# **Experiencing Childhood at Roonka:**



## Australian Aboriginal Hunter-Gatherers

An Analysis of Enamel Hypoplasia in the Permanent Dentition of

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## Introduction

Little is known about childhood in prehistoric Australian Aboriginal societies. Enamel hypoplasia provides a window into the life-history of these children (Littleton, 2005). DEH is a record of a critical period of disruption to growth in childhood, resulting from a trade-off within the body between resources allocated to growth (in this case dental formation) and resources needed to overcome a period of adversity where the body is investing in the immune system (Goodman and Rose, 1990). We explore the life-histories of children through the analysis of enamel hypoplasia amongst human remains from Roonka, a large burial place situated along the Murray River in South Australia (8,000 – 200BP).





#### When are disruptions to growth occurring in childhood at Roonka?

DEH is ubiquitous at Roonka, with all but 4 individuals having at least 1 defect when attrition is controlled. The Roonka sample demonstrates a peak prevalence at unit D (c. 2.8-4.0 years). Corresponding with the peak prevalence, the largest increase in age of onset occurred in the 6th to 7th deciles when recorded microscopically, corresponding to units C and D (c. 2.2-4 years) (figure 6).

The prevalence at Roonka does not drop off in the later forming units (E, F, and G). A greater number of defects in later forming units at Roonka suggests that for individuals with defects in F and G (c. 5.2 - 9 years and 9-14 years) stressors impacted growth for a prolonged period of time, a pattern which is not seen in a comparative post-contact Australian Aboriginal population (Littleton, 2005). As seen in table 1, while the late occurring defects are present, the number of defects is highly variable.

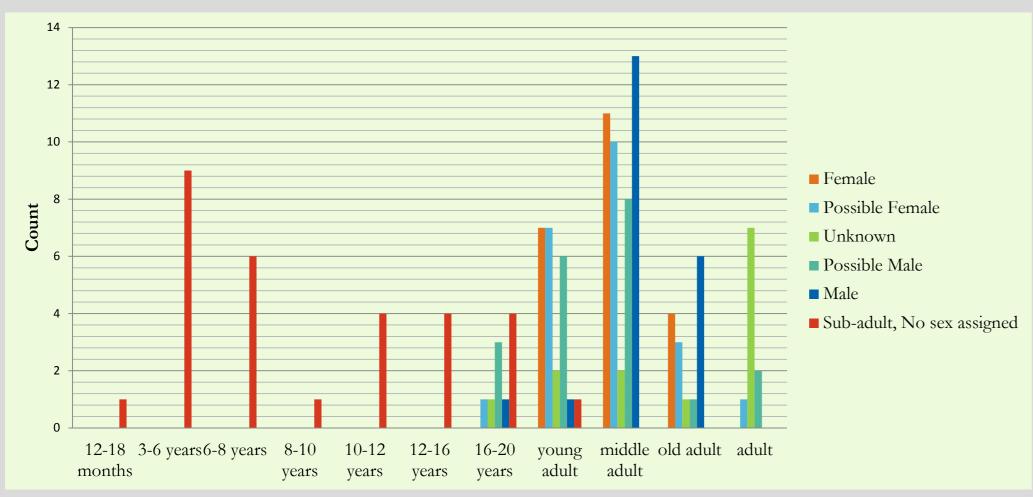


Figure 1 – Map of South Australia showing the position of Roonka along the Murray River

Figure 2 – Looking out at Roonka over the Murray River, photo by author

## <u>Methods</u>

Dental enamel hypoplasia (DEH) was recorded in all individuals with teeth using two methods (n=130) (figure 3). Hypoplasia was assessed macroscopically across the dentition in order to understand variation in the number, types, and timing of defects. The location of the defect was recorded according to the figure 4 (below). This method was originally used by Hillson (1996) and modified by Littleton (2005) for use with Australian Aboriginal populations. The aim of this method is to capture the general patterns of defects in the enamel over all of the dentition, and thus gain a better understanding of the timing of challenges to child growth.



