

# <sup>1</sup> Imposed form in the Early Acheulean? Evidence from Gona, <sup>2</sup> Afar, Ethiopia

Dietrich Stout\*    Cheng Liu†    Antoine Muller‡    Michael J. Rogers§  
Silesh Semaw¶

2023-08-07

## Abstract

TBD.

**Keywords:** Gona; TBD; TBD; TBD; TBD; TBD; TBD; TBD

9 **Contents**

|    |  |           |
|----|--|-----------|
| 10 | <b>1 Introduction</b>                                  | <b>1</b>  |
| 11 | 1.1 Identifying design . . . . .                       | 2         |
| 12 | 1.2 Measuring artifact form and modification . . . . . | 6         |
| 13 | 1.3 The Early Acheulean at Gona . . . . .              | 8         |
| 14 | <b>2 Materials and Methods</b>                         | <b>9</b>  |
| 15 | 2.1 Materials . . . . .                                | 9         |
| 16 | 2.2 Methods . . . . .                                  | 9         |
| 17 | <b>3 Results</b>                                       | <b>11</b> |
| 18 | 3.1 Measurement Validation . . . . .                   | 11        |
| 19 | <b>References</b>                                      | <b>12</b> |

20 1 Introduction

<sup>21</sup> The imposition of intended form on artifacts has long been viewed as a watershed in human cognitive and cultural evolution and is most commonly associated with the emergence of “Large

\*Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA; dwstout@emory.edu

<sup>†</sup>Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA; raylc1996@outlook.com

<sup>†</sup>Institute of Archaeology, Mount Scopus, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel; [antoine.muller@mail.huji.ac.il](mailto:antoine.muller@mail.huji.ac.il)

<sup>§</sup>Department of Anthropology, Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, CT, USA; rogersml@southernct.edu

<sup>1</sup>Centro Nacional de Investigación sobre la Evolución Humana (CENIEH), Burgos, Spain; sileshi.semaw@cenieh.es

23 Cutting Tools” (LCTs) in the Early Acheulean (Holloway, 1969; Isaac, 1976; Kuhn, 2021). However,  
24 this interpretation of Acheulean LCTs as intentionally designed artifacts remains controversial.  
25 Alternative proposals range from the possibility that LCTs were unintended by-products of flake  
26 production (Moore & Perston, 2016; Noble & Davidson, 1996) to the suggestion that their form  
27 was “at least partly under genetic control” (Corbey et al., 2016). Even accepting that LCT form  
28 was to some extent intended, there is substantial disagreement over the specificity of design.  
29 Some analyses have indicated that shape variation in Acheulean handaxes is largely a result of  
30 resharpening (Iovita & McPherron, 2011; McPherron, 2000) whereas others find form to be unre-  
31 lated to reduction intensity and more likely to reflect normative expectations of what handaxes  
32 should look like (García-Medrano et al., 2019; Shipton & Clarkson, 2015b; Shipton & White, 2020).  
33 Such debates about shape of Acheulean LCTs may appear narrowly technical but have broad  
34 relevance for evolutionary questions including the origins of human culture (Corbey et al., 2016;  
35 Shipton & Clarkson, 2015b; Tennie et al., 2017), language (Stout & Chaminade, 2012), teaching  
36 (Gärdenfors & Höglberg, 2017), brain structure (Hecht et al., 2015), and cognition (Stout et al.,  
37 2015; Wynn & Coolidge, 2016). To examine these questions, we studied the complete collection  
38 of Early Acheulean flaked pieces from 5 sites at Gona Project Area and compared them with  
39 Oldowan cores from 2 published sites at Gona. By comparing shape variation to measures of  
40 flaking intensity and patterning, we sought to identify technological patterns that might reveal  
41 intent.

