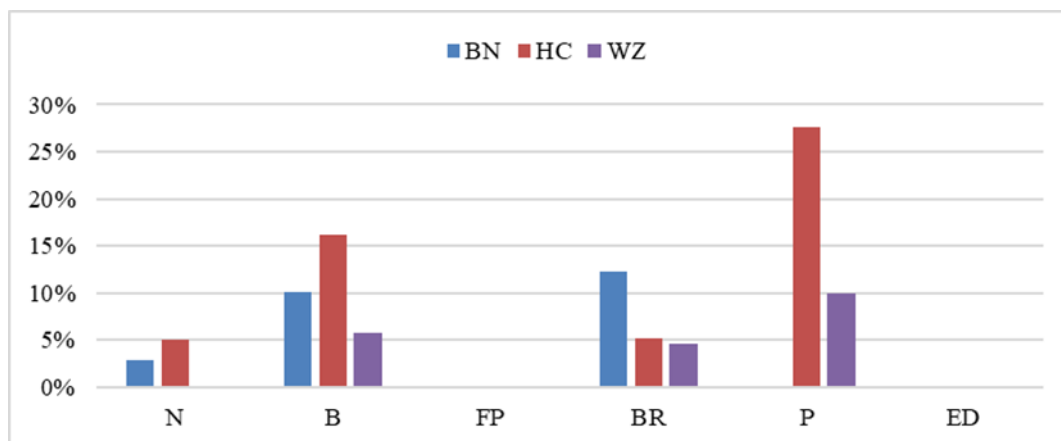


Figure 8: Frequency of indirect speech with verb-second (IND.V2) by text type and newspaper

The differing distribution of reported discourse forms thus appears to be influenced not only by text type but also by the individual newspaper. The following section will statistically test whether these patterns are statistically significant and whether they meaningfully explain the variation in the realization of reported discourse across the newspapers in question, in other words, whether text type and newspaper can be identified as relevant factors influencing the forms in which reported discourse is realized.

5.3 Mixed-effects statistical analysis

The aim of the statistical analysis is to investigate whether two nominal independent variables, text type and newspaper, significantly influence a nominal, non-binary dependent variable: the form of reported discourse. The analysis places particular emphasis on the categories IND.V2, DIR, and BER.

A key challenge in the analysis was cell sparsity, as certain forms of reported discourse occur too infrequently in the corpus. Given the complexity of the original model, we addressed this issue by combining the less frequent forms parenthetical (PAR), prepositional indication of an information source (PP), SOLL, and WOLL into a new category labeled PaWoSo. This grouping is theoretically justified: these forms share several characteristics, including their status as more compressed realizations of reported discourse, a stronger orientation toward the author's perspective, the absence of an explicit reporting clause, and their classification as reportive strategies.

In the original analysis, we employed multinomial logistic regression in SPSS. However, we overlooked a critical aspect of our dataset: while it comprises 306 single annotated texts, only 61.7% ($n = 189$) contain a single instance of reported discourse. The remaining texts include 59 texts with two instances of reported discourse and 58 texts with three or more, with one text featuring as many as 31 instances of reported discourse.

One of the anonymous reviewers raised concerns about the non-independence of reported discourse tokens within texts, noting that texts from the same author may reflect author-specific preferences (cf. Gradoville 2019; Szmrecsanyi 2005). As Winter/Grice (2021: 1261) observe, "a speaker or writer is more likely to use a particular construction again after it has recently been used, thus making expressions syntagmatically closer to each other more statistically dependent". The reviewer thus recommended using mixed-effects models to account for this

dependency. We fully concur with this recommendation, although defining what constitutes an article in a historical newspaper presents several challenges. As noted in Section 4, historical newspapers feature blocks of text in which news items are arranged in order of arrival, with only brief headings indicating regional origin and dates. In the time under investigation, there is no clear authorship of journalistic texts: articles are unsigned, and it is unclear whether content under the same heading was written by a single individual or compiled by an editor from multiple sources. Furthermore, the extent to which the text reflects the original report or rather carries traces of editorial manipulation remains indeterminable.

Given these ambiguities, the decision of what to consider a single article is ultimately arbitrary. For this analysis, we opted to use the individual text IDs assigned during annotation, rather than the broader graphic units under headings (which we did not originally annotate), as the basis for modeling text-level effects.

