. No. She's the baby.

(Let me ask you now--all these kids--Mary and Frances and Ralph and Lawrence and so forth--what relation are they to you?)

They're all my grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

(Then Sterling and Charles and Clifford, you'd call them your grandchildren?)

Yeah.

(And their kids are your great-grandchildren?)

Yeah.

KINSHIP TERMS AND BEHAVIOR

(In Arapaho, what would be the word for great-grandchild?)

Just same as grandchildren. Same word.

(And what was that?)

nesiwhwhw --that applies to all of them.

(Now would you feel toward this family--these grandchildren--like you would toward your own grandchildren like Imogene's boys?)

Not that bad, But they call me grandma and I have to answer.

(They call you neww ?)

Yeah. They call me new and I got to say too

(What does that mean?)

That means "what?" \You're getting in deeper!

(Then the people like Jess Birdshead and Theodore and Salome, what relation do you call them?)

Well, they call me "mother."

(Do you call them "son" and "daughter?")

Yeah.

(If you just to meet Jesse Birdshead, would you call him by his name or would you call him "son?")