## 42 1.1 Identifying design

43 There is a broad consensus that refined handaxes and cleavers from the later Acheulean resulted  
44 from procedurally elaborate, skill intensive, and socially learned production strategies (Caruana,  
45 2020; García-Medrano et al., 2019; Moore, 2020; Sharon, 2009; Shipton, 2019; Stout et al., 2014)  
46 although debate over the presence of explicit, culturally transmitted shape preferences continues  
47 (Iovita & McPherron, 2011; Moore, 2020; Shipton & White, 2020; Wynn & Gowlett, 2018). There is  
48 much less agreement regarding the less heavily worked and formally standardized LCTs typical  
49 of the earliest Acheulean (Beyene et al., 2013; Diez-Martín et al., 2015; Lepre et al., 2011; Semaw  
50 et al., 2018; Torre & Mora, 2018). Such forms continue to occur with variable frequency in later  
51 time periods (McNabb & Cole, 2015), and may be especially prevalent in eastern Asia (Li et al.,  
52 2021). Although formal types have been recognized in the Early Acheulean and are commonly  
53 used to describe assemblages, many workers now see a continuum of morphological variation

54 (Duke et al., 2021; Kuhn, 2021; Presnyakova et al., 2018) including the possibility that simple flake  
55 production remained an important (Shea, 2010) or even primary (Moore & Perston, 2016) purpose  
56 of Early Acheulean large core reduction.

57 Typologically, LCTs are differentiated from Mode 1 pebble cores on the basis of size (>10cm) and  
58 shape (elongation and flattening) (e.g., Isaac, 1977). This consistent production of large, flat, and  
59 elongated cores in the Achuelean has long been thought to reflect the pursuit of desired functional  
60 and ergonomic properties for hand-held cutting tools (Wynn & Gowlett, 2018). Unplanned  
61 flaking can sometimes produce cores that fall into the LCT shape range (Moore & Perston, 2016)  
62 and this is one possible explanation of the relatively small “probifaces” that occur in low  
63 frequencies in Oldowan assemblages (Isaac & Isaac, 1997). However, the Early Acheulean is  
64 clearly distinguished from the Oldowan by the production of larger artifacts necessitating the  
65 procurement and exploitation of larger raw material clasts. Although studies of handaxe variation  
66 often focus on shape rather than size, this shift is an important aspect of artifact design with  
67 relevance to both production and function.

68 Production of larger tools was accomplished either through a novel process of detaching and  
69 working Large Flake Blanks (LFBs) from boulder cores or simply by using larger cobble and slab  
70 cores (Isaac, 1969; Semaw et al., 2018; Torre & Mora, 2018). Both may involve similar flaking  
71 “strategies” (e.g., bifacial or multifacial exploitation) to those present in the Oldowan (Duke et al.,  
72 2021) but require more forceful percussion to detach larger flakes. This increases the perceptual  
73 motor difficulty of the task (Stout, 2002) and in many cases may have been accomplished using  
74 different percussive techniques and supports (Semaw et al., 2009). These new challenges would  
75 have increased raw material procurement (Shea, 2010) and learning costs (Pargeter et al., 2019) as  
76 well as the risk of serious injury (Gala et al., 2023) associated with tool production. This strongly  
77 implies intentional pursuit of offsetting functional benefits related to size increase. These likely  
78 included tool ergonomics and performance (Key & Lycett, 2017) as well as flake generation,  
79 resharpening, and reuse potential (Shea, 2010). Early Acheulean LCT production is thus widely  
80 seen as a part of shifting hominin behavioral ecological strategies including novel resources and  
81 mobility patterns (Linares Matás & Yravedra, 2021; Rogers et al., 1994).