To address the reviewer’s concerns, we re-analyzed the data using generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMMs). This approach allows us to account for the contribution of individual texts, as segmented during annotation, to the overall pattern of results (cf. Gries 2015). The inclusion of a random intercept for text ID controls for within-text clustering and text-specific baseline preferences (cf. Gries 2015; Winter/Grice 2021). The models were fitted using `lme4::glmer()` in R 4.5.1.

Given the focus on three specific forms of reported discourse (RD), we employed three binomial logistic generalized linear mixed-effects models. Each model predicted the use of one focal RD form (DIR, IND.V2, or BER) against all other forms. The models included fixed effects for newspaper (3 levels) and text type (6 levels), as well as a random intercept for individual texts ($n = 306$).

Initially, we explored models that included the interaction between newspaper and text type. However, these models failed to converge (degenerate Hessian matrix), likely due to the relatively small size of the corpus (660 RD tokens) and the presence of sparse or unobserved variable combinations. To address this, we opted for a more parsimonious additive model, which yielded stable and interpretable estimates for the main effects of newspaper and text type.

Variable “reported discourse form”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Berichtete Rede (BER) 2. Direct speech (DIR) 3. Indirect speech with verb-second (IND.V2) 4. Indirect speech (IND) 5. Incorporation (INC) 6. Prepositional and parenthetical indication of information source, reportive <i>wollen</i> and <i>sollen</i> (PaWoSo)
Variable “newspaper”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Berlinische Nachrichten</i> (BN) – reference category 2. <i>Hamburgischer Correspondent</i> (HC) 3. <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> (WZ)
Variable “text type”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News Item (N) 2. Brief report (B) – reference category 3. Background report (BG) 4. Protocol (P) 5. First-Person account (FP) 6. External document reproduction (ED)

Table 4: Tested variables

5.3.1 Direct speech

The full additive model for direct speech (DIR) significantly outperformed the null model ($\chi^2(7) = 68.45, p < 0.001$). As Table 5 shows, the effect of newspapers is confirmed: the WZ showed a substantially higher probability of DIR compared to the reference category for newspaper, the BN (odds ratio = 13.3). In contrast, the HC did not differ significantly from the BN (odds ratio = 1.02, $p=0.961$).

Predictor	β	Odds Ratio ($\exp(\beta)$)	p-value
Intercept	-3.29	0.04	< 0.001
newspaper_HC	0.02	1.02	0.961
newspaper_WZ	2.59	13.3	< 0.001
text_type_BG	3.02	20.4	< 0.001
text_type_ED	4.82	124	< 0.001
text_type_FP	0.93	2.54	0.050
text_type_N	-1.60	0.2	0.027
text_type_P	-1.07	0.34	0.106

Table 5: DIR fixed effects (β , odd ratio and p-value)

With regard to text types, background reports (BG) were most strongly associated with direct speech (odds ratio = 20.4, $p < 0.001$), followed by first-person accounts (FP) (odds ratio = 2.54, $p = 0.05$). The exceptionally strong association of external document reproduction (ED) with direct speech (odds ratio = 124, $p < 0.001$) is attributable to near-perfect separation: EDs in the corpus almost exclusively contain direct speech. News items (N) showed a significant negative association with DIR (odds ratio = 0.2, $p=0.027$), while protocols (P) also trended negatively, though this result was not statistically significant ($p=0.106$).

Moreover, as illustrated in Figure 9, the predicted probabilities of direct speech in the WZ are consistently higher across all text types, even in contexts where direct speech is rare in the other two newspapers. For example, background reports (BG) and first-person accounts (FP) in WZ exhibit a much higher probability of containing direct speech compared to the same text type in BN and HC. Similarly, while brief reports (B) and news items (N) in BN and HC show negligible probabilities of direct speech, WZ includes it even in these text types. This pattern is also evident, though less pronounced, for protocols.

