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**DOES A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME SMELL AS
SWEET? A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE ON POETS
AND POETRY**

By

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Does a rose by any other name smell as sweet?

A cognitive perspective on poets and poetry *.

Maya Bar-Hillel, Alon Maharshak, Avital Moshinsky, Ruth Nofech **

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** R. Nofech collaborated on Study 1; A. Moshinsky collaborated on Study 2; A. Maharshak collaborated on Study 3.

Abstract

Evidence, both anecdotal and scientific, suggests that people treat (or are affected by) products of prestigious sources differently than those of less prestigious or anonymous sources. The “products” which are the focus of the present study are poems, and the “sources” are the poets. We explore the manner in which the poet's name affects the experience of reading a poem. Study 1 shows that a poet's reputation has a major effect on the evaluation of a poem, whereas the poem's quality is hardly discernible to lay readers. Study 2 asks whether the poet's name affects only the reader's *reported* evaluation (as in The Emperor's New Clothes) or is sincere. Since we conclude it is, Study 3 explores how a poet's name alters the experience of the poem. In the absence of objective criteria for measuring "true poetic experience", we propose some indirect methodological paradigms for addressing this question.

Key words: label effects, experience, expectations, poetry, wine

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Hearing a star soprano, attending an exhibition of a famous painter, or dining in a highly rated restaurant, are experiences which are *expected* to be extraordinary. This is as it should be. Presumably, reputation for quality is acquired precisely by the ability to provide superior experiences. But is the *actual* experience of a given stimulus (rather than the *expected* experience) enhanced if it is known to have been produced by someone famous? We sometimes act as if this were the case. Advance reading about a concert, exhibition, or chef may be motivated by the expectation of enhancing the consumption experience. Moreover, it seems gratifying, even after the experience, to discover that we had just heard a diva, seen the season's hottest exhibition, or eaten in a Michelin rated establishment.

Is this a form of cognitive "snobbery" (the source is excellent, therefore the product must be excellent -- whatever the actual experience), or does the source's reputation somehow seep into the experience, so that the selfsame aria genuinely sounds different when the listener knows that she is listening to Renee Fleming; the diamond-studded skull really looks different when the viewer knows how much Damien Hirst was paid for it; the meal tastes different when the diners believe that they are eating Alain Ducasse's cooking? Can a source's reputation for excellence affect the consumption experience or the remembered experience, in addition to the reported one?

A case can be made either way. On the one hand, if a change occurs when an experience is labeled by its source, it obviously does not occur in the product. It would

be undetected by an audio recording, a reproduction, or a chemical analysis, respectively. This is the strong intuition underlying Juliet's famous: "That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet". On the other hand, just as obviously, experience is not determined by bottom-up processes alone. Distal stimuli are only experienced through the proximal stimuli to which they give rise, and total experience takes place "in the eyes of the beholder" – or even, ultimately, in the mind of the beholder.

The present paper explores these questions in the specific and limited context of poets and poetry. Study 1 consists of 2 experiments that explore whether readers of poetry are influenced by poet's name (they are; Experiment 1), and whether without it, they can distinguish good poetry from bad (they cannot; Experiment 2). Study 2 and 3 explore whether the poet's name influences the outwardly reported evaluations or affects also the inner experience. Study 2 tests whether respondents have access to the influence of the poet's name (they do not), and Study 3 explores the manner in which the internal experience can be influenced by the poet's name.

Study 1 – Poem or poet?

Recently, a professional wine critic published a book called *The Wine Trials* (Goldstein, 2008). Although not a scientific book, it is based on an intriguing experiment (Goldstein, Almenberg, Dreber, Emerson, Herschkowitsch & Katz, 2008), the abstract of which states: "Individuals who are unaware of the price do not derive more enjoyment from more expensive wine. In a sample of more than 6,000 blind tastings [523 wines, priced \$1.65-\$150, were judged by 506 tasters] we find that ... individuals on average enjoy more expensive wines slightly less. For individuals with wine training, however, we find indications of a positive relationship between price and enjoyment." (p. 1).

Another wine experiment bolstered these findings with fMRI evidence (Plassman, O'Doherty, Shiv & Rangel, 2008). Participants tasted five wines. Unbeknownst to them, a \$90 wine was presented once with its true price and once with a \$10 price tag, and a \$5 wine was presented once with its true price and once with a \$45 price tag (the 5th tasting was of a \$35 wine). The participants' expressed preference, as well as their brain scan data, indicated that they enjoyed a wine more when they *thought* it was expensive, rather than when it really *was* expensive. Goldstein calls this "the taste of money" (2008, p. 12)

In the present study, poems replace wine, and poet's reputation replaces price. Poetic analogues of "expensive wines" came naturally. We chose two male and two female contemporary Israeli poets (Yehuda Amichai, Nathan Zach, Leah Goldberg, Dalia Rabikovitz). These poets belong to the literary canon -- they are critically acclaimed, hold prestigious prizes and awards, are included in the high school curriculum, and are well represented in major poetry anthologies. We chose 2 poems for each poet from collections regarded as central to their output -- though not their best-known poems, to reduce the chance that our participants will recognize the poems (see footnote 6). All poems were short, ranging between 12 and 18 lines, and up to 100 words.

Analogues of "cheap wines" were harder to come by. Arguably, any published poem is "good" in some minimal sense (e.g., it passed the threshold for publication), as is any poem by a poet of high repute. For obvious reasons, we wanted to avoid debating the quality of our "bad poems", and yet wanted to give them a fighting chance (just as widely available cheap wines have a fighting chance against more expensive wines, if only by virtue of being sold in wine stores). We opted for generating the "bad poems" ourselves,

while having them resemble the “good poems” superficially¹. So, for example, for the genuine poem that was a sonnet, we wrote a counterpart that was also a sonnet; the genuine poem whose rhyming pattern was A B C A B D D E F D D F, had a similarly rhyming counterpart; etc. The imitation poems also aimed for a similar number of words and of vocabulary richness². For our “unesteemed poets”, we made up four bogus poets, two male and two female, using common and neutral-sounding names with little cultural connotations (such as, say, Frank Roberts might be in English)³.

Study 1 consists of two experiments. In the first, participants rated poems, with or without poets’ names. In the second, they had to distinguish between a real poem and a fake.

Experiment 1

Method

Design. Table 1 shows the 8 between-subject conditions. Authentic poems were paired either with the name of the famous poet who wrote them, or with a bogus name of the same gender. Fake poems were paired either with the name of the poet whose poem they mimicked, or with a bogus name of the same gender. Participants read and rated 4 poems each -- either those written by the two male poets (authentic poems or fake poems, but not both) or those written by the two female poets (likewise). Their four poems were

¹ Similarly, *The Wine Trials* compared one Chardonnay to another, one Merlot to another, etc.

² Our poems were in Hebrew, hence are not appended. But to give readers their flavor, Appendix A contains a real poem by Emily Dickinson, and an imposter poem, generated in the same manner that we generated the imposter poems for Experiment 1. They were all, by the way, dashed off in very little time.

³ The names were Rivka Sela, Hanna Caspi, Benjamin Shakhbar and Shalom Dagan. Poets will be referred to only by their initials in Table 1.

Table 1 – *Design and Results of Experiment 1*

Poem	Poet	Mean	SD	Poem	Poet	Mean	SD
Authentic poetry <i>Famous Poetess</i> N = 30				Fake poetry <i>Famous Poetess</i> N = 37			
Olive trees	LG	82	12	Wheat fields	LG	76	13
Road to Granada	LG	75	15	Road to Siberia	LG	74	15
In praise of peace	DR	77	17	True dream	DR	78	13
The blue lizard	DR	75	16	Girl sleeping in the garden	DR	75	15
Authentic poetry <i>Famous Poet</i> N = 32				Fake poetry <i>Famous Poet</i> N = 42			
Sitting on the curb ⁴	NZ	75	19	Museum visit	NZ	73	17
Sometimes when it's late	NZ	76	18	Sometimes when watching TV	NZ	72	19
Verbs sonnet	YA	73	22	Numbers sonnet	YA	76	14
Now, when the water surges	YA	77	18	Yesterday, when the earth quaked	YA	81	20
Authentic poetry <i>Bogus Poetess</i> N = 38				Fake poetry <i>Bogus Poetess</i> N = 31			
Olive trees	RS	74	13	Wheat fields	RS	72	17
Road to Granada	RS	67	17	Road to Siberia	RS	68	21
In praise of peace	HC	74	18	True dream	HC	72	18
The blue lizard	HC	76	15	The girl sleeping in the garden	HC	74	14
Authentic poetry <i>Bogus Poet</i> N = 34				Fake poetry <i>Bogus Poet</i> N = 37			
Sitting on the curb	BS	70	19	Museum visit	BS	62	27
Sometimes when it's late	BS	65	24	Sometimes when watching TV	BS	64	19
Verbs sonnet	SD	66	26	Numbers sonnet	SD	70	19
Now, when the water surges	SD	71	15	Yesterday, when the earth quaked	SD	73	19

⁴ One data point was missing in this cell, which is therefore based on just 31 observations.

either attributed to famous poets (the real ones, when the poems were authentic), or to bogus poets of the correct gender. Respondents were asked to “rate the quality of the poem” on a scale from 0 to 100.

Participants: Respondents were 281 students⁵, mostly undergraduates with various majors, mean age 25, 59% female, all fluent in Hebrew. They were approached either individually (mostly in libraries) or at the end of a class, and asked to fill out a short questionnaire (up to 15 minutes). They were promised participation in a lottery for five prizes of 400 NIS each (then about \$100).

Procedure: Randomly shuffled questionnaires were distributed. Respondents also supplied some personal data, such as educational background in literature. After all data had been collected, participants were debriefed, and informed about the experiment and its results.

Results and Discussion.

Table 1 presents mean ratings and SDs of the individual poems in each condition. A 3-way ANOVA was performed, with the following factors: Authentic vs. fake poem; Famous vs. bogus poet; Male vs. female poet. Individual poets and poems were treated as repeated measures. Poet reputation was the only statistically significant effect. Poems attributed to famous poets were rated higher ($M=76$, $SD=12$) than poems attributed to bogus poets ($M=70$, $SD=15$; $F(1,273)=14.65$, $p<.001$). Authenticity of the poems made no difference – both real and fake were rated 73 on average. Gender effects were also not

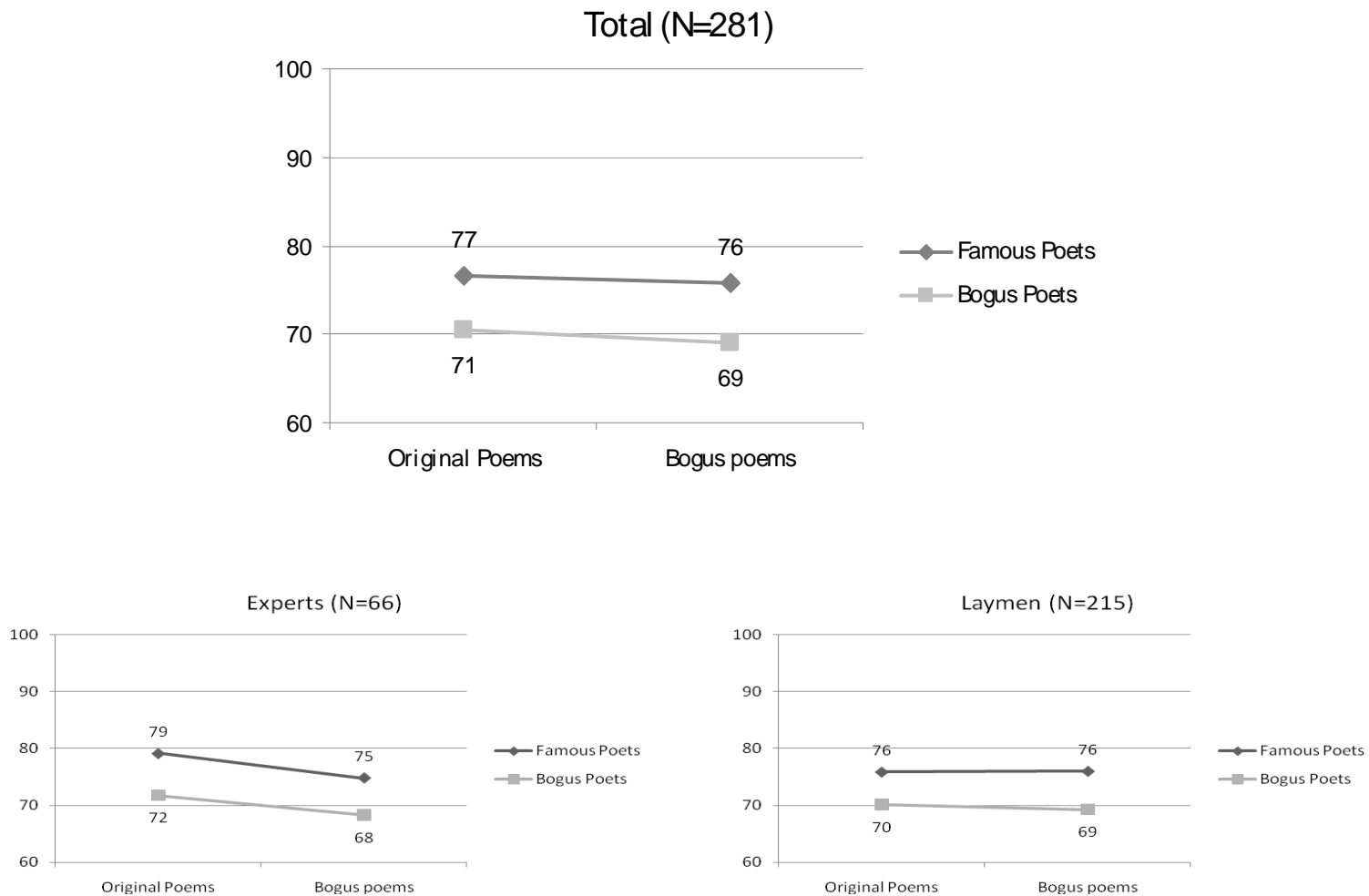
⁵ This after discarding the data of 8 participants who didn't recognize the names of one or more of the four famous poets; 17 who recognized one or more of the eight authentic poems; 8 who “recognized” the bogus poets; and 2 who “recognized” a fake poem.

significant, with women’s poetry rated 74 (SD=12) on average and men’s poetry 72 (SD=15) on average ($F(1,273) = 3.16$, ns). None of the interactions were significant.

Figure 1 shows the effects of poem quality and poet reputation, collapsing over poet’s gender and the individual poets. The picture couldn’t be clearer: There is almost no effect of poem quality, only of poet reputation.

Figure 1

Mean rating for real and for fake poems, when attributed either to famous poets or to bogus poets, for the entire sample, for “experts” only, and for “laymen” only.



Those who find the results distressing might take some solace from the fact that “experts” did somewhat better. Note that we didn’t have professional experts. We defined as “expert” those participants who indicated that they had some extra background in literature -- 66 had either taken (the Israeli equivalent of) Advanced Placement classes in Literature in high school (38), or majored in Literature at the university (35; 7 had done both). We avoided professionals, because they likely would have simply recognized the authentic poems, rendering our test moot. But even this minor level of expertise makes some difference, as the figure shows. In fact, it turns out that any discrimination shown by the group as a whole is due in its entirety to the subgroup of experts, though even that is not significant (experts are hardly more discriminating than laymen, 2-way interaction $F(1,273)=.734$, $p=.392$. The 3-way interaction is also not significant, $F(1,273)=.047$, $p=.828$). Moreover, we cannot rule out that some experts, even if unawares, recognized some of the poems,. The experts were also influenced by the poet’s name to the same extent as the others (expert-by-poet interaction $F(1,273) = .029$, $p=.864$, ns). The picture was much the same whichever poet was considered (individual poet data are not shown).

In sum: Our respondents showed no more appreciation for authentic poems than for fake poems. Would they distinguish between them better if both were presented together?

Experiment 2.

Method

Design. Participants were given one of the 8 pairs of poems used in Experiment 1 – the real thing and its imposter – and told as much, but with no poet name. They were asked to guess which is which, and indicate their confidence.

Participants and Procedure: Respondents were 245⁶ students, mostly undergraduates with various majors, mean age 26, 57% female, all fluent in Hebrew. They were approached either individually (mostly in libraries) or as small groups before or after classes, and were asked to fill out a short questionnaire (up to 5 minutes). Randomly shuffled questionnaires were distributed, and respondents were promised participation in a lottery for a 200 NIS prize. Respondents also supplied some personal data, such as educational background in literature.

Results

Table 2

Rates of correct identification

Poet	Poem pair	N	% Correct	Confidence
Goldberg	Road to Granada / Road to Siberia	30	43	63
Amichai	Verb sonnet / Number sonnet	34	47	69
Rabikovitz	Blue lizard / Girl in garden	29	48	69
Amichai	Water surges / Earth quakes	30	53	66
Zach	On the curb / Museum visit	30	53	63
Rabikovitz	Praise of peace / True dream	30	57	68
Goldberg	Olive trees / Wheat fields	31	58	69
Zach	When it is late / When I watch TV	31	74	69
	Overall	245	54	67

Table 2 shows the results for all pairs of poems. Pairs are ordered by increasing rate of correct identifications. Authentic poems were correctly identified between 43% and 74% of the time, with a mean of 54%⁷ -- hardly better than chance (binomial test, ns), and compatible with the results of Experiment 1. Mean confidence in the judgments

⁶ 3 respondents were discarded because they recognized the authentic poem.

⁷ We decline to explain ad hoc why one Zach poem is an outlier.

was 67%, exhibiting the familiar pattern of overconfidence in forced choice tasks with difficult items (Lichtenstein, Fischhoff & Phillips, 1982). Respondents with an extended background in literature (“experts”, N=56) did somewhat better than the rest, albeit not significantly (60% correct compared to 54%, Fisher’s exact test, ns), and expressed higher confidence (71 vs. 65, $t=2.68$, $p<.01$, $DF=225$)

Discussion

The results of Study 1 beg the question whether the fake poems were not as bad as we meant them to be. Can a faked poem, deliberately devoid of any artistic intent, nonetheless be “good”? Artists who believe what they produce is good, while critics consider it bad, are commonplace. But can the opposite also occur? Might we have inadvertently produced good poems, our intentions notwithstanding?

Since we are philosophers or critics of art, our own opinions are of little merit, and we will not offer them. But we offer some facts that might help readers make up their own minds on the matter. First, we reiterate that it was never our intention to write poems with any artistic merit – on the contrary. It has been argued that artistic intention is a necessary condition for some human product to be considered art (e.g., Livingston, 2005)⁸. Nor were we exercising any particular skill or putting much effort into our fake poems. Indeed, we probably spent little more than 10-15 minutes per poem, laughing hilariously the while.

This said, there is a compelling argument for the other view. Pearson’s correlation of the mean ratings given (by different respondents) to the real poems with the ratings for their faked counterparts is 0.62. Clearly, the only possible source for this

⁸ In the case of Marcel Duchamp’s notorious urinal – intent is even a sufficient condition.

correlation lies in what the poem pairs kept in common by intent: outward form, pattern of rhyming, richness of vocabulary, and grammaticality. We used this scaffolding to generate plausible “competition” to the quality poems. But form and vocabulary obviously contribute to a poem’s quality. So by preserving, indeed mimicking, these attributes, we were plagiarizing some genuine carriers of quality. What was lost? Artistic intention, internal cohesion, associations, emotional appeal -- anything, in short, carried by the original content.

Lastly, there are some well known cases where a project designed to parody art or to forge art, rather than to actually be art, was so successful, that the forgery’s esteem survived exposure. A notable example is the poetry of Ern Malley, a fictitious poet invented in the 1940s as a hoax by two Australian poets, whose own serious work was overshadowed with time by their parody (e.g., Heyward, 2003). Similarly, the forged paintings of Elmyr DeHory continued to command high prices and professional respect even after the truth about them came out (e.g., Irving, 1969). These, however, are exceptional stories, and we have no reason to believe we possess the talent to have produced good poetry inadvertently. Indeed, for present purposes we are happier when friends deride our poems than when they praise them.

A second issue raised by our results feeds into the ongoing debate as to whether the merit of works of art is inherent or is a social construction; whether it is apparent without the signaling of various social cues or whether it totally depends on these social cues. This debate is more important for art than it is for cognition, and in the present paper we will discuss it no further.

Study 1 has done with poetry what the wine studies had done with wine⁹. It is reassuring to note the similarities between the wine and the poetry findings as alternative realizations of a more abstract notion of product evaluation with or without knowledge about the product's source or generator.

Our findings evoke the notorious story of New Coke (e.g., Enrico & Kornbluth, 1986). In blind tastings, people preferred the sweeter taste of Pepsi to that of Coke. The Coca Cola Company accordingly changed its Coke formula, hoping to recapture the slipping market share. The furor that ensued when the change was announced forced Coca Cola to do an about face. In short order the old formula was reinstated under the name of Coke Classic, and was sold alongside New Coke. With time, New Coke was phased out completely, and Coca Cola went back to selling the good-old formula only. In January, 2009, the Coca Cola Company finally came full circle when they removed the word "Classic" from the product's name. So although in blind tastings, New Coke tastes better than Coke Classic, informed customers prefer Coke Classic -- and it is the paying customer, who is not blind, that Coca Cola wants to please.

Much ink has been spilt trying to explain why blind tasting, a hallmark of controlled experimentation, failed so spectacularly in this case. Research was even conducted to see which flavor the brain preferred, so to speak. Lo! In blind tastings, more pleasure was recorded in the appropriate brain areas from New Coke, whereas in informed tastings, more pleasure was recorded from Coke Classic (McLure, Li, Tomlin, Cypert, Montague & Montague, 2004).

⁹ Our own idea for it was actually also originally conceived with regard to wine, but we switched to poetry because it is so much simpler and cheaper to run, requiring only paper and pencil, and minutes of the respondents' time. Chronologically, our study preceded Goldstein's.

Another way of stating these results is that Coke does not taste the same when you know what you are drinking and when you don't. The fluid may be the same, but the drinking experience is modified by the brand name¹⁰. Since brand name, unlike formula, is not physiologically active, we can consider it a placebo effect. Evidence has been recently presented of placebo effects in marketing actions. Identical consumer goods are experienced differently, or even perform more effectively on objective performance measures, when accompanied by a market action such as brand name or price (e.g., Waber, Shiv, Carmon, & Ariely, 2008; Plassman et al., 2008).

Study 2 – Are poem evaluations contrived or sincere?

Study 1 established, at least for our respondents and our poems, that people cannot reliably distinguish good poetry from fake poetry, and their ratings can be swayed by changing the name of the poet who they think authored a given poem. This raises the obvious question about whether the effect is a conscious, even a cynical, one, or whether there is valid information in a poet's name that renders it normatively appropriate to alter a poem's evaluation when the alleged poet's name is altered.

If one believes that “a rose by any other name would [or even *should*] smell as sweet”, then discovery, or exposure, that the selfsame poem was rated differently when the poet's name was changed might be embarrassing. The common, yet sophisticated, practice of blind tasting, blind auditioning, blind reviews, etc. seems to emerge from this intuition, suggesting that inasmuch as knowing the author or the source of a product

¹⁰ Coca Cola's spin on their marketing fiasco explains it as an underestimation of the “emotional” response their customers had to their drink. So successful was this spin, that some believe it was all preplanned. A humbler interpretation is that the company failed to consider that taste itself can be altered by labels. At the time such oversight would have been understandable.

(literary or otherwise) biases the product's evaluation, such bias is unwarranted and undesirable. After all, a naked King cannot be clothed by the patter of his cunning tailors.

Alternatively, the reader might legitimately say, "Well, that's a different story [or, in this case, a different *poem*...] altogether, then! Here's my new rating" and not be embarrassed at all. Clearly, knowing who the author is sometimes gives information that not only changes judgment, but actually *improves* it. For example, a hard-to-follow paper (or mathematical proof, or legal argument, etc.) might be deep and complex, or confused and incoherent. Knowing who wrote it could resolve this ambiguity. Knowing authorship can sometimes even completely transform content¹¹.

Study 2 does not attempt to entirely resolve the conflict between these two contending possibilities. Rather, it attempts to see whether the respondents who read an attributed poem were aware of the role the poet's name played in their reported evaluation. Specifically, we explore whether the reported evaluation consists of a private evaluation of the poem "in itself", which is then consciously and deliberately adjusted when publicly rendered, to accommodate the reputation of the poet. Could such an adjustment, perhaps due to social desirability, account for the difference in the evaluations of the poem attributed to a poet versus lacking the poet's name?

Lee, Frederick & Ariely (2006) gave people an opportunity to render a socially desirable, but insincere, report of their preferences. Participants tasted unadulterated beer and the same beer laced with some balsamic vinegar. Whereas (surprisingly) blind

¹¹ E.g., suppose two people sign two identical copies of some mathematical proof, one line of which states: "It follows from my proof of Lemma 1 in an earlier paper that ...". Obviously, the referent of "my earlier proof of Lemma 1" depends on the writer, possibly rendering the entire present proof different accordingly.

tasters preferred the laced beer, informed tasters preferred the unadulterated beer. A third group tasted blindly, but was then informed before reporting. That their preferences resembled those of the blind tasters indicates that they declined the opportunity to adjust their report, thus suggesting sincerity.

We used a different approach, based on the assumption that a participant can only estimate how others like them evaluate a particular poem by introspection, since there is no social norm to follow. We also assume that people who may doctor the truth about themselves would have no reason to similarly protect others (for a similar rationale see, e.g., Fischhoff, 1975). So people who may not answer a direct question sincerely (“Do you *really* think the poem is this good, or are you just *saying* so because the poet is so good?”) might be sincere if asked about others.

Method

Study 2 used a single poem by Yehuda Amichai, arguably Israel’s best-known and best-loved contemporary poet¹². The poem chosen, *Infinite Poem*, was loose enough in form and structure that the poetic skill it required was not as apparent as when strict rhyme and rhythm constraints are imposed. This rendered its evaluation deliberately ambiguous. All participants read the poem some with and some without the poet’s name. We contend that either heading (“*Infinite poem*, by Y. Amichai” vs. just “*Infinite poem*”) is natural enough to trigger no awareness that the independent variable of interest is the presence or absence of the poet’s name.

Participants: A convenience sample of one thousand Hebrew speakers participated in this study. All were graduates of Israeli high schools. They ranged in age from 17 to 74 (mean age=30), and 61% were female.

¹² This poem was not used in Study 1. Appendix B contains a rough translation of the poem into English.

Procedure: Each participant received a questionnaire with *Infinite Poem* on its first page. Ratings of its “literary quality” were solicited in various conditions (detailed in the Design below), but were all on a scale from 0 (“total garbage”) to 100 (“totally wonderful”). At the end of the task, they were asked for some personal information (e.g., gender, age, education). The respondents who provided the base line for the study (see the Design) were students who answered the questionnaire in a classroom. The rest were approached individually, and asked to fill out a short questionnaire (up to 10 minutes). Rewards were promised, as detailed in the *Design*.

Design. There were 13 experimental groups in this study. The motivation for the various groups will become apparent in the Results section.

Group 1 read the poem without attribution, and rated it.

Group 2 read the poem with Amichai’s name, and rated it.

Group 3 first read the poem without attribution, and then guessed “the mean of how a group of people like you evaluated it”. They were not asked for their own evaluation. A 100NIS reward (then about \$25) was promised to the most accurate guess (based on Group1). The prize was intended to motivate participants to give their best (hence most sincere) guess.

Group 4 first read the poem with the poet’s name, and then guessed the mean of how “a group of people like you evaluated it”. 100NIS were promised to the most accurate guess (based on Group2).

Table 3

Design and results of the 12 experimental groups.

Group	Task	N	M1	M2	SD1	SD2
1	Read and rate unattributed poem	69	54	-	30	-
2	Read and rate attributed poem	83	63	-	23	-
3	Read unattributed poem -- guess rating of others	74	58	-	24	-
4	Read attributed poem -- guess rating of others	92	68	-	21	-
5	Read and rate unattributed poem then also guess rating of others	93	52	56	29	22
6	Read and rate attributed poem then also guess rating of others	102	62	65	28	22
7	Read without attribution -- guess rating of others who did know the poet's name	67	76	-	20	-
8	Read with attribution -- guess rating of others who did not know the poet's name	76	59	-	20	-
9	Read and rate without attribution, then also guess rating of others who knew the poet's name	71	47	80	29	19
10	Read and rate with the poet's name, then also guess rating of others who did not know the poet's name	95	62	48	26	24
11	Read and rate without attribution, then read and rate again after learning the poet's name	41	52	61	26	26
12	Read and rate with attribution, then read and rate again as if you didn't know poet's name	47	59	52	30	30
13	"How many points is Amichai's name worth?"	93	30	-	13	-

Group 5 read the poem without attribution, and evaluated it. They were then also asked to guess "the mean of how a group of people like you evaluated it". 100 NIS were promised to the most accurate guess (based on Group 1).

Group 6 was like Group 5, but with Amichai's name. The 100 NIS reward for accuracy was based on Group 2.

Group 7 read the poem without attribution. Their own evaluation was not solicited, but after reading they were told that “a group of people like you read this poem, but they knew at the time they read it that it was written by Amichai. Guess how they evaluated it”. 100NIS were promised to the most accurate guess (based on Group 2).

Group 8 read the poem with Amichai’s name but without evaluating it. They were then asked to guess how “a group of people like you, but who had read the poem unattributed, rated it”. 100 NIS were promised to the most accurate guess (based on Group 1).

Group 9 read the poem without attribution, and did evaluate it. They were then told that “a group of people like your read this poem, but they knew at the time they read it that it was written by Amichai. Guess how they evaluated it”. 100NIS were promised to the most accurate guess (based on Group 2).

Group 10 was to Group 9 like Group 8 was to Group 7.

Group 11 read the poem without attribution, and evaluated it. They were then told that the poem they read was written by Amichai, and asked to evaluate it again.

Group 12 read the poem with Amichai’s name, and evaluated it. They were then asked to evaluate it again, as if they didn’t know who wrote it.

Group 13 were only told: “Imagine people reading and evaluating a poem on a scale from 0 to 100. Some read it unattributed, and others know it is by Yehuda Amichai. What do you think would be the mean point difference between the two groups?”.

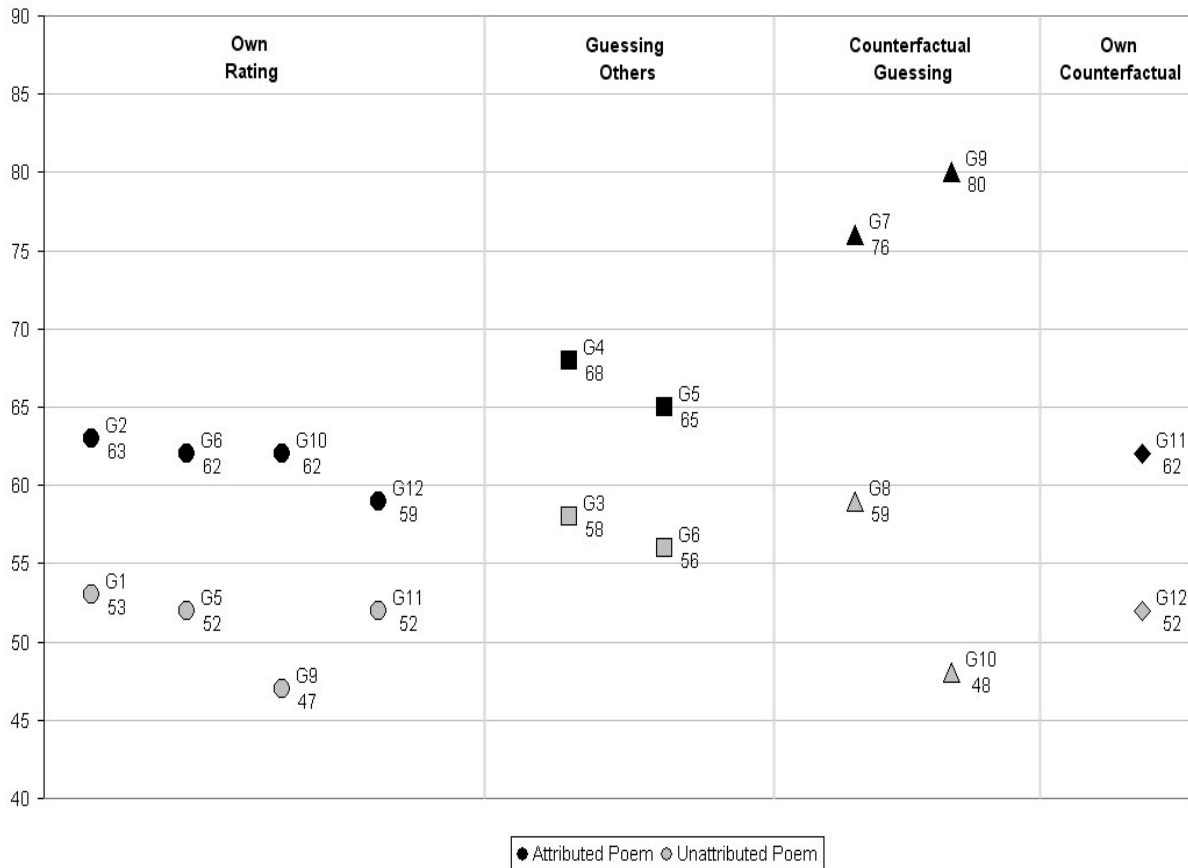
Results and Discussion

The full results of Study 2 can be seen in Table 3, but are easier to appreciate when displayed graphically. Figure 2 shows the 18 means given by groups 1-12 (six groups -- 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12 -- gave two evaluations each).

Before walking through the figure, note two general points.

Figure 2¹³

Mean ratings of the poem, with (black) or without (gray) the poet's name.



First, despite the noisy data and the multiplicity of conditions, there is no overlap between the black shapes representing ratings of the attributed poem, and the gray shapes representing ratings of the unattributed poem. Namely, no “unattributed poem” data point is ever rated higher than any “attributed poem” data point. The horizontal line in Figure 4 separates the two types.

¹³ We thank Einav Hart for this figure.

Second, consider the 8 leftmost points in the figure, four on top (Groups 2, 6, 10, 12) and four on the bottom (Groups 1, 5, 9, 11). Each point was generated by different respondents, some of whom rendered it as a single judgment (1 and 2), while for the others it was the first of two judgments. Since they were doing the same task, the four top groups and the four bottom groups can be considered samples from the same two populations (“attributed poem” and “unattributed poem”), respectively.

What do the data tell us (proceeding roughly from left to right)?

1. *Amichai’s name enhances Infinite Poem by 10 points (see “Own rating” panel).*

The unattributed poem’s mean rating by Group 1, 54, provided the standard against which guesses were compared. With the poet’s name, the mean rating of base Group 2 was 63, nine points higher¹⁴. The best estimate of the unattributed poem’s rating is, of course, 51, the (weighted) mean of Groups 1, 5, 9 and 11 (gray circles), and that of the attributed poem it is 62, the (weighted) mean of Groups 2, 6, 10 and 12¹⁵ (black circles). Though not large (less than half a standard deviation; Cohen’s $d = 0.38$, small to medium effect), this eleven point difference is significant ($t=4.72$, $p<.0001$, $DF=599$)¹⁶.

2. *Guessing others’ ratings captures this 10 points difference (see “Guessing others” panel).*

¹⁴ Even attributed, Infinite Poem was not a great hit, especially compared to the poems of Study 1.

¹⁵ From the standpoint of the respondents -- even those who had a double task -- these are first estimates, hence not influenced by anything else.

¹⁶ This magnitude is somewhat larger than, but comparable to, the 6-7 point difference found in Experiment 1 between the correctly attributed poems and the ones attributed to an unknown poet in general, and for Amichai’s poems in particular – which may be just a coincidence.

How do respondents' guesses about others compare with their own ratings (squares? Groups 3 and 4, guessing the mean of others "like themselves", gave a mean of 58 without poet's name, and of 68 with poet's name, respectively. This difference ($t=2.81$, $p=0.006$, $DF=164$) is the same as was found with the own-rating groups. Guessing groups, therefore, reconstructed the impact of the poet's name, while exhibiting a slight and non-significant upward drift of 5 points ($t=1.68$, $DF=316$, ns).

Respondents in Groups 5 and 6 did both tasks, first giving their own rating, then guessing the rating of others "like you". Group 5, without the poet's name, gave $M=52$ for themselves and $M=56$ as their guess about others ($t=1.59$, $DF=92$, ns), with the modal inter-subject difference being 0. Group 6, who knew the poet's name, gave $M=62$ for themselves and $M=65$ as their guess about others ($t=1.41$, $DF=101$, ns), with the modal inter-subject difference being 0. Hence, the anchor provided by their own ratings cut the upward drift in the guessed ratings by about 50%.

3. *Respondents cannot extract the impact of the name from introspection (see "Counterfactual guessing" panel).*

We can now address the critical manipulation. Participants were asked to read the poem one way (with, or without, attribution), and then guess others' ratings under the dual conditions (namely, without, or with, attribution, respectively). This task was also done without, or with, asking for their own ratings first. Two findings emerge. First, participants cannot reconstruct the real value of the poet's name, overestimating it considerably. Second, respondents' guesses about how many points the poet's name *would* add do not equate the guesses about how many points the poet's name *had* added. Overestimation is much larger in the first group.

Support for these claims can be seen in the following results (consider the triangle data points).

Respondents who read the poem without the poet's name and then guessed the effect of the poet's name on others (Group 7) guessed a mean of 76 – fourteen points more than our data-based mean of 62 and eight points more than even Group 4's mean guess of 68. Group 9, who first gave their own rating of the poem without the poet's name (M=47), and only then guessed the effect of the poet's name on others, overestimated the name even more (M=80), adding 33 points on average for the poet's name. In the dual conditions, Group 8, who knew the poet's name all along, but were asked to only guess the rating of others who did not, gave a mean guess of 59, higher than our data-based mean of 51, but almost identical to Group 3's mean guess of 58. Group 10, who first gave their own rating of the attributed poem (M=62), and only then guessed the mean of those who did not know the poet's name, underestimated it at 48, subtracting an average of fourteen points for the name.

Why did Groups 9 and 10 guess different values for the poet's name? Possibly three-to-six points of Group 9's 33 point addition are due to the "guessing others" upward drift (manifested by groups 5 and 6); and possibly Group 10's fourteen point subtraction would have been three-to-six points greater were it not for that same upward drift. Even so, the group that subtracted points for the name subtracted only about half as many points (say seventeen) as the dual group added for the poet's name (say thirty). One cannot help but recall that quantitative estimates of loss aversion typically put the ratio at which losses loom larger than gains at about 2-to-1 (e.g., Tversky & Kahneman, 1991). Is a point subtracted likewise equivalent to 2 points added?

Be that as it may, the results show that respondents do not, and presumably cannot (since if they could have – they would have), retrieve the true impact of the poet’s name from introspection. Apparently, they have an implicit estimate of how much Amichai’s name is worth. Group 13 gave us this estimate explicitly – 30 points. This is very close to the 33 points added by Group 9 (the 3-point difference is not-significant). Although Group 13 was asked a non-directional question (“How many points is Amichai’s name worth?”), it is more natural to interpret it as “How many points does Amichai’s name add?”, rather than “How many points would withholding Amichai’s name subtract?”. So it seems that Groups 9 and Group10 shared Group 13’s 30-point estimate, using it to make their counterfactual guess (with the caveat that a point deducted offsets 2 points added).

Adding a poet’s name *after* having read the unattributed poem would seem to be a feasible task: simply read it again. Ignoring a poet’s known name *ad hoc* is certainly harder. One cannot simply obliterate the name from one’s mind at the second reading. Nonetheless, the former lead to far more error in the guessing than the latter, lending further support to our contention that the value added to a poem by the name is not obtained by introspection.

4. Respondents indeed guess the impact of poet’s name on their own evaluations in a self-serving manner (see “Own counterfactual” panel).

Our story in place, we did run, almost as an afterthought, the groups that our complex study was designed to avoid (diamond data points). Group 11 read the poem unattributed, gave their rating (M=52), and then read it again after being informed of the poet’s name. Their mean guess of their own counterfactual rating is 62. Group 12 read the poem with Amichai’s name, gave their rating (M=59), and then read it again after

being asked to imagine they had not known the poet's name. Their mean guess of the counterfactual was 52. Remarkably, these two groups are fairly accurate. One group added 10 points (albeit the modal intra-subject difference was zero), and one group subtracted 7 points (albeit the modal intra-subject difference was zero).

Did Group 11 and Group 12 exhibit an ability to estimate the impact of Amichai's name accurately, and then reported it sincerely, in spite of our early worries? Based on our previous results, we doubt it. We rather tend to believe that these groups are subject to the same estimate as Group 13, alongside the self-serving reporting we were concerned about. Like Group 9 and Group 10, they are probably guessing the name's impact on the basis of an exaggerated, though correct in principle, estimate of the worth of Amichai's name (about 30 points), rather than on introspection. They then distort it to present themselves in a more favorable light. "*Others* may be swayed by the poet's name, but us? Nah, we would hardly be affected. Well, ok, maybe just a little bit...". The modal respondent in both groups, who gave the same ratings under both readings, also supports this interpretation.

On the whole, we believe our results confirm the assumptions that underlie our design: Asking about others' ratings extracts respondents' sincere, if inaccurate, opinions about the extent to which Amichai's name enhances the rating of his poetry.

Study 3 – Interpreting a poem in light of its author

An intuition that contrasts with Juliet's is embodied in the aphorism: "*Beauty is in the eye of the beholder*". Such is the power of suggestion that sometimes even a naked King can look magnificent in his non-existent clothes, and even a rose can smell like a rotten egg. The scent emitted by a rose depends, of course, on the rose's chemistry

(bottom up). Importantly, however, perceived scent also depends on what is in the smeller's nose, brain, and mind (top down). Thus, the experience of some stimuli can be altered without altering the stimuli themselves.

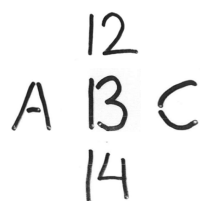
Makens (1964) showed that the taste of roasted turkey was evaluated more highly if the turkey was thought to be of a familiar brand than when it was thought to be of an unknown brand. Goldstein found a similar effect. Wine, meat and poetry all yield better experiences when sporting reputation-enhancing labels. But *how* is the experience affected?

Study 3 attempts to answer this question for poetry. In particular, we study the possibility that knowing who wrote a poem alters the way the text is interpreted, because different things are primed thereby -- just as the interpretation of the middle symbol in Figure 4 depends on whether letters are primed by the row, or numbers are primed by the column.

Figure 3 about here

Figure 3

Perception depends on expectation.



12	A	B
14	C	14

Literary *mavens* we consulted explained how a poet's name affects the interpretation of poetry. For example, the motif of a synagogue appears frequently in Amichai's poetry. Among the erudite, the poem elicits associations to those other poems, which would not be elicited without Amichai's name. Similarly, Morrot, Brochet &

Dubourdieu (2001) found that when people tasted a white wine, they tended to describe its taste with white-wine adjectives such as “honey” and “lemon”. When that same wine was dyed red with a flavorless dye, they switched to red-wine adjectives such as “cherry”, “blackcurrant”, etc.

We perused literature dealing in poetic criticism, extracting a list of adjectives commonly used when poetry is discussed or evaluated. The idea of Study 3 was based on these adjectives, to see whether Amichai’s name causes the attributed poem to be read differently than the unattributed poem. If so, that would lend meaning to the hypothesis that the poet’s name altered the very experience of the poem, and not just its perceived, or reported, quality.

Method

Participants and Procedure. There were 324 participants, 60% of them female, ranging in age from 18 to 63, with a mean of 29. All were Israeli high-school graduates, and most were students, who were run in groups at the end of classes. They were asked to fill out a short questionnaire (up to 10 minutes), and promised participation in a lottery for a 500 NIS prize.

Stimuli and Design. We generated (rather than sampled) 24 pairs of adjective antonyms (albeit, with redundancies), as listed in Table 4¹⁷. 165 respondents were asked to read Infinite Poem, either with Amichai’s name (N=79) or unattributed (N=86). The poem was followed (on the next page) by 24 semantic differentials, corresponding to these 24 paired adjectives, which respondents were asked to mark. For example:

short 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 long

¹⁷ This list is translated from Hebrew, and, alas, does not sound as good as in the original.

A single order, randomly generated, was used for all respondents (not the one in Table 4). Respondents were not asked to rate the poem’s overall quality. Indeed, there was no mention of quality at all.

The other 159 respondents were not given any poem to read but were asked to characterize their idea either of “Good poetry” (N=82), or of “Amichai’s poetry” (N=77), using the same 24 semantic differentials.

Table 4 – 24 adjective pairs for evaluating poetry, and their ratings.

The adjective pairs	“Good Poetry”		Infinite Poem unattributed		Infinite Poem by Amichai		“Amichai’s poetry”	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
*1. rich – poor	5.7	1.2	3.6	1.6	4.4	1.5	5.7	0.9
*2. polychromatic – monochromatic	5.3	1.2	3.2	1.8	3.7	1.6	4.8	1.3
*3. attached – detached	5.2	1.3	4.1	1.7	4.6	1.5	5.2	1.1
*4. personal – general	5.0	1.2	5.1	1.8	5.7	1.4	5.0	1.4
5. colorful - gray	5.0	1.1	2.9	1.4	3.3	1.6	4.2	1.6
6. emotional - intellectual	4.9	1.1	4.5	1.5	4.8	1.5	4.8	1.4
7. optimistic - pessimistic	4.7	1.0	3.6	1.5	4.0	1.5	3.1	1.4
*8. mature - childlike	4.7	1.1	4.9	1.5	5.4	1.1	5.5	1.0
*9. sophisticated - unsophisticated	4.7	1.4	3.9	1.7	4.6	1.5	5.1	1.2
10. soothing – irritating	4.7	1.4	3.5	1.6	4.0	1.4	4.0	1.2
*11. modest - boastful	4.6	1.2	4.6	1.5	5.1	1.3	5.0	1.2
12. romantic - cynical	4.6	1.2	4.0	1.6	4.4	1.3	3.6	1.5
*13. refined - coarse	4.6	1.3	4.1	1.5	4.6	1.3	3.7	1.3
14. daring-conservative	4.5	1.0	3.7	1.4	3.8	1.4	4.6	1.4
15. revolutionary-conformist	4.5	1.1	3.9	1.5	4.1	1.5	4.7	1.4
16. secular-holy	4.4	1.2	3.9	1.5	3.8	1.4	4.5	1.4
17. fast - slow	4.4	0.9	4.2	1.7	4.6	1.7	3.9	1.2

18. modern-classical	4.3	1.2	4.6	1.6	4.8	1.5	5.0	1.3
19. clever - simpleminded	4.3	1.3	4.7	1.7	4.8	1.5	4.6	1.5
20. short - long	4.2	0.9	4.8	1.6	5.0	1.4	4.3	0.9
21. happy - sad	4.2	1.1	3.2	1.2	3.3	1.2	2.8	1.0
22. decisive - indecisive	4.1	1.1	4.0	1.8	4.2	1.9	4.5	1.5
23. unique - universal	4.1	1.4	4.5	1.9	4.6	1.7	4.1	1.7
24. direct - indirect	4.1	1.3	3.4	1.7	3.3	1.5	4.4	1.6
N	82		86		79		77	

Results and Discussion

Table 4 orders the 24 paired adjectives according to the results of the group who characterized “Good Poetry”. Within each pair the first adjective is the one more closely associated, on average, with “Good Poetry” (hence necessarily rated higher than the midpoint, 4), and pairs are listed from high to low in terms of strength of association with “Good Poetry”.

The results of Table 4 are easier to follow when presented graphically, as in Figure 4. The 24 adjective pairs are on the abscissa, ordered as in Table 4. The ordinate shows the values on the semantic differential, with 4.0 being its midpoint. The monotonically decreasing line is the “Good Poetry” profile, designed to be above the midpoint throughout. One line is for the attributed poem (circles) and another is for the unattributed poem (squares).

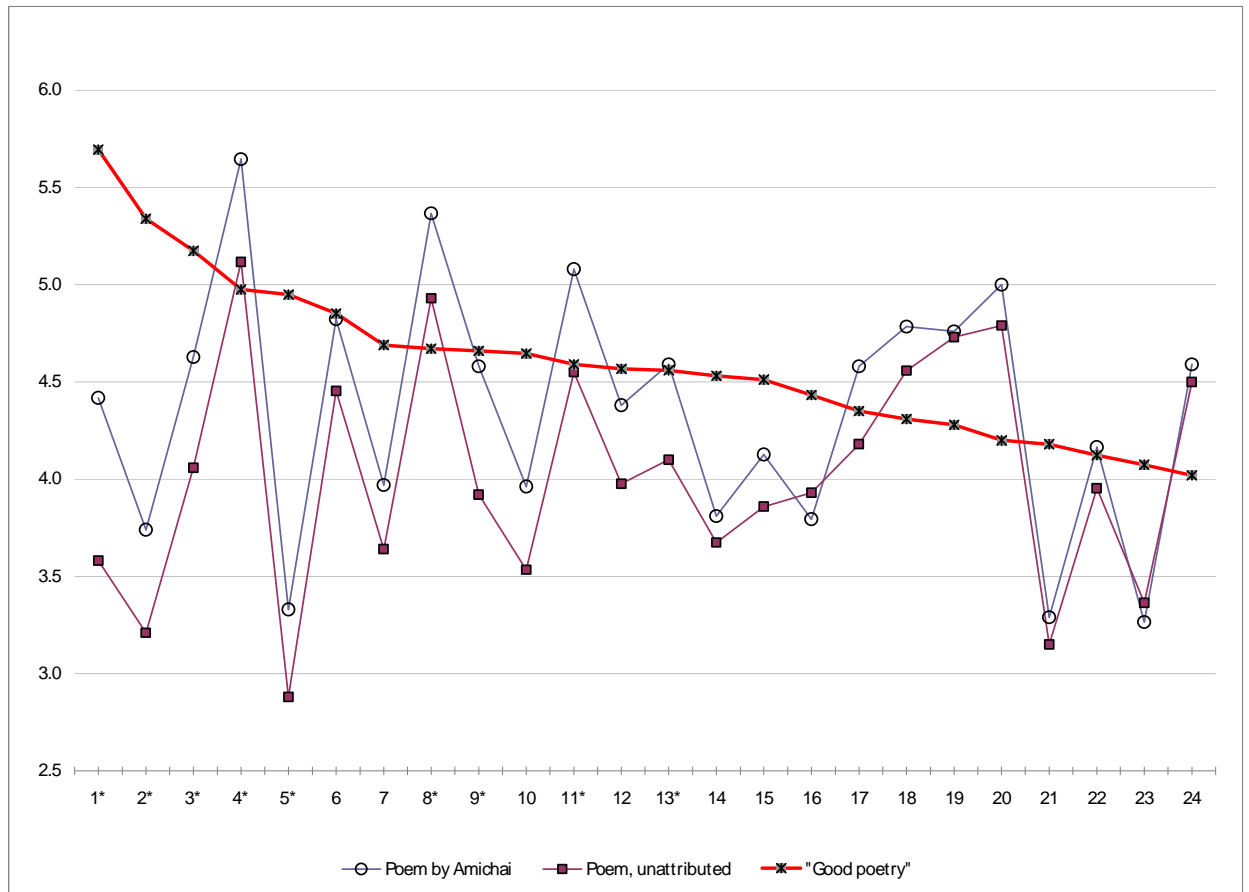
Figure 4 shows two things clearly. First, these two profiles covary very closely; their correlation is a remarkably high 0.93, as high as the intra-group correlations, based on a Monte Carlo simulation¹⁸. Second, the attributed-poem profile hovers above the unattributed-poem profile almost everywhere, excepting dimensions 16 and 24 only, (exact binomial test, $p < .001$). On 8 individual dimensions, marked in Table 4 and in Figure 4 by an asterisk, the top profile differs significantly from the bottom profile (F values, in order, are: 11.9; 4.1; 5.2; 4.4; 4.3; 8.2; 5.1; 6)¹⁹.

¹⁸ Both groups were randomly divided into two halves several thousands of times. Correlations were computed both within the group halves and between the group halves. The 3 resulting distributions were practically indistinguishable.

¹⁹ Needless to say, for the poems to be “different” they don’t need to be different on all dimensions.

Figure 4

Profiles of attributed (circles) and unattributed (squares) poem, compared to “Good Poetry” (monotonically decreasing line).



How can the high correlation between the profiles and the significant differences between them be reconciled? Did the two groups have a similar experience, as suggested by the 0.93 correlation, or a different one, as suggested by the significant differences? To answer, we calculated a few other correlations and differences.

Note first that two profiles can be perfectly correlated, yet very different, as, for example, when one profile is entirely below the midpoint 4 (e.g., subtract 1.1 from all

column 2 means), and the other is an identical profile shifted upwards to be entirely above the midline (add 1.1 to all column 2 means). However, this is clearly not the case in our results.

i. Only in two cases (17 and 22) are the poem's ratings with and without poet's name on different sides of the midpoint 4 (though not significantly different from each other). In other words, the intensity of the rating for the attributed and unattributed poem may have differed, but – except in these two cases -- not the directionality. ii. The attributed-poem profile is considerably, and significantly, closer to both the "Good poetry" profile (mean distance=0.24), and to the "Amichai's poetry" profile (mean distance =0.11), than is the unattributed-poem, whose mean distances from these profiles are 0.58 and 0.42, respectively ($t=6.93$, $DF=23$, $p<.001$ with respect to Good Poetry; $t=6.63$, $DF=2$, $p<.001$, with respect to Amichai's poetry).²⁰

A compatible picture emerges the correlations. Note that the eight significantly different dimensions (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, and 13) are concentrated in the early part of the 24 dimensions – ordered by "Good poetry". Indeed, we correlated an adjective's position on "Good Poetry" with the advantage Amichai's name gave the poem on that dimension (namely, the difference between the two middle columns in Table 4). Spearman's correlation was 0.82 ($t=8$, $DF=2$, $p<.01$ ²¹), indicating that the poet's name contributed more to dimensions more closely associated with "Good poetry". Similarly, correlating a dimension's rank position on "Amichai's Poetry" with the advantage Amichai's name gave the poem on that dimension gave a Spearman's correlation of 0.66 ($t=4.12$, $DF=2$,

²⁰ All calculations were based on the unrounded means underlying Table 4.

²¹ Based on the formula $t = r \sqrt{\frac{n-2}{1-r^2}}$

p=.03), indicating that the poet’s name also contributed more to dimensions more closely associated with “Amichai’s poetry”.

Table 5 shows Pearson’s correlations between the mean ratings of the four experimental groups across the 24 attributes (significant correlations are marked with an asterisk; t values with 2DF are 2.56 for 0.48; 2.49 for 0.47; 11.87 for 0.93; all highly significant). With all due caveats, the correlations seem to be telling the following story²²:

Table 5

Pairwise correlations between all targets.

	Amichai’s poetry	Attributed poem	Unattributed poem
“Good poetry”	0.47 *	0.10	-0.20
Amichai’s poetry		0.48 *	0.37
Attributed poem			0.93 *

i. “Amichai’s poetry” and “Good poetry” are related, but only weakly (r=0.47). This is as it should be, considering that good poets still have individual styles, so not all “good poetry” is the same. ii. The attributed-poem correlates with “Amichai’s poetry” (r=0.48); that’s what having a distinct individual style entails. However, it essentially does not correlate with “Good poetry” (r=0.10), nor should it, for the abovementioned reason. iii. Once the poet’s name is gone, these correlations drop. The correlation with Amichai’s poetry is still there, albeit weakened (r=0.37, ns), but the correlation with

²² One caveat is that only the correlations 0.93, 0.48 and 0.47 are significantly larger than 0.0.

“Good poetry” is actually negative ($r = -0.20$, ns)²³! Whatever stereotype of Amichai’s poetry is shared by our respondents seems to be recognizable to some extent in *Infinite Poem*, perhaps even when Amichai’s name is withheld. iv. Despite these differences in how the two presentations of the poem correlate with “Good Poetry” and “Amichai’s poetry”, their correlation with each other is a remarkably high 0.93.

This overall pattern of correlations and distances can be reconciled by assuming that knowing the poem is by Amichai creates a self-fulfilling expectation that the poem would be good, or Amichai-like, priming a small but significant drift in the adjectives towards these expectations, but hardly altering the overall profile of the poem.

General Discussion

Studies 2 and 3 were concerned with a single poem – Infinite Poem, by Yehuda Amichai. Nothing we learned about its particulars need be generalizable to other poems, or to other poets, or even to other poems by this poet. Yet there is a general conclusion to be drawn from this series of studies: It is possible to learn something about the “true experience” of reading a poem using indirect means such as the ones we used.

We believe that our data justify, if not prove, the following conclusions (*in parentheses are the analogous conclusions from the wine studies*):

1. People give poems higher ratings when they believe the poems were written by famous poets. (*People give wine higher ratings when they believe the wine was expensive than when they believe the wine was cheap*).

2. This happens to experts as well as to lay people – though to a lesser degree.

²³ Interestingly, Goldstein et al. (2008) also reported a negative correlation between price and liking (among their non-expert tasters).

3. This happens to authentic poems as well as to fake poems. (*This happens to cheap wines and expensive wines alike*).

4. When poems are not accompanied by the poet's name, lay people can hardly distinguish between good poetry and (at least some) fake poetry. (*When wines are not accompanied by a price tag, lay people do not prefer the more expensive wines*).

5. Experts can identify the authentic poems slightly better than chance. (*Wine experts show a slight preference for the expensive wines*).

6. Higher rating of a famous poet's poem is not just pretension, hypocrisy or cynicism. It is not entirely an Emperor's New Clothes effect. It is at least partly sincere. (*The higher rating for wine thought to be expensive is indeed accompanied by more pleasure in its consumption*).

7. People believe, correctly, that poet's name has an effect but they cannot retrieve its magnitude accurately from introspection, nor do they follow an "anchor (on how one reads the poem)-and-adjust" (to the dual reading) strategy. (*The wine experiments did not explore the analogous question*).

8. Rather, people have a "theory" about the name's effect – overestimating its magnitude on others (perhaps because they believe it – erroneously -- to be an Emperor's New Clothes effect), and underestimating it on themselves. (*The wine experiments did not explore the analogous question*).

9. Poets' names may, but not necessarily, act as context, disambiguating or altering interpretations, or adding associations. (*Changing the color of a wine changes the adjectives with which the wine is described*).

10. The effect of the poet's name, rather than being specific and operating on individual features of the poem, seems to be general and to operate on the poem's gestalt:

the poet's name primes an overall more favorable disposition towards the poem. (*Ratings of a wine's likeability, but not those of its taste intensity, are correlated with believed price, Plassman et al., 2008*).

11. The rather small effect that the poets' name actually conferred, compared with the much larger effect people estimated it would have, suggests overall respondent sincerity (*Goldstein's "taste of money" interpretation*).

Juliet, it seems, was both right and wrong: A rose by any other name would still smell sweet – though perhaps not as sweet.

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Appendix A

Authentic poem and fake counterpart

Wild Nights – Wild Nights!

Were I with thee

Wild Nights should be

Our luxury!

Futile – the winds –

To a heart in port –

Done with the compass –

Done with the chart!

Rowing in Eden –

Ah, the sea!

Might I moor – Tonight –

In thee!

Blue Dawns - Blue Dawns!

For my babie

Blue Dawns decree

A fantasy!

Empty - the crib -

No nursery -

No bibs, no nappies

No luxury!

Roaming the gardens -

Oh, the grass!

Seeking a laddie

Seeking a lass!

Appendix B

Infinite Poem, by Yehuda Amichai

Within a modern museum

an old synagogue.

Within the synagogue

myself.

Within me

my heart.

Within my heart

a museum.

Within the museum

a synagogue,

within it

myself,

within me

my heart,

within my heart

a museum.

Translated from Hebrew by MBH