82 The degree of intentional design reflected in the shape of Early Acheulean LCTs is more difficult to  
83 determine. For example, LFB production using a simple “least effort” bifacial/discoidal strategy  
84 will tend to generate predominantly elongated (side or end struck) flakes (Toth, 1982) whether

85 or not this is an intentional design target. Similarly, the difficulty of flaking relatively spherical  
86 cobbles (Toth, 1982) might bias initial clast selection and subsequent reduction toward flat and  
87 elongated shapes even in the absence of explicit design targets. On the other hand, it has been  
88 argued that the shape of Early Acheulean LFBs was intentionally predetermined using core  
89 preparation techniques (Torre & Mora, 2018) and many researchers perceive efforts at intentional  
90 shaping in the organization of flake scars on Early Acheulean handaxes and picks (Beyene et  
91 al., 2013; Diez-Martín et al., 2015; Duke et al., 2021; Lepre et al., 2011; Semaw et al., 2009; Torre  
92 & Mora, 2018). To date, however, the identification of Early Acheulean shaping has generally  
93 relied on qualitative assessment by lithic analysts. Such assessment may in fact be reliable, but is  
94 subject to concerns about potential selectivity, bias, and/or overinterpretation (Davidson, 2002;  
95 Moore & Perston, 2016). Notably, a 3-dimensional morphometric (3DGM) study by Presnyakova,  
96 et al. (2018) concluded that LCT shape variation in the Okote Member (~1.4 mya) at Koobi Fora  
97 was largely driven by reduction intensity rather than different knapping strategies. However, this  
98 study did not directly address the presence/absence of design targets constraining the observed  
99 range of variation.

100 In later Acheulean contexts, reduction intensity effects are commonly equated with resharpening  
101 and seen as an alternative to intentional form imposition (McPherron, 2000). Across heavily-  
102 worked and relatively standardized LCT assemblages (e.g., Shipton & White, 2020), a *lack* of asso-  
103 ciation between morphology and reduction intensity has been used as an argument-by-elimination  
104 for the presence of imposed morphological norms or “mental templates” (García-Medrano et  
105 al., 2019; Shipton et al., 2023; Shipton & Clarkson, 2015b). However, in the less heavily-worked  
106 and more heterogeneous assemblages typical of the early Acheulean (Kuhn, 2021), it is equally  
107 plausible that increasing reduction intensity would reflect degree of primary reduction rather  
108 than subsequent resharpening (Archer & Braun, 2010). In this case, reduction intensity effects  
109 on morphology would have the opposite interpretation: more reduction should result in closer  
110 approximation of a desired form if such were present. For example, Beyene, et al. (2013) found  
111 that increasing flake scar counts were associated with increasing handaxe refinement through  
112 time at Konso, Ethiopia, which may reflect a more general trend in the African Acheulean (Shipton,  
113 2018).

114 Interpretive approaches address this quandary by “reading” the organization of scars on individ-  
115 ual pieces to infer intent, but an adequate method to objectively quantify these insights has yet

<sup>116</sup> to be developed. Current measures of reduction intensity, such as the scar density index (SDI)  
<sup>117</sup> (Clarkson, 2013), are designed to estimate total mass removed from a core and are reasonably  
<sup>118</sup> effective (Lombao et al., 2023). However, mass removal was not the objective of Paleolithic flaking.  
<sup>119</sup> Indeed, knapping efficiency is usually conceived as generating an outcome while *minimizing*  
<sup>120</sup> required mass removal. This is true whether the desired outcome is a useful flake, a rejuvenated  
<sup>121</sup> edge, or a particular core morphology. In simple flake production, mass removed is probably  
<sup>122</sup> a good reflection of the completeness of exploitation (“exhaustion”) of cores and may have im-  
<sup>123</sup> plications for required skill (Pargeter et al., 2023; Toth, 1982) as well as raw material economy  
<sup>124</sup> (Reeves et al., 2021; Shick, 1987). However, in core shaping and resharpening, mass removal would  
<sup>125</sup> typically represent an energetic and raw material cost to be minimized, and might even interfere  
<sup>126</sup> with function (Key, 2019). Without further information, relationships between artifact shape and  
<sup>127</sup> reduction intensity are thus open to conflicting interpretations as evidence of intentional design  
<sup>128</sup> or its absence.