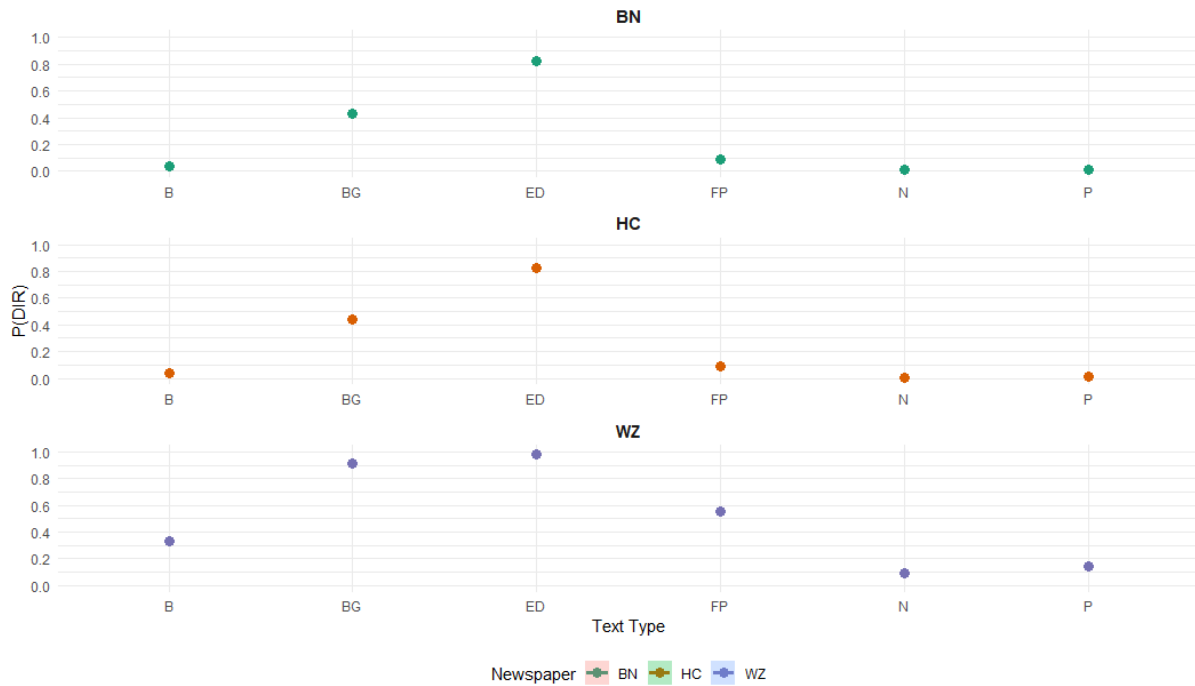


Figure 9: Predicted probabilities of direct speech by text type across newspapers

One possible reason for this, as observed in Assenzi (2026), is the WZ's frequent practice of reproducing entire reports from other newspapers in direct speech, a practice less common in the BN and HC. An example of this can be seen in (18). Quotation marks are absent in this instance, but it was not unusual during the period under study for direct speech to be rendered without quotation marks. That (18) nevertheless constitutes a direct quotation is evident from the lack of deixis shift: the adverbs *here* and *today* remain anchored to the time and place of the original report from Darmstadt.

- (18) Die Frankfurter Ober=Postamts=Zeitung schreibt aus Darmstadt vom 22. December: Hier hat heute erst die Wahl der 25 Wahlmänner Statt gefunden. Wie nach der Wahl der 43 Bevollmächtigten vorauszusehen war, haben die gemäßigten Constitutionellen dabey den vollständigsten Sieg erhalten. Auch nicht ein einziger von der Partey der bisherigen Exaltirten ist Wahlmann geworden.

(WZ, 3 January 1835: 9)

(‘The Frankfurter Ober-Postamts-Zeitung writes from Darmstadt, 22 December: Today, the election of the 25 electors finally took place here. As could be expected following the election of the 43 delegates, the moderate constitutionalists achieved a complete victory. Not a single member of the formerly radical faction was elected.’)

The HC and BN also reproduce reports from other newspapers, but they do so less frequently than the WZ (cf. Assenzi 2026) and tend to rely on different forms of reported discourse, such as indirect speech, when they do:

- (19) Das Court-Journal versichert, die Ehe des Königs Leopold und der Tochter des Königs der Franzosen werde binnen einem Monate stattfinden, und Ludwig Philipp eine sehr ansehnliche Mitgift hergeben. Das junge königliche Paar gedenkt nach Beendigung der belgischen Angelegenheiten Paris und vielleicht auch Claremont zu besuchen. Frankreich und Belgien werden ein Schutz- und Trutz-Bündniß abschließen.

