

1 **Title:** Expanding on incremental dentin methodology to investigate childhood and infant feeding
2 practices on Taumako (southeast Solomon Islands)

3 **Authors:** Chris Stantis^a, Hallie R. Buckley^b, Amy Commendador^{c, d}, John Dudgeon^e

4 **Abstract:** Though many ethnohistoric sources in the tropical Pacific recount chiefly feasting events, few
5 describe childhood feeding practices despite the impact childhood under-nutrition may have had on
6 morbidity and early mortality. Bioarchaeological investigation of the Namu burial ground (circa 750–300
7 BP) on the island of Taumako (southeast Solomon Islands) provides a direct means of understanding
8 prehistoric life on a Polynesian Outlier in the south western Pacific. We investigate infant and childhood
9 (0–10 years) feeding behavior in prehistoric Taumako by creating $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$, $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$, and $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$
10 profiles from 20 individuals using horizontal dentin sections of permanent first molars. The high-
11 resolution data created using novel sample preparation offers insight into childhood diet in the absence
12 of documentary evidence, incrementally sampling $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ but also expanding on the
13 method to provide carbonate data from the same sequential dentin samples.

14 The individuals who died in adolescence have significantly lower $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values in early life than those
15 who died in adulthood, which may suggest a link between diet, nutritional health, and morbidity. There
16 were no significant differences in isotope values between social status groups, suggesting shared
17 childhood experiences regarding types of foods consumed. Longitudinal assessment of $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and
18 $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ shows a strong relationship between the two values, likely a result of the typical tropical
19 Pacific diet consisting largely of high protein marine foods that overshadows low protein terrestrial
20 foods. This highlights the utility of $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ in order to more effectively investigate consumption of
21 low protein foodtypes in this region.

22 **Keywords:** carbon; nitrogen; tropical Pacific; Polynesia

23 **Highlights:**

- 24 • Collagen and carbonate isotope values analyzed on the same transverse tooth sections
- 25 • Dietary values showed no differences between wealth groups
- 26 • Collagen isotopes difficult to use in this region, as higher protein foods overshadow key cultural
27 foods (root vegetables)

28

29 INTRODUCTION

30 Status-based differences in access to food resources is a phenomenon found throughout human history
31 (Danforth 1999; Darmon and Drewnowski 2008; Twiss 2012), and Oceania was not an exception (Bell
32 1931; Firth 1936; Firth 1939; Oliver 1989). Though there is a wealth of ethnographic resources regarding
33 the proto-historic and early historic periods in the tropical Pacific (e.g., Beaglehole, 1967, Mariner and
34 Martin, 1827, Ella, 1899, Thomson, 1902) , these tend to focus on the lives of chiefs and other men
35 rather than the daily lives of “others”: women, children, and the lower class. In addition, these
36 ethnohistoric sources focused on feasting rather than the daily food access and redistribution among
37 most of the population.

38 Stable isotope analyses of diet have served as a means of reconstructing past food pathways in the
39 Pacific and elucidating differential access to food between social groups, sexes, and age groups
40 (Commendador et al. 2019; Kinaston et al. 2013a; Stantis et al. 2016a; Stantis et al. 2015). Stepwise
41 nitrogen enrichment in infants being breastfed has been observed in living populations (de Luca et al.
42 2012; Fuller et al. 2006), with Katzenberg et al. (1993) first noting changes in nitrogen stable isotope
43 values in infants relative to the adult population in an archaeological assemblage.

44 However, the traditional cross-sectional approach of analyzing the bulk bone collagen from a burial
45 assemblage can suffer from problems of representation when investigating childhood diet (Kendall
46 2016; Reynard and Tuross 2015). Complications relating to the “Osteological Paradox” should be
47 considered when investigating childhood and infant dietary practices using bulk bone data from
48 subadults in an assemblage: those individuals who died as subadults are non-survivors and might
49 therefore not representative of the *living* population of children from that time period (Lewis 2007;
50 Wood et al. 1992). A different weaning practice may have even been the cause of death for some
51 (Kramer and Kakuma 2004) and so those individuals who survived to adulthood may have lived arguably
52 more “normal” lives within the socio-cultural constructs of their community than those who died as
53 subadults. The Osteological Paradox is a known ‘cautionary tale’ for bioarchaeologists, and data from
54 bone is still the most popular means of reconstructing population-averaged weaning times with
55 Bayesian modelling strengthening this methodological approach in recent studies (Smith et al. 2017;
56 Stantis et al. 2020; Tsutaya 2017; Tsutaya and Yoneda 2013).

57 A potential improvement to stable isotope dietary reconstruction is taking a longitudinal approach by
58 analyzing incremental sections of dentin, which allows the explorations of changes in diet while the

59 tooth is forming (Beaumont et al. 2013; Beaumont et al. 2014; Beaumont and Montgomery 2016;
60 Beaumont et al. 2015; Lahtinen 2017; Sandberg et al. 2014). As dentin forms from crown to apex at a
61 highly controlled rate, sections of dentin analyzed along the transverse plane will obtain data with a
62 high temporal resolution (Beaumont and Montgomery 2015). Layers of dentin are mineralized within
63 three to four days (Fuller et al. 2003; Hedges et al. 2007) and, though dentin growth rates vary across
64 the length of the tooth, small (~1-2mm) sections of dentin will capture periods of months rather than
65 the averaged diet over spans of years obtained through bulk collagen analyses (Geyh 2001; Hedges et al.
66 2007; Szulc et al. 2000). Though skeletal evidence of these adults' childhood disease experiences may
67 have been erased over time due to constant bone formation and resorption (Lewis 2007), the dietary
68 experiences of these individuals is stored in tooth dentin, which largely does not remodel once formed
69 (Goldberg et al. 2011).

70 This approach to understanding breastfeeding and weaning is not without its own weaknesses. For
71 example, the identical appositional rate of dentin layers is assumed but has not been fully demonstrated
72 (Beaumont et al. 2015). With the dentin depositing in layers of convex curvature (Czermak et al. early
73 view; Eerkens et al. 2011), transverse slices cutting through multiple layers from crown to root might
74 actually represent different spaces of time, making the inference that each section represents an equal
75 amount of growth untrue. Despite these limitations, with high resolution data from permanent tooth
76 dentin, it is possible to assess infant and childhood feeding practices in those individuals who survived
77 childhood to adults by specifically targeting teeth that form during and shortly after birth, a particularly
78 vulnerable period to extrinsic stressors in a person's life (Lewis 2007).

79 While ethnographic resources inform on some key information about life in this region, stable isotope
80 analyses can provide more direct information on differences in diet and inferences about nutrition and
81 health in these people. Socially-mediated access to certain food groups based on social status, sex, and
82 age have been identified using cross-sectional stable isotopes analysis in Oceania to understand
83 processes and effects of the social constructions that shaped life in the past (Fenner et al. 2015;
84 Kinaston et al. 2014a; Kinaston et al. 2013a; Kinaston et al. 2013b; Stantis et al. 2016a; Stantis et al.
85 2015; Stantis et al. 2016b; Valentin et al. 2006; Valentin et al. 2011). Using longitudinal methods, it is
86 therefore possible to address questions such as: how were people affected by social differences over the
87 course of their life? And were social differences apparent in childhood?

88 This paper aims to investigate the relative proportions of plants and animals of terrestrial and marine
89 origin consumed during childhood on the tropical Pacific island of Taumako, and to compare potential

90 social groups using osteological assessment of sex and grave goods as proxies for social status. This
91 study would then add to the previous investigations of past life in Taumako, but with some degree of
92 sensitivity to potential life stage changes. We predict that dietary differences between the sexes and
93 perceived wealth groups as observed in the adult life (Kinaston and Buckley 2017; Kinaston et al. 2013b)
94 will also be observed during childhood for these individuals; males and higher wealth individuals will
95 have had access to more valued food (higher-trophic level marine fish and terrestrial animals such as
96 pig) than women and lower wealth individuals. A secondary aim of this paper is to present an addition to
97 a previously published method of measuring carbon and nitrogen stable isotopes from small sections of
98 dentin collagen (Beaumont et al. 2014). This addition to the Beaumont method maintains the quality
99 parameters and high-resolution collagen data presented there while also measuring the carbon isotope
100 compositions of the inorganic portion of dentin sections, providing another line of dietary evidence.

101 1.1 Dietary stable isotopes from collagen and carbonate

102 Investigation of the isotopic composition of archaeologically-derived teeth and bones can provide
103 valuable information about diet and environmental conditions in the past (Lee-Thorp 2008). The analysis
104 of $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ ratios (denoted as $\delta^{13}\text{C}$) is based off the principle that most of the differences in carbon stable
105 isotope values within food webs arises from the varying $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values of autotrophs due to different
106 photosynthetic pathways (DeNiro and Epstein 1978; Hoefs 2009; Lee-Thorp et al. 1989; Sharp 2017;
107 Tieszen 1991). Terrestrial C_3 plants use the Calvin cycle to fixate carbon from atmospheric CO_2 and will
108 display a $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ range between -33 to -23‰ (Marshall et al. 2007; Sharp 2017). Aquatic photosynthetic
109 organisms generally follow a C_3 photosynthetic pathway, but many types of marine algae and
110 cyanobacteria utilize sources of carbon with higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values, such as oceanic bicarbonate, which
111 results in the correspondingly higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values compared to terrestrial C_3 plants, often between -22
112 and -17‰ (Fry et al. 1982; Keegan and DeNiro 1988; Schoeninger et al. 1983). Freshwater autotrophs
113 derive their carbon from a variety of sources including atmospheric CO_2 , dissolved CO_2 , soil bicarbonate,
114 and carbon from organic detritus (Zohary et al. 1994). As a result freshwater fish bones have yielded
115 more variable $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values than marine fish, ranging between -13 to -25‰ (Katzenberg and Weber 1999).
116 Plants that use the C_4 (Hatch-Slack) photosynthetic pathway, such as maize, millet, and sorghum display
117 higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values compared with terrestrial C_3 plants, typically between -16 to -9‰, and thus largely
118 overlap in values with marine autotrophs (Sharp 2017).

119 Stable isotope ratios in consumer tissues are related to dietary values with high fidelity, but differences
120 in fractionation factors between tissues must be recognized in order to investigate dietary patterns

121 (Hobson and Clark 1992; Tieszen et al. 1983). The carbon stable isotope composition of structural
122 carbonate ($-\text{CO}_3$) from bone or tooth hydroxyapatite reflects the isotopic composition of the whole diet
123 (carbohydrates, lipids, and protein) (Balasse et al. 2003; Passey et al. 2005). In contrast, $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ largely
124 tracks the protein portion of an individual's diet due to the differences in the metabolic processes
125 involved in creating hydroxyapatite and collagen (Ambrose and Norr 1993; Jim et al. 2004; Lee-Thorp et
126 al. 1989; Tieszen and Fagre 1993). The carbonate-collagen offset ($\Delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate-collagen}}$) can be examined to
127 compare the whole diet to the protein portion: controlled diet studies show evidence that if the offset is
128 greater than 4.5‰ the protein portion is dominated by C_3 terrestrial foods with relatively more
129 C_4 /marine whole diet sources while an offset less than 4.5‰ suggests a diet of marine protein sources
130 with terrestrial C_3 whole diet (Ambrose and Norr 1993; Jim et al. 2004). This offset has been examined in
131 prehistoric Rapa Nui (Commendador et al. 2019) to confirm a predominantly terrestrial sourced diet.

132 The nitrogen stable isotope values ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$) in collagen are largely reflective of the protein portion of diet
133 as well but are also indicative of the individual's place in the food web or trophic level. There is a roughly
134 3–5 ‰ stepwise enrichment between predators and prey (Bocherens and Drucker 2003; Minagawa and
135 Wada 1984; Perkins et al. 2014). Marine food webs are longer and so tend to have higher trophic levels.
136 Used in conjunction with $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ values, $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values of collagen can be used to assess an organism's
137 reliance on marine and terrestrial resources. There is also a stepwise enrichment of ^{13}C between trophic
138 levels but the enrichment is often too small ($\sim 1\text{‰}$) to be easily observed except in controlled studies
139 (Bocherens and Drucker 2003; DeNiro and Epstein 1978). With all three isotopic data collected here
140 ($\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$, $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$, and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$), multivariate statistics can be used to visualize different protein and
141 energy sources (Froehle et al. 2010; Froehle et al. 2012; Kellner and Schoeninger 2007).