<sup>129</sup> Li, et al. (2015) proposed a Flaked Area Index (FAI) as an alternative to SDI as a measure of  
<sup>130</sup> reduction intensity, arguing that its validity is supported by an observed correlation ( $r=0.424$ ) with  
<sup>131</sup> SDI. However, they also explain that “flaked area does not necessarily relate to the number of flake  
<sup>132</sup> scars...a small number of large scars can produce a large area of scar coverage, and conversely, a  
<sup>133</sup> large number of small scars can produce a small area of scar coverage.” (p. 6). We suggest that  
<sup>134</sup> what FAI actually captures is the spatial extent modifications to the surface of a core. It is thus  
<sup>135</sup> complementary to the measure of volume reduction provided by SDI and provides additional  
<sup>136</sup> information to inform technological interpretations. For example, a correlation between FAI and  
<sup>137</sup> artifact form without any effect of SDI would suggest a focus on “least-effort” shape imposition  
<sup>138</sup> whereas the opposite pattern would be consistent with relatively intense resharpening of spatially  
<sup>139</sup> restricted areas on the core. A lack of shape correlation with either measure would be expected  
<sup>140</sup> for simple debitage with no morphological targets whereas a strong correlation with both would  
<sup>141</sup> indicate a highly “designed” form achieved through extensive morphological and volumetric  
<sup>142</sup> transformation. In the current study we thus considered SDI and FAI together in order to evaluate  
<sup>143</sup> evidence of intentional shaping in the early Acheulean of Gona.

<sup>144</sup> **1.2 Measuring artifact form and modification**

<sup>145</sup> Three-dimensional scanning and geometric morphometric (3DGM) methods are increasingly  
<sup>146</sup> common in the study of LCT form and reduction intensity ([Archer & Braun, 2010](#); [Caruana, 2020](#);  
<sup>147</sup> [Li et al., 2015, 2021](#); [Lycett et al., 2006](#); [Presnyakova et al., 2018](#); [Shipton & Clarkson, 2015b](#)).  
<sup>148</sup> These methods provide high-resolution, coordinate-based descriptions of artifact form including  
<sup>149</sup> detailed information about whole object geometric relations that is not captured by conventional  
<sup>150</sup> linear measures ([Shott & Trail, 2010](#)). This includes measures of surface area used to compute  
<sup>151</sup> both SDI and FAI measures ([Clarkson, 2013](#); [Li et al., 2015](#)). At the time of writing, however, 3D  
<sup>152</sup> scans are available for only a small number of Gona artifacts, including 33 of the Oldowan and  
<sup>153</sup> Acheulean flaked pieces used in this study ([Figure 1](#)). Despite continuing improvements, 3DGM  
<sup>154</sup> methods still impose additional costs in terms of data collection and processing time as well as  
<sup>155</sup> required equipment, software, and training. Importantly, 3DGM methods cannot be applied to  
<sup>156</sup> pre-existing photographic and metric data sets (e.g., [Marshall et al., 2002](#)), including available  
<sup>157</sup> data from Gona. For this reason, and to better understand the relative costs and benefits of  
<sup>158</sup> 3DGM more generally, we sought to test the degree to which conventional measurements can  
<sup>159</sup> approximate 3DGM methods and produce reliable results by directly comparing our conventional  
<sup>160</sup> measures with 3DGM analysis of the 33 available scans.