(HC, 4 June 1835: 6)

(‘The Court Journal reports that the marriage of King Leopold and the daughter of the King of the French will take place within a month, and that Louis-Philippe will provide a very substantial dowry. The young royal couple plans to visit Paris and possibly Claremont after Belgian affairs have been settled. France and Belgium will conclude a mutual defense alliance.’)

This suggests that a valuable avenue for future research would be to significantly expand the corpus and extend the model by adding another predictor: the quoted source of information. However, we are aware that this may not fully explain why the *Wiener Zeitung* differs so markedly from the *Berlinische Nachrichten* and the *Hamburgischer Correspondent*. Other extralinguistic factors might offer even more powerful explanations for the realization of reported discourse, such as differences in regional journalistic practices (e. g., Austria vs. Prussia) or the editorial preferences of individual chief editors.

5.3.2 Indirect speech with V2 and *berichtete Rede*

Due to the high number of grouping levels ($n = 306$ text IDs) relative to the event counts (IND.V2: $n = 64$; BER: $n = 44$), and the fact that both BER and IND.V2 never appear in first-person accounts and external document reproductions, the generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMMs) for BER and IND.V2 produced convergence warnings. However, the fixed-effect estimates were virtually identical to those obtained from fixed-effects logistic regression models (GLMs) without random intercepts. This consistency confirms that the fixed-effect patterns remain robust and reliable, despite the convergence issues.

The full additive model for indirect speech with verb-second order (IND.V2) significantly improved model fit over the null model ($\chi^2(7) = 21.03$, $p=0.004$), indicating that the additive effects of newspaper and text type significantly enhance the prediction of IND.V2. However, most individual coefficients did not reach statistical significance.

IND.V2 is virtually absent from background reports (BG) and external document reproduction (ED), resulting in perfect separation and numerically unstable coefficients (very large negative values and standard errors > 2600). These results are not interpreted due to their instability. The only significant result was for news items (N), which were significantly less likely to contain IND.V2 compared to the reference text type, brief reports (B) of the BN (odds ratio = 0.24, $p = 0.030$). No clear effects of newspaper or other text types emerged. While the model output suggested a higher likelihood of IND.V2 in protocols (P), this result was not statistically significant ($p = 0.243$). Thus, the hypothesized connection between protocols and IND.V2 cannot be confirmed.

Predictor	β	Odds Ratio (exp(β))	p-value
Intercept	-2.24	0.11	< 0.001
newspaper_HC	0.38	1.47	0.288
newspaper_WZ	-0.57	0.57	0.249
text_type_BG	-16.5	***	0.995
text_type_ED	-16.4	***	0.995
text_type_FP	-0.51	0.6	0.235
text_type_N	-1.44	0.24	0.030
text_type_P	0.49	1.63	0.243

Table 6: IND.V2 fixed effects (β , odd ratio and p-value) - * = uninterpretable because of perfect separation**

The full additive model for *berichtete Rede* (BER) also outperformed the null model ($\chi^2(7) = 34.78$, $p < 0.0001$). As with IND.V2, most results were not significant, and the coefficients for background reports (BG) and external document reproduction (ED) were not interpretable due to perfect separation. However, the model confirmed a highly significant association between protocols (P) and BER. Protocols are more than seven times more likely to contain BER compared to the reference category, brief reports (B) (odds ratio = 7.62, $p < 0.001$).³

Predictor	β	Odds Ratio (exp(β))	p-value
Intercept	-3.13	0.04	< 0.001
newspaper_HC	-0.94	0.39	0.061
newspaper_WZ	0.04	1.04	0.938
text_type_BG	-16.3	***	0.997
text_type_ED	-16.3	***	0.997
text_type_FP	0.57	1.77	0.275
text_type_N	-1.39	0.25	0.194
text_type_P	2.03	7.62	< 0.001

Table 7: BER fixed effects (β , odd ratio and p-value) - * = uninterpretable because of perfect separation**

Figure 10 and Figure 11 present the predicted probabilities of IND.V2 in news items (N) and of BER in protocols (P) respectively. As can be seen from these figures, the low probability of IND.V2 in news items is consistent across all three newspapers. In contrast, the predicted probability of BER in protocols varies: BER is less probable in protocols of the BN compared to those of the HC and WZ.

