TABLE VI. CORRELATION BETWEEN OBSERVED SALIENCE AND BERLIN-KAY SCALE RANK CORRELATION

Basic Color Terms	Number of Color Terms Mentioned*									Total Salience	Berlin-Kay Rank	Observed Salience
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9			
Black	2	11	9	13	21	10	7	7	4	84	1.5	3
White	6	15	10	16	18	8	9	7	4	93	1.5	2
Red	4	13	12	13	23	10	10	7	4	96	3	1
Green	--	2	1	7	14	8	10	7	4	53	4.5	5
Yellow	1	3	1	8	17	9	10	7	4	60	4.5	4
Blue	1	1	5	6	12	7	10	6	4	52	6	6
Brown	—	1	1	2	3	2	7	4	4	24	7	7
Pink	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	3	1	7	9.5	11
Orange	—	—	—	1	2	2	2	2	2	11	9.5	9.5
Purple	—	—	—	1	2	3	3	2	2	13	9.5	8
Gray	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	4	3	11	9.5	9.5
Total	14	46	39	68	115	60	70	56	36	504		
*Number of Societies	14	23	13	17	23	10	10	7	4			

Spearman Rank Order Correlation = 0.94; $p < .01$

they were classified in rubric 822 by the HRAF coder.) These data are plotted in Figure 1.

These differences in distributions offer additional evidence that the frequency of use of color terms in ethnographies is not merely a reflection of their salience in English. True, HRAF texts are in English; it is English color terms we are counting. But the ethnographers are using these terms to report native ideas about color. Where native ideas about only a few colors are discussed, these few colors turn out to be those predicted by Berlin and Kay.

CONCLUSIONS

Berlin and Kay defined *basic color term* by reference to properties that investigators can rarely or never determine precisely. They gathered their data in a manner that one is tempted to call slapdash. Nevertheless, their conclusions are supported by four new kinds of data: (1) The number of focal color terms in a language correlates strongly with Marsh's Index of Social Differentiation for the society that uses the language. (2) The length of the more widely distributed terms is less than the length of the rarer ones. (3) The frequency of a term in a single literary language correlates strongly with the earliness of that term in Berlin and Kay's evolutionary sequence. (4) Ethnographers use the early terms in the Berlin-Kay list in almost every societal description that deals with color; they tend to use the later terms in fewer descriptions, and only in descriptions that also use some of the early terms.

Those who would reject the conclusions of Berlin and Kay must offer their own explanations for the four supporting studies, all using different methods to test the same basic hypothesis.

The concept of basic color terms as enunciated by Berlin and Kay can perhaps now be discarded. In approaching a new