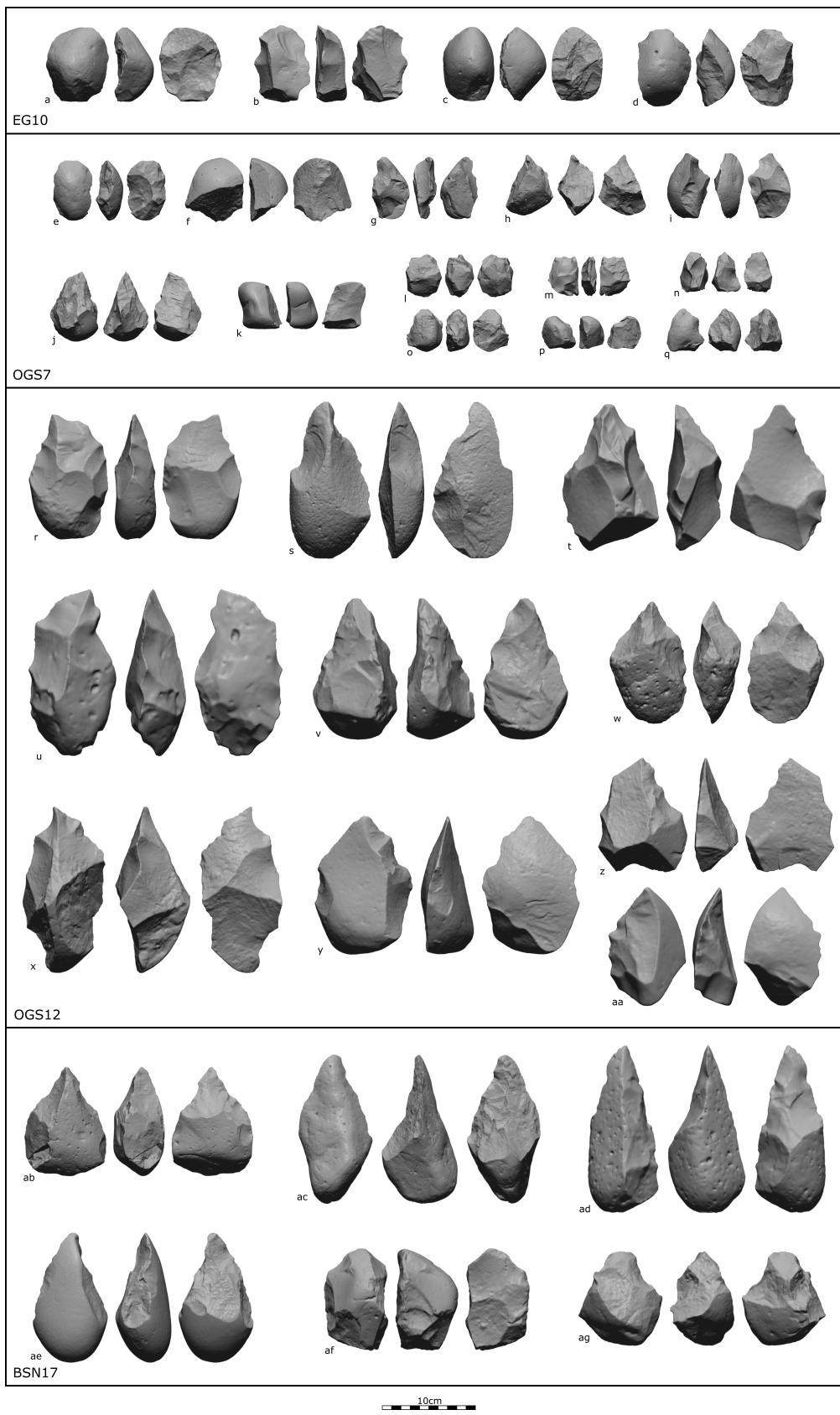


Figure 1: 3D Artifact scans from Gona used in this study.