³ As most of the protocols in the corpus report on parliamentary debates from England or France and were therefore likely translated from English or French, we conducted an exploratory study on an expanded subcorpus of protocols from Germany, France, and England to test whether the original language influenced the higher frequency of *berichtete Rede* (BER). We specifically investigated the potential influence of the French reportive conditional – see Haillet (1998). The study, however, proved inconclusive: no consistent influence of the source language could be identified. It therefore appears that the frequent use of BER is a characteristic of the protocol text type in German-language newspapers of the period, rather than a result of translation practices.

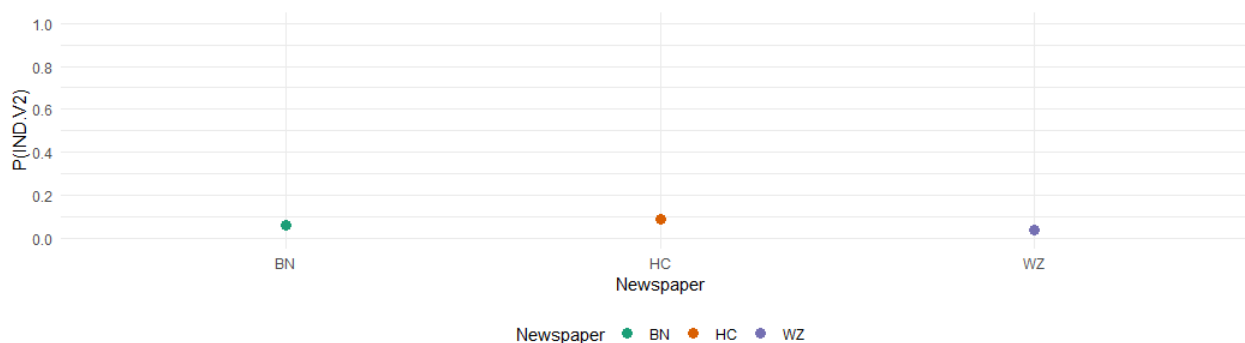


Figure 10: Predicted probabilities of indirect speech with verb second (IND.V2) in news items (N) across newspapers

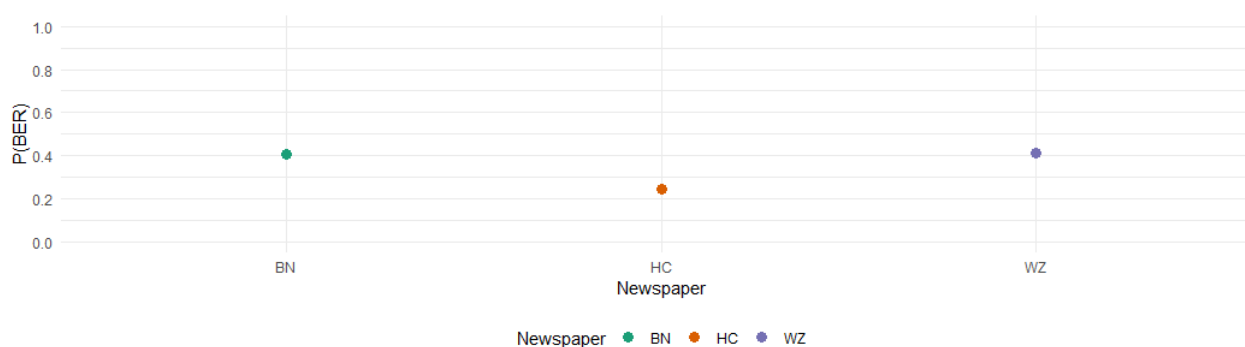


Figure 11: Predicted probabilities of *berichtete Rede* in protocols (P) across newspapers

5.4 Hypotheses evaluation

Based on the results of the generalized linear mixed-effects analysis, the null hypothesis can be rejected. The results show that text type has a statistically significant influence on the realization of reported discourse. Accordingly, H_1 can be confirmed: text types do influence the realization of reported discourse. The sub-hypotheses of H_1 are also confirmed.

$H_{1.1}$ is supported by the results: background reports (BG) and first-person accounts (FP) show a significantly higher likelihood of containing direct speech, while external document reproductions (ED) are realized nearly only using direct speech. In addition, news items and brief reports were found to be associated with a reduced likelihood of direct speech.