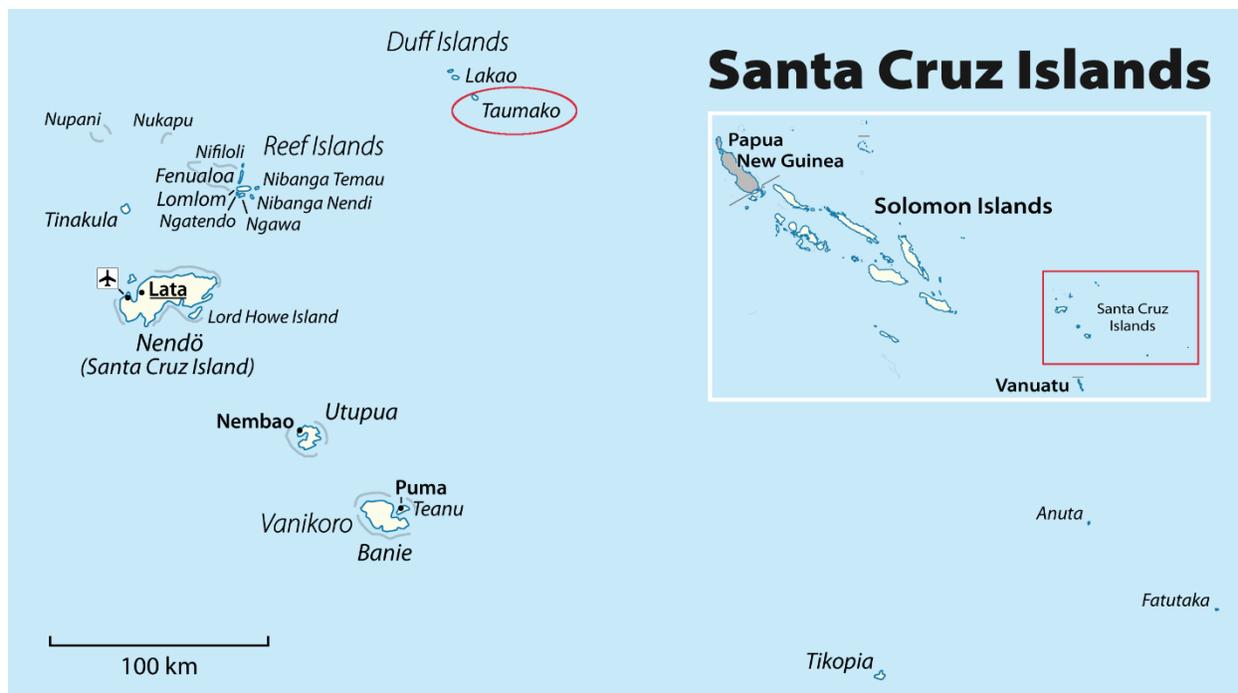
142 There are interpretations of carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios beyond traditional dietary studies.
143 The same stepwise enrichment in nitrogen that allows the observation of predator-prey relationships
144 also enables researchers to examine breastfeeding practices, as an infant breastfeeding will be feeding
145 one trophic level higher than their mother (Fuller et al. 2006). Stable isotope values can be examined to
146 interpret foods used during weaning to supplement breast milk (i.e., complementary foods), or to
147 compare childhood foods with those consumed by adults by comparing tooth and bone collagen
148 samples of adults (Tsutaya 2017; Tsutaya and Yoneda 2015). As bone continues to remodel throughout
149 life (Hedges et al. 2007), carbon and nitrogen stable isotopes from bulk collagen in adult bone will
150 represent the averaged diet from the last few years of life, while the data presented here will provide
151 'snapshots' of periods of time during early childhood. Comparison of bulk collagen data to incremental

152 dentin is possible in the Namu assemblage due to previous research (Kinaston et al. 2013b). Although
153 stable isotope values from adult female bone collagen are sometimes used as comparative data to
154 establish complete weaning values (Jay 2009; Jay et al. 2008), they are not used here as the general
155 trend of shifting values between sections are of more interpretative value (Beaumont et al. 2015;
156 Kendall 2016).

157 Beyond diet, extreme undernutrition or taxing the body due to illness or growth may also play a role in
158 changes in stable isotope ratios over time. Studies of modern anorexic patients have shown that
159 changes in nitrogen and carbon isotope ratios, previously interpreted as primarily related to dietary
160 factors, may equally be the result of physiological stress, with nitrogen rising and carbon falling during
161 the extreme chronic undernutrition experienced during anorexia, and nitrogen falling and carbon rising
162 as BMI (body mass index) increases if treatment and aftercare are administered (Baković et al. 2017;
163 Mekota et al. 2006; Neuberger et al. 2013). If $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ display negative covariance (i.e., if
164 $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values rise over time while $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ values fall), then extreme physiological stress needs to
165 be considered. Both bone and dentin collagen are subject to non-dietary factors affecting isotope
166 values, but incremental sections of dentin do allow an approach to identifying these factors that is much
167 more immune to environment-related shifts and more tightly controlled by genetics than bone
168 (Beaumont et al. 2018; Cardoso 2007; King et al. 2018).

169 1.2 Site description

170 The Namu burial ground on the island of Taumako (Solomon Islands) is one of the few archaeological
171 sites on a Polynesian Outlier, one of eighteen or so islands geographically located in the region of
172 Melanesia but with a Polynesian language and Polynesian cultural traits (Feinberg and Scaglione 2012;
173 Kirch 1984b). On Taumako (**Figure 1**) and the other Polynesian Outliers, it is believed that Polynesian-
174 speaking people from the east integrated with the established local Melanesian populations. The
175 introduction of Polynesian people, language, and material culture to Taumako cannot be pinpointed to a
176 single incident and there is evidence of intermittent contact with both the east and west throughout
177 occupation (Bayard 1976; Davidson 2012; Intoh 1999). Taumako is a small island (16.2 km² in area) but,
178 as a high volcanic island with a fringing reef rich in marine resources, the variable terrain lends itself to a
179 variety of ecosystems for food exploitation.



180

181 *Figure 1. Map of the Duff Islands in the Southeastern Solomon Islands with Taumako circled in red. Modified from Maximilian*
 182 *Dörrbecker (<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=14481571>)*

183 Namu is a low mound about 70 cm high and 7 or 8 m in diameter (Leach and Davidson 2008). Surface
 184 scatter included worked shell fragments, shell money, and human bone fragments. The burials were
 185 shallow (maximum depth of excavation was 1 m, and often the density of the burials lessened greatly by
 186 50 cm depth), so shallow that the archaeologists posited that burials were not placed in dug graves so
 187 much as placed on the surface and covered with coral gravel. This proposed method of interment is
 188 supported by the slight evidence of intercutting with older burials and the burial site name itself. The
 189 word *namu* has two meanings in the local language: “mosquito” and “bad smell” (Greenhill and Clark
 190 2011).

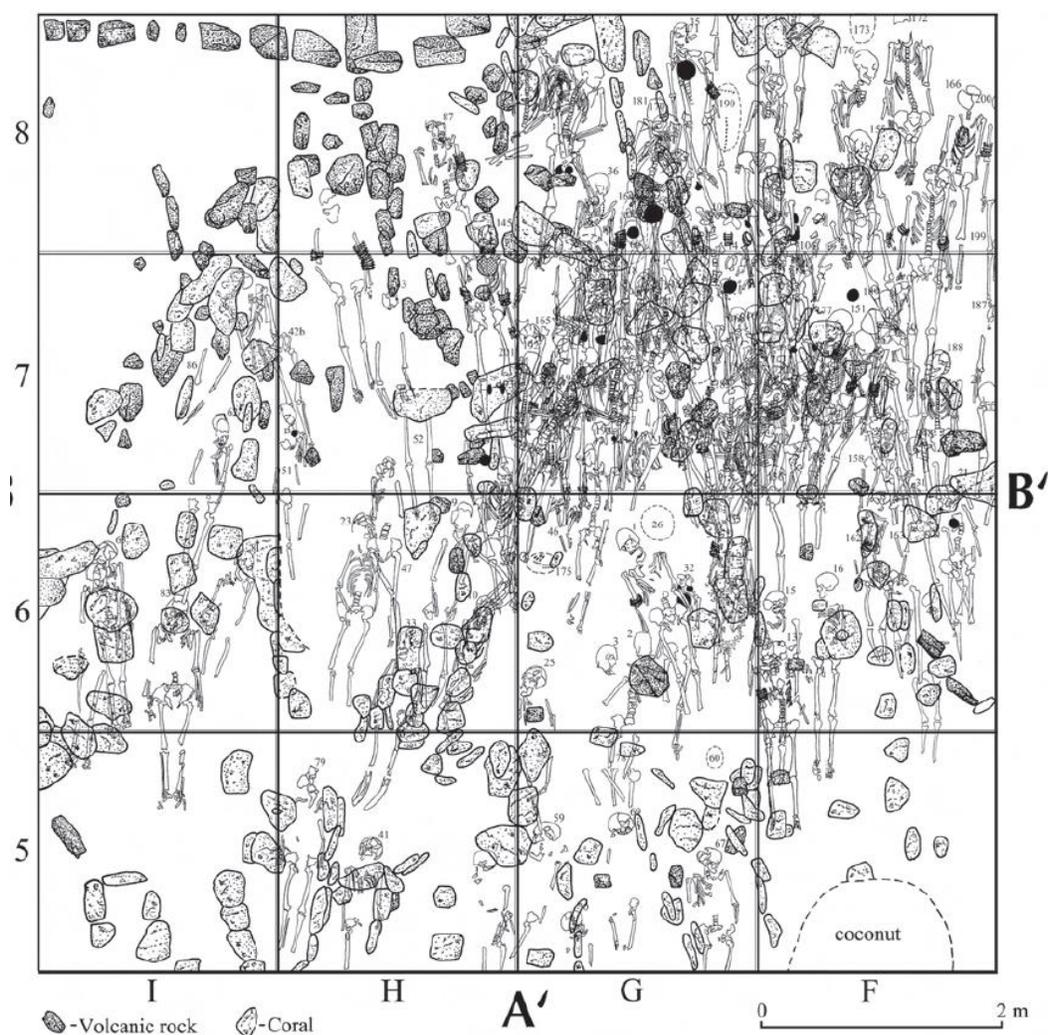


Figure 2. Plan of all burials excavated from Namu. Modified from Leach and Davidson (2008).

191 The burial site is estimated to have been in use for interring human remains between 750—300 BP
 192 (Leach and Davidson 2008), placing the use of the Namu burial ground toward later prehistory on
 193 Taumako. Different areas of the burial grounds were believed by the excavating archaeologists to inter
 194 kin groups, but the complexity of the site prevented interpretation of the burial configuration (**Figure 2**).
 195 Out of approximately 40 m³ of material excavated, 226 individuals were removed, many of which were
 196 nearly complete and relatively undisturbed (Buckley 2016). A few individual bones appear to have been
 197 moved, but this was likely due to erosion and/or bioturbation by tree roots, land crabs, or scavenging
 198 animals. Many of the 226 individuals excavated from this site are well-preserved providing a large
 199 skeletal sample that is rare in the tropics where the heat and humid conditions are unideal for the
 200 preservation of bone collagen (Pestle and Colvard 2012).

201 The rich material culture of grave goods is singular to Namu in the Solomon Islands and includes over
 202 30,000 pieces of shell money as well as ornamental discs, knee and nose ornaments along with amulets

203 and worked flying fox teeth (Leach and Davidson 2008). All shells were species prized as ornamentation
204 rather than consumption, and there were almost no food-related faunal remains in the site. Tubular
205 bone pieces were scattered throughout the burials and may have been parts of red-feather money, the
206 highly valued currency used in the Santa Cruz exchange network (Davenport 1962). Unworked fish and
207 mammal bone were associated with some burial sites and were possibly charms attached to feather
208 money (Koch 1971).

209 Leach and Davidson created a processual-style enumeration of the grave goods to create a “wealth
210 index” (2008, p. 530). From this wealth index, they found that wealth was distributed unevenly, with 2%
211 of the population buried with 15% of the wealth. Males were accorded more wealth than females
212 (49.7% of the available wealth compared to 27.9%) suggesting higher status. Infants and children were
213 also buried with grave goods, suggesting the Polynesian convention of assigning status at birth (Kirch
214 and Green 2001).

215 Previous research on this site includes a re-analysis of demography, health and disease of the population
216 (Buckley 2016; Buckley and Tayles 2003a; Buckley and Tayles 2003b) as well as carbon and nitrogen
217 stable isotope analysis of bulk bone collagen from 99 adults, providing insight into diet before death
218 (Kinaston et al. 2013b). Kinaston et al. (2013b) found a relationship between social status (using Leach
219 and Davidson’s wealth index) and stable isotope values where wealthy individuals, especially males,
220 were consuming more foods from higher trophic levels. Kinaston and Buckley (2017) also analyzed bulk
221 stable isotopes from teeth of selected individuals to compare adult and child diet in the adult survivors.
222 These studies demonstrated that the skeletal material has not been diagenetically altered to prevent
223 isotope analysis, and that a more detailed investigation of the effects of social status is warranted.

224 1.3 An Oceanic menu

225 Diet in Taumako, like most Pacifica diets, centered on C₃ root vegetables such as taro (*Colocasia*
226 *esculenta*), sago (*Metroxylon sagu*) and yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) along with tree crops such as breadfruit
227 (*Artocarpus altilis*) and bananas (*Musa* spp.) (Kirch 1984a; Kirch 1997). There were very few edible C₄
228 plants available during the prehistoric period in the tropical Pacific islands. The only cultivated terrestrial
229 C₄ plant consumed in Taumako would have been sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*) which forms a
230 small part of horticultural pursuits recorded ethnohistorically (Davenport 1968). Terrestrial native plants
231 were rarely part of the Polynesian horticultural system but can be gathered in times of food scarcity,
232 such as after extensive cyclone damage to gardens (Kirch and Hunt 1997). More commonly eaten native

233 plants are seaweeds and seagrasses, which are gathered today by women and children when foraging
234 for shellfish and other inshore organisms in the lagoons and reefs (Whistler 2007). The accompaniment
235 to staple root vegetables can consist of some sort of meat, most often seafood from the open ocean,
236 reef, or lagoon (Barrau 1961; Pollock 1992) though pigs (*Sus scrofa*), chickens (*Gallus gallus*) and dogs
237 (*Canis lupus familiaris*) have been found in the archaeological record and/or noted during initial
238 European contact (Leach and Davidson 2008; Quirós and Markham 1904).

239 **1. MATERIAL AND METHODS**

240 Twenty permanent mandibular or maxillary first molars with completely formed root apices were
241 selected for this study. Only those teeth which displayed limited attrition, rated four or less on the
242 Smith system (Smith 1984), were included. Additionally, teeth could only have carious lesions
243 penetrating the enamel and not the underlying dentin, and no damage to the roots (ante- or post-
244 mortem) to be valid for selection. To investigate potential differences between social groups, nine
245 individuals were selected with no grave goods (4 male, 5 female) and eleven from the highest echelons
246 of purported “wealth” (3 male, 6 female and 2 indeterminate), as described by Leach and Davidson
247 (2008). The wealthiest individuals were buried with grave goods such as beaded ornamentations:
248 necklaces, anklets or knee decorations. These ornamentations were personalized with worked shells
249 (*Tridacna*, *Nautilus*, *Polynices*), flying fox and shark teeth, and ivory reels.