161 For our study, we are specifically concerned with the accurate description of morphological  
162 variation and estimation of artifact surface and flaked areas. With respect to morphology, we  
163 were encouraged by the fact that aspects of form variation relevant to our research question (i.e.,  
164 core elongation, flattening, and pointedness) are relatively simple to describe using sparse data.  
165 3DGM studies of LCTs collect vast amounts of shape data but may discard upward of 50% of the  
166 observed variation in order to focus on two or three interpretable principal components. Across  
167 studies, these PCs consistently correspond to basic features like elongation, relative thickness,  
168 pointedness, and position of maximum thickness that also emerge from lower-resolution spatial  
169 data ([Archer & Braun, 2010](#); [García-Medrano et al., 2019](#); [Lycett et al., 2006](#)) and studies employing  
170 linear measures rather than spatial coordinates ([Crompton & Gowlett, 1993](#); [Pargeter et al., 2019](#)).  
171 There is less evidence that conventional methods can accurately estimate artifact surface and  
172 flaked areas. Clarkson ([2013](#)) advocated the use of 3D surface area measures as more accurate  
173 than estimation from linear measures (e.g., surface area of a rectangular prism defined by artifact  
174 dimensions). However, he also found that the error introduced by the linear approach was a  
175 highly systematic, isometric overestimation of surface area and that results correlated with direct  
176 3D measures with an impressive  $r^2 = 0.944$  and no effect of variation in core shape. Insofar as  
177 it is variation in the relationship between surface area and flaking intensity that is of interest,  
178 rather than absolute artifact size, such systematic overestimation may not be problematic. Similar  
179 concerns apply to the estimation of flaked area. Traditionally, such estimates have been done “by  
180 eye” as a percentage of the total artifact surface (e.g., [Dibble et al., 2005](#)). Such estimations have  
181 been found to be reasonably accurate when compared to 3D methods, but with the potential for  
182 substantial error on individual artifacts ([Lin et al., 2010](#)). The accuracy of by-eye estimation has  
183 yet to be systematically studied in Early Stone Age cores like those from Gona.

### 184 1.3 The Early Acheulean at Gona

185 Early Acheulean sites in the Gona Project area are distributed over a wide area within the Dana  
186 Aoule North (DAN), Ounda Gona South (OGS), and Busidima North (BSN) drainages in the  
187 Busidima Formation ([Quade et al., 2004](#)) and range in age from approximately 1.7 to 1.2 mya  
188 ([Semaw et al., 2018](#)). The specific sites included in the current analysis are DAN-5, OGS-5, OGS-12,  
189 and BSN-17, all estimated to ca. 1.7 – 1.4 mya by stratigraphic position in the Gona sequence  
190 ([Quade et al., 2008](#); [Semaw et al., 2020](#)). The Busidima Formation accumulated through fluvial  
191 deposition by the ancestral Awash River (Type I context) and its smaller tributary channels (Type

192 II context) (Quade et al., 2004, 2008). Oldowan sites at Gona all occur in Type I sediments,  
193 indicating channel bank/margin (OGS-7) or proximal floodplain (EG-10, EG-12) contexts close  
194 to the large, hetero-lithic clasts available from point bars in the axial river channel (Quade et al.,  
195 2004; Stout et al., 2005). Acheulean sites continue to occur in Type I contexts (BSN-17, DAN-5)  
196 but are also found in Type II sediments (OGS-5, OGS-12,) reflecting increased utilization of large  
197 perennial tributaries to the ancestral Awash River (Quade et al., 2008). Clasts locally available  
198 in these tributaries were relatively small, implying that the large flakes and cobbles used to  
199 produce Acheulean artifacts were initially sourced from the axial river. A similar pattern of habitat  
200 diversification and increasing lithic transport distances has been described at other sites and  
201 may be typical of the early Acheulean (Hay, 1976; Linares Matás & Yravedra, 2021; Rogers et  
202 al., 1994). As with other early (i.e. >1.0 mya (Presnyakova et al., 2018; Stout, 2011)) Acheulean  
203 assemblages, the Gona collections include numerous “crudely made” handaxes and picks on large  
204 flake blanks and cobbles, as well as large (> 10cm) unmodified flakes, flaked pieces interpreted  
205 typo-technologically as Mode 1 cores (see Figure 1af), and smallerdebitage (Semaw et al., 2018;  
206 Semaw et al., 2020).