$H_{1.2}$ is partially confirmed: protocols (P) do indeed show a significantly high likelihood of *berichtete Rede*. This effect is more pronounced in protocols of the WZ and BN than in those of the HC. However, the effect of text type protocol (P) on indirect speech with verb-second word order was not statistically significant.

H_2 , stating that the differing developments in reported discourse in the WZ compared to the BN and HC can be attributed to differences in the frequency of particular text types, is also confirmed. The longer formats (background report, first-person account, external document reproduction) appear more frequently in the WZ and are associated with a higher probability of direct speech.

The sub-hypothesis $H_{2.2}$ is also supported by the findings. In the WZ, the predicted probability of direct speech is consistently higher than in the BN and HC throughout all text types. This

effect is particularly clear in brief reports (B) and background reports (BG). This suggests that the WZ actively employs direct speech even in text types where it is typically avoided by the other newspapers.

6 Conclusion and outlook

This study examined the relationship between text types and the realization of forms of reported discourse in three German-language newspapers in the first half of the 1830s. The starting point for the analysis was the divergent development of quotation practices in the *Wiener Zeitung* (WZ) compared to the *Berlinische Nachrichten* (BN) and the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (HC), as observed in Assenzi (2026), with particular focus on the WZ's frequent use of direct speech combined with clearly identifiable sources. The central aim was to determine whether these differences could be explained by the distribution and characteristics of information-focused text types represented in the three newspapers.

To investigate this question, a corpus analysis was conducted using four issues each from the WZ, HC, and BN, published between 1830 and 1835. The analysis involved the annotation of the text types news item, brief report, background report, first-person account, external document reproduction, and protocol, along with the forms of reported discourse they contain, following the criteria outlined in Sections 3.1 and 4. The results were first described quantitatively and then subjected to statistical testing using generalized linear mixed-effects models to assess the significance of the influence of newspaper and text type on the form of reported discourse.

The quantitative findings showed that direct speech occurs significantly more often in longer, more analytical or discursively structured texts, particularly background reports and protocols. In contrast, shorter formats such as news items and brief reports typically rely on indirect speech or incorporation or omit explicit reporting altogether. *Berichtete Rede* and indirect speech with verb-second occur most frequently in protocols, underscoring the dialogic and documentary nature of this text type.

The statistical significance of these findings was then tested using generalized linear mixed-effects models (GLMMs). The results corroborated the main hypothesis of this study, namely, that text type significantly influences the realization of reported discourse. Specifically, direct speech was found to be significantly more likely in background reports and first-person accounts, while *berichtete Rede* showed a strong association with protocols. Moreover, the analysis showed that not only text type, but also the newspaper itself, has a significant impact on the choice of reporting form. Particularly striking is the fact that the WZ, in comparison to the BN and HC, consistently shows a higher likelihood of using direct speech even in text types such as brief reports, which in the other newspapers are usually realized without direct speech. In addition, the WZ contains a higher proportion of background reports, a text type frequently associated with direct speech, than the other two newspapers.

This result suggests that editorial practices specific to the WZ may play a role in shaping the distribution of reported discourse forms beyond what can be explained by text type alone. At the same time, one important question remains unresolved: why does direct speech appear more frequently in the WZ even in text types where the other newspapers largely avoid it? The present

analysis suggests that this pattern cannot be explained solely by text type. Rather, another factor that has not yet been modeled may be central: the quoted source of information.

While Assenzi (2026) already observed that the use of direct speech is only possible in the presence of clearly identifiable sources, this relationship has not yet been examined statistically. For future research, it would therefore be valuable to expand the statistical model by including an additional predictor: the type of cited source. Such an extension could help capture the relationship between source attribution and the form of reported discourse more precisely and offer a fuller explanation for the WZ's distinctive behavior. This would make it possible to determine whether the frequent use of direct speech in the WZ is less a function of text type and more the result of a systematic reliance on identifiable sources.

However, even if future analyses confirm that the higher frequency of direct speech in the WZ is largely due to its more consistent citation of identifiable sources that license direct quotation, the central question remains: why did the WZ adopt this practice, while the BN and HC did not? Possible explanations include differing censorship regimes, as also discussed in Assenzi (2026), or intertextual influences such as the possible impact of the HC on the BN. To address such questions, collaboration with media historians will be essential. Only through a deeper understanding of editorial structures, institutional cultures, and historical press networks can the linguistic findings be fully contextualized.

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