250 In total, eleven individuals were female, seven males, and two were of indeterminate sex. The two
251 individuals of indeterminate sex were adolescents of estimated median ages of 12 and 15.5. The other
252 18 individuals are adults of estimated age twenty or older. There was a range of visible pathologies
253 observed in this selection of individuals, including two individuals with possible treponemal disease
254 (Buckley and Tayles 2003b)(Table 1).

255 The permanent first molar, both mandibular and maxillary, typically begins formation just before birth
256 and completes formation about 9 or 10 years of age (AlQahtani et al. 2010). Thus, conducting stable
257 isotope analyses on the dentin within the crown will cover the period of breastfeeding and weaning
258 while the root dentin captures later childhood diet (Table 2).

259 All samples were processed and analyzed at the Center for Archaeology, Materials and Applied
260 Spectroscopy (CAMAS) at Idaho State University. Surface debris was removed using a slow-speed burr,
261 and then the teeth were sliced lengthwise using a diamond trim saw. The enamel was separated from

262 the dentin using a combination of a burr and saw attachment for a rotary cutter and the surface of the
263 now-exposed pulp chamber was also burred to remove any secondary or tertiary dentin.

264 One tooth root half was placed in floral foam and then sawed into 2 mm sections along the transverse
265 plane. If we use Beaumont and Montgomery's method of assigning age to dentin sections, each section
266 would capture roughly 18 months, though we understand that there must be some individual variation
267 in growth, along with the approximately 0.4 mm of dental material lost due to the width of the saw. The
268 pulp chamber and root canals were abraded to remove secondary and tertiary dentin, which, unlike
269 primary dentin, remodels throughout life (Nanci 2013).

270 These dentin sections were cryomilled after sonication in 18 M-Ohm water and drying in a low
271 temperature (50°) oven. A portion of the powdered sample was set aside for preservation assessment
272 via attenuated total reflection, Fourier transform infrared (FTIR-ATR) spectroscopy. Once washed, cut
273 and ground by cryomill, and prior to any chemical alteration, approximately 2 mg of bone powder was
274 placed on the window of the FTIR. Absorbance spectra was then collected at a resolution of 4 cm⁻¹ and
275 24 scans. Three spectra were collected from each sample and the values averaged. After each data
276 collection, the sample was mixed and re-centered on the FTIR window to randomize any geometric
277 effects of powder orientation. All spectra were baseline corrected prior to performing peak integration,
278 following Hollund et al. (2013). Values for archaeological samples from Taumako and a larger dataset
279 including additional Pacific samples were then compared to those derived from modern. CO₃ /PO₄ (C/P)
280 ratios and infrared splitting factor (IRSF) for both were then compared to the data produced by Beasley
281 et al. (2014).

282 After FTIR, samples were recollected to be rinsed in 2% bleach for 72 hr (changing every 24 hr) and then
283 placed in 0.1 M acetic acid for 12 hr. After drying, the powdered samples were weighed out for
284 carbonate analysis on a GasBench II routed onto a ThermoScientific Delta Advantage stable isotope ratio
285 mass spectrometer (Waltham, MA USA; Coleman, 2012).

286 The other tooth root half was prepared using a modified Longin method (Brown et al. 1988; Longin
287 1971) and placed in 0.3 M HCl solution to be demineralized. The solution was replaced every 48 hr until
288 the sample was partially demineralized enough to facilitate cutting into 2 mm sections. Once the 2 mm
289 sections were achieved, the samples were placed back on 0.3 M HCl to complete the demineralization
290 process. After rinsing to neutral with deionized water, samples were placed on 0.1 M NaOH for 8 hours
291 to remove soil contaminants. After once again rinsing to neutral, samples were gelatinized at 70°C in a

292 0.01 M HCl solution. Samples were then frozen and freeze dried for 48 hrs and weighed into tin capsules
293 for analysis on a Thermo Delta V Advantage Isotope Ratio Mass Spectrometer, with a ConFlo IV interface
294 and Costech Elemental Analyzer. Measurement precision is $\pm 0.2\%$ for both $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$. All $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and
295 $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ isotope values are reported relative to the Vienna Pee Dee Belemnite (VPDB) (carbon) and
296 atmospheric air (nitrogen) standards.

297 **2. RESULTS**

298 All collagen samples analyzed showed signs of good preservation: C:N within 2.9 and 3.6 (DeNiro 1985),
299 %C wt between 15—47%, and %N wt between 5—17% (Ambrose 1990; Ambrose and Norr 1992). Poor
300 preservation did not preclude any samples from being included in our analyses due to collagen quality
301 parameters. Instead, all poorly preserved samples were realized during the demineralization process,
302 where pseudomorphs degenerated to the point where the tooth roots degraded and dissolved into the
303 solution, completely lost for analysis. Due to this issue, several individuals are only represented by the
304 first few sections representing the crown and beginning of the root; the worst preserved in this
305 collection was Burial 32, where only the first two sections survived the demineralizing and cutting
306 process.

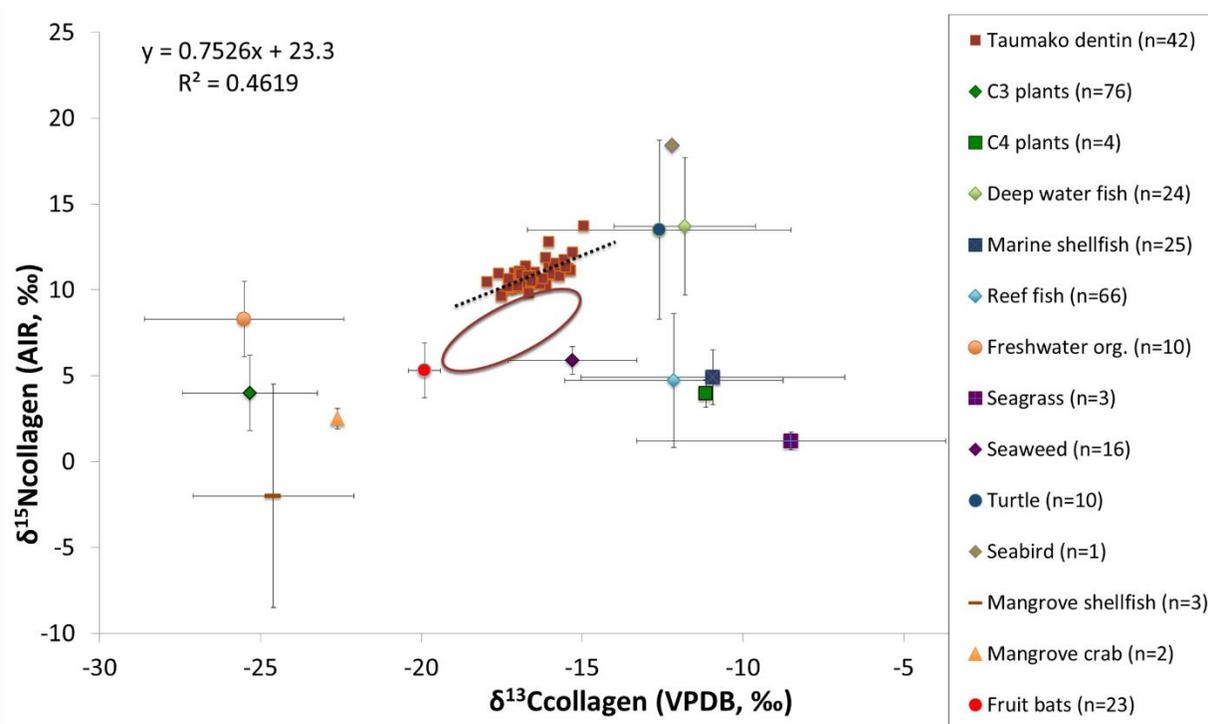
307 Regarding the dentin sections analyzed for $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$, FTIR analysis showed generally good preservation
308 in the mineral portion of the dentin following guidelines by France et al. (2020): C/P ratios were
309 between 0.05—0.3 and IRSF were between 3.1—4.3 with the exception of one sample (Burial 34 Section
310 6) which had a slightly lower IRSF value of 2.72. Higher IRSF values are of greater concern as they
311 suggest mineral recrystallization (France et al. 2020), and so this lower value is noted but the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value
312 is included in data analysis. Ultimately, preservation was not an issue for the inorganic portion of dentin
313 in the same manner as the dentin collagen. Instead, the issue preventing output data was sample size,
314 with several samples too small to yield $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values. This tended to pose a problem in the first few
315 sections in the crown, as the horns of the crowns yielded sample sizes too small to analyze when cut in
316 2mm sections.

317 Despite these issues, we obtained 264 points of stable isotope data from the twenty individuals for the
318 suite of three stable isotope analyses from the dentin sections. All stable isotope data are presented in
319 Supplementary Table 1. The summary of stable isotope data is presented in Table 3.

320 3.1 $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$

321 There are several ways to present longitudinal $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ data. First, the nitrogen and
 322 carbon stable isotope data can be assessed in bulk to place the general childhood diet within the
 323 framework of the available dietary baseline (**Figure 3**). As first molars begin calcification just before birth
 324 and end around nine to ten years of age (AlQahtani et al. 2010), the first few sections of a tooth can be
 325 expected to record breastfeeding signals. For this examination, we drop the first two 2mm sections
 326 beginning at the crown which would capture the first ~36 months of life to prevent the breastfeeding
 327 signals from clouding interpretation, understanding that weaning may have been a longer process and
 328 later sections might also reflect breast milk consumption (Kendall 2016; Kennedy 2005). There is a
 329 moderate positive correlation between $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values of “post-weaning” tooth sections
 330 (Spearman’s, $r_s(41) = 0.679$, $p < 0.001$).

331



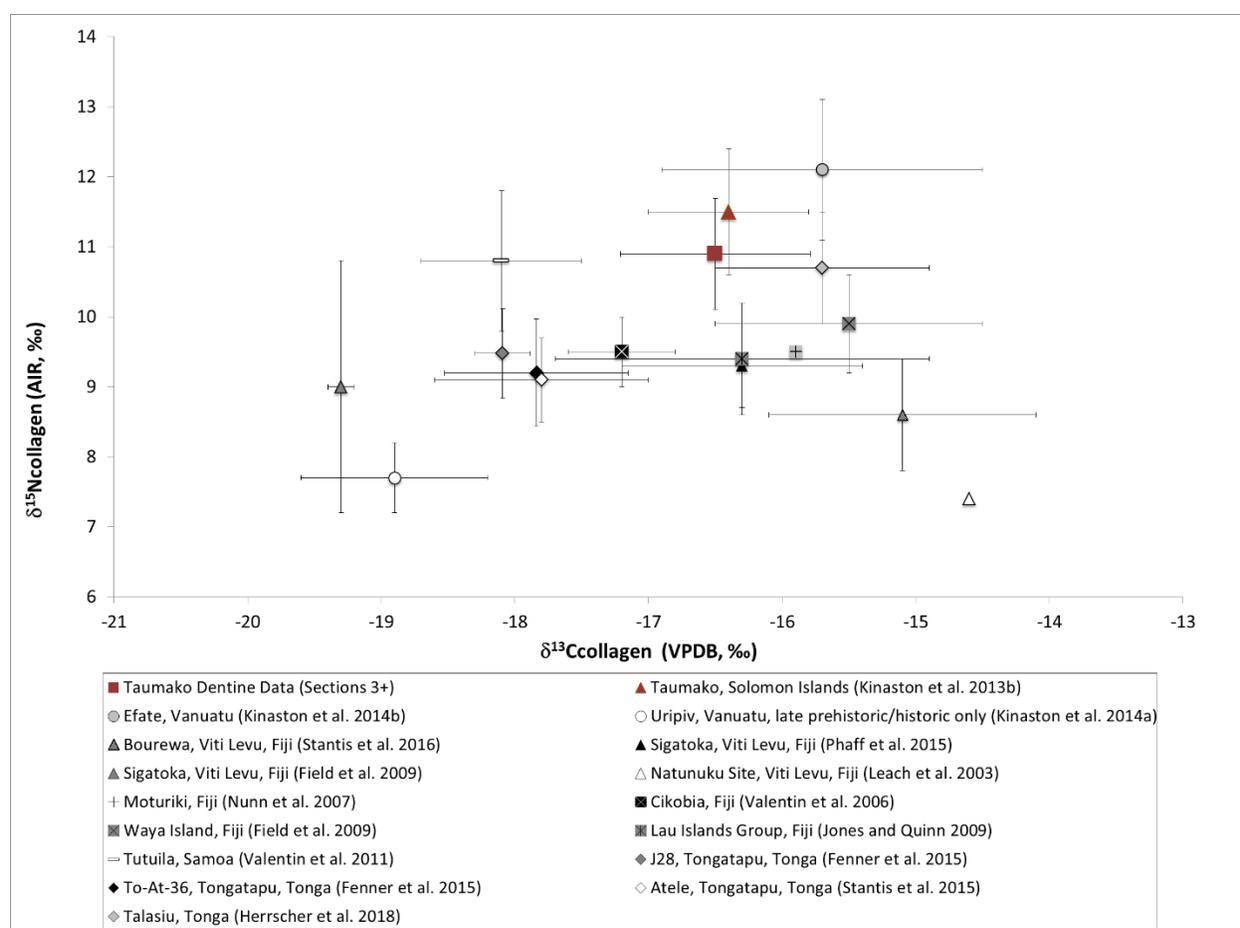
332

333 *Figure 3. $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values plotted with fitted regression line (first two tooth sections excluded). Dietary baseline*
 334 *data from previous studies (Kinaston et al., 2014a,b). The enclosed circle indicates the diet of the individuals once corrected for*
 335 *trophic level, -1 for $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and -4‰ for $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values.*