## 207 2 Materials and Methods

### 208 2.1 Materials

#### 209 2.1.1 Archaeological Sample

210 Artifact collections analyzed here include *in situ* pieces excavated from intact stratigraphic  
211 contexts and surface pieces systematically collected from the sediments eroding from these  
212 layers. Surface pieces are included because the current technological analysis does not require  
213 more precise spatial association, stratigraphic, and chronological control. Our sample comprises  
214 the total collection of flaked pieces (Isaac & Isaac, 1997) and large (>10 cm) detached pieces from  
215 each site, regardless of typo-technological interpretation.

### 216 2.2 Methods

#### 217 2.2.1 Artifact Classification

218 Artifacts were classified according to initial form (pebble/cobble, detached piece, or indetermi-  
219 nate), presence/absence of retouch, technological interpretation (“Mode 1” core vs. “Mode 2”

<sup>220</sup> LCT), and archaeological context (Oldowan vs. Early Acheulean sites). LCTs were additionally  
<sup>221</sup> classified as handaxes, knives, or picks following definitions from Kleindienst ([1962](#)). The validity  
<sup>222</sup> of technological interpretations and typological classifications was assessed through cluster  
<sup>223</sup> analysis based on artifact shape and reduction intensity variables.

<sup>224</sup> **2.2.2 Artifact Measurement**

<sup>225</sup> Conventional linear measures capture the direction (e.g., length > breadth) but not the location of  
<sup>226</sup> geometric relations (e.g., position of maximum breadth). We address this by collecting linear mea-  
<sup>227</sup> sures defined by homologous semi-landmarks. All artifacts were oriented along their maximum  
<sup>228</sup> dimension, which was measured and defined as “length.” The next largest dimension orthogonal  
<sup>229</sup> to length was used to define the plane of “breadth,” with the dimension orthogonal to this plane  
<sup>230</sup> defined as “thickness” Width ( $W_1, W_2, W_3$ ) and thickness ( $T_1, T_2, T_3$ ) measures were then collected  
<sup>231</sup> at 25%, 50%, and 75% of length, oriented so that 25% Width > 75% Width. To partition variation  
<sup>232</sup> in shape from variation in size, we divided all linear measures by the geometric mean ([Lycett et](#)  
<sup>233</sup> [al., 2006](#)). GM-transformed variables were then submitted to a Principal Components Analysis  
<sup>234</sup> (covariance matrix) to identify the main dimensions of shape variation.

<sup>235</sup> Our semi-landmark measurement system allowed us to improve on the prism-based surface area  
<sup>236</sup> formula ( $2LW + 2LT + 2WT$ ) by using our 7 recorded dimensions to more tightly fit three prisms  
<sup>237</sup> around the artifact:  $SA = W_1T_1 + 2(.33L * W_1) + 2(.33L * T_1) + 2(.33L * W_2) + 2(.33L * T_2) + 2(.33L *$   
<sup>238</sup>  $W_3) + 2(.33L * T_3) + W_3T_3$ . Surface area calculated in this way correlates with mass<sup>2/3</sup> at  $r^2 = 0.947$   
<sup>239</sup> in our sample. Calculated surface area was then used to derive the Scar Density Index: SDI =  
<sup>240</sup> number of flake scars > 1cm per unit surface area ([Clarkson, 2013](#); [Shipton & Clarkson, 2015a](#)).  
<sup>241</sup> The Flaked Area Index (FAI: flaked area divided by total surface area) ([Li et al., 2015](#)) was estimated  
<sup>242</sup> directly “by eye” as a percentage of the total artifact surface.

