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INDICATORS OF CREATIVITY IN RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

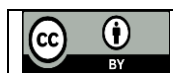
Abstract: The paper adopts a psychometric approach to studying creativity in contemporary Rorschachology. Since Rorschach creativity indicator research yields inconsistent results due to differing theoretical frameworks, this quantitative, descriptive-exploratory study with extreme-groups investigated whether Rorschach variables from atheoretical-integrative Exner's Comprehensive System can differentiate high school students with varying creative abilities. Based on divergent thinking scores within a convenience sample of 117 Serbian high schoolers, two extreme groups were selected and administered the Rorschach test. Canonical discriminant analysis accurately predicted group membership in 90% of cases, though individual variables showed diverse effects. The variables *X*%, *DQ*+, and *M* demonstrated significant discriminant power. Conversely, the *S* variable acted as a suppressor, while *Blends:R* was redundant. Markers of conventional processing, *A+Ad* and *P*, did not significantly contribute to the canonical function. Given the small sample size and the extreme-groups design, the canonical function may overestimate the predictors' discriminant power, underscoring the need for cross-validation on independent samples in future research. Ultimately, the findings highlight the utility of inkblots in creativity research, while underscoring the need for school psychologists to interpret test markers cautiously to avoid misconstruing creative traits as severe psychopathology.

Keywords: creativity, high school students, Rorschach.

Introduction

Although the idea of using inkblots to assess children's creativity emerged as early as the late nineteenth century (Binet & Henri, 1895; Dearborn, 1897; Kirkpatrick, 1900), since 1921, when Hermann Rorschach introduced his diagnostic test to the scientific community, and up until the present day, the Rorschach test has maintained its status as the most frequently used psychological instrument in clinical settings (Exner, 2003). Rorschach believed that his test primarily provoked (ap)perceptive processes. However, the results of his experiments (Rorschach, 1942) also pointed to specific protocol characteristics of highly imaginative and talented participants, which he linked to epilepsy, obsessive-compulsive neurosis, and manic depression. These include responses

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indicative of (1) heightened introversion, originality, and imaginativeness, (2) solid capacities for emotional self-regulation, and (3) reduced cognitive stereotypy.

In contemporary literature, one can find a small number of mostly correlational studies that identify links between various Rorschach variables and measures of creativity. However, the impression remains that these findings are inconsistent and highly difficult to compare and theoretically integrate, for at least three reasons. First, researchers operate from two distant perspectives regarding the very nature of the Rorschach test. While some view it as (1) a *projective instrument* for gathering latent inner content that the examiner then interprets within a specific theoretical framework, others treat it as (2) a *perceptual instrument* for collecting data primarily on the formal-structural aspects of the percept, which are subsequently interpreted based on psychometric norms. Second, studies utilize different tests of divergent thinking that frequently lack satisfactory reliability and predictive validity due to inadequate objective (external) evaluation criteria (Maksić, 2006; Starko, 2010; Škorc, 2012). For instance, one study (Schwartz & Canetti, 2014) found a positive correlation between verbal creativity on *Mednick's Remote Associates Test* (Mednick & Mednick, 1964) and (a) a higher number of distorted Form Quality responses (FQ-) indicating difficulties in matching the current percept with long-term memory representations, (b) Human Movement responses with no form (M none) reflecting occasional emotional flooding, (c) responses involving fictional/mythological whole or partial human figures (H)+(Hd) indicating unrealistic self-perception, (d) Morbid responses (MOR) associated with negative self-concept, and (e) the Depression Index (DEPI). Conversely, another study (Ferracuti et al., 1999), which measured creativity using performance on the *Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking* (Torrance, 1964), found no association with any of the aforementioned Rorschach variables; instead, it revealed links with (a) Space integration responses (S) associated with negativism and anger, (b) unusual Form Quality responses (FQu) indicating atypical and unconventional perception, and (c) responses with synthesized Developmental Quality where two or more objects are meaningfully related (DQ+ or v/+), reflecting the quality and adequacy of cognitive processing. Third, researchers employ supplementary Rorschach creativity rating scales that focus on different facets of creativity, most often rooted in a psychoanalytic theoretical framework. This fact further complicates their comparison with empirical findings that do not use psychoanalytic coding and interpretation systems for Rorschach responses, or that rely on disparate interpretative and explanatory concepts instead. For example, King and Pope's *Creativity Rating Scale* (King & Pope, 1999) draws upon Winnicott's concept of the *transitional object* (Winnicott, 1971), focusing on healthy aspects of creative functioning detectable through percept complexity, affective warmth, novelty, and vitality. In contrast, Holt's *Adaptive Regression Scale* (Pine & Holt, 1960), which operationalizes Kris's concept of *regression in the service of the ego* (Kris, 1970), offers a way to calculate various proportions based on differences in the intensity of primary and secondary processes – variables that largely depend on the gender, age, type of activity, and creative domain of the individuals (Stasiakewicz, 1993).

Table 1. Rorschach Indicators of Creativity in Empirical Research

Variable	Description und Interpretation	Study
DQ+	A higher number of responses in which two or more objects are meaningfully related indicates more precise and complex analytical-synthetic cognitive processing.	Ferracuti et al., 1999 Mihura et al., 2013
X-%	An elevated percentage of responses involving an inadequate mapping of the current percept's forms with representations from long-term memory, which can lead to reality testing impairments.	Franklin & Cornel, 1997 Schwartz & Canetti, 2014 Tavella & Villemor-Amaral, 2014
M	A higher number of human movement responses is associated with enhanced individual capacities for understanding, imagination, and conceptualization.	Rorschach, 1942 Schwartz & Canetti, 2014 Tavella & Villemor-Amaral, 2014

S	An increased number of space integration responses points to negativism and anger, but also to a more pronounced individuality.	Ferracuti et al., 1999 Meyer et al., 2011
P	A higher or lower number of popular responses reflects elevated or diminished capacities for conventional perception and behavior in simpler social situations.	Singh et al., 2007 Tavella & Villemor-Amaral, 2014
Blends:R	A higher proportion of responses in which more than one determinant influenced percept formation relative to the total number of responses indicates increased psychological complexity.	Exner, 2003
A + Ad	A lower number of responses with a whole animal figure or its parts is indicative of inflexible and stereotypical cognitive processing.	Rorschach, 1942 Rawls & Slack, 1968

This study is based on several researcher hypotheses suggesting that, compared to standard evaluation methods, the future use of the Rorschach test in assessing student creativity could offer the following advantages: (1) the unstructured nature of the stimuli, which younger participants can interpret in an infinite number of different ways; (2) a wide spectrum of response categories and the capacity for conducting numerous qualitative and quantitative analyses, aiming for a more comprehensive, integrative assessment of various facets and dimensions of creativity that are typically evaluated using separate instruments; (3) the possibility of adapting the testing procedure and flow in accordance with the dynamic relationship between the psychologist and the student; (4) the excellent predictive validity of the Rorschach test in evaluating behavioral variables (Weiner, 2000) could enable more efficient external validation of creativity indicators, provided that real-world creative products and students' achievements in curricular or extracurricular activities are used as criteria; (5) the projective nature of the instrument could provide insight into the unconscious mechanisms of the creative process and the specific personality dynamics of highly creative students; (6) as a clinical instrument, the Rorschach test allows for a deeper psychodiagnostic exploration of personality, thereby offering the potential for a more sophisticated differentiation between developmental (creative) and clinical (psychopathological) processes, which may appear highly similar to a school psychologist during periods of developmental crises.

Based on these assumptions, a research design was developed aiming to determine the degree of discriminative potential of those Rorschach variables most frequently associated with creativity in prior research (Table 1) in differentiating groups of high school students with varying levels of creative achievement on a test of divergent thinking. The study utilized variables from Exner's *Comprehensive System* (Exner, 2003) for coding and interpreting Rorschach responses. Although frequently criticized for overlooking the creative aspect of percept formation and the interpretative richness of response content (Aronow et al., 1995; Willock, 1992), the *Comprehensive System* remains the most widely used system in psychological practice today. It was constructed based on the findings of numerous empirical studies that examined the interpretative hypotheses of various systems and authors who viewed the Rorschach test as both a perceptual and a projective instrument. Given that it was designed as an atheoretical system and offers the possibility for various theoretical expansions, an additional objective of this study was to examine its interpretative-explanatory potential for comparing, integrating, and critically analyzing disparate empirical findings on Rorschach creativity indicators, with the ultimate goal of overcoming the aforementioned challenges in this research domain.

Methods

The study falls within the category of descriptive-exploratory research, utilizing a non-experimental, single-factor design with extreme groups. The independent variable is the level of creativity, assessed via the development of high school students' divergent thinking, operationalized as a binary categorical variable (highly creative vs. low-creative high school students). The dependent variables consist of scores, indices, and proportions from the *Comprehensive System* that are indicative of creative processes. This design was identified as the most economical approach to achieving the study's research aims and objectives, given that administering the Rorschach test to a large sample requires specific conditions that are highly difficult to secure within everyday school routines – namely, a separate room, a characteristic “one-on-one” seating arrangement, a relationship of trust between the participant and the examiner, and no time constraints, which allows students to freely, thoroughly, and clearly describe and explain what they saw, while enabling the examiner to record their responses verbatim.

Instruments

The *Multidimensional Test for the Assessment of Creative Abilities* (Milić et al., 2011) was utilized to evaluate divergent thinking. Constructed by modifying Guilford's *Structure-of-Intellect* model (Guilford, 1967), the instrument comprises the following subscales and tasks: (1) *fluency*, or the ability to generate a large number of ideas, evaluated through tasks requiring participants to list as many words starting with the same letter as possible within a limited timeframe, as well as multiple alternative uses for a single object; (2) *productivity*, or the ability to generate diverse responses from predefined elements, assessed via tasks that require constructing numerous sentences and drawings using identical words or shapes; (3) *originality*, or the ability to produce novel and rare ideas, measured through tasks where participants are encouraged to provide highly unusual titles for artwork and graphic layouts and to identify what they might represent; (4) *elaboration*, or the ability to embellish stimuli with details, evaluated through tasks requiring participants to list as many reasons as possible for why people engage in a specific activity, and to add numerous details to an initial sketch. Based on performance across individual subscales, a total creativity score (CQ) is derived as the sum of the four subscale scores. The instrument was standardized on a population of University of Belgrade students and Belgrade high school pupils. For the purposes of this study, a shortened version of the test was used (Milićević et al., 2014), which demonstrated solid psychometric properties ($\alpha = .824$; $KMO = .934$; Knežević's homogeneity coefficient $H = .620$).

The procedure for administering, coding, and interpreting Rorschach responses followed the guidelines of the aforementioned *Comprehensive System* (Exner, 2003; Exner & Erdberg, 2005) which possesses moderate overall criterion-related validity (meta-analytic $r = .30$ to $.50$; see Mihura et al., 2013; Meyer & Archer, 2001). After an introductory phase during which participants are familiarized with the testing procedure, the first phase of administration (*the Response Phase*) begins, where the card containing the inkblot is presented with the question: “What might this be?”. In the second phase (*the Inquiry Phase*), the examiner reads aloud the provided responses from all ten cards and asks participants to help them see what they saw by (a) pointing out the location on the blot where their responses were situated (response localization) and (b) explaining the determinants and characteristics of the blot that created that exact perception or impression (response determinants). The examiner records verbalizations thoroughly and verbatim, while marking the location of the percept on a separate structural summary sheet. Responses are then coded within a complex system that allows for the calculation of approximately 180 scores, proportions, and indices grouped into seven variable clusters. These clusters hold distinct interpretative postulates regarding cognitive information processing (processing, mediation, and ideation), features of emotional functioning, capacity for control under stress, as well as characteristics of self-perception and interpersonal relations (Exner, 2003).

Participants and Research Procedure

The study was conducted during the first semester of the 2014/2015 academic year and took place in two phases. The first phase involved 117 third- and fourth-year students from Zemun Gymnasium, the “Dr Miloje Milojević” Secondary Music School in Kragujevac, and the Chemical-Technological School in Vranje. A convenience sample was utilized, incorporating students from schools with diverse educational profiles across different geographical regions of the Republic of Serbia. This was done to ensure a sufficient range of variability and heterogeneity, which is of particular importance for a design aimed at comparing extreme groups along the continuum of the creativity variable.

Table 2. Demographics

Variable	Levels	N	%
Gender	Male	65	56%
	Female	52	44%
Age	18	92	79%
	19	25	21%
School	Gymnasium	47	40%
	Chemical-Technological School	30	26%
	Secondary Music School	40	34%

Since statistically significant differences were found among the schools on the CQ variable – specifically, significantly lower performance on the test of divergent thinking among students from the Chemical-Technological School ($F(2, 114) = 11.31, p < .05$) five students with the highest and five with the lowest scores were selected from within each school in order to eliminate significant sampling biases. Consequently, two extreme groups of 15 high school students each were formed, and the Rorschach test was subsequently administered to them during the second phase of the study.

Research Hypothesis and Data Analysis

According to the research hypothesis, more creative students are expected to achieve higher scores on variables indicating the complexity, originality, and unconventionality of cognitive information processing (DQ+, M, X-%), as well as elevated emotional-affective personality complexity (Blends:R), with the potential to express their individuality through antagonistic tendencies (S). Conversely, less creative students are anticipated to exhibit higher scores on variables reflecting cognitive stereotypy and conventionality (A+Ad, P).

To determine whether a linear combination could successfully differentiate students with different levels of divergent thinking, the Rorschach variables were subjected to *canonical discriminant analysis* (CDA). Statistical data analysis was performed using the *IBM SPSS Statistics 29.0.2* software package.

Results

An examination of Table 3 reveals that the obtained ranges and arithmetic means across the subscales of the *Multidimensional Creativity Test* approximately correspond to theoretical expectations ($M = 1.00$; potential range: 0–3).

Table 3. Descriptive Statistical Measures of the Multidimensional Creativity Test

Variable	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Skewness	z_Sk	Kurtosis	z_Ku
Fluency	1.4	.6	.0	3	.44	1.95	.22	.50
Productivity	1.3	.6	.0	3	.38	1.68	-.50	-1.12
Originality	1.4	.7	.0	3	.35	1.54	-.30	-.69
Elaboration	1.6	.6	.3	3	.20	.91	-.43	-.98
Creativity Total (CQ)	5.7	1.9	2.3	10.5	.50	2.24*	-.37	-.83

* $p < .05$

Indicators of distribution skewness and kurtosis indicate that the obtained score distributions across the subscales do not deviate significantly from a normal distribution. Although the CQ distribution exhibits positive asymmetry, as evidenced by the standardized skewness value, the results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test support the normality of the distribution ($Z = 1.207$, $p = .108$). The isolated extreme groups differ significantly in the development of divergent thinking ($t(20) = 12.57$, $p < .01$). While Levene's test ($F(1, 28) = 9.25$, $p < .05$) indicates that the hypothesis of equal variances between the groups is rejected – thereby justifying the use of corrected degrees of freedom for the t-statistic.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistical Measures of the Rorschach Variables

Variable	Highly Creative		Low-Creative	
	M	SD	M	SD
S	1.4	1.55	1.4	0.99
Blends:R	0.25	0.11	0.09	0.1
X-%	0.33	0.12	0.13	0.09
P	4.67	1.8	5.47	1.51
DQ+	5.87	2.29	2.4	1.59
M	2.87	1.6	1.47	1.46
(A + Ad)	7.4	2.2	8.07	1.16

Box's M statistic of the Rorschach variables demonstrates that the population covariance matrices are equal ($M = 40.81$, $p = .382$). Consequently, the data sufficiently satisfy the multivariate assumptions required for conducting the canonical discriminant analysis. One canonical function was obtained, with a canonical correlation coefficient of .796. The groups of high- and low-creativity students differ significantly on the obtained canonical function, (Wilks' $\lambda = .366$; $\chi^2(7) = 24.63$; $p < .01$). The group centroid for the highly creative students is 1.272, whereas the low-creativity group exhibits the same value with a negative sign (–1.272).

Table 5. Canonical Coefficients and Structure Coefficients

Variable	Canonical Coefficients	Structure Coefficients
X-	.661	.717
DQ+	.542	.690
Blends:R	.093	.615
M	.226	.360
P	-.079	-.190
A+ Ad	.017	-.149
S	-.441	.000

Considering the group centroids, canonical coefficients, and structure coefficients presented in Table 5, it can be concluded that the variables X-% and DQ+, followed by the variable M, are the most effective for differentiating between the groups of highly creative and low-creative students. Given the sign of the canonical coefficient and the position of the centroids, a higher score on these variables suggests membership in the highly creative group. Within this combination, the variable Blends:R can be considered redundant, whereas the variable S exhibits a suppressor effect. The variables P and A+Ad contribute minimally to the differentiation of the targeted groups. The predictive accuracy is notably high, with the classification being correct in 90% of cases, which represents a substantial improvement compared to chance accuracy.

Discussion

The research findings indicate a significant discriminative power of the variables DQ+ and X% as indicators of student creativity. This finding confirms the study's initial hypothesis and aligns with the results of prior research (Ferracuti et al., 1999; Schwartz & Canetti, 2014; Tavella & Villemor-Amaral, 2014) that identified their association with verbal originality, flexibility, and fluency. This implies that a higher number of distorted Form Quality responses in the protocols of highly creative students does not necessarily indicate a severe contamination of the ability to match blot contours with the realistic characteristics of objects – an impairment typically indicative of severe mental disorders. Given that Exner developed Form Quality codes based solely on statistical criteria and norms, it can be hypothesized that an elevation in the X-% variable results from (a) a strive for independence among more creative individuals (Dellas & Gaier, 1970) and (b) a highly individualized approach to reality during adolescence (Ignjatović & Đurić-Jočić, 2004), coupled with an intense inner need for creative self-affirmation and the objectification of subjective imagination through a creative artifact (Vygotsky, 1997; Vigotski, 2005). In other words, in the case of protocols from highly creative students, this finding may reflect a tendency toward the intentional (voluntary) suspension of the constraints of concrete reality, driven by confidence in the existing strengths and resources of the ego (Dudek & Chamberland-Bouhadana, 1982), in order to process reality in a more abstract, complex, and rich manner not found in most students. A recent study by Nasreen et al. (2025) demonstrated that when viewing Rorschach inkblots, highly creative participants exhibit a greater number of fixations and variations in pupil movements, along with longer periods of saccadic activity. If the protocol contains no other indicators of severe psychopathology, the school psychologist could evaluate form quality in these instances by applying: (1) an *objective criterion*, whereby the percept of more creative students does not contain bizarre elements but rather vital, vivid, and aestheticized ones; and/or (2) a *subjective criterion*, whereby responses with distorted form quality evoke understanding and approval rather than aversion from the examiner.

A higher number of human movement responses in the protocols of more creative students aligns with findings from research highlighting the enhanced imaginative capacity, cognitive sophistication, and mature intellectual functioning characteristic of creative personalities (Berger, 1989, 2009; Groth-Marnat, 2003; Guastello, 2009; Lane, 1948). In other words, more creative students possess a greater capacity for conceptualizing perceived stimuli and the ability to direct complex ideational activity through a highly flexible cognitive style of information processing (Feist,

2010; Hammer, 1964). Although studies by Roe (1953) demonstrated that an elevated number of human movement responses cannot be found in the protocols of creative individuals, Piotrowski (1957) argues that such findings must be contextualized within the unfounded assumption of a general creativity factor, while Berger (1989) cautions that this group of responses occurs more frequently exclusively among humanistically oriented professions. In this context, the somewhat weaker contribution of the M variable to the canonical function could be explained by the composition of the research sample itself, which included students from diverse academic tracks and educational profiles. Although Exner viewed the Rorschach test primarily as a perceptual instrument, it is noteworthy that his system allows for a deeper content analysis of verbalizations precisely within responses that integrate two indicators of creativity – human movement with distorted form quality. Exner believed that such responses emerge as a result of massive projection on the part of the participant; thus, in these exceptional cases, the Rorschach test can indeed be treated as a projective instrument.

The redundancy of the Blends:R variable can be explained by its coding dependence on the DQ+ variable, given that blend responses incorporating multiple determinants are more likely to occur precisely within percepts that involve two or more objects.

A similar coding-related assumption can be made regarding the suppressor effect of the S variable, which enhances the discriminative power of the other predictors by reducing their error variance (“noise”). Specifically, Exner’s system does not differentiate between (1) a percept that integrates the white space with parts of the blot and (2) a percept in which the white space serves as the figure against a dark background. The importance of distinguishing between these two subgroups of S responses is highlighted by the R-PAS (*Rorschach Performance Assessment System*) coding and interpretation manual (Meyer et al., 2011), in which the former type of percept is linked precisely to creativity, whereas the latter is associated with anger and negativism.

The low discriminative power of the A+Ad variable can be understood when contextualized within the findings of Rorschach’s original research (Rorschach, 1942), which state that responses with animal contents indicate cognitive stereotypy only when they constitute more than half of the total responses in the entire protocol. Hence, it can be concluded that this part of the research hypothesis regarding this non-continuous variable was inadequately formulated, and that lowered scores on it cannot be viewed as indicators of student creativity within the school environment.

Regarding the absence of a discriminative contribution from the P variable, several hypotheses can be advanced. Given that this variable reflects the capacity to form conventional responses in simpler situations, it is possible that the students’ creative approach is triggered primarily by more complex situations that they perceive as challenging or “problematic”. Alternatively, due to their broad interests (Eiduson, 1958), a specific artistic or scientific “elaboration” of popular responses may occur, which cannot be captured by Exner’s system, as it was initially constructed for clinical practice. Interestingly, a study by Singh et al. (2007) identified a higher number of popular responses in the protocols of highly creative participants. Kogan (2008) explains this finding through the hypothesis that unconventional responses emerge only after creative subjects exhaust their repertoire of conventional ones. Consequently, when interpreting the P variable as an indicator of creativity, the R variable – representing the total number of responses in the protocol – must also be taken into account.

Conclusion

This study represents a distinct call to contemporary Rorschach clinicians and researchers to more seriously address the old, yet still controversial, question regarding the nature of the relationship between creativity and psychopathology. The search for creativity indicators on the Rorschach test should begin by isolating the developmental (creative) dimension within the interpretative postulates of Rorschach variables that are traditionally interpreted as signs of severe psychopathology. Although Exner's system could offer an initial interpretative-explanatory framework for achieving this research task, we have seen that the coding and interpretation of certain variables would need to undergo several modifications.

The results of this study demonstrate that the future construction of a *Rorschach Creativity Index* should incorporate the variables DQ+, X-%, M, P, and S. There is a risk that the canonical function overestimates the discriminant power of the predictors due to the small sample size and the very nature of the extreme-groups design. Therefore, future research should conduct cross-validation on independent samples and (a) clarify the nature of the relationship between creativity measures and the P variable in the case of hyperproductive protocols, where popular responses would be coded and quantified relative to the R variable, and (b) confirm, differentiate, and clarify the suppressor and/or independent effects of both S response subgroups among the other predictors. Naturally, evaluating creative abilities using the Rorschach test in a school setting should not be conducted to differentiate more creative students from less creative ones, but rather to foster a better understanding of the highly individualized nature and dynamics of the creativity phenomenon. This approach aims to support the creation of an educational environment that encourages the dialectical development of both convergent and divergent thinking in every student as a future genius.

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Appendix

Example Protocol from the Highly Creative High School Group

Code: Bratislav (E – Examiner; S – Student/Participant)

Card	Response No.	Response Phase	Inquiry Phase
I	1.	Head of Baphomet. Something satanic. WSo FC'o Ay, (Hd) 3.5 GHR	E: (repeats the response). S: Everything is so black, so it reminds me of something satanic. I saw the head of Baphomet on the whole card. It has horns. E: Horns? S: It looks like that to me because of the shape. Look, there are eyes here too. E: What gives the impression that those are eyes? S: Also, they are shaped like that, but everything is somehow black, so it reminds me of something satanic.
I	2.	A bat. Wo Fo A P 1.0	E: (repeats the response). S: I saw it on the whole card. E: What gives you the impression that it could be a bat? S: It has wings and a body. E: I'm not sure I see the same thing you do. What gives the impression that those are wings? S: Well, it appears that way to me because they have that shape. The body is also shaped just like a bat's body.
II	3.	Two people hugging. D+ M'o (2) H 4.0 GHR	E: (repeats the response). S: They have outstretched arms and heads, and it's like they are hugging (points to area D4). E: What gives the impression that those are two people? S: Because they have arms and human heads. They are shaped like that. E: You said they are hugging? S: Well, the parts of the blot are touching. I don't know, it looks to me as if they are hugging and have reached their arms out toward each other.
II	4.	A butterfly. Do FC'u A	E: (repeats the response). S: The shape is like that (points to area D6). E: What gives the impression that it is a butterfly? S: It has wings, and it's drawn that way. E: Drawn? S: This black part here is shaped like that. E: Black? S: Well yes, like some black butterfly; it looks like that to me because of these wings.
II	5.	Lost love. Dv C.C' Hx AB, PER, MOR, PHR	E: (repeats the response). S: I see it on the whole card. It reminds me of that because of the colors. I see this red one, which represents love, but then the black color dominates when I look at the whole card like this, so it's like it's lost, because black represents something bad to me.
III	6.	Sexual intercourse. D+ M'o (2) Sx, H P 4.0 GHR	E: (repeats the response). S: These are two people of the same gender, but they could also be of the opposite gender (points to areas D9). E: How do you mean? S: Well, since I see something like a penis here (area Dd26), and breasts up there, I don't know what gender it could be. They are approaching each other. E: What gives the impression that they are approaching each other?

			S: Well, it looks like that to me because of the position they have taken. It's as if they are approaching each other to have sexual intercourse.
IV	7.	Some monster. Wo Fo (H) P 2.0 GHR	E: (repeats the response). S: I see it on the whole card. E: What makes it look like a monster to you? S: Well, look, it has legs, a head, arms. E: What makes them look like a monster's legs? S: It looks like that to me by the shape. It has a head too. E: A head? S: It looks like that to me (touches the contour of the blot), and that's also where the head is supposed to be located.
V	8.	A feeling of emptiness and nothingness. Wv m ^a .C'.FD (none) Hx AB, PHR, MOR	E: (repeats the response). S: The whole card looks to me like some feeling of emptiness and nothingness. E: What gives the impression of a feeling of emptiness and nothingness? S: Well, it's narrow at the top, and at the bottom, it gets bigger and bigger, as if it's expanding. It appears that way to me because it gets bigger and bigger as we go toward the lower part. As if it keeps expanding more and more. E: And why does it look to you precisely like a feeling of emptiness and nothingness? S: Because the black color prevails and it's like it's expanding.
VI	9.	An angry man. Ddo M ^a . FY- H,Hx AG, PHR	E: (repeats the response). S: Yes, all of this (points across the upper half of the blot). I see a head, arms, and eyes. E: What gives the impression that those are eyes? S: This part here stands out because of a lighter shade, so it appears to me as if those are eyes. Here it has arms and a head. It looks like that by the shape. E: What gives the impression that it is an angry man? S: He looks like he is angry because he has those kinds of eyes that look like an angry man's eyes.
V	10.	A bat. Wo Fo A P 1.0 PSV	E: (repeats the response). S: I saw it on the whole card. It looks like that to me because it has wings and a body. E: I'm not sure I can see the same thing you do. S: It looks like a bat to me, mostly because of these wings.
VI	11.	Female reproductive system. Wo FVu Sx, Hd, An 2.5 PHR	E: (repeats the response). S: This all looks like the female reproductive system to me (points across the whole blot). E: What gives the impression that it is the female reproductive system? S: Well, it seems that way to me mostly because of this vaginal opening. E: Opening? S: Yes, the vaginal canal here is shaped like that. The color is darker in the middle, so it stands out from the rest, and it's also shaped like that, it goes straight like that. E: I'm not sure I can see the same thing you do. S: It all appears to me like a real female reproductive system.
VI	12.	Sexual intercourse. W+ M ^a . FV- Sx, Hd 2.5 PHR, PSV	E: (repeats the response). S: The whole card looks to me like some intercourse between opposite sexes. I see a male sex organ (points to area D3). E: What gives the impression that it is a male sex organ? S: It looks like that by the shape, and as if it's entering the vaginal opening. E: What gives the impression that it is a vaginal opening?

			S: It appears that way to me because it's a darker color. E: Darker? S: Well, compared to the rest of the card, it's darker. Those are the shades.
VII	13.	Two people looking at each other. W+ M^{Po} (2) H P 2.5 GHR	E: (repeats the response). S: Here they are (points to area D8). They have heads and hair. E: What gives the impression that it is hair? S: It appears that way to me because it has that shape, and that's also where the hair is supposed to be located. E: I'm not sure I can see the same thing you do. S: The whole card looks like that to me. Two people looking at each other. E: Looking at each other? S: Well, they are turned toward each other like that, so it seems to me as if they are looking at each other.
VIII	14.	(>) Like some animal standing on a rock. W+ Fr.FM^P.CFo A,Na P 4.5	E: (repeats the response). S: Here I see an animal standing, it has a head, four legs, and this has the shape of rocks and bushes, the blue is water. Down there would be water, and all of that is like it's reflecting in the water.
IX	15.	Ovaries. Do CF- An, Sx PSV	E: (repeats the response). S: This here (points to area D6) looks like ovaries to me. E: What gives the impression that those are ovaries? S: Well, it appears that way to me mostly because of this pink color. E: I'm not sure I can see the same thing you do. S: The pink color is really striking, and it's round here, so that's why it reminds me of ovaries.
X	16.	Two snakes crawling together. D+ FM³.FCo (2) A 4.0 COP, GHR	E: (repeats the response). S: Yes. Here I see two snakes (points to areas D10). Their bodies are curved as when they crawl. E: Crawl? S: Well, they are shaped like that and they are green, and a snake can be that color.

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