336

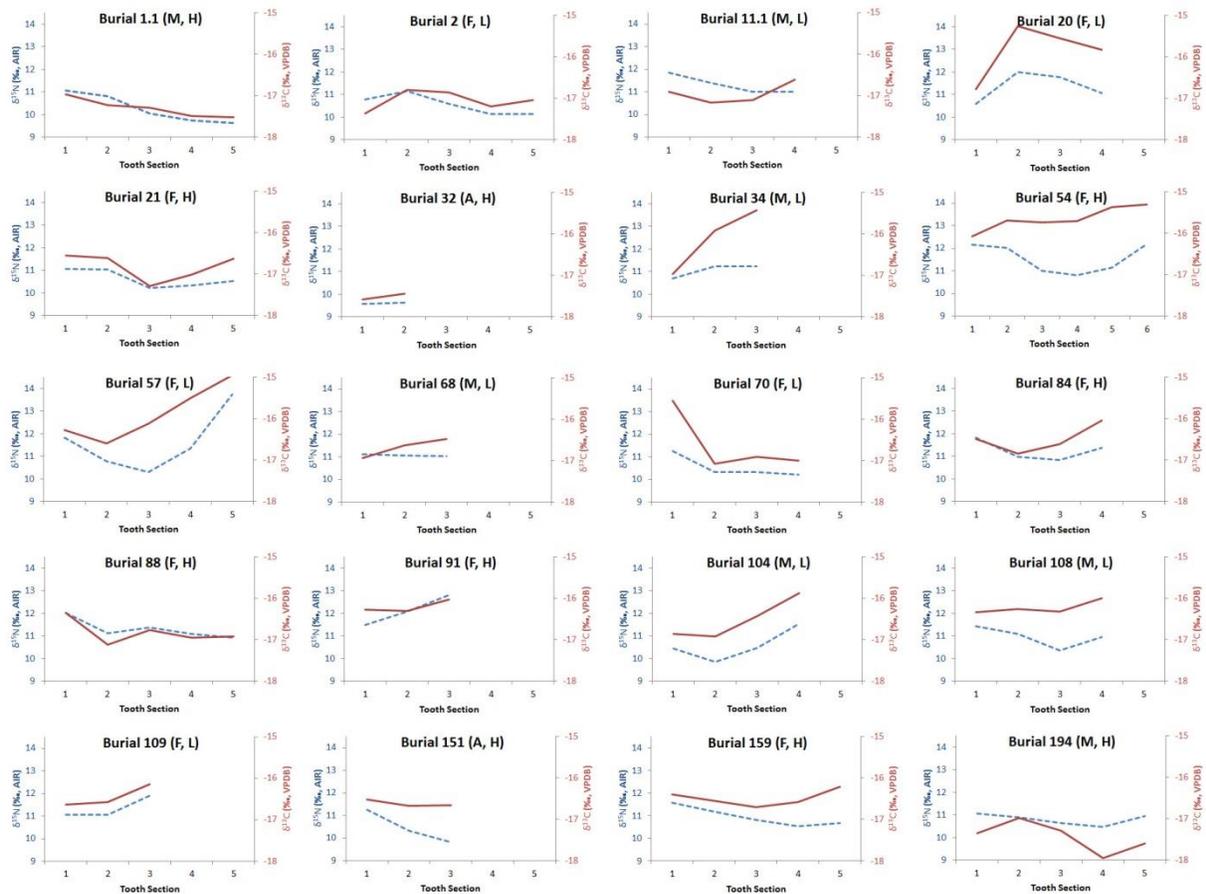
337 We also plot the averaged $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ from the ‘post-weaning’ tooth sections to the
 338 adulthood diet of the 99 individuals analyzed by Kinaston et al. (2013b) as well as other dietary stable
 339 isotope studies from late prehistoric/proto-historic sites in the tropical Pacific (**Figure 4**). The childhood
 340 diet observed in dentin overlaps with the adult diet found by Kinaston et al. (2013c) in Taumako, though
 341 childhood diet on average shows slightly lower $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values ($10.9 \pm 0.8\text{‰}$ compared to $11.5 \pm$
 342 0.9‰). **Figure 5** plots the $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ across each individual’s life course. The significant
 343 positive covariance can be visually confirmed in this figure, as the two collagen values tend to move
 344 together.

345



346

347 *Figure 4. $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ mean \pm SD for the Taumako dentin sections (excluding the first two sections of the crown)*
 348 *compared to other tropical Pacific sites in the geographic regions of West Polynesia and Melanesia (Fenner et al. 2015; Field et*
 349 *al. 2009; Herrscher et al. 2018; Jones and Quinn 2009; Kinaston et al. 2014a; Kinaston et al. 2014b; Kinaston et al. 2013b; Leach*
 350 *et al. 2003; Leach 2003; Nunn et al. 2007; Phaff et al. 2015; Stantis et al. 2016a; Stantis et al. 2015; Valentin et al. 2006;*
 351 *Valentin et al. 2011).*



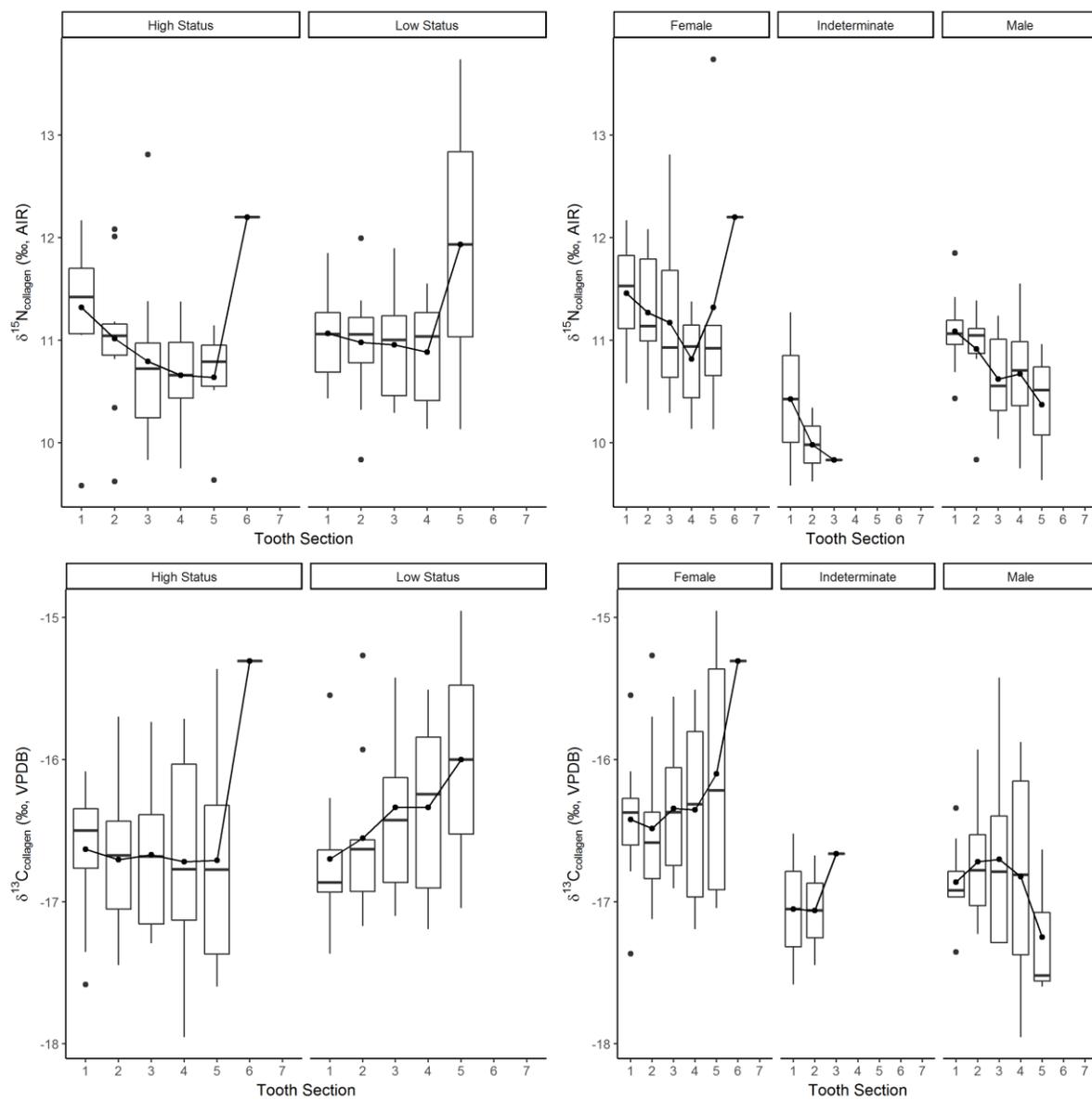
352

353 *Figure 5. $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ (blue, dashed) and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ (red, solid) plotted by tooth section for every individual. Tooth sections*
 354 *numbered sequentially from crown to apex. Variation in data line lengths represent samples with poor preservation of one or*
 355 *more sections of the roots (e.g., Burial 32 having only the first two sections) M = Male, F = Female, A = Adolescent; L = Low*
 356 *Status, H = High Status.*

357 3.1.1 Comparing social status and sex groups

358 The individual longitudinal data can be pooled into groups by social status and sex. Though the sample
 359 size is small on the individual level, main effects for social status and sex can be investigated using one-
 360 way ANOVAS with an averaged value per burial across all repeated measures (i.e., aggregated stable
 361 isotope values across tooth sections). Two-way ANOVAs would have reduced Type II errors during
 362 statistical testing (F, H) but were inappropriate for the data as there would be a missing subgroup (there are
 363 no lower status individuals of indeterminate sex). $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ values are normally distributed, and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$
 364 values are normally distributed if one outlier (tooth section 5 of burial 57, with a value of 13.7‰) is
 365 excluded from testing.

366 Regarding $\delta^{15}\text{N}$, there were no statistically significant differences between social status means
367 (aggregated by tooth section) as determined by a one-way ANOVA ($F(1,18) = 1.034, p = 0.323$). There
368 was a significant effect of sex on $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values ($F(2, 17) = 7.093, p = 0.006$). Post hoc comparisons using
369 the Tukey test found differences between indeterminates and females ($p = 0.004$) and between
370 indeterminates and males ($p = 0.03$). For $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$, there were no significant differences between social
371 status group means ($F(1, 18) = 0.992, p = 0.332$) or sex ($F(2,17) = 0.2.765, p = 0.912$). Visual examination
372 of **Figure 6** reveals that there is rarely more than 1‰ difference in $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ between
373 wealth groups, barring tooth section five which shows high variability in the low-status group. When
374 examining $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ grouped by sex, females tend to be 1–2‰ higher than males when comparing
375 each tooth sections' average values, with the adolescents of indeterminate sex falling more towards the
376 males' values.



377

378 *Figure 6. Boxplots of $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ values for the social status and sex groups by tooth section. Tooth sections*
 379 *numbered sequentially from crown to apex.*

380

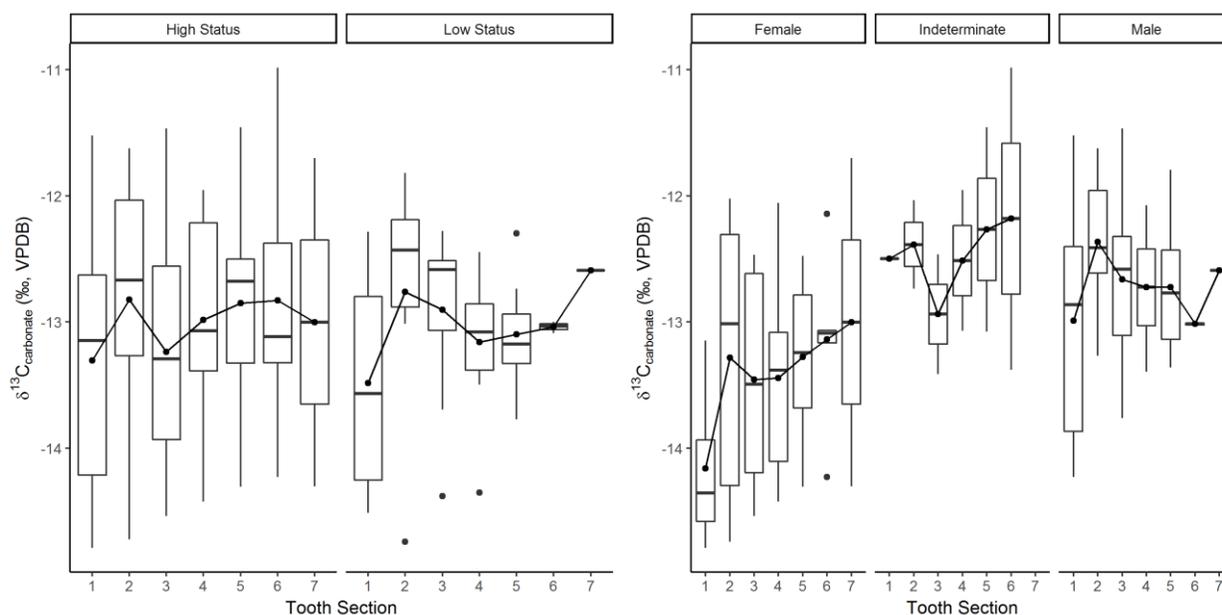
381

382 3.2 $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$

383 $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values were normally distributed, and one-way ANOVAs showed no statistically significant
 384 differences in $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values between social status groups ($F(1,18) = 0.001, p = 0.981$) or sex ($F(2,17)$
 385 $= 2.881, p = 0.084$) (**Figure 7**). The $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ data can be compared to the $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ data, although this
 386 comparison is made difficult by the differential preservation of the organic and inorganic portions of the
 387 dentin in some burials. Of the 82 collagen and 97 carbonate sections acquired, 68 overlap for
 388 comparison and $\Delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate-collagen}}$ calculation. There is a weak but significant negative correlation
 389 between $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ values, (Pearson's, $r_s(67) = -3.65, p = 0.002$).

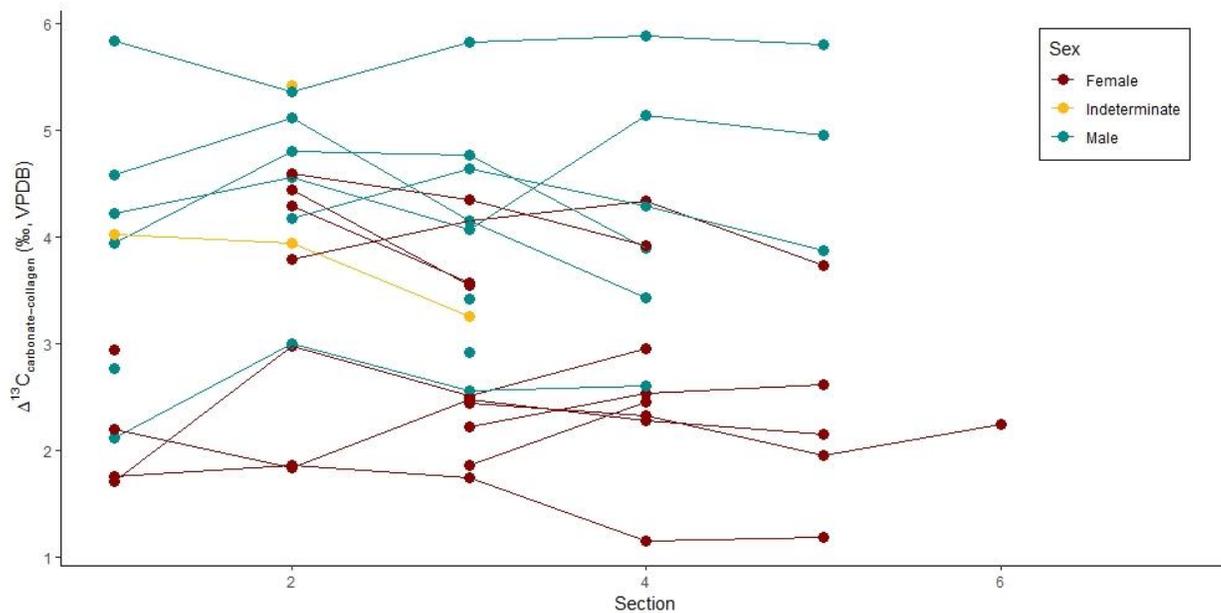
390 When $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ values are plotted for each individual, there appears to be clustering above and below 3‰,
 391 where individuals stay within a cluster through the time period captured by these molars (**Figure 8**).
 392 There were no significant differences between social status groups regarding $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ values ($F(1, 18) =$
 393 $0.158, p = 0.696$). Only four $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ values from the indeterminate individuals are available, and so this
 394 group is dropped when analyzing sex-based differences among group means; there are significant
 395 differences in $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ values between males and females ($F(1,16) = 4.534, p = 0.049$).

396



397

398 *Figure 7. Boxplots of $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values for the social status and sex groups by tooth section. Tooth sections numbered*
 399 *sequentially from crown to apex.*



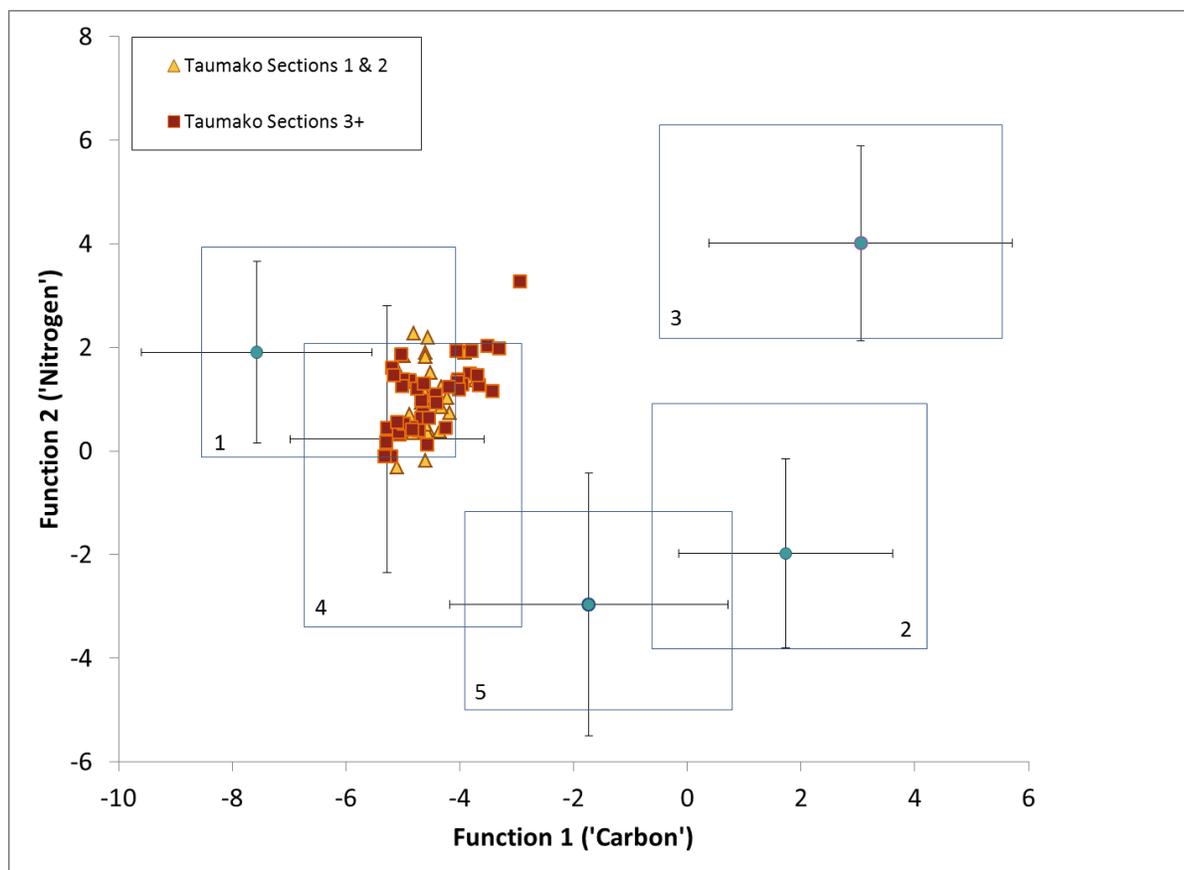
400

401 *Figure 8. $\Delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate-collagen}}$ values for each individual plotted by section. Tooth sections numbered sequentially from crown to*
 402 *apex.*

403

404 2.3 Multivariate Discrimination

405 Discriminant function analysis suggests a diet consisting of between 65—100% C_3 protein with some
 406 sourcing from C_4 terrestrial foods (**Figure 9**). All samples fall within or near both Clusters 1 and 4, apart
 407 from one sample (Burial 57, tooth section 5), which displays the highest $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values in the
 408 dataset. Cluster 1 represents a 100% C_3 diet and Cluster four represents a 70:30 C_3 : C_4 diet with $\geq 65\%$
 409 protein. The first two sections from teeth are plotted separately from the other sections representing
 410 later periods of life, although they overlap. A one-way MANOVA shows no significant differences in F1
 411 and F2 values between earlier (1—2) and later (3+) tooth sections, $F(2, 65) = 0.448, p = 0.641$.



412

413 *Figure 9. Discriminate function analysis of stable isotope data from Taumako plotted against diet clusters generated by Froehle*
 414 *et al. (2012). Clusters represent the following diets: (1) 100% C3 diet/protein; (2) 30:70 C3:C4 diet, >50% C4 protein; (3) 50:50*
 415 *C3:C4 diet, marine protein; (4) 70:30 C3:C4 diet, ≥65% C3 protein; (5) 30:70 C3:C4 diet, ≥65% C3 protein.*

416 3. DISCUSSION

417 The analysis of 2 mm sections generally provided sufficient material for stable isotope analysis; even
 418 though bone quality affected information gained for $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ for some sections, this was
 419 not a result of lack of material but poor collagen preservation, an issue researchers will commonly face
 420 in the hot and humid Pacific environment.

421 Placed against a dietary baseline collected from across the tropical Pacific, the isotopic data collected
 422 here conforms to the expectations from past ethnoarchaeological investigations of diet as well as the
 423 previous isotopic study. Examining Figure 3, the protein portion of the diet tends towards terrestrial
 424 plants (relatively low $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values) and higher trophic order marine foods (relatively high $\delta^{13}\text{C}$
 425 and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values) as evidenced by the moderate positive correlation between $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$.
 426 The fruit bat bones are assumed to represent a mammal consuming a 100% C_3 terrestrial diet, and no

427 individuals follow that dietary pattern. Instead, after considering trophic shift, the protein portion of the
428 diet represents marine foods supplemented with terrestrial plant foods and terrestrial animals, though
429 it is understood that low-protein terrestrial plant foods would be overshadowed by the higher protein
430 marine foods in the collagen dietary data.

431 This comparison across time periods and archipelagoes in the geographic regions of Melanesia and
432 Polynesia is simplistic (and a detailed metadata analysis of the stable isotope data gathered thus far is an
433 avenue for future research), but highlights that the childhood diet observed in dentin overlaps with the
434 adult diet found by Kinaston et al. (2013c) in Taumako, though childhood diet on average shows slightly
435 lower $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values ($10.9\text{‰} \pm 0.8$ compared to $11.5\text{‰} \pm 0.9$). When these new data are placed in
436 context with previous Pacific studies, the childhood diet involved relatively more marine animal
437 consumption than most other populations. This study's post-breastfeeding data (acknowledging that
438 breastfeeding may have occurred past the age of 18 months and some of these higher-numbered tooth
439 sections may reflect some breastfeeding signal) displays lower nitrogen and carbon isotope values on
440 average than the Taumako adult bone collagen from Kinaston et al. (2013b), but generally clusters with
441 the adult Taumako data in comparison with the other Pacific sites.

442 This higher reliance on marine foods compared to many other prehistoric Pacific populations is expected
443 given the geography of Taumako. It is a relatively small high volcanic island with rugged terrain that does
444 not lend itself to intense horticultural production, and so the large fringing reef will have been even
445 more important for subsistence.

446 The positive correlation between $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ supports the concept of a diet consisting of low
447 trophic level terrestrial foods with higher trophic level marine food endpoints. This positive correlation
448 has been observed in other tropical Pacific collections: the Marianas Archipelago, Tonga, Fiji, and in the
449 adult bone collagen values of the Taumako assemblage (Ambrose et al. 1997; Kinaston et al. 2013b;
450 Stantis et al. 2016a; Stantis et al. 2015; Valentin et al. 2006). The moderate, though significant, positive
451 correlation between carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios suggests that the differences in diet
452 between individuals are a result of the different proportions of marine and terrestrial foods eaten. There
453 would be a lack of positive correlation if the population relied mainly on terrestrial and marine foods of
454 the same trophic level or a single protein source (Richards and Hedges 1999). Instead, the dietary trend
455 suggests that the population generally relied on marine animals (relatively high $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values) and
456 terrestrial plants (relatively low $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values). This fits with the estimated diet, where starchy
457 root vegetables such as taro, yams, and fruit trees were central to subsistence along with marine foods

458 from the lagoon and reef. Multivariate modelling, however, predicts a different dietary pattern. The
459 discriminant function scores created by Froehle et al. (2012) suggest that the Taumako population did
460 not rely greatly on marine resources. Instead, the multivariate model predicts a general diet dominated
461 by C₃-derived foods with some C₄ terrestrial input and insignificant marine input. These Taumako values
462 derived from discriminant functions are similar to the prehistoric Rapa Nui humans analyzed by
463 Commendador et al. (2019); the Rapa Nui data also plotted within Clusters 1 and 4 of Froehle et al.'s
464 model. More multivariate modelling in the Pacific environment might elucidate why this model is
465 predicting a dietary pattern different from evidence, especially as this model is not derived from any
466 tropical island groups.

467 The strength in incremental sections of dentin is not placing the data en masse but looking at the dietary
468 changes across an individual's life course (Figure 5). When plotting $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ by
469 individual, it becomes evident how the $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values almost always mirror each other,
470 rising and falling in tandem for all individuals. This pattern makes sense within the context of collagen
471 metabolization and the typical Pacific diet of high protein marine foods with high $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ - and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ -values
472 and low protein terrestrial foods with low $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ - and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ -values. Due to preferential routing of dietary
473 protein components to collagen formation isotopic values of collagen tends to reflect the protein
474 portion of the diet (Webb et al. 2017). As such, they are more heavily influenced by the protein-rich
475 food sources. As a person ate relatively less protein-rich marine foods compared to terrestrial foods,
476 their $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ values would decrease in tandem just as their collagen values would
477 increase with the consumption of relatively more protein-rich marine foods at least as observed in bulk
478 collagen data. This pattern is in line with the significant positive correlation we see when we plot the
479 data together and this bias demonstrates how important analyzing $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ is to understand the
480 whole diet. What is not evident in Figure 5 is any negative covariance: the rise of one value combined
481 with the fall of the other. This suggests these individuals did not experience any severe physiological
482 stress.

483 Negative covariance was not observed in this dataset when each individual's $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$
484 was plotted, with the exception of the small crossing of values in Burial 11.1. This suggests these
485 individuals did not experience any severe physiological stress (Baković et al. 2017; Beaumont et al. 2015;
486 Mekota et al. 2006; Neuberger et al. 2013). As endemic treponemal disease was observed in other
487 individuals in this population (Buckley 2016), a comparative analysis of longitudinal changes in stable
488 isotopes values of those showing skeletal evidence of treponemal disease may help us consider the

489 physiological consequences of disease onset and infection in the past. This would require a larger cohort
490 than the twenty individuals analyzed here.

491 If we consider breastfeeding and weaning, we would expect a decrease in nitrogen values after the first
492 few tooth sections as these individuals were weaned (Fuller et al. 2006). Although we acknowledged the
493 potentiality that weaning might be affecting nitrogen values after section 2 in individuals that does not
494 seem to be the case. Instead, we largely either observe: 1) higher $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ after section 2 compared to the
495 first two sections, which we would not expect if breastfeeding was practiced throughout sections 1 and
496 2, or 2) declining $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ before or after section 2, suggesting weaning around that time. Ten individuals
497 (Burials 1.1, 11.1, 21, 57, 70, 88, 151, and 159) show the expected weaning trajectory in nitrogen along
498 with a tandem decrease in $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ values. Another four (Burials 54, 68, 108, and 194) display the
499 decrease in nitrogen stable isotope values though without the accompanying decrease in carbon values.
500 Six burials (burials 2, 20, 32, 34, 91, and 109) show an increase in nitrogen values between tooth
501 sections one and two. Of those individuals, all but Burial 34 are female, and all but Burials 32 and 91 are
502 buried with no grave goods.

503 These data taken individually suggest there is no obvious weaning pattern, whether as a result of
504 weaning variance culturally, changes over time, or the small sample size obscuring wider patterns.
505 However, when the $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values are grouped by sex or status in Figure 6, we do see a general decrease in
506 mean values over time, suggesting some pattern of weaning even if the pattern is not completely clear.
507 This variance might be reflective of different weaning trajectories depending on individual factors such
508 as maternal/infant health, food availability, the mother's work patterns, and infant agency in the
509 weaning process (Dettwyler 2004; Stuart-Macadam 2017).

510 Regarding the comparison between sex and wealth groups, there are small differences but overall the
511 values suggest similar diets between social groups as children. These findings contrast with the adult
512 diet observed by Kinaston et al. (2013c), where wealthier individuals and males consumed foods from a
513 higher trophic level, and are in agreement with Kinaston and Buckley (2017) who analyzed bulk samples
514 of dentin and found no childhood dietary differences between the sexes.

515 Though non-significant, females display higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and lower $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values compared to
516 males. This contrast could occur if females' protein consumption involved relatively more marine foods
517 while their total diet was terrestrial, creating a potential menu of terrestrial staple crops supplemented
518 with fish for women. In contrast, men's diet involved slightly less terrestrial staple crops (hence the

519 higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values) with their protein sources involving more of the socially valued terrestrial
520 animal flesh (e.g., pork). This agrees with Kinaston et al. (2013c), although it must be stressed that these
521 differences in stable isotope values are small, about 1.5‰ between tooth section averages.
522 Nonetheless, the differences highlight how carbonate and collagen stable isotope values can record very
523 different aspects of the same reality.

524 Of the $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ data available from this study, two clusters appear: individuals with values that stay between
525 1–3‰ throughout the time captured, and individuals with values that are greater than 3‰, ranging 3–
526 6‰. Eight burials are in the ‘lower’ cluster (Burials 20, 34, 54, 57, 84, 88, 108, and 159) and twelve in the
527 ‘upper’ cluster (Burials 1.1, 2, 11.1, 21, 32, 68, 70, 91, 104, 109, 151, 194). The wealth groups are
528 relatively evenly distributed among these clusters, but there seems to be more females in the lower
529 cluster (6/8 or 75%) compared to the upper cluster (4/12, 33%). This pattern, along with significant
530 differences in $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ values supports the supposition that males and females had a different dietary
531 pattern throughout their life.

532 At Taumako, it is interpreted that when infants and children were buried with grave goods it was
533 suggestive of wealth and ascribed status. However, ethnographic sources have found that, in terms of
534 day-to-day practice, Polynesian societies such as Tonga, Fiji, the Cook Islands, and New Zealand treat
535 children as among the lowest rank in societies regardless of familial status (Jones 2009; Ritchie and
536 Ritchie 1979). Ascribed status may not have affected children’s access to food during communal meals,
537 although there were still some significant differences between the sexes. There are no modern
538 ethnographies of gendered work on Taumako, but these differences could be the result of girls and
539 women going to the lagoon to gather mollusks and small fish while boys tended the gardens or went
540 fishing with their male relatives; this activity is often considered women’s work in Polynesia, and lagoon
541 foods could easily be eaten raw on-site. However, this supposition would not explain why adult women
542 did not display higher nitrogen values in Kinaston et al.’s (2013c) previous work.

543 A positive correlation has been reported when $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ have been statistically
544 compared in archaeologically-derived samples from North America and South Africa (France and Owsley
545 2015; Loftus and Sealy 2012); this is the first study to report a negative correlation between the two
546 variables. There is less comparative $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ data in archaeological Pacific studies than for stable
547 isotopes from collagen (Ambrose et al. 1997; Commendador et al. 2019; Fenner et al. 2015; Jones and
548 Quinn 2009) and no Pacific studies have reported correlations between $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$. When
549 plotting exported data from tables and supplementary information from these studies, Fenner et al.

550 (2015) did not analyze stable isotopes from carbonate and collagen on the same samples and so
551 comparisons are impossible; the Marianas island samples analyzed by Ambrose et al. (1997) have an
552 insignificant negative correlation $r(14) = -0.064$, $p = 0.812$, the Jones and Quinn (2009) Fijian samples
553 have an insignificant positive correlation, $r(7) = 0.361$, $p = 0.34$, and Commendador et al. (2019) have a
554 significant positive relationship between their Rapa Nui sample values, $r(26) = 0.489$, $p = 0.008$.

555 Both $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ values are typically utilized in bioarchaeological studies to differentiate
556 between C_3 versus C_4 /marine resources. The main difference in collagen and carbonate values from
557 bone and tooth samples are a result of how carbon atoms are differentially routed from diet during
558 synthesis of these bulk tissues, with collagen dominated by dietary protein and carbonate largely
559 reflective of whole diet (Fernandes et al. 2012). A negative correlation between $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and
560 $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ in an ancient Pacific context could imply diets along a spectrum with two end member diets:
561 the first type of diet would be high inputs of marine-derived protein and low-protein terrestrial foods
562 (e.g., marine animals and starchy root vegetables) that create a relatively higher $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ value and
563 lower $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$ value, and high inputs of terrestrial protein supplemented with low-protein marine
564 foods (e.g., terrestrial animal flesh and low trophic reef foods such as sea weed, seagrass, and first-level
565 consumers). Most of the $\Delta^{13}\text{C}$ data is below 4.5‰ (53/68, 78%), in agreement with the former
566 interpretation of a general diet of marine proteins with terrestrial C_3 energy sources. With relatively few
567 comparative studies analyzing carbonate and collagen in tandem, future work might elucidate what a
568 negative correlation implies in Pacific context.

569 **4. CONCLUSIONS**

570 The differences in diet between social status groups found in adults in previous research, thought to be
571 a result of socially mediated access to certain food groups, are not present in childhood. Evidence of
572 extreme physiological stress was not observed in collagen stable isotope values in these survivors of
573 childhood as negative covariance in values across time. The strong positive covariance between
574 $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$ demonstrates the need for the study of total diet in the Pacific using $\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$,
575 not just collagen isotope data.

576 Though the dataset for this pilot study is small, we can see the potential of continuing this research
577 using the Taumako assemblage, analyzing the other 79 adults as well as the subadults old enough to
578 have completed first molar formation but who did not survive into adulthood in order to compare
579 survivors and non-survivors of childhood. Expanding the study to include third molars to investigate

580 adolescence/early adulthood would provide a longer dietary life history of the Taumako individuals, as
581 utilized by Eerkens et al. (2019) in ancient American Samoa. The use of deciduous molars has yielded
582 information relating to the *in utero* environment and maternal stress in those who did not survive
583 childhood in archaeologically-derived individuals in the Atacama desert in Chile (King et al. 2018), and
584 would also provide valuable information for investigating the longitudinal evidence of infant and child
585 feeding practices in those members of the prehistoric community that did not survive to adolescence.
586 Further work needs to be undertaken in refining the slicing process to match the 1mm dentin sections
587 obtained in previous research (Beaumont et al. 2014), but 2mm sections showed temporal resolution
588 unavailable using bulk sampling methods of dentin or bone. This modification to the Beaumont method
589 maximizes data yields while minimizing sample destruction, such as conducting multiple analytical suites
590 on a single molar. With the dentin depositing in layers of convex curvature (Czermak et al. early view;
591 Eerkens et al. 2011), transverse slices cutting through multiple layers from crown to root might actually
592 represent different spaces of time, making the inference that each section represents an equal amount
593 of growth untrue. Cutting out plug transects following the new method suggested by Czermak et al.
594 (early view) might strengthen future interpretations, although the smaller sample sizes are likely to fail
595 in instances of poor preservation where the dentin disintegrated as it did for many of the apices of the
596 Taumako teeth. The integration of $\delta^2\text{H}$, which shows promising interpretative value for investigating
597 infant feeding and weaning practices (Ryan et al. 2020) and would further maximize data collection in
598 proportion to destructive technique.

599 **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

600 This research was partly supported by NSF BCS 1216310, 1523409 and OPP 0821783, and the Idaho
601 State University Office for Research. Special thanks to CAMAS research associate Noris Evelin
602 Paucar De La Cruz for extensive sample preparation and analysis, data clean-up, and reporting.

603 **REFERENCES**

- 604 AlQahtani SJ, Hector MP, and Liversidge HM. 2010. Brief communication: The London atlas of human
605 tooth development and eruption. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 142(3):481-490.
- 606 Ambrose SH. 1990. Preparation and Characterization of Bone and Tooth Collagen for Isotopic Analysis.
607 *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17:431-451.
- 608 Ambrose SH, Butler BM, Hanson DB, Hunter-Anderson RL, and Krueger HW. 1997. Stable isotopic
609 analysis of human diet in the Marianas Archipelago, Western Pacific. *American Journal of*
610 *Physical Anthropology* 104(3):343-361.
- 611 Ambrose SH, and Norr L. 1992. On Stable Isotopic Data and Prehistoric Subsistence in the Soconusco
612 Region. *Current Anthropology* 33(4):401-404.
- 613 Ambrose SH, and Norr L. 1993. Experimental Evidence for the Relationship of the Carbon Isotope Ratios
614 of Whole Diet and Dietary Protein to Those of Bone Collagen and Carbonate. In: Lambert JB, and
615 Grupe G, editors. *Prehistoric Human Bone*. Berlin, Germany: Springer. p 1-37.
- 616 Baković M, Vreča P, and Mayer D. 2017. Case of Fatal Starvation: Can Stable Isotope Analysis Serve to
617 Support Morphological Diagnosis and Approximate the Length of Starvation? *Journal of Forensic*
618 *Sciences* 62(1):258-264.
- 619 Balasse M, Smith AB, Ambrose SH, and Leigh SR. 2003. Determining Sheep Birth Seasonality by Analysis
620 of Tooth Enamel Oxygen Isotope Ratios: The Late Stone Age Site of Kasteelberg (South Africa).
621 *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30(2):205-215.
- 622 Barrau J. 1961. *Subsistence Agriculture in Polynesia and Micronesia*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bernice P. Bishop
623 Museum.
- 624 Bayard DT. 1976. *The cultural relationships of the Polynesian outliers*. Dunedin, New Zealand: University
625 of Otago, Department of Anthropology.
- 626 Beaglehole JC, editor. 1967. *Journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery*. Cambridge,
627 United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- 628 Beasley MM, Bartelink EJ, Taylor L, and Miller RM. 2014. Comparison of transmission FTIR, ATR, and
629 DRIFT spectra: implications for assessment of bone bioapatite diagenesis. *Journal of*
630 *Archaeological Science* 46:16-22.
- 631 Beaumont J, Atkins E-C, Buckberry J, Haydock H, Horne P, Howcroft R, Mackenzie K, and Montgomery J.
632 2018. Comparing apples and oranges: Why infant bone collagen may not reflect dietary intake in
633 the same way as dentine collagen. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 167(3):524-540.
- 634 Beaumont J, Gledhill A, Lee-Thorp J, and Montgomery J. 2013. Childhood diet: A closer examination of
635 the evidence from dental tissues using stable isotope analysis of incremental human dentine.
636 *Archaeometry Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art*,
637 Oxford University 55(2):277-295.
- 638 Beaumont J, Gledhill A, and Montgomery J. 2014. Isotope analysis of incremental human dentine:
639 towards higher temporal resolution. *Bulletin of the International Association for Paleodontology*
640 8(2):212-223.
- 641 Beaumont J, and Montgomery J. 2015. Oral histories: a simple method of assigning chronological age to
642 isotopic values from human dentine collagen. *Annals of Human Biology* 42(4):407-414.
- 643 Beaumont J, and Montgomery J. 2016. The Great Irish Famine: Identifying Starvation in the Tissues of
644 Victims Using Stable Isotope Analysis of Bone and Incremental Dentine Collagen. *PLoS One*
645 11(8):e0160065.
- 646 Beaumont J, Montgomery J, Buckberry J, and Jay M. 2015. Infant mortality and isotopic complexity: New
647 approaches to stress, maternal health, and weaning. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*
648 157(3):441-457.
- 649 Bell FLS. 1931. The Place Of Food In The Social Life Of Central Polynesia. *Oceania* 2(2):117-135.

- 650 Bocherens H, and Drucker D. 2003. Trophic level isotopic enrichment of carbon and nitrogen in bone
651 collagen: case studies from recent and ancient terrestrial ecosystems. *International Journal of*
652 *Osteoarchaeology* 13(1-2):46-53.
- 653 Brown TA, Nelson DE, Vogel JS, and Southon JR. 1988. Improved collagen extraction by modified Longin
654 method. *Radiocarbon* 30(2):171-177.
- 655 Buckley HR. 2016. *Health and Disease in the Prehistoric Pacific Islands*. Oxford, UK: British Archaeological
656 Reports.
- 657 Buckley HR, and Tayles N. 2003a. Skeletal pathology in a prehistoric Pacific Island sample: Issues in
658 lesion recording, quantification, and interpretation. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*
659 122(4):303-324.
- 660 Buckley HR, and Tayles NG. 2003b. The functional cost of tertiary yaws (*Treponema pertenu*) in a
661 prehistoric Pacific Island skeletal sample. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30(10):1301-1314.
- 662 Cardoso HFV. 2007. Accuracy of developing tooth length as an estimate of age in human skeletal
663 remains: The deciduous dentition. *Forensic Science International* 172(1):17-22.
- 664 Commendador AS, Finney BP, Fuller BT, Tromp M, and Dudgeon JV. 2019. Multiproxy isotopic analyses
665 of human skeletal material from Rapa Nui: Evaluating the evidence from carbonates, bulk
666 collagen, and amino acids. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 169(4):714-729.
- 667 Czermak A, Fernández-Crespo T, Ditchfield PW, and Lee-Thorp JA. early view. A guide for an
668 anatomically sensitive dentine microsampling and age-alignment approach for human teeth
669 isotopic sequences. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* n/a(n/a):e24126.
- 670 Danforth ME. 1999. Nutrition and Politics in Prehistory. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28(1):1-25.
- 671 Darmon N, and Drewnowski A. 2008. Does social class predict diet quality? *The American Journal of*
672 *Clinical Nutrition* 87(5):1107-1117.
- 673 Davenport W. 1962. Red-Feather Money. *Scientific American* 206(3):94-104.
- 674 Davenport WH. 1968. Social organization notes on the northern Santa Cruz Islands : the Duff Islands
675 (Taumako). Berlin, Germany: Baessler-Archiv.
- 676 Davidson JM. 2012. Intrusion, integration and innovation on small and not-so-small islands with
677 particular reference to Samoa. *Archaeology in Oceania* 47(1):1-13.
- 678 de Luca A, Boisseau N, Tea I, Louvet I, Robins RJ, Forhan A, Charles M-A, and Hankard R. 2012. $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and
679 $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ in hair from newborn infants and their mothers: a cohort study. *Pediatric Research* 71:598.
- 680 DeNiro MJ. 1985. Postmortem preservation and alteration of in vivo bone collagen isotope ratios in
681 relation to palaeodietary reconstruction. *Nature* 317(6040):806-809.
- 682 DeNiro MJ, and Epstein S. 1978. Influence of diet on the distribution of carbon isotopes in animals.
683 *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 42(5):495-506.
- 684 Dettwyler KA. 2004. When to Wean: Biological Versus Cultural Perspectives. *Clinical Obstetrics and*
685 *Gynecology* 47(3):712-723.
- 686 Eerkens JW, Bartelink EJ, Bartel J, and Johnson PR. 2019. Isotopic Insights into Dietary Life History, Social
687 Status, and Food Sharing in American Samoa. *American Antiquity*:1-17.
- 688 Eerkens JW, Berget AG, and Bartelink EJ. 2011. Estimating weaning and early childhood diet from serial
689 micro-samples of dentin collagen. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38(11):3101-3111.
- 690 Ella S. 1899. The war of Tonga and Samoa and origin of the name Malietoa. *The Journal of the*
691 *Polynesian Society* 8(4(32)):231-234.
- 692 Feinberg R, and Scaglione R. 2012. Introduction: The Polynesian Outliers. In: Feinberg R, and Scaglione R,
693 editors. *Polynesian Outliers: The State of the Art*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh. p 1-16.
- 694 Fenner JN, Clark G, Cressey A, Valentin F, Olesen SH, and Armstrong R. 2015. Isotopic uniformity and
695 segregation in Tongan mounds. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 2(June 2015):644-
696 653.

- 697 Fernandes R, Nadeau M-J, and Grootes P. 2012. Macronutrient-based model for dietary carbon routing
698 in bone collagen and bioapatite. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 4(4):291-301.
- 699 Field JS, Cochran EE, and Greenlee DM. 2009. Dietary change in Fijian prehistory: isotopic analyses of
700 human and animal skeletal material. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36(7):1547-1556.
- 701 Firth R. 1936. *We, the Tikopia*. London, England: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- 702 Firth R. 1939. *Primitive Polynesian Economy*. London, UK: Routledge.
- 703 France CAM, and Owsley DW. 2015. Stable Carbon and Oxygen Isotope Spacing Between Bone and
704 Tooth Collagen and Hydroxyapatite in Human Archaeological Remains. *International Journal of*
705 *Osteoarchaeology* 25(3):299-312.
- 706 France CAM, Sugiyama N, and Aguayo E. 2020. Establishing a preservation index for bone, dentin, and
707 enamel bioapatite mineral using ATR-FTIR. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*
708 33:102551.
- 709 Froehle AW, Kellner CM, and Schoeninger MJ. 2010. FOCUS: effect of diet and protein source on carbon
710 stable isotope ratios in collagen: follow up to Warinner and Tuross (2009). *Journal of*
711 *Archaeological Science* 37(10):2662-2670.
- 712 Froehle AW, Kellner CM, and Schoeninger MJ. 2012. Multivariate carbon and nitrogen stable isotope
713 model for the reconstruction of prehistoric human diet. *American Journal of Physical*
714 *Anthropology* 147(3):352-369.
- 715 Fry B, Lutes R, Northam M, Parker PL, and Ogden J. 1982. A $^{13}\text{C}/^{12}\text{C}$ comparison of food webs in
716 Caribbean seagrass meadows and coral reefs. *Aquatic Botany* 14(0):389-398.
- 717 Fuller BT, Fuller JL, Harris DA, and Hedges REM. 2006. Detection of breastfeeding and weaning in
718 modern human infants with carbon and nitrogen stable isotope ratios. *American Journal of*
719 *Physical Anthropology* 129(2):279-293.
- 720 Fuller BT, Richards MP, and Mays SA. 2003. Stable carbon and nitrogen isotope variations in tooth
721 dentine serial sections from Wharram Percy. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 30(12):1673-
722 1684.
- 723 Geyh MA. 2001. *Bomb Radiocarbon Dating Of Animal Tissues And Hair*.
- 724 Goldberg M, Kulkarni AB, Young M, and Boskey A. 2011. Dentin: structure, composition and
725 mineralization. *Frontiers in bioscience (Elite edition)* 3:711-735.
- 726 Greenhill SJ, and Clark R. 2011. POLLEX-Online: The Polynesian lexicon project online. *Oceanic Linguistics*
727 50(2):551-559.
- 728 Hedges REM, Clement JG, Thomas CDL, and O'Connell TC. 2007. Collagen turnover in the adult femoral
729 mid-shaft: Modeled from anthropogenic radiocarbon tracer measurements. *American Journal of*
730 *Physical Anthropology* 133(2):808-816.
- 731 Herrscher E, Fenner J, N., Valentin F, Clark G, Reepmeyer C, Bouffandeau L, and André G. 2018. Multi-
732 isotopic analysis of first Polynesian diet (Talasiu, Tongatapu, Kingdom of Tonga). *Journal of*
733 *Archaeological Science: Reports* 18:308 - 317.
- 734 Hobson KA, and Clark RG. 1992. Assessing avian diets using stable isotopes II: factors influencing diet-
735 tissue fractionation. *Condor*:189-197.
- 736 Hoefs J. 2009. *Stable Isotope Geochemistry*. Berlin, Germany: Springer-Verlag.
- 737 Hollund H, Ariese F, Fernandes R, Jans M, and Kars H. 2013. Testing an alternative high-throughput tool
738 for investigating bone diagenesis: FTIR in attenuated total reflection (ATR) mode. *Archaeometry*
739 55(3):507-532.
- 740 Intoh M. 1999. Cultural contacts between Micronesia and Melanesia. In: Galipaud J-C, and Lilley I,
741 editors. *The Pacific from 5000 to 2000 BP: Colonisation and transformations*. Port Vila, Vanuatu:
742 Éditions det IRD. p 407-422.
- 743 Jay M. 2009. Breastfeeding and Weaning Behaviour in Archaeological Populations: Evidence from the
744 Isotopic Analysis of Skeletal Materials. *Childhood in the Past* 2(1):163-178.

- 745 Jay M, Fuller BT, Richards MP, Knüsel CJ, and King SS. 2008. Iron Age breastfeeding practices in Britain:
746 Isotopic evidence from Wetwang Slack, East Yorkshire. *American Journal of Physical*
747 *Anthropology* 136(3):327-337.
- 748 Jim S, Ambrose SH, and Evershed RP. 2004. Stable carbon isotopic evidence for differences in the dietary
749 origin of bone cholesterol, collagen and apatite: implications for their use in palaeodietary
750 reconstruction. *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 68(1):61-72.
- 751 Jones S. 2009. *Food and Gender in Fiji: Ethnoarchaeological explorations*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- 752 Jones S, and Quinn RL. 2009. Prehistoric Fijian diet and subsistence: integration of faunal, ethnographic,
753 and stable isotopic evidence from the Lau Island Group *Journal of Archaeological Science*
754 36(12):2742 - 2754.
- 755 Katzenberg MA, Saunders SR, and Fitzgerald WR. 1993. Age differences in stable carbon and nitrogen
756 isotope ratios in a population of prehistoric maize horticulturists. *American Journal of Physical*
757 *Anthropology* 90(3):267-281.
- 758 Katzenberg MA, and Weber A. 1999. Stable Isotope Ecology and Palaeodiet in the Lake Baikal Region of
759 Siberia. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 26(6):651-659.
- 760 Keegan WF, and DeNiro MJ. 1988. Stable Carbon- and Nitrogen-Isotope Ratios of Bone Collagen Used to
761 Study Coral-Reef and Terrestrial Components of Prehistoric Bahamian Diet. *American Antiquity*
762 53(2):320-336.
- 763 Kellner CM, and Schoeninger MJ. 2007. A simple carbon isotope model for reconstructing prehistoric
764 human diet. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 133(4):1112-1127.
- 765 Kendall E. 2016. The "Terrible Tyranny of the Majority": Recognising Population Variability and Individual
766 Agency in Past Infant Feeding Practices. In: Powell L, Southwell-Wright W, and Gowland R,
767 editors. *Care in the Past: Archaeological and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxbow
768 Books. p 39-51.
- 769 Kennedy GE. 2005. From the ape's dilemma to the weaning's dilemma: early weaning and its
770 evolutionary context. *Journal of Human Evolution* 48(2):123-145.
- 771 Kinaston R, Bedford S, Richards M, Hawkins S, Gray A, Jaouen K, Valentin F, and Buckley H. 2014a. Diet
772 and Human Mobility from the Lapita to the Early Historic Period on Uripiv Island, Northeast
773 Malakula, Vanuatu. *PloS One* 9(8):e104071.
- 774 Kinaston R, Buckley H, Gray A, Shaw B, and Mandui H. 2013a. Exploring subsistence and cultural
775 complexes on the south coast of Papua New Guinea using palaeodietary analyses. *Journal of*
776 *Archaeological Science* 40(2):904-913.
- 777 Kinaston R, Buckley H, Valentin F, Bedford S, Spriggs M, Hawkins S, and Herrscher E. 2014b. Lapita Diet
778 in Remote Oceania: New Stable Isotope Evidence from the 3000-Year-Old Teouma Site, Efate
779 Island, Vanuatu. *PloS One* 9(3):e90376.
- 780 Kinaston RL, and Buckley HR. 2017. Isotopic insights into diet and health at the site of Namu, Taumako
781 Island, Southeast Solomon Islands. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 9(7):1405-1420.
- 782 Kinaston RL, Buckley HR, and Gray A. 2013b. Diet and social status on Taumako, a Polynesian outlier in
783 the Southeastern Solomon Islands. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 151(4):589-603.
- 784 King CL, Halcrow SE, Millard AR, Gröcke DR, Standen VG, Portilla M, and Arriaza BT. 2018. Let's talk
785 about stress, baby! Infant-feeding practices and stress in the ancient Atacama desert, Northern
786 Chile. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 166(1):139-155.
- 787 Kirch PV. 1984a. *Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University
788 Press.
- 789 Kirch PV. 1984b. The Polynesian Outliers: Continuity, change, and replacement. *The Journal of Pacific*
790 *History* 19(4):224-238.
- 791 Kirch PV. 1997. *The Lapita peoples: ancestors of the Oceanic world*. Cambridge, Massachusetts:
792 Blackwell Publishers.

- 793 Kirch PV, and Green RC. 2001. *Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia: An Essay in Historical Anthropology*.
794 Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 795 Kirch PV, and Hunt TL. 1997. *Historical ecology in the Pacific Islands: prehistoric environmental and*
796 *landscape change*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 797 Koch G. 1971. *Materielle Kultur der Santa Cruz-Inseln: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Riff-*
798 *Inseln*. Berlin, Germany: Museum für Volkerkunde.
- 799 Kramer MS, and Kakuma R. 2004. The Optimal Duration of Exclusive Breastfeeding. In: Pickering LK,
800 Morrow AL, Ruiz-Palacios GM, and Schanler RJ, editors. *Protecting Infants through Human Milk:*
801 *Advancing the Scientific Evidence*. Boston, MA: Springer US. p 63-77.
- 802 Lahtinen M. 2017. Isotopic Evidence for Environmental Adaptation in Medieval Iin Hamina, Northern
803 Finland. *Radiocarbon* 59(4):1117-1131.
- 804 Leach BF, and Davidson J. 2008. *Archaeology on Taumako: A Polynesian Outlier in the Eastern Solomon*
805 *Islands*. Dunedin, New Zealand: New Zealand Journal of Archaeology Special Publication.
- 806 Leach F, Quinn C, Morrison J, and Lyon G. 2003. The use of multiple isotope signatures in reconstructing
807 prehistoric human diet from archaeological bone from the Pacific and New Zealand. *New*
808 *Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 23:31-98.
- 809 Leach H. 2003. Did East Polynesians Have a Concept of Luxury Foods? *World Archaeology* 34(3): 442-
810 457.
- 811 Lee-Thorp JA. 2008. On Isotopes and Old Bones. *Archaeometry Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for*
812 *Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University* 50(6):925-950.
- 813 Lee-Thorp JA, Sealy JC, and van der Merwe NJ. 1989. Stable carbon isotope ratio differences between
814 bone collagen and bone apatite, and their relationship to diet *Journal of Archaeological Science*
815 16(6):585 - 599.
- 816 Lewis ME. 2007. *The bioarchaeology of children*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 817 Loftus E, and Sealy J. 2012. Technical note: Interpreting stable carbon isotopes in human tooth enamel:
818 An examination of tissue spacings from South Africa. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*
819 147(3):499-507.
- 820 Longin R. 1971. New method of collagen extraction for radiocarbon dating. *Nature* 230(5291):241-242.
- 821 Mariner W, and Martin J. 1827. *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific*
822 *Ocean: with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language*. Edinburgh, Scotland:
823 Constable and Hurst Chance.
- 824 Marshall JD, Brooks JR, and Lajtha K. 2007. Sources of variation in the stable isotopic composition of
825 plants. In: Michener R, and Lajtha K, editors. *Stable Isotopes in Ecology and Environmental*
826 *Science*. Malden, Maryland: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. p 22-60.
- 827 Mekota A-M, Grupe G, Ufer S, and Cuntz U. 2006. Serial analysis of stable nitrogen and carbon isotopes
828 in hair: monitoring starvation and recovery phases of patients suffering from anorexia nervosa.
829 *Rapid Communications in Mass Spectrometry* 20(10):1604-1610.
- 830 Minagawa M, and Wada E. 1984. Stepwise enrichment of ¹⁵N along food chains: Further evidence and
831 the relation between $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and animal age. *Geochimica et Cosmochimica Acta* 48(5):1135-1140.
- 832 Nanci A. 2013. *Ten Cate's Oral Histology: Development, Structure, and Function*. St. Louis: Elsevier.
- 833 Neuberger FM, Jopp E, Graw M, Püschel K, and Grupe G. 2013. Signs of malnutrition and starvation—
834 Reconstruction of nutritional life histories by serial isotopic analyses of hair. *Forensic Science*
835 *International* 226(1):22-32.
- 836 Nunn PD, Ishimura T, Dickinson WR, Katayama K, Thomas FR, Kumar R, Matararaba S, Davidson J, and
837 Worthy TH. 2007. The Lapita occupation at Naitabale, Moturiki Island, central Fiji. *Asian*
838 *Perspectives* 46(1):96-132.
- 839 Oliver DL. 1989. *Oceania: the native cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu, Hawai'i:
840 University of Hawai'i Press.

- 841 Passey BH, Robinson TF, Ayliffe LK, Cerling TE, Sponheimer M, Dearing MD, Roeder BL, and Ehleringer JR.
842 2005. Carbon isotope fractionation between diet, breath CO₂, and bioapatite in different
843 mammals. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32(10):1459-1470.
- 844 Perkins MJ, McDonald RA, van Veen FJF, Kelly SD, Rees G, and Bearhop S. 2014. Application of Nitrogen
845 and Carbon Stable Isotopes ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$ and $\delta^{13}\text{C}$) to Quantify Food Chain Length and Trophic
846 Structure. *PloS One* 9(3):e93281.
- 847 Pestle WJ, and Colvard M. 2012. Bone collagen preservation in the tropics: a case study from ancient
848 Puerto Rico. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39(7):2079-2090.
- 849 Phaff B, Burley DV, and Richards M. 2015. Dietary isotope patterns and their social implications in a
850 prehistoric human population from Sigatoka, Fiji. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*.
- 851 Pollock NJ. 1992. *These Roots Remain: Food Habits in Islands of Central and Eastern Pacific Since*
852 *Western Contact*. Honolulu: Institute for Polynesian Studies.
- 853 Quirós Pfd, and Markham C. 1904. *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595-1606*. 2 vols.
854 London, UK: Hakluyt Society.
- 855 Reynard LM, and Tuross N. 2015. The known, the unknown and the unknowable: weaning times
856 from archaeological bones using nitrogen isotope ratios. *Journal of Archaeological Science*
857 53(0):618-625.
- 858 Richards MP, and Hedges REM. 1999. Stable Isotope Evidence for Similarities in the Types of Marine
859 Foods Used by Late Mesolithic Humans at Sites Along the Atlantic Coast of Europe. *Journal of*
860 *Archaeological Science* 26(6):717 - 722.
- 861 Ritchie J, and Ritchie J. 1979. *Growing up in Polynesia*. Boston, MA: George Allen and Unwin.
- 862 Ryan SE, Reynard LM, Pompianu E, van Dommelen P, Murgia C, Subirà ME, and Tuross N. 2020. Growing
863 up in Ancient Sardinia: Infant-toddler dietary changes revealed by the novel use of hydrogen
864 isotopes ($\delta^2\text{H}$). *PloS One* 15(7):e0235080.
- 865 Sandberg PA, Sponheimer M, Lee-Thorp J, and Van Gerven D. 2014. Intra-tooth stable isotope analysis of
866 dentine: A step toward addressing selective mortality in the reconstruction of life history in the
867 archaeological record. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 155(2):281-293.
- 868 Schoeninger MJ, DeNiro MJ, and Tauber H. 1983. Stable Nitrogen Isotope Ratios of Bone Collagen
869 Reflect Marine and Terrestrial Components of Prehistoric Human Diet. *Science* 220(4604):1381-
870 1383.
- 871 Sharp ZD. 2017. *Principles of Stable Isotope Geochemistry, Second Edition*. Published Online.
- 872 Smith BH. 1984. Patterns of molar wear in hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists. *American Journal of*
873 *Physical Anthropology* 63(1):39-56.
- 874 Smith EK, Pestle WJ, Clarot A, and Gallardo F. 2017. Modeling Breastfeeding and Weaning Practices
875 (BWP) on the Coast of Northern Chile's Atacama Desert During the Formative Period. *The*
876 *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 12(4):558-571.
- 877 Stantis C, Buckley HR, Kinaston RL, Nunn PD, Jaouen K, and Richards MP. 2016a. Isotopic evidence of
878 human mobility and diet in a prehistoric/protohistoric Fijian coastal environment (c. 750–150
879 BP). *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 159(3):478-495.
- 880 Stantis C, Kinaston RL, Richards MP, Davidson JM, and Buckley HR. 2015. Assessing Human Diet and
881 Movement in the Tongan Maritime Chiefdom Using Isotopic Analyses. *PloS One* 10(3):e0123156.
- 882 Stantis C, Schutkowski H, and Sołtysiak A. 2020. Reconstructing breastfeeding and weaning practices in
883 the Bronze Age Near East using stable nitrogen isotopes. *American Journal of Physical*
884 *Anthropology* 172(1):58-69.
- 885 Stantis C, Tayles N, Kinaston RL, Cameron C, Nunn PD, Richards MP, and Buckley HR. 2016b. Diet and
886 subsistence in Remote Oceania: an analysis using oral indicators of diet. In: Oxenham MF, and
887 Buckley HR, editors. *The Routledge Handbook of Bioarchaeology in Southeast Asia and the*
888 *Pacific*. London, UK: Routledge.

- 889 Stuart-Macadam P. 2017. Breastfeeding in prehistory. Stuart-Macadam P, Dettwyler KA, eds.
890 Szulc P, Seeman E, and Delmas P. 2000. Biochemical measurements of bone turnover in children and
891 adolescents. *Osteoporosis International* 11(4):281-294.
- 892 Thomson BH. 1902. *Savage Island; an account of a sojourn in Niué and Tonga*. London, UK: J. Murray.
- 893 Tieszen LL. 1991. Natural variations in the carbon isotope values of plants: Implications for archaeology,
894 ecology, and paleoecology. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 18(3):227-248.
- 895 Tieszen LL, Boutton TW, Tesdahl K, and Slade NA. 1983. Fractionation and turnover of stable carbon
896 isotopes in animal tissues: implications for $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ analysis of diet. *Oecologia* 57(1-2):32-37.
- 897 Tieszen LL, and Fagre T. 1993. Effect of diet quality and composition on the isotopic composition of
898 respiratory CO₂, bone collagen, bioapatite, and soft tissues. *Prehistoric human bone*: Springer.
899 p 121-155.
- 900 Tsutaya T. 2017. Post-weaning diet in archaeological human populations: A meta-analysis of carbon and
901 nitrogen stable isotope ratios of child skeletons. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*
902 163(3):546-557.
- 903 Tsutaya T, and Yoneda M. 2013. Quantitative Reconstruction of Weaning Ages in Archaeological Human
904 Populations Using Bone Collagen Nitrogen Isotope Ratios and Approximate Bayesian
905 Computation. *PLoS One* 8(8):e72327.
- 906 Tsutaya T, and Yoneda M. 2015. Reconstruction of breastfeeding and weaning practices using stable
907 isotope and trace element analyses: A review. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 156:2-
908 21.
- 909 Twiss K. 2012. The Archaeology of Food and Social Diversity. *Journal of Archaeological Research*
910 20(4):357-395.
- 911 Valentin F, Bocherens H, Gratuze B, and Sand C. 2006. Dietary patterns during the late
912 prehistoric/historic period in Cikobia island (Fiji): insights from stable isotopes and dental
913 pathologies. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33(10):1396-1410.
- 914 Valentin F, Herrscher E, Petchey F, and Addison DJ. 2011. An analysis of the last 1000 years human diet
915 on Tutuila (American Samoa) using carbon and nitrogen stable isotope data. *American Antiquity*
916 76(3):473-486.
- 917 Webb EC, Lewis J, Shain A, Kastrisianaki-Guyton E, Honch NV, Stewart A, Miller B, Tarlton J, and
918 Evershed RP. 2017. The influence of varying proportions of terrestrial and marine dietary protein
919 on the stable carbon-isotope compositions of pig tissues from a controlled feeding experiment.
920 *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research* 3(1):28-44.
- 921 Whistler WA. 2007. *Plants of the canoe people: an ethnobotanical voyage through Polynesia*. Honolulu,
922 Hawai'i: National Tropical Botanical Garden.
- 923 Wood JW, Milner GR, Harpending HC, Weiss KM, Cohen MN, Eisenberg LE, Hutchinson DL, Jankauskas R,
924 Česnys G, Katzenberg MA et al. . 1992. The Osteological Paradox: Problems of Inferring
925 Prehistoric Health from Skeletal Samples [and Comments and Reply]. *Current Anthropology*
926 33(4):343-370.
- 927 Zohary T, Erez J, Berman-Frank I, and Stiller M. 1994. Seasonality of stable carbon isotopes within the
928 pelagic food web of Lake Kinneret. *Limnology and Oceanography* 39(5):1030-1043.

929

930

931 **Tables**

932 Table 1. Individuals sampled for this study. Wealth index score by Leach and Davidson (2008), age and
 933 sex estimated by Buckley (2016). Low wealth = 1, high wealth > 1000.

Burial	Wealth Index Score	Age	Sex
1.1	1411	Young Adult	Male
2	1	Young Adult	Female
11.1	1	Young Adult	Male
20	1	Middle-aged Adult	Female
21	1001	Young Adult	Female
32	1513	12 years	Indeterminate
34	1	Young Adult	Male
54	1043	Young Adult	Female
57	1	Middle-aged Adult	Female
68	1	Young Adult	Male
70	1	Young Adult	Female
84	1226	Young Adult	Female
88	2713	Middle-aged Adult	Female
91	1371	Young Adult	Female
104	1	Old Adult	Male
108	2205	Young Adult	Male
109	1	Middle-aged Adult	Female
151	5030	15.5 years	Indeterminate
159	1253	Middle-aged Adult	Female
194	1309	Young Adult	Male

934

935 Table 2. Approximate age range captured for each 2mm section of tooth cut

Dentin Section	Approximate age range
1 (top of crown)	0 – 18 months
2	18 – 36 months
3	3 – 4.5 years

4	4.5 – 6 years
5	6 – 7.5 years
6	7.5 – 9 years
7 (apex)	9 – 10 years

936

937 Table 3. Summary statistics of the tooth collagen and carbonate stable isotope values, by tooth section
938 and all sections combined.

	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{collagen}}$		$\delta^{15}\text{N}_{\text{collagen}}$		Collagen Samples <i>N</i>	$\delta^{13}\text{C}_{\text{carbonate}}$		Carbonate Samples <i>N</i>
	Mean	1 SD	Mean	1 SD		Mean	1 SD	
Section 1	-16.67	0.48	11.21	0.62	20	-13.37	1.06	11
Section 2	-16.64	0.54	11	0.64	20	-12.8	0.98	15
Section 3	-16.51	0.57	10.87	0.73	19	-13.09	0.82	20
Section 4	-16.56	0.74	10.76	0.53	14	-13.06	0.72	20
Section 5	-16.53	0.96	10.96	1.22	8	-12.97	0.71	19
Section 6	-15.31	---	12.2	---	1	-12.9	0.89	9
Section 7	---	---	---	---	0	-12.87	1.32	3
All	-16.57	0.62	10.99	0.72	82	-13.02	0.85	97

939