Conceptual Blending and the Rhetorical Triangle in Michael Cohen’s Congressional Testimony

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the application of Conceptual Blending as proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) and the rhetorical triangle proposed by Aristotle to examine Michael Cohen’s congressional testimony (former attorney for President Donald Trump). Cohen testifies against President Trump aiming to convince members of the Congress that Trump misled him. It is assumed that language in such a formal situation should be simple and logical. Results prove that Cohen employs conceptual blending to create new effective structures and appeals more to passion instead of logic. Blending, as a linguistic tool, is to be skillfully employed according to the current situation. Appealing to passion through double-scope blending is a linguistic style suitable among family members and close friends. Formal settings, such as The Congress or any institutional setting, require simple words appealing to reason and logic. Misplaced blends result in undesirable effects. Cohen’s utterances, mostly containing emotional language items serving as being components of blending, have lost their persuasive effect due to the misplaced mappings between linguistic choices.

Key Words: Conceptual Blending; Rhetorical Modes; Congressional Testimony

الملخص العربي

دمج المفاهيم والمثلث البلاغي في شهادة مايكل كوهين أمام الكونجرس

هذه الورقة البحثية تقدم تحليلا لتطبيق دمج المفاهيم على النحو الذي اقترحه فوكونير وتيرنر (2002) وأيضا المثلث البلاغي كما اقترحه أرسطو وذلك بهدف حمك شهادة مايكل كوهين (المحامي السابق للرئيس دونالد ترامب) أمام الكونجرس حيث يشهد كوهين ضد الرئيس ترامب بهدف اقناع لعامة الكونجرس بأن ترامب قد ضلله. من المفترض أن تكون اللغة في هذا الموقف الرسمي بسيطة ومنطقية ولكن النتائج أثبتت أن كوهين يستخدم دمج المفاهيم بغرض خلق بيئة مؤثرة جديدة ويدافع بذلك المنطق بدلا من متناوله المنطق. التدخل الأدبي من أدوات اللغة يجب توظيفه بمهارة تبعا للوضع الفعلي وتعبير متناوله المنطق من خلال استخدام المدخ مزدوج النطاق ألعابا لغوية مناسبة بين أفراد العائلة والأصدقاء الغربيين أما المواقف الرسمية مثل الكونجرس أو أي بيئة مسؤولة فتخليق مفاهيم منشأة بالمثلث والعقل والمنطق حيث أن في تلك المواقف فإن الدمج في غير محله يؤدي إلى تأثير غير مرغوب فيه. وتصريحات كوهين التي تضمن في الغالب مفاهيم منطقية مكونة دمجا لمنطقية العاطفة قد فقدت تأثيرها في الاقناع بسبب الدمج الغير مناسب بين الخيارات اللغوية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: دمج المفاهيم; الأساليب الخطابية; شهادة الكونجرس
1. Statement of the Problem

Considering language as a faculty of human mind, Cognitive Linguistics (CL) perceives language as a reflection of human experience (Harder, 2010). Based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Mental Space Theory, Conceptual Blending, or Conceptual Integration, is a cognitive-semantic theory that supports the view that the human is the source of imagination (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Within this theory, language is a consequence of a manipulation of webs of mappings between mental spaces which are “partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk” (Fauconnier, 1997, p.11). As a result, meaning is constructed “on-line” as it is divided into “discrete, temporary conceptual ‘packets’ that are built ‘on-line’ for purposes of local understanding of narratives, metaphors, speech acts and “general reasoning” (Fauconnier, 1997, p.5). As discourse proceeds, these packets are connected through mappings. Conceptual Blending, or conceptual integration, depends on the structuring of mental spaces, the mappings between them and blending elements from them in order to analyze the creation and the comprehension of meaning (Fauconnier 2006, Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).

Aristotle believes that the speaker’s ability to persuade an audience relies on his ability to address the audience in the areas of logos, ethos, and pathos (the rhetorical triangle). Logos appeals to reason, ethos addresses the speaker’s character and credibility and pathos appeals to the emotions and sympathetic imagination (Lutzke & Henggeler, 2009).

Michael Cohen is the former personal attorney and longtime fixer to U.S. President Donald Trump. Cohen is a vice-president of The Trump Organization. Cohen, who once boasted that he would take a bullet for The President, gave an explosive testimony on Trump. Testifying before the U.S. Congress on February 27, 2019, Cohen lashed out at Trump. In this formal situation, Cohen is expected to be decisive via the employment of clear and direct language. Testifying against Trump, Cohen has delivered a series of bombshells which become the target of the linguistic analysis in this research.

Consequently, this paper analyzes the application of Conceptual Blending as proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) and the rhetorical triangle proposed by Aristotle to examine Michael Cohen’s congressional testimony (former attorney for President Donald Trump). The examination helps to evaluate Cohen’s discourse from a rhetorical and Cognitive Linguistics perspective.
2. Aim and Significance of the Research Paper

Studying the theory of blending is significant as it focuses on the construction of meaning when the integration of its structure gives rise to more than the total sum of its parts (Evans & Green, 2006). This paper aims at conducting a Cognitive Linguistic analysis to investigate Cohen’s testimony and his appeal to the rhetorical triangle in his pursuit to persuade the congress members of his plea. This analysis is significant in the sense that it sheds light on the manner by which meaning should be structured in formal institutions.

3. Research Questions

Meaning-construction through conceptual blending is the focus of this paper that attempts to answer the following questions:

- Considering conceptual integration, how can we evaluate Cohen’s production of his testimony?
- What are the mental spaces set up during Cohen’s testimony?
- How are mappings produced so that interactants may comprehend the intended meaning?
- How far is Cohen successful, throughout the production of his testimony, in utilizing Aristotelian rhetoric in order to persuade member of the congress to support and believe him?
- To negotiate his message, which area of Aristotelian rhetoric does Cohen particularly appeal to?

4. Literature Review

4.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Being identified as part of cognitive semantics, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consider that linguistic metaphors are surface representations of underlying conceptual ones. They add that a metaphor is the understanding of one thing in terms of another. Conceptual Metaphor Theory views metaphors to be mappings between two different domains - a source and a target - that are activated at the same time with the result of building new connections and inferences. A case in point is “love is a journey” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

4.2. Mental Space Theory

Developed by Fauconnier (1997), Mental Space Theory explains the process of meaning-making as “the high-level, complex mental operations that apply within and across domains when we think, act, or communicate” (Fauconnier, 1997, p.1). These domains are called mental spaces, by Fauconnier who proposes two steps for the structuring of meaning: the construction of mental spaces and the mappings between them. (Fauconnier, 1994). Mental spaces are triggered by linguistic uses in order to refer to “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and
talk, for purposes of local understanding and action” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p.40).

4.3. Conceptual Blending Theory

As a theoretical model developed from Mental Space Theory, Conceptual Blending Theory utilizes a four-space blend mode so as to account for meaning construction. Fauconnier and Turner (2002), as cited in Ritchie (2006), explain Conceptual Blending Theory in terms of “mental spaces” which are “small conceptual packets” connected to long-term knowledge. They are created with relevant contents as we talk. These mental spaces are illustrated by circles in the blending model that consists of four “mental spaces”: two “input spaces”, a “generic space” containing what the two input spaces have in common, and a “blended space” that contains some elements from the input spaces. The “blended space” may contain new or additional elements (the emergent structure) “that can include new elements retrieved from long term memory or resulting from comparison of elements drawn from the separate inputs, or from elaborating on the elements in the ‘blended space’ (‘running the blend’)” (p.58).

The following is adapted from Fauconnier and Turner (2003, p.58-59) to illustrate the four-mental space model of blending. Each input mental space corresponds to a distinctive event and reflects its salient aspects, the generic space connects the two events by showing their relative shared features, blending is the result of “matching the two inputs and projecting selectively from these two input spaces into a fourth mental space, the blended space” (p.58). The blended space is connected to the inputs by the mappings and contains newly emergent element(s): “The essence of the operation is to construct a partial match between two input mental spaces, to project selectively from those inputs into a novel 'blended' mental space, which then dynamically develops emergent structure” (p.59).

Matching between inputs is a form of “vital relations” that may refer to relations of time, change, cause - effect, part-whole, identity, space, role, analogy and representation (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).
According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 2003) blending is described in terms of four mental-space integration network to account for “the variety and creativity in the way we think” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p. 121). The integration network, they add, has four main types: Simplex, Mirror, Single-Scope, Double-Scope.

Simplex networks denote integration in which one input is the general frame and the other consists of specific elements or values. In this case the mapping between the input spaces is “Frame-to-values connection” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, p.121).

In mirrors, all spaces share the same structure and the same common frame though the blended space may contain the new emergent element. In single-scope networks, inputs contain different elements or frames and the blend inherits only one of these frames while neglecting the other. In double-scopes, essential features are brought from both inputs and the emergent structure is not relative to any input.

4.4. Aristotle’s Rhetoric

Aristotle’s rhetoric is the earliest technique of persuasive discourse (Frost as cited in McCormack, 2014). The rhetorical triangle refers to the three rhetorical appeals, responsible for the creation of communicative messages, as identified by Aristotle: ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos refers to the speaker’s credibility, logos to the logic of the message and pathos to emotion. The following figure illustrates Aristotle’s rhetoric:

Explaining congressional testimony in terms of integrative blending and Aristotle’s rhetoric has not been analyzed before, a thing giving rise to the current paper.

5. Methodology

This research applies The Conceptual Blending Theory as proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) and the Aristotelian Triangle to analyze Ex-Trump Lawyer Michael Cohen’s Congressional Testimony. That testimony is available at (https://www.scribd.com/document/400649065/Testimony-of-Michael-D-Cohen). Testimony transcript is downloaded and saved in a separate file. The transcript is manually analyzed based on a Cognitive Linguistics foundation via the framework of Conceptual Blending Theory. Then, the
transcript is manually examined in order to detect modes of Aristotle’s rhetoric.

6. Analysis

Michael Cohen, President Donald Trump’s one-time personal attorney and fixer, takes the stand on Wednesday, 27 February, 2019 to testify publicly against President Trump before the congress. Cohen’s main purpose is to be convincing in order to get support for his case. The coming analysis sheds light on his meaning-construction and manipulation of Aristotle’s rhetoric so that he may motivate the congress and the public to back him.

He begins by appealing to the audience’s emotions (Pathos), saying “I have asked this Committee to ensure that my family be protected from Presidential threats”, in an attempt to stir their feelings. This mode accompanies his first instance of blending: “Presidential threats”. The first input is Trump’s presidential authority, the other input is the threat caused by an evil person or a terrorist. The two inputs show differing frame structures. The former contains the identity of President Trump, his authoritative power as a President, his role to protect citizens and his goal to enforce security. The latter contains the identity of a terrorist, his devastating power as a terrorist, his role to horrify citizens and his goal to spread fear. These two input spaces are matched resulting in a generic space featuring the shared structures between the two input spaces: the two individuals- President Trump and the terrorist- their roles and goals. Inputs are mapped onto each other so that in the blend we can find an emergent structure of the identity- role/goal type. From the Presidency input, the identity of President Trump is projected onto the blending space. From the threat input, the roles and goals of a terrorist are projected onto the blending space. The contiguity between the President’s identity and the terrorist’s role/goal results into disgracing Trump with the role and goal of a terrorist-that of being a threat. Because essential frame structures are projected from both input spaces with a newly emergent structure (Presidential threats), the type of this integration network is double-scope. The following figure illustrates the blending in Cohen’s “Presidential threats”:
When Cohen addresses the congress members, the people watching him, saying “I am here under oath”, he employs Aristotle’s rhetorical mode of “ethos” so that listeners may believe him and believe in his credibility. The phrase “under oath” is a creative blend between two clashing input frames. The first input space has to do with Cohen’s static posture beneath; the second with the mental /moral condition of taking an oath. The first input contains Cohen’s constant status and his physically balanced posture. The second input has the spiritual nature of an oath and its relevant trustiness. Both are matched with the projection of Cohen’s credibility as an emergent structure in the blend. This double-scope integration is creative in recruiting structures from both inputs and yielding a novel emergent structure—that of Cohen’s credibility due to his being “under oath”.

To “correct the record” is a subsequent appeal to ethos via another blend of the double-scope type. The first input mental space includes the identity of a powerful person capable of control and effective change “correct”; the second includes roles, actions and events “record”. When the two are connected, a new emergent structure is created in the blending process to present Cohen’s new role: “to correct the record”.

Figure 3: Conceptual Blending in “Presidential threats”
Cohen’s reference to “documents that are irrefutable” stems from his focus on logical appeal (logos) in order to reconstruct his character as a reliable source (ethos) on saying “the information you will hear is accurate and truthful”.

Cohen returns to address listeners’ emotions (pathos mode) as he states: “(Trump) launches a campaign on a platform of hate and intolerance”. He constructs a mental image of Trump as being a ruthless warrior. This is done via a cross-space mapping between the two input spaces: that of a presidential candidate managing a campaign based on tolerance and that of a severe warrior launching a war based on hatred. Selective projection from the two inputs develops a blend containing an emergent structure of the type identity-behavior/role relationship: Trump is performing the role of a severe warrior launching a war based on intolerance and hatred.

Cohen wants his listeners to sympathize with him and become emotionally charged, that is why he appeals to pathos saying: “I am ashamed of my own failings, and I publicly accepted responsibility for them” and “I am ashamed of my weakness”. After his endeavor to stir compassion, he brings a blend that invokes pathos: “misplaced loyalty”. The blended mental space “misplaced loyalty” results from selective projection from the two inputs: that of Cohen along with his physical activity of placing things in the wrong direction and that of Cohen’s spiritual/moral features of loyalty. This integration is a form of mirror networks as Cohen is present in all spaces. Cohen’s technique of appealing to pathos via a blend of the type mirror networks is repeated in “I am ashamed that I chose to take part in concealing Mr. Trump’s illicit acts rather than listening to my own conscience”.

Cohen tries to affirm his credibility (ethos) via deforming his opponent: Trump. This appeal to ethos coincides with a creative meaning-making:

“He was a presidential candidate who knew that Roger Stone was talking with Julian Assange about a WikiLeaks drop of Democratic National Committee emails”. The two clashing inputs are those of emails as entities that are sent/received and of water that drops/leaks. The blended space recruits the structure of emails from the first input and that of drops from the second one. This double-scope blending yields a new emergent structure of the type action – entity: “drop of…emails”.

After affirming his credible personality and disgracing his opponent’s identity, Cohen lists specific evidences that confirm his statement and invoke logic (logos):
A copy of a check Mr. Trump wrote from his personal bank account..., Copies of financial statements..., A copy of an article with Mr. Trump’s handwriting..., Copies of letters I wrote at Mr. Trump’s direction....

Cohen creates a blend that manifests the critical effect of Trump’s scandalous behavior on the campaign “…I made to cover up his affair with an adult film star and prevent damage to his campaign”. The first input space is that of a building that is damaged. The second input is that of an electoral campaign that may fail or succeed. Matching between the two inputs leads to an action-entity emergent structure in the blending space (double-scope integration networks): “damage to campaign”.

Cohen’s appeal to pathos follows: “I hope my appearance here today, my guilty plea, and my work with law enforcement agencies are steps along a path of redemption...”. The phrase “steps along a path of redemption” is a perfect example of Cohen’s mental process of double-scope blending. One input is the ordinary action of Cohen stepping in a path. The other input is the schematic space of redeeming faults, structured so that redeeming faults is metaphorically moving along a path. In a cross-matching between these inputs, Cohen’s stepping in the path corresponds to redemption. The creative emergent structure “steps along a path of redemption” is an action-goal relation. It regains Cohen’s truthfulness (ethos).

Cohen talks a lot about his lies and Trump’s responsibility for these lies in an attempt to make listeners pity him. Within this rhetorical appeal to pathos, Cohen makes a double-scope blend by corresponding between two differing inputs in “…through his (Trump’s) lies to the country”. One input contains Trump’s identity, his act of telling lies to others. The second input contains USA as an entity/country with its organizations, the congress, the government and the American people. In the blending space includes partial structures from both inputs along with an emergent structure of an action-entity type.

Cohen’s statement “I have been smeared as “a rat” by the President of the United States” is a creative meaning-construction via multi-scope integration networks that invoke listeners’ sadness and anger (pathos). In this instance, we have three input mental spaces: the first input has Trump’s identity as a President, his duties and responsibilities. The second input has the identity of Cohen as a lawyer, his duties and responsibilities. The third input has that of a rat and its act of smearing/harming. In the generic space, we have the three identities. In the blending space, selective projection yields the novel emergent structure of the type identity-action-identity-identity. The following figure illustrates that mental process:
Figure 4: Conceptual Blending in “I have been smeared as “a rat” by the President of the United States”

Again, Cohen utilizes Aristotle’s modes of pathos- by talking about his family and the Holocaust- and ethos, by describing his good qualities:

My name is Michael Dean Cohen. I am a blessed husband.....For that reason, I have come here to apologize to my family, to the government, and to the American people.

Cohen builds an interesting relation between two differing input spaces in: “I ignored my conscience”. The first input contains the identity of Cohen, his acts of following or ignoring others. The second input contains the mental space of consciousness with its moral attributes, depicted metaphorically as being followed. The emergent structure of this double-scope blend, that of action- attribute, establishes Cohen’s sense of repentance and remorse (appeal to pathos).

Cohen tries to justify his faulty deeds and to restore his image (ethos) by explaining Trump’s abilities via two double-scope blends. The first is “Mr. Trump…a real estate giant”. One input space has the identity of Trump as an entrepreneur; the other has the identity of a fictional creature with its imaginary features. In the blending space, we have Trump as a fictional creature “a giant”. This identity-feature relation paves the way for the second blend: “Being around Mr. Trump was intoxicating… that you were somehow changing the world”. The two
inputs are those of Trump and wine. The relation is that of cause-effect and it shows Cohen’s attempt to charge Trump of being the cause of Cohen’s deviation. In doing so, Cohen addresses pathos.

Cohen corresponds Trump to the concrete space of math and physics. This double-scope integration networks renders an emergent structure of identity-attribute type: “Mr. Trump is an enigma. He is complicated”. This blend stirs listeners’ pathos. Cohen correlates between Trump and commodity in a double-scope blend of the type identity-attribute relation in “to market himself”. This blend prompts feelings of disgust (pathos). The previous sense of disgust is, again, rendered when Cohen makes a blending space where Trump’s campaign is just a marketing merchandise: “The campaign – for him – was always a marketing opportunity”. The first input contains the presidential campaign, its members, its activities and goals. The second input contains a marketing production domain, its marketing executives, its activities and goals. Selective projection brings together “the campaign” and “marketing opportunity” in the blending space, with a relation of an entity to an attribute. This double-scope blend appeals to pathos.

Cohen continues to invoke listeners’ revulsion by describing Trump in a disfiguring manner especially when he says:

“He once asked me if I could name a country run by a black person that wasn’t a ‘shithole’. This was when Barack Obama was President of the United States.”

Cohen matches between countries leaded by a black person and dirty places. This double-scope integration is of an entity-attribute relation. After that, Cohen returns to talk about facts in an appeal to logic:

I’m giving the Committee today three years of President Trump’s financial statements, from 2011-2013… two newspaper articles… I am giving the Committee today a copy of the $130,000 wire transfer… I am providing a copy of a $35,000 check that President Trump personally signed from his personal bank…This $35,000 check was one of 11 check installments that was paid throughout the year…You can find the details of that scheme, directed by Mr. Trump, in the pleadings in the U.S. District Court …I’m giving the Committee today copies of a letter I sent at Mr. Trump’s direction threatening these schools with civil and criminal actions… he claimed was a $10 million IRS tax refund… Mr. Trump tasked me to handle the negative press…Sometime in the summer of 2017, I read all over the media.
After these lines appealing to logos, Cohen addresses both pathos and ethos through his creative blend “I have done some real soul searching”. Cohen brings his action as searching for ordinary things, from one input, together with the spiritual space of a soul. A real soul is metaphorically depicted as the thing Cohen searches for. This blend between concrete and spiritual spaces renders a new emergent structure of the type action-attribute. “the intoxication of Trump power” correlates between Trump power and the effect of wine in a blend of cause-effect relation triggering pathos.

“To our nation, I am sorry for actively working to hide from you the truth about Mr. Trump when you needed it most” is a double-scope blend that arouses listeners’ emotions. The emergent structure matches between a nation and the personal traits. Cohen’s sense of remorse is clear when he stirs pathos saying: “(I) have shattered the safety and security that I tried so hard to provide for my family”. The first input space contains glass, bottles, and cups that are shattered. The second input contains the space of psychological state of safety and security. Both inputs are mapped so that a new emergent structure, action-state relation, appears in the blending space.

Cohen activates his previous blend that appeals to pathos by corresponding Trump to an aggressive attacker (terrorist) “I have caused my family to be the target of personal, scurrilous attacks by the President and his lawyer”. He also evokes logos and pathos by matching Trump, once more, to an attacker “I have provided the Committee with copies of Tweets that Mr. Trump posted, attacking me and my family”.

Cohen chooses to end his statement via an appealing to pathos, especially when he mentions his children. When he finally says “how I attempt to change how history will remember me”, he constructs a blending space appealing to pathos. In the first input, we have the identity of Cohen, his activities and their consequences. In the second input, we have the mental space of history with its records. In the third input space, we have the identity of a human being remembering. This multi-scope blend is creative in its emergent structure of Cohen as changing the history remembering of him (identity-action-identity-action).

7. Discussion

Investigating Cohen’s sworn testimony to the House Committee on Oversight and Reform is thought to display a formal discourse that aims to persuade via conclusive evidences and a purely logical presentation. The aforementioned analysis makes it clear that Cohen depends on appealing to pathos more than any other mode of rhetoric. The following diagram manifests the frequency of Cohen’s appeal to each rhetorical mode throughout his testimony:
Figure 5: The frequency of Cohen’s appeal to the rhetorical modes.

As far as the type of integration networks is concerned, Cohen’s language has a plenty of double-scopes. The following figure demonstrates the frequency of integration network types in the testimony:

Figure 6: The frequency of integration network types.

It is apparent that Cohen concentrates on double-scope blending in order to create meanings that are effective enough to address listeners’ emotions/pathos. Double-scopes are the most complex instances of
integration networks owing to the blended space derivations from clashing input spaces and the generic space along with the emerging of a novel structure. This new structure is a feature of Cohen’s language.

In this concern, Cohen seems to be much more interested in addressing the sentimental side of his listeners. This may be accepted among family members, school mates, work mates, fellows and friends and in unofficial settings. Consequently, Cohen is believed to misplace most of his declarations. Accordingly, this paper suggests that formal discourse, such as Cohen’s testimony before the Congress, should be devoid of emotive language and complicated constructions. For a formal discourse to be powerful, it should be simple, purposeful and resolute. Simplicity and resolution are motivated by clear and careful utterances.

Limitations of the study have to do with the sample size and lack of prior research tackling congressional testimonies. Cohen’s testimony contains 3805 words. It is believed that larger samples render more accurate conclusions.

Suggestions for further research signify that more discourse studies should not only focus on the kind of discourse employed in a setting but also on its appropriateness to the setting.

8. Conclusion

Based on the previous discussion and illustrative figures, it seems that Cohen depends more on the creative production of linguistic phrases and clauses that deliver passionate messages. He concentrates on emotional expressions and moving stylistic choices in an attempt to attain his desired destination: convincing members of the congress that he is a good in nature, but misled by President Trump. That is apparent from the numerous examples of Cohen’s appeal to the rhetorical mode of pathos that outnumber his appealing to logos. Testifying in front of members of the Congress concerning such a critical issue, Cohen should have focused on logical language and mere documented facts and events. To convince means to address the logical mind and thinking. To affect means to address human emotions. The Congressional testimony against the President of The United States of America is to be purely based on reason and authenticated documents and events. It also does need complicated language or creative blending between linguistic items to deliver a convincing story. It is clear that Cohen prefers to use creative language due to his considerable examples of double-scope networks. This performance is not suggested in such a formally critical situation as testifying against President Trump in front of members of The Congress. Being direct, using simple statements and focusing on confirmed facts and records are to be the features of any person’s language when testifying in a court or before The Congress.
Language faculties, if not employed appropriately, will lead to unfavorable results. Institutional settings and formal surroundings require a certain type of discourse, a discourse that has to be direct, rational and simply addressing reason. Emotional language and exaggerative expressions may be acceptable in informal an environment among friends and family members. Cohen should have refrained from producing double-scope blends carrying emotional touches because he is in such a formal setting that supports facts and evidences. Misplaced blends addressing emotions may be the reason for Cohn’s lacking in credibility as to his testimony.
References