<sup>243</sup> **2.2.3 3D Methods**

<sup>244</sup> Artifact scans (N=33) were cleaned, smoothed, and re-meshed using MeshLab. The 3D triangular  
<sup>245</sup> mesh of each scan was computed using Kazhdan and Hoppe’s ([2013](#)) method of screened Poisson  
<sup>246</sup> surface reconstruction in MeshLab. 3DGM analysis was conducted using the *AGMT3-D* program  
<sup>247</sup> of Herzlinger and Grosman ([2018](#)). Artifacts were automatically oriented according to the axis  
<sup>248</sup> of least asymmetry, then manually oriented in the interests of standardization with the length,

width, and thickness dimensions defined by the longest axis, followed by the next two longest axes perpendicular to the first. The wider end of the artifacts was positioned as the proximal end (base), and more protruding surfaces were oriented towards the user in the first orthogonal view. Then, a grid of 200 homologous semi-landmarks were overlain on each artifact's surface. Generalized Procrustes and Principal Component analyses were then undertaken to explore the shape variability of the sample. The surface area of each artifact was calculated using the *Artifact3-D* program of Grosman et al. (2022). *Artifact3-D* was also used to automatically identify the flake scar boundaries and compute each scar's surface area, using the scar analysis functions of Richardson et al. (2014).

#### 2.2.4 Analyses

Measurement Validation: To assess the adequacy of shape descriptions based on our linear measures, we directly compared these with shape as quantified by 3D methods on the 33 artifacts for which scans are available. GM-transformed linear measures from these 33 artifacts were submitted to a variance-covariance matrix PCA. PCs with an eigenvalue greater than the mean were retained for analysis and the results compared qualitatively (morphological interpretation of PCs) and quantitatively (correlation of artifact factor scores) to 3D results. Accuracy of surface area and flaked area estimates was also assessed by correlation with 3D results.

## 3 Results

### 3.1 Measurement Validation

A PCA on GM transformed linear measures the 33 artifacts identified two PCs accounting for 75.6% of the variance. Linear-PC1 (Eigenvalue = 0.189) explained 55.2% of the variance. Factor loadings (Table 1) for Linear-PC1 reflect artifact elongation (i.e., an anti-correlation of length vs. distal width and thickness). This A PCA on GM transformed linear measures the 33 artifacts identified two PCs accounting for 75.6% of the variance. Linear-PC1 (Eigenvalue = 0.189) explained 55.2% of the variance. Factor loadings (Table 1) for Linear-PC1 reflect artifact elongation (i.e., an anti-correlation of length vs. distal width and thickness). This closely parallels the length vs. width and thickness tradeoff captured by 3DGM-PC1 (Figure 3a) and is reflected in a tight correlation of artifact scores produced by the two PCs ( $r = 0.903$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , Figure 3c). Comparison with

conventional shape ratios (Table 2) similarly indicates that both Linear-PC1 and 3DGM-PC1 largely capture variation in artifact elongation. A second factor (Linear-PC2, eigenvalue = 0.07) explained an additional 20.4% of variance. This factor was less strongly correlated with its 3DGM counterpart (3DGM-PC2;  $r = 0.344$ ,  $p = 0.050$ ) probably because Linear-PC2 describes anticorrelated variation in width and thickness (i.e., broad and flat vs. thick and pointed; Tables 1 & 2) whereas 3DGM-PC2 more purely isolates convergence (Table 2). The remainder of the shape variability explained by Linear-PC2 is captured by higher order 3DGM-PCs like 3DGM-PC3 to 5, which comprise the contribution of the left and right lateral margins to relative thickness. Including a third dimension in the GM analysis generates PCs that identify more specific shape attributes, but the underlying morphological variability captured by both the 2D and 3D analyses remains similar. Together, 3DGM-PC2 ( $r = 0.344$ ,  $p = 0.050$ ), 3DGM-PC3 ( $r = -0.416$ ,  $p = 0.016$ ), 3DGM-PC4 ( $r = 0.458$ ,  $p = 0.007$ ), and 3DGM-PC5 ( $r = -0.352$ ,  $p = 0.044$ ) correlate well with Linear-PC2, cumulatively capturing whether the items are broad and flat or thick and pointed.

## References

- Archer, W., & Braun, D. R. (2010). Variability in bifacial technology at Elandsfontein, Western cape, South Africa: a geometric morphometric approach. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 37(1), 201–209. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2009.09.033>
- Beyene, Y., Katoