

Implicit detection of poetic harmony by the naive brain

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Frontiers in Psychology

DOI: 10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01859

Published: 25/11/2016

Peer reviewed version

Cyswllt i'r cyhoeddiad / Link to publication

Dyfyniad o'r fersiwn a gyhoeddwyd / Citation for published version (APA): Vaughan-Evans, A., Trefor, R., Jones, L., Lynch, P., Jones, M., & Thierry, G. (2016). Implicit detection of poetic harmony by the naive brain. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *7*, Article 1859. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01859

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Implicit detection of poetic harmony by the naïve brain

1 2

3 **Running title**

- 4 Spontaneous recognition of poetry
- 5

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25 Manuscript Information

- 26 12 Pages, 4 Figures, 1 Table
- 27 Total word count: 3207 words
- 28

29

Abstract

The power of poetry is universally acknowledged, but it is debatable whether its appreciation is reserved for experts. Here we show that readers with no particular

appreciation is reserved for experts. Here we snow that readers with no particular

knowledge of a traditional form of Welsh poetry unconsciously distinguish phrases
 conforming to its complex poetic construction rules from those that violate them. We

34 studied the brain response of native speakers of Welsh as they read meaningful

35 sentences ending in a word that either complied with strict poetic construction rules.

36 violated rules of consonantal repetition, violated stress pattern, or violated both these

37 constraints. Upon reading the last word of each sentence, participants indicated sentence

38 acceptability. As expected, our inexperienced participants did not explicitly distinguish

39 between sentences that conformed to the poetic rules from those that violated them.

However, in the case of orthodox sentences, the critical word elicited a distinctive brain
 response characteristic of target detection –the P3b– as compared to the other

41 response characteristic of target detection –the P3b– as compared to the other 42 conditions, showing that speakers of Welsh with no expertise of this particular for

42 conditions, showing that speakers of Welsh with no expertise of this particular form of43 poetry implicitly detect poetic harmony. These results show for the first time that before

44 we even consider literal meaning, the musical properties of poetry speak to the human

- 45 mind in ways that escape consciousness.
- 46

47 Keywords:

48 Language, neuroaesthetics, poetry, event-related potentials, P3b

50 51

Introduction

52 T.S. Eliot famously argued that "genuine poetry can communicate before it is 53 understood" (Scofield, 1988; pp2). Was this an attempt to provoke controversy or can some aspects of poetry indeed be processed implicitly and independently of meaning? 54 Poetry is a literary expression of feelings, thoughts and ideas, traditionally accentuated 55 56 by metric constraints, rhyme, and alliteration. Recent scientific research looking into the 57 effects of poetry has highlighted emotional responses to rhyme (Obermeier et al., 2013) 58 and better memory recall as a result of alliteration (Hanauer, 2001; Lea et al., 2008). 59 Rhyme violations, in particular, have been shown to increase pupillary responses (Scheepers et al., 2013) and modulate the amplitude of the N400, a brain potential index 60 of semantic processing (Hoorn, 1996). Whilst there is little doubt that some poetic 61 62 forms, often centuries old, impact human cognition (see Jacobs, 2015, for a recent review), we have yet to discover the extent to which such sensitivity may rely on 63 automatic and implicit neural processing. 64

65

66 Here, we investigated event-related brain potentials (ERPs) elicited by the final word of sentences written in Cynghanedd ('harmony' in Welsh), an ancient poetic form that 67 requires precise consonantal repetition (and/or internal rhyme) in conjunction with 68 69 distinct stress patterns (Greene, 2012). In certain sub-types of Cynghanedd, consonants 70 are repeated across the first and second parts of the line, and are always in the same 71 order: A daeth i ben | deithio byd ('And it came to an end | travelling the world', as 72 cited in Llwyd, 2010, critical consonants in bold). A line such as *A daeth i ben 73 *deithio cwm* ('And it came to an end | travelling the valley') features a 'c' rather than a 74 'b', which constitutes a consonantal repetition violation. Traditional Cynghanedd rules 75 also dictate a precise stress pattern: Ein Iluniaeth | a'n Ilawenydd ('Our sustenance and joy', Llwyd, 2010, stress vowels underlined and critical consonants in bold). In contrast, 76 77 the line **Ein Iluniaeth* | *a'n Ilu newvdd* ('Our sustenance and new host') violates traditional rules because 'n' in part one comes after the stress, but 'n' in part two 78 79 precedes the final stress. Cynghanedd sentences thus consist of foregrounding features 80 at the sublexical (phonological salience) and lexical (stress pattern) levels (Jacobs, 81 2015). Each of these features is known to independently influence aesthetic appreciation 82 (e.g. Aryani, Jacobs & Conrad, 2013; Ch en, Zhang, Xu, Scheepers, Yang & Tanenhaus, 83 2016), but their interactive effect is unclear. In the present investigation, test sentences 84 were constructed which either adhered to the rules of Cynghanedd, or violated its rules in terms of consonantal repetition, stress pattern, or both consonantal repetition and 85 stress pattern (Table 1). Each condition was pseudo-randomly presented in equal 86 87 proportion, resulting in an oddball paradigm with Cynghanedd-orthodox sentences 88 occurring only 25% of the time.

89

90 The P3b is an ERP component commonly observed during oddball paradigms thought 91 to reflect a context-updating process whereby a comparison is made between the 92 currently processed stimulus, and the previous representation held in working memory 93 (see Polich, 2007, for a review). We anticipated that participants would show greater P3b amplitudes when singling out the infrequent target combination of consonantal 94 95 repetition and stress pattern conforming to Cynghanedd from the other three non-96 Cynghanedd conditions. We were keen to know, however, whether such potential 97 detection of the Cynghanedd-orthodox targets would be accompanied by signs of 98 conscious evaluation as indexed by behavioral data and at debriefing. 99

101	Materials and methods
102	Participants
103	Twenty-five fluent native speakers of Welsh (9 males; 16 females), with no prior
104	knowledge of the rules of Cynghanedd, were included in the analysis. Of the initial
105	participant pool, one participant was excluded due to prior knowledge of Cynghanedd
106	and its underlying rules: two participants were excluded as they had too few
107	uncontaminated epochs per condition: and a further four participants were removed as a
108	result of overall excessive noise in the data. All participants possessed normal or
109	corrected-to-normal vision. Ethical approval was granted by the School of Psychology.
110	Bangor University ethics committee, and participants gave written consent before the
111	experiment session started.
112	
113	Stimuli and procedure
114	Experimental sentences belonged to 36 sets each consisting of four sentences resulting
115	in a total of 144 sentences. Twenty-five percent of the experimental sentences followed
116	the rules of Cynghanedd whilst the remaining 75% violated the Cynghanedd rules in
117	terms of consonantal repetition (25%) stress pattern (25%) or both consonantal
118	repetition and stress pattern (25%; see Table 1). The experiment thus conformed to a
119	classical oddball paradigm with Cynghanedd as the target condition. Where possible
120	sentence final words were rotated across conditions. However, due to the strict rules of
121	Cynghanedd it was not possible to fully rotate all items between conditions. Word
122	frequency (from the <i>Cronfa Electroneg o Gymraeg</i> : Ellis et al., 2001) and length did not
123	differ significantly between conditions ($F(3,140) = 1.86$, $p = 0.14$; $F(3,140) = 0.76$, $p =$
124	0.52).
125	
126	Insert Table 1 about herel
127	
128	Participants viewed all 144 sentences in three sections, segmented such that they
129	adhered to the natural rhythm of the Cyngnanedd line, with the final, critical word
130	presented in isolation. On each trial, the first two segments were presented for 500ms
131	each, with an inter-stimulus interval (ISI) of 300ms. A varying ISI (ranging between
132	400-700ms) was used between the second segment and the sentence final word, which
133	remained on the screen for a maximum of 2000ms, or until a response was made,
134	whichever was the shortest (Figure 1). Presentation order was pseudorandomized, such
135	that sentences from the same sentence set never appeared in the same experimental
136	block. Upon presentation of the final word, participants were asked to indicate as
137	quickly and as accurately as possible, whether or not the sentence sounded good by
138	pressing designated buttons on a serial response box. Upon completion of the
139	experimental task, participants were presented with a list of the 36 sentence sets and
140	were asked to rank the sentences in each set in a decreasing order of preference $(1 =$
141	most preferred; $4 = least preferred)$.
142	
143	Lugart Figures 1 should have
144 145	Insert Figure 1 about here
145	
146	EDD moonding
14/ 1/0	ELAT recording Electrophysical data was recorded from 22 A g/A gCl electrodes act according to
140 170	the extended 10 20 convention at a rate of 1 kHz in reference to the left mestaid. The
147 150	electroencenhalogram (EEC) activity was filtered online with a band ness filter between
150	0.1. 200 Hz and again offling with a band pass zero phase shift filter set between 0.1
101	0.1-200 112 and again offinite with a band-pass zero-phase shift litter set between 0.1-

- 152 20Hz. Eye blink artifacts were modeled and mathematically corrected (Gratton et al.,
- 153 1983) and remaining artifacts were removed manually. Epochs ranging from -100 to
- 154 1,000ms after the onset of the target word were extracted from continuous EEG
- recordings. Epochs with activity exceeding $\pm 75\mu$ V at any electrode site were
- automatically discarded. There was a minimum of 30 epochs per condition for every
- 157 participant. Baseline correction was performed in reference to pre-stimulus activity, and
- individual averages were digitally re-referenced to the algebraic mean of the left and
- 159 right mastoids.
- 160

161 Data analysis

- For the online categorization task, the percentage of 'good' responses was analyzed by
 means of a one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with 'Sentence
 Type' (Cynghanedd, Consonantal violation, Stress violation, Double violation) as an
 independent variable. Reaction times were analyzed by means of a two (Categorization:
 'good', 'not good') -by-four (Sentence Type: Cynghanedd, Consonantal violation,
 Stress violation, Double violation) repeated measures ANOVA.
- 168
- For the offline ranking task, responses were scored such that they were given a 1 if they correctly ranked Cynghanedd sentences as the 'best' sentence, and a 0 if they did not.
- 171 Responses were then analyzed by means of a one-sample t-test.
- 172

For the ERP data, P3b mean amplitude was predictively extracted between 240-340ms at six electrodes where the P3b is known to be maximal in amplitude (CP3, CPz, CP4, P3, Pz, P4) and maximal sensitivity was verified by inspecting the global field power produced across the scalp in the Cynghanedd condition. P3b mean amplitudes were analyzed by means of a one-way repeated measures ANOVA with 'Sentence Type' (Cynghanedd, Consonantal violation, Stress violation, Double violation) as an

179 independent variable. Post-hoc tests were conducted using Bonferroni corrections.

180 181

Results

182 Behavioral results

183 **Online categorization task.**

- We found a significant main effect of Sentence Type; F(3,72) = 8.63, p < 0.001, $n_p^2 =$ 184 .26 (Figure 2.a.). Pairwise comparisons revealed that Cynghanedd sentences were more 185 186 likely to be categorized as 'good' (M = 65%; 95% CI [60, 70]) compared with Consonantal violation sentences (M = 58%; 95% CI [51, 65]; p = 0.005) and Stress 187 violation sentences (M = 55%; 95% CI [50, 60], p < 0.001), but not Double violation 188 189 sentences (M = 63%; 95% CI [58, 69], p = 0.38). Furthermore, Double violation 190 sentences were more likely to be categorized as 'good' than Consonantal violation 191 sentences (p = 0.04) and Stress violation sentences (p = 0.001). Comparisons of 192 categorization score against chance revealed that responses significantly differed from chance for Cynghanedd, the Double violation condition, and the Consonantal violation 193 condition (t(24) = 2.325, p = .029), but not the Stress violation condition (t(24) = 1.905, 194 195 p = .069). Critically, whereas the greater than chance performance in the Cynghanedd 196 condition was felicitous (these were the Cynghanedd-orthodox sentences), it was 197 infelicitous in the Double violation and the Consonantal violation conditions.
- 198

199 For the reaction time data, a main effect of Categorization was found (F(1,24) = 33.58,

200 $p < .001, n_p^2 = .58$; Figure 2.b.): Sentences that were perceived as 'good' were

responded to faster (M = 653ms, 95% CI [568, 738]) than sentences perceived as 'not

good' (M = 774ms, 95% CI [678, 869]). There was also a main effect of Sentence Type

203 $(F(3,72) = 3.24, p = 0.03, n_p^2 = .12)$, but none of the corrected pairwise comparisons 204 reached significance.

205

216 217

206 Offline sentence ranking task.

A one sample t-test revealed that participants did not rank Cynghanedd sentences as the 207 best option significantly better than chance ($M_{accuracy} = 28\%$; t(24) = 1.87, p = 0.07). 208 209 Since this result was approaching significance, we further tested whether participants showed any inclination to rank Cynghanedd sentences in the top two choices by coding 210 the response as 1 if Cynghanedd sentences were ranked 1st or 2nd, or as 0 if Cynghanedd 211 sentences were ranked 3rd or 4th. In this case, a one sample t-test revealed that 212 participants did perform significantly greater than chance on this task ($M_{accuracy} = 62\%$; 213 214 t(24) = 6.93, p < 0.001). 215

Insert	Figure	2	about here
Insert	Figure	3	about here

218219 Electrophysiological data.

We found a significant main effect of Sentence Type; F(3,72) = 3.149, p = 0.03, $n_p^2 = 0.03$ 220 .12; with Cynghanedd sentences eliciting greater mean amplitudes (M = 5.93, 95% CI 221 [4.86, 7.01) than Consonantal violation sentences (M = 5.01, 95% CI [3.92, 6.10]; p =222 0.01). Stress violation sentences (M = 4.88, 95% CI [3.58, 6.17]; p = 0.002), and Double 223 violation sentences (M = 5.00, 95% CI [3.90, 6.09]; p = 0.007), respectively (Figure 3). 224 225 Analyses in earlier time windows (P1 & N1) did not show any significant differences as 226 a result of the experimental conditions. As expected the distribution of the effect was 227 centroparietal (Figure 4). Furthermore, the topographic maps show that participants were not sensitive to the consonantal repetition and stress pattern rules when presented 228 229 independently; rather, they were only sensitive to constructions that complied with both 230 consonantal repetition and stress pattern rules.

231

Upon visual inspection, the topography of the P3 appeared to be right-lateralized, whilst 232 233 the experimental effect seemed more left-lateralized. In order to determine whether the interaction was significant, we conducted an additional ANOVA, with Sentence Type 234 (Cynghanedd, Consonantal violation, Stress violation, Double violation) and 235 'Laterality' (Left [CP3;P3], Right [CP4;P4]) as independent variables. We found a 236 significant effect of Laterality; F(1,24) = 27.66, p < .001, $n_p^2 = .54$, with greater P3b 237 238 mean amplitudes elicited on the Right (M = 6.05, 95% CI [5.01, 7.09]) than on the Left 239 (M = 4.37, 95%CI [3.39, 5.36]). The Sentence Type * Laterality interaction did not 240 reach significance (F(1,24) = 1.05, p = .377, $n_p^2 = .04$), however, indicating that the experimental effect was not modulated by electrode site. 241

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- 243
- 244

245

|Insert Figure 4 about here |

Discussion

Here we investigated whether naïve readers of a traditional form of Welsh poetry are
able to unconsciously distinguish phrases conforming to its poetic construction rules
from those that violate them. In line with our predictions, words correctly completing a
sentence in Cynghanedd elicited significantly greater P3b mean amplitudes than words
completing other sentence types, indicating a shift of attention associated with target
recognition (Polich, 2007).

253 The P3b modulation observed here had a typical centroparietal distribution and a timerange comparable to that observed in simple target detection tasks, consistent with the 254 classic P3b effect (Knight, 1996). Thus, participants' brains treated correct completion 255 256 words as targets and implicitly categorized Cynghanedd-orthodox sentences as sounding 'good' compared to sentences violating its construction rules. Strikingly, 257 however, and in contrast with ERP results, participants showed no overt knowledge or 258 259 conscious awareness of Cynghanedd rules in the online categorization task since (a) they failed to discriminate between Cynghanedd and Double Violation sentences, and 260 (b) their performance was either at chance level (Stress violation condition) or 261 262 infelicitous with regard to Cynghanedd rules in the other violation conditions. There was some differentiation between sentence types, with participants rating Cynghanedd 263 264 sentences as sounding better than those from single violation conditions. It is possible 265 that this difference occurred due to participants perceiving the rule violations in these conditions, however this interpretation cannot account for the fact that participants did 266 267 not consider Cynghanedd sentences as sounding better than Double violation sentences. 268 Participants did, however, demonstrate a preference towards Cynghanedd sentences 269 during the offline judgement task. Given that the ranking task was of a very different 270 nature to the online task (involving direct comparison between the different alternatives of each sentence) and that it was not time constrained, it is highly likely that participants 271 272 changed cognitive strategy in this task, and focused on elements of the stimuli that were 273 not attended to during the online categorization task. 274

- 275 Interestingly, the results of the online decision task are somewhat incongruent with recent research emphasizing the influence of foregrounded features on aesthetic 276 appreciation (Aryani, Jacobs & Conrad, 2013). For example, Aryani et al., (2013) 277 278 demonstrated, via use of a text analysis tool, that the salience of particular sublexical 279 features (e.g., phonological repetition) correlates with the semantic and aesthetic properties of poetic phrases. Given that a 'sound good' judgment could be influenced by 280 such foregrounding properties. Cynghanedd and Stress violation sentences should be 281 282 judged as 'good' more than the other two sentence types, but this was not the case in our data. Whilst participants considered Cynghanedd sentences as sounding better than 283 284 those from single violation conditions, they did not consider Cynghanedd sentences as 285 sounding better than Double violation sentences. This finding could be interpreted in one of two ways; 1) the consonantal repetition manipulation was too subtle to influence 286 287 participants' explicit judgments, or 2) the 'sound good' decision task implemented in this study did not depend on the affective qualities of the repeated phonemes. In 288 289 addition, the ERP results suggest that appreciation of Cynghanedd depends on a 290 combination of subtle consonantal repetition and stress pattern, rather than consonantal 291 repetition alone.
- 292

293 The P3b effect observed here may be considered counter-intuitive, since P3b amplitude is classically reduced with repeated occurrences of stimuli. Here, the presence of 294 consonantal repetition patterns in the Cynghanedd condition may have been expected to 295 296 reduce the amplitude of the P3b rather than increase it. Thus, the enhanced P3b response to Cynghanedd appears to indicate a kind of attentional orienting response, specifically 297 298 when both the stress pattern and consonantal repetition rules are observed, thus making 299 this particular sentence a target. This is congruent with recent electrophysiological 300 evidence showing that lyrical stanzas that contain consistent meter and rhyme facilitate processing compared with those that contain only one, or neither of these patterns 301 (Obermeier et al., 2016). Another recent study has shown that electrophysiological 302 303 responses to poetry can be modulated by prosodic elements (e.g., rhyme) alone (Chen,

Zhang, Xu, Scheepers, Yang & Tanenhaus, 2016). Our findings are somewhat
incongruent with this conclusion, since stress pattern alone failed to generate a main
effect on P3b mean amplitudes.

307

308 Recent eye-tracking studies have also shown that literary stylistic features in sentences increase attentional engagement (see Jacobs, 2015, for a review). Our data crucially 309 310 show that this attentional orienting effect occurs as early as 240ms, and is therefore likely to reflect implicit processing. Recall that participants were unable to overtly 311 identify the Cynghanedd forms, and we found no correlation between reaction times and 312 313 P3b mean amplitudes, contra previous findings (Conroy & Polich, 2007; Ramchurn et 314 al., 2014; but see McCarthy & Donchin, 1981). Thus, whereas previous studies have 315 shown that the explicit, aesthetic appreciation of poetry can be linked to implicit 316 responses (e.g. Jacobs, 2015: Obermeier et al., 2016), the current findings provide the first tangible evidence that this link is permeable: our participants were able to *implicitly* 317 318 detect correct poetic forms, even though they could not *explicitly* differentiate between 319 conditions (cf. Renault, Signoret, Debruille, Breton & Bolgert, 1989).

320

321 Furthermore, despite the relatively complex nature of the processes underlying the decision task, the observed P3b had a latency akin to that typical of simple shape-322 323 matching tasks (Kok, 2001), occurring much earlier than typical responses to linguistic 324 stimuli (Kutas & Hillyard, 1980). This suggests that spontaneous recognition of poetic 325 harmony is a fast, sublexical process, and is not strategic nor cognitively effortful. 326 Finally, our findings show that the brain responds to *combinations* of poetic – or foregrounding - features at the sublexical (phonological salience) and the lexical (stress 327 328 pattern) levels (cf. Jacobs' 2015 4x4 model of neurocognitive poetics). That is, our data 329 suggest that the interactive effects of poetic features are more potent than that of 330 features presented in isolation.

331

Taken together, our results demonstrate the ability of the human brain to process poetic forms spontaneously, quickly, and implicitly, in the absence of any formal knowledge or instruction regarding underlying construction rules. This study shows for the first time that before we even consider literal meaning, the musical properties of poetry instinctively speak to the human mind in ways that escape consciousness.

337

338

Funding

339 This work was supported by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol [AVE, MWJ, RT, LLJ,

PL]; The Gwyneth and D Tecwyn Memorial Endowment [School of Welsh, Bangor

University to RT, LLJ, PL]; the Economic and Social Research Council UK [RES-

342 E024556-1 to GT]; and the European Research Council [ERC- 209704 to GT].

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Tables

405406 Table 1. Experimental conditions

Rule adherence	Condition label
Consonantal repetition+ Stress pattern+	Cynghanedd
Consonantal repetition– Stress pattern+	Consonantal violation
Consonantal repetition+ Stress pattern-	Stress violation
Consonantal repetition– Stress pattern–	Double violation
	Rule adherence Consonantal repetition+ Stress pattern+ Consonantal repetition- Stress pattern+ Consonantal repetition+ Stress pattern- Consonantal repetition- Stress pattern-

409	Figure legends
410 411 412	Figure 1. Structure of an experiment trial and response required from participants
413 414 415	Figure 2. Online categorization results. (a) Sentence categorization performance. (b) Reaction times.
416 417	Figure. 3 ERP results. P3b mean amplitudes elicited by all four sentence types were computed and compared between 240-340 ms after the onset of the final word (grey box).
418 419 420 421 422 423	Figure 4. Topographic maps of ERP difference waves in the P3b analysis window (240-340ms after the onset of the final word). <i>Cynghanedd</i> topographies depict differences between Double violation and Cynghanedd conditions. <i>Correct stress patterns</i> topographies depict differences between Double violation and Consonantal violation conditions. <i>Correct consonantal repetition</i> topographies depict differences between Double violation and Stress violation conditions.