#### Unit A Unit B Unit C Unit D Unit E Unit F Unit G

Figure 5 – Percent presence of hypoplasia by enamel unit for all individuals (n=130) and individuals with 5+ units present, controlling for attrition

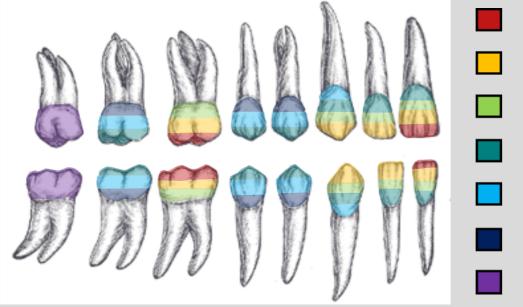
**Decile of first defect** Figure 6 – Decile in which the first defect occurred as recorded from SEM images

| Unit | Number of<br>Units<br>Observable | Mean<br>Disruption<br>Events | Median<br>Disruption<br>Events | Std. Deviation | CV (Coefficient<br>of Variation) | Table 1– A table of<br>descriptive statistics<br>by enamel unit for |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|---|
| А    | 44                               | 0.318                        | 0                              | 0.561          | 176.40%                          | the number of<br>disruption events<br>(defects) showing the         |
| В    | 102                              | 0.363                        | 0                              | 0.541          | 149.20%                          |   |
| С    | 114                              | 0.754                        | 1                              | 0.698          | 92.60%                           |   |
| D    | 110                              | 1.245                        | 1                              | 0.848          | 68.10%                           | collapse in variation   |
| Е    | 113                              | 1.088                        | 1                              | 0.84           | 77.20%                           | (CV) in the middle occurring units                                  |
| F    | 115                              | 0.496                        | 0                              | 0.654          | 131.90%                          |   |
| G    | 90                               | 0.378                        | 0                              | 0.51           | 135.00%                          |   |

There is high variability in the number of disruption events experienced (CV 73.3%) which may reflect variation in individual frailty or differences in exposure. If this variability is observed through childhood (by enamel unit), it becomes clear that this variability collapses in unit D (c. 2.8-4.0 years), which is the unit where nearly everyone has at least 1 defect. Transitions to solid or harder foods diets are associated with increased physiological stress resulting from shifts in nutrient intake, and therefore may be reflected in patterns of DEH (Pechenkina et al., 2002). Ethnohistoric accounts of childhood near Roonka describe a transition from close maternal contact and soft food to harder foods and more sociality (Eyre, 1845). Further evidence of this transition was found in microwear data, showing significant shifts in diet occurred between young children (0-3 years), juveniles (4-12 years), and adolescents (12-16 years) at Roonka (Burrows, 2015). The uniformity of DEH across the individuals at Roonka at this age indicates that it is a shared transition.

Relatively high child mortality between 3 and 6 years, largest gain in age at onset of DEH in units C and D, and highest percent prevalence of DEH in unit D all suggest this is not an easy transition for some children at Roonka. This data illuminates how childhood life experiences are shaped by the basics of growth and development (distribution of DEH by age unit) but also the social construction of childhood (variation by age unit). Further research is centred upon investigating the survival costs of this transition and whether this variability is structured chronologically or whether it points to a diversity of living conditions for children who are buried at the same place.

#### *Figure 3– age and sex distribution of the individuals analysed*



Unit A: 0.8-1.5 years
Unit B: 1.5-2.2 years
Unit C: 2.2-2.8 years
Unit D: 2.8-4.0 years
Unit E: 4.0-5.2 years
Unit F: 5.2-9.0 years
Unit G: 9.0-14 years

Figure 4– diagram of enamel units used for recording the position on an enamel defect. Modified from Littleton (2005). The units represent ages at which the enamel was formed. Therefore a defect that is located in Unit A represented a growth disruption between 0.8 and 1.5 years.

Additionally, lower canines (n=66) were observed under a scanning electron microscope in order to obtain finer detail in the timing of defects using a method outlined in (McFarlane, 2014; McFarlane et al., 2014). The bias resulting from attrition (defects lost) was controlled for by observing the number of disruption events (maximum number of defects across an enamel unit) in individuals with 5 or more enamel units observable.

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