

FROM “BACK” TO “BLACK”: A FORENSIC ANALYSIS OF A MISHEARD FOOTBALL UTTERANCE

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Abstract

This study examines the reinterpretation of Marc Klok’s utterance in digital discourse through forensic linguistics and digital pragmatics. The study focuses on the utterance “give me the ball back,” which was perceived by some audiences as “give me the ball black” and interpreted as a racist expression on social media. It aims to: 1) analyze the role of phonological ambiguity and mishearing in meaning transformation; 2) identify how digital audiences constructed social judgment; and 3) evaluate disputed utterances through forensic linguistic analysis. This study used a qualitative descriptive method with phonological, pragmatic, and contextual analysis. Data were collected from football match videos, online news, and social media comments. The findings show that: 1) the controversy emerged from phonological ambiguity between “back” and “black,” influenced by rapid speech, stadium noise, and limited audio quality; 2) social media intensified reinterpretation through collective audience responses; and 3) linguistically, the utterance functioned as a spontaneous football expression rather than an intentional racist statement. The study emphasizes the importance of contextual and evidence-based linguistic analysis in evaluating disputed utterances in digital communication.



Keyword: forensic linguistics; digital pragmatics; phonological ambiguity; mishearing; digital discourse

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INTRODUCTION

Digital communication has transformed how utterances are produced, circulated, and interpreted. Social media enables spoken language to be recorded, fragmented, repeatedly shared, and reinterpreted by audiences beyond its original communicative context (Androutsopoulos, 2024; Page et al., 2022). Consequently, the meaning of an utterance is not determined solely by speaker intention but may also be shaped by audience interpretation, emotional

responses, comments, reposts, and digital discourse reproduction (Zappavigna, 2022; KhosraviNik, 2022). Such conditions create greater potential for ambiguous utterances to acquire meanings that differ from those intended by the speaker. One relevant phenomenon is the reinterpretation of Marc Klok's utterance during a football match between Persib Bandung and Bhayangkara FC. Klok reportedly said "give me the ball back" to request the return of the ball so that play could continue. However, the utterance was perceived by Henri Doumbia as "give me the ball black" and subsequently interpreted as a racist expression. The incident became a public controversy after the match video circulated widely on social media, generating competing interpretations and emotional responses from digital audiences.

This case illustrates how a spontaneous utterance may undergo meaning transformation when listeners perceive its sounds differently and the utterance is subsequently reproduced in digital spaces. The phonological similarity between "back" /bæk/ and "black" /blæk/ creates a potential source of mishearing, particularly in a fast-paced football environment characterized by stadium noise, emotional interaction, and limited audio clarity. Speech perception is influenced not only by acoustic information but also by linguistic context, listener experience, expectations, and the conditions under which speech is produced and heard (Millet et al., 2021; Fitzgerald et al., 2024; Pouw et al., 2024; Kapnoula et al., 2024). Thus, differences between the intended utterance and the perceived utterance cannot necessarily be attributed to speaker intention alone.

The problem becomes more complex when the utterance enters social media discourse. Digital platforms allow audio-video fragments to be repeatedly replayed, reshared, commented on, and reframed, often without the full context of the original interaction. This process may encourage audiences to interpret an utterance primarily through the sounds they perceive and through the interpretations already circulating online. Previous studies indicate that digital discourse facilitates collective meaning construction and social evaluation through audience interaction, while context reduction may encourage divergent interpretations of the same utterance (KhosraviNik, 2022; Zappavigna, 2022; Li et al., 2023; Lorés, 2024). Consequently, an utterance that functions as ordinary communication in its original setting may become associated with moral judgment, social stigma, or accusations of racism when reproduced in a different digital context.

This phenomenon is particularly important because public interpretation may develop before linguistic evidence and communicative context are adequately examined. Social media can accelerate the formation of public opinion through comments, reposts, fragmented information, and algorithmic circulation, creating conditions in which disputed utterances may be socially judged before clarification or evidence-based evaluation (Pertiwi, 2025; Denniss, 2025). Such circumstances may contribute to what is commonly described as trial by social media, in which social judgment develops before the available linguistic and contextual evidence has been systematically evaluated.

From a forensic linguistic perspective, disputed utterances require analysis that considers language as evidence rather than relying solely on subjective auditory perception or public interpretation. Forensic linguistic analysis may examine phonological, pragmatic, semantic, and contextual evidence to evaluate the relationship between utterance form, speaker

intention, communicative situation, and listener interpretation (Sousa-Silva, 2022; Mani et al., 2025; Elyamany, 2025). In digital communication, this approach is increasingly relevant because fragmented and repeatedly reproduced utterances may acquire meanings that differ from those established in their original interactional context.

Previous research on problematic language in digital communication has predominantly addressed explicit hate speech, cyberbullying, online defamation, offensive language, identity construction, and social evaluation (Askurny et al., 2024; Astuti & Mulyadi, 2025; KhosraviNik, 2022; Zappavigna, 2023; Lorés, 2024). Recent forensic linguistic studies have also emphasized language evidence, disputed meaning, and contextual interpretation in digital communication (Sousa-Silva, 2022; Mani et al., 2025). However, comparatively limited attention has been given to cases in which an apparently ordinary spontaneous utterance becomes controversial because of phonological ambiguity and mishearing, particularly when the utterance is subsequently reproduced and reinterpreted through digital discourse. This gap is especially evident in Indonesian sports communication, where professional football provides a highly dynamic environment involving rapid speech, emotional interaction, background noise, and extensive social media circulation.

This study addresses this gap by examining the reinterpretation of Marc Klok's utterance from "give me the ball back" to the perceived "give me the ball black." Its novelty lies in connecting three dimensions that are often examined separately: phonological ambiguity and mishearing, collective audience interpretation in digital discourse, and forensic linguistic evaluation of a disputed utterance. Rather than treating the case as an instance of explicit hate speech, this study investigates how an ambiguous utterance can acquire a racist interpretation through the interaction of speech perception, contextual reduction, and digital discourse reproduction. The study therefore integrates phonological, pragmatic, and contextual evidence to distinguish the original communicative function of the utterance from its subsequent public interpretation.

Based on this research gap and novelty, the study addresses three research questions: (1) How was Marc Klok's utterance reinterpreted from phonological ambiguity into a perceived racist expression? (2) How did digital audiences construct social judgment through collective interpretation and discourse reproduction on social media? and (3) How can forensic linguistic analysis be used to evaluate the disputed utterance in this controversy? Accordingly, the study aims to: (1) analyze the reinterpretation of Marc Klok's utterance in relation to phonological ambiguity and mishearing; (2) examine the construction of social judgment among digital audiences; and (3) evaluate the disputed utterance through phonological, pragmatic, and contextual forensic linguistic analysis.

The study contributes to forensic linguistics and digital pragmatics by demonstrating how a phonologically ambiguous utterance may undergo meaning transformation through listener perception and digital audience interpretation. Practically, it highlights the importance of contextual and evidence-based linguistic analysis before ambiguous utterances are transformed into social or moral judgments in digital communication, particularly in cases involving public controversy, reputation, and potential accusations of racism.

METHODS

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach from the perspectives of forensic linguistics and digital pragmatics. The approach was used to analyze the reinterpretation of Marc Klok's utterance in social media discourse. The study focused on phonological ambiguity, mishearing, digital audience interpretation, and linguistic evaluation of the utterance "give me the ball back," which was perceived as "give me the ball black." In addition, the study examined the relationship between language evidence, communication context, and the construction of social judgment in social media controversy. The data consisted of football match video clips, transcripts of Marc Klok's utterance, digital audience comments, and online news reports related to the controversy. Data were collected through documentation and digital observation of social media content, match videos, and online news discussing the case. The data were selected purposively based on their relevance to utterance ambiguity, public interpretation, and digital responses to the case.

The data were analyzed using qualitative linguistic analysis through phonological, pragmatic, and contextual approaches. Phonological analysis was used to identify the sound similarity between the utterances "back" and "black." Pragmatic analysis was applied to understand the utterance context, speaker intention, and digital audience interpretation. Meanwhile, the forensic linguistic approach was used to evaluate the disputed utterance based on language evidence, communication context, and social responses in digital media.

To ensure data validity, this study employed source triangulation by comparing match videos, utterance transcripts, social media comments, and digital news reports related to the Marc Klok case. In addition, data interpretation considered situational context, audience responses, and an evidence-based linguistic approach to ensure that the analysis of the disputed utterance was conducted objectively and contextually.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses the analysis of the reinterpretation of Marc Klok's utterance in digital discourse from the perspectives of forensic linguistics and digital pragmatics. The discussion focuses on three main aspects: phonological ambiguity and mishearing, the construction of social judgment among digital audiences, and forensic linguistic interpretation of the disputed utterance. These aspects are analyzed to understand the relationship between language evidence, listener perception, and meaning construction in the controversy surrounding Marc Klok's utterance on social media.

1. Phonological Ambiguity and Mishearing

Phonological analysis of Marc Klok's utterance indicates similarity between the words "back" and "black" in the clause "give me the ball back." In a fast-paced football match with limited audio quality, this similarity may trigger mishearing. The following analysis examines the phonological features and speech perception of both words.

a. Phonetic Similarity between “Back” and “Black”

Table 1. *Phonological Ambiguity between “Back” and “Black”*

Linguistic Aspect	“Back”	“Black”	Potential Effect
Orthographic Form	<i>back</i>	<i>black</i>	Similar visual structure
Phonological Form	/bæk/	/blæk/	Similar vowel and final sound
Initial Consonant	/b/	/bl/	Rapid speech may reduce consonant clarity
Final Sound	/æk/	/æk/	Nearly identical auditory ending
Speech Context	Fast football interaction	Fast football interaction	High potential for mishearing
Audio Quality	Crowd noise and overlapping sound	Crowd noise and overlapping sound	Reduced speech perception accuracy
Listener Interpretation	Neutral request	Perceived racial expression	Shift of meaning through perception

Based on Table 1, the similarity between “back” and “black” appears in the shared vowel /æ/ and final sound /æk/. In a fast-paced football match, the difference between /b/ and /bl/ may become unclear because of rapid speech, emotional pressure, and field noise. As a result, listeners may mishear the utterance. The spread of match clips on social media also increased reinterpretation because audiences lacked complete communicative context. These findings show that phonological ambiguity may produce different interpretations between speakers and listeners. From a forensic linguistic perspective, phonological and contextual analysis are essential before an utterance becomes a social judgment in digital discourse.

b. Speech Environment Analysis

Speech environment factors contributed to mishearing in the Marc Klok case. The utterance “give me the ball back” was produced during a fast-paced football match under emotional pressure, where spontaneous communication often reduced articulation clarity. Stadium noise, including crowd reactions, player shouts, and referee whistles, also affected speech perception. These acoustic conditions may blur consonant sounds and increase ambiguity between “back” and “black.” Rapid and emotional speech further intensified this effect because speakers tend to simplify articulation during spontaneous interaction. As a result, phonologically similar words may sound almost identical and trigger listener misperception.

c. Digital Reproduction Analysis

The controversy surrounding Marc Klok’s utterance intensified after match clips circulated on social media. Audiences received the utterance as fragmented audio-video content separated from its original on-field context, leading interpretations to rely mainly on perceived speech sounds. Social media

also enabled clips to be replayed, reshared, and repeatedly commented on, reinforcing interpretations associated with the word “black.” Thus, public interpretation was shaped not only by phonological similarity, but also by digital discourse dynamics. This phenomenon shows that digital communication can amplify utterance ambiguity through fragmented information lacking complete situational context. Consequently, a spontaneous football utterance may undergo meaning transformation when collectively interpreted in digital spaces.

d. Phonological Ambiguity and Speech Perception

The findings show that the controversy surrounding Marc Klok’s utterance can be explained through phonological ambiguity, where similar sounds allow multiple interpretations. The similarity between “back” and “black” led listeners to perceive the utterance differently from the speaker’s intention. This indicates that speech perception is influenced by situational and interpretive factors. The findings also show that stadium noise, rapid speech, emotional pressure, and social media audio quality affected speech perception and increased the possibility of misinterpretation. This supports Kapnoula et al. (2024), who argue that spoken word recognition is shaped by linguistic context and listener perception. In addition, the case reflects mishearing, in which listeners interpret an utterance differently from what the speaker intended. These findings suggest that misunderstanding in digital communication may result not only from speaker intention, but also from interactions between speech sounds, listener perception, and digital discourse reproduction.

2. Digital Audience and Social Judgment

The controversy surrounding Marc Klok’s utterance expanded after match clips circulated on social media and generated diverse audience responses. Public interpretation shows that meaning in digital communication is shaped not only by speakers, but also by comments, content reproduction, and collective audience judgment. The following table presents several patterns of digital audience responses found in social media discourse.

a. Digital Audience Responses and Social Interpretation

The circulation of video clips containing Marc Klok’s utterance generated diverse responses from digital audiences. These responses show that audiences act not only as information recipients, but also as active participants in constructing meaning. In digital communication, utterance interpretation can spread rapidly through comments, reposts, and online discourse reproduction. The following table presents several audience response patterns found in social media discourse.

Table 2. *Digital Audience Responses toward Marc Klok’s Utterance*

Category of Response / Interpretation	Example of Audience Response	Social Meaning
Accusation of Racism	“Marc Klok said black.”	Perceived racial insult
Defensive Interpretation	“He said give me the ball back.”	Clarification attempt

Emotional Reaction	“This is unacceptable behavior.”	Moral judgment
Contextual Interpretation	“The audio is unclear.”	Ambiguous perception
Viral Reproduction	Reposting short video clips	Expansion of digital discourse
Public Polarization	Divided opinions in comments	Social conflict in digital space

Based on Table 2, digital audience responses reflect the construction of social judgment through collective interpretation of Marc Klok’s utterance. Some audiences perceived the utterance as racist because it sounded similar to “black,” while others emphasized the match context, rapid speech, and unclear audio quality. These differing interpretations show that meaning on social media is shaped not only by speakers, but also by audience responses and discourse reproduction. Social media further accelerated the spread of interpretations through reposts, video clips, and public comments. As a result, a spontaneous on-field utterance developed into a social controversy involving moral judgment and accusations of racism. This phenomenon also reflects the polarization of public opinion, as some audiences supported the racism interpretation while others viewed it as mishearing caused by limited communicative context. From a digital pragmatics perspective, these findings show that online communication can construct collective social evaluation before linguistic clarification is provided. Consequently, ambiguous utterances may transform into social stigma through repeated public interpretation on social media.

b. Social Judgment Construction in Digital Discourse

Analysis of digital audience responses shows that the controversy surrounding Marc Klok’s utterance developed into social judgment on social media. Audiences interpreted the utterance not only as linguistic information, but also linked it to moral values, social identity, and racism. As a result, the ambiguous utterance underwent meaning expansion because some audiences perceived it as reflecting the speaker’s attitude or character.

Table 3. *Forms of Social Judgment in Digital Responses*

Form of Social Judgment	Audience Response	Social Effect
Moral Judgment	“That statement is racist.”	Negative moral evaluation
Emotional Judgment	“Unacceptable behavior.”	Public emotional reaction
Defensive Judgment	“He did not say black.”	Counter-discourse formation
Contextual Judgment	“The audio is unclear.”	Ambiguity awareness
Identity-Based Judgment	Linking the utterance to a racial issue	Social sensitivity escalation
Public Polarization	Divided responses in comments	Digital discourse conflict

Based on Table 3, social media responses included accusations of racism, emotional reactions, defense of the speaker, and contextual clarification. Some audiences formed moral judgments toward Marc Klok based on perceived

speech sounds, while others considered the match context and the possibility of mishearing. This finding suggests that interpretation of ambiguous utterances is strongly influenced by social perception and sensitive issues in digital spaces.

Social media also accelerates the spread of social judgment through comments, reposts, and repeated content circulation. As a result, certain interpretations may become dominant and shape public opinion toward the speaker. Consequently, an utterance without racist intent may undergo new meaning construction through collective audience evaluation. These findings show that social judgment in digital communication is shaped not only by linguistic evidence, but also by emotional dynamics, social ideology, and digital discourse reproduction.

c. Digital Discourse Reproduction

The controversy surrounding Marc Klok's utterance expanded after match clips were repeatedly reproduced on social media through reposts, reuploads, comments, media responses, and evolving public interpretations. As a result, the utterance "give me the ball back" was no longer viewed merely as spontaneous football communication, but transformed into a public discourse involving social and moral judgment.

Table 4. *Forms of Digital Discourse Reproduction*

Form of Reproduction	Digital Activity	Discursive Effect
Video Reposting	Sharing short video clips	Expansion of public exposure
Repetitive Playback	Rewatching the disputed utterance	Reinforcement of interpretation
Public Commentary	Online comments and debates	Collective meaning construction
Selective Framing	Focusing on the word "black"	Shift in audience perception
Viral Circulation	Rapid dissemination across platforms	Intensification of controversy
Digital Polarization	Opposing interpretations online	Conflict in digital discourse

Based on Table 4, digital discourse reproduction shows that social media can amplify particular interpretations through rapid and repeated circulation of information. Replayed match clips led audiences to focus on the controversial part of Marc Klok's utterance, especially sounds perceived as similar to "black." As a result, audiences often interpreted the utterance from limited audio-video fragments without complete communicative context.

The reproduction of digital discourse also reflects selective framing, in which users emphasize the most sensitive or controversial parts of an utterance. Consequently, interpretations of the utterance developed into a broader social controversy beyond its original football context. This finding shows that social media functions not only as a medium of information dissemination, but also as a space for meaning production and reproduction in digital communication.

d. Digital Pragmatics and Collective Meaning Construction

From a digital pragmatics perspective, the findings show that meaning on social media is constructed through collective audience interaction.

Interpretations of Marc Klok’s utterance developed through comments, reposts, emotional responses, and discourse reproduction, indicating that digital audience function not only as message recipients, but also as meaning-makers.

The case also reflects audience interpretation, where meaning is shaped by perception, social experience, and sensitivity to particular issues. Some audiences interpreted the utterance as racism because it resembled the word “black,” while others viewed it as ordinary football communication. These differing interpretations show that meaning in digital communication is strongly influenced by collective audience perception.

In addition, the case illustrates context collapse, where an utterance produced in a specific situation is interpreted by wider audiences without complete contextual background. The circulation of match clips caused audiences to interpret the utterance outside its original football context, transforming spontaneous communication into public controversy. The findings further demonstrate collective meaning construction through audience interaction, emotional responses, and digital framing. Consequently, social media can transform ambiguous utterances into collective social judgment through repeated public interpretation in online spaces.

3. Forensic Linguistic Interpretation

This section examines the forensic linguistic interpretation of Marc Klok’s disputed utterance through phonological, pragmatic, and contextual approaches. The analysis evaluates the relationship between language evidence, listener perception, and public interpretation in digital discourse. From a forensic linguistic perspective, utterance interpretation should consider not only listener perception, but also communicative context, speaker intention, and linguistic characteristics.

a. Linguistic Evidence and Disputed Utterance

Linguistic analysis of Marc Klok’s utterance indicates that the clause “give me the ball back” was produced during a football match as a request for the ball to be returned so play could continue. In this context, the utterance functioned as spontaneous and instrumental communication rather than a racial insult. However, the phonological similarity between “back” and “black” led some listeners to perceive the utterance differently after it circulated on social media.

Table 5. *Forensic Linguistic Analysis of the Disputed Utterance*

Forensic Aspect	Linguistic Evidence	Interpretation
Utterance Form	“Give me the ball back”	Request expression in football interaction
Phonological Similarity	“Back” vs. “Black”	Potential source of mishearing
Speech Context	Fast-paced football situation	Spontaneous communication
Speaker Intention	Requesting the ball to be returned	Functional communicative purpose
Listener Perception	Perceived as “black”	Subjective auditory interpretation
Digital Circulation	Viral social media clips	Expansion of public controversy

Based on Table 5, the controversy surrounding Marc Klok’s utterance reflects differences between speaker intention and listener perception in digital communication. Linguistically, the utterance “give me the ball back” functioned as a request during a football match. However, phonological similarity between “back” and “black,” combined with rapid speech, stadium noise, and limited audio quality, caused some audiences to perceive it differently. From a forensic linguistic perspective, interpretation of disputed utterances should not rely solely on listener perception. Instead, phonological, pragmatic, and contextual aspects must be considered to evaluate speaker intention and communication context. The analysis found no explicit linguistic evidence of racist intent; rather, the controversy was linked to mishearing and reinterpretation after the clips circulated on social media.

The case also shows how digital reproduction of utterance fragments can intensify conflicts in interpretation. Detached from its original football context, the utterance was interpreted mainly through dominant perceived sounds, leading to social judgment and accusations of racism. These findings highlight the importance of evidence-based forensic linguistic analysis so that meaning is not shaped solely by public opinion or emotional responses in digital spaces.

b. Contextual Evidence in Forensic Interpretation

From a forensic linguistic perspective, communication context is an important form of contextual evidence in analyzing disputed utterances. Analysis of Marc Klok’s utterance should consider not only perceived speech sounds, but also the communicative situation, utterance purpose, participant relationships, and interactional conditions. In this case, the utterance “give me the ball back” was produced during a fast-paced and emotional football match immediately after a goal-scoring situation.

Table 6. *Contextual Evidence in Marc Klok’s Utterance*

Contextual Aspect	Evidence Identified	Forensic Interpretation
Communication Setting	Football match situation	Spontaneous sports interaction
Communicative Purpose	Requesting the ball to be returned	Functional game-related expression
Speech Environment	Noisy and emotionally charged stadium	Potential reduction in speech clarity
Interaction Context	Fast player-to-player communication	High possibility of mishearing
Audience Access	Viral video clips on social media	Context reduction in digital circulation
Public Interpretation	Perceived racial expression	Meaning shift through digital reproduction

Based on Table 6, the football match context is essential for understanding Marc Klok’s utterance. From a forensic linguistic perspective, the utterance functioned as a request for the ball to be returned so play could continue. Therefore, its interpretation cannot be separated from the spontaneous and emotional interaction of players during the match. The

communicative environment also influenced speech production and perception. Stadium noise, player voices, match pressure, and rapid speech rate reduced articulation clarity, making “back” and “black” sound similar to some listeners. This finding suggests that interpretation should not rely solely on partial auditory perception without considering overall communicative conditions.

The viral circulation of match clips on social media further intensified meaning shifts. Detached from its original football context, the utterance was reinterpreted by digital audiences as a social issue related to racism. From a forensic linguistic perspective, this demonstrates the central role of communication context in evaluating language evidence, listener perception, and meaning construction in digital discourse. Overall, the findings show that contextual evidence is essential in forensic linguistic analysis. By considering situational context, communicative purpose, and interactional environment, the utterance is more appropriately understood as spontaneous football communication rather than an intentional racist expression.

c. Forensic Interpretation in Digital Discourse

The Marc Klok case demonstrates that digital communication can intensify conflicts in language interpretation through the viral reproduction of utterance fragments on social media. Detached from the original football context, the utterance developed into a social controversy involving accusations of racism and moral judgment. From a forensic linguistic perspective, this condition highlights the importance of an evidence-based approach in evaluating disputed utterances. Phonological, pragmatic, and contextual analyses indicate that the controversy was more closely related to phonological ambiguity and mishearing than to intentional racist language. Therefore, interpretation in digital communication should consider linguistic evidence and communicative context rather than relying solely on listener perception or public opinion on social media. The findings also demonstrate the important role of forensic linguistics in distinguishing speaker intention from public interpretation in digital discourse. In this case, the analysis suggests that the controversy primarily resulted from phonological ambiguity and mishearing rather than intentional racist expression.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis, this study draws several conclusions. First, the controversy surrounding Marc Klok’s utterance originated from phonological ambiguity between the words “back” and “black” in the clause “give me the ball back.” Rapid speech, stadium noise, emotional pressure, and limited audio quality contributed to mishearing and differing listener perceptions. These findings show that phonological ambiguity in spontaneous communication may produce reinterpretation of meaning when utterances are understood without complete context.

Second, social media played an important role in shaping collective interpretation and social judgment. Through reposts, comments, and digital discourse reproduction, the utterance shifted from spontaneous football communication into a controversy associated with racism accusations. From a digital pragmatics perspective, audiences function not only as information recipients, but also as meaning-makers through audience interpretation, context collapse, and collective meaning construction. Third, from a forensic

linguistic perspective, interpretation of the utterance should rely on language evidence, communicative context, and comprehensive linguistic analysis. Phonological, pragmatic, and contextual analyses indicate that the controversy was more closely related to mishearing and reinterpretation than to intentional racist language. Thus, disputed utterances in digital communication should not be evaluated solely through audience perception or public opinion on social media.

This study contributes to forensic linguistics and digital pragmatics by highlighting the relationship between phonological ambiguity, speech perception, audience interpretation, and meaning construction in online communication. The study also emphasizes the importance of evidence-based linguistic analysis in evaluating disputed utterances in digital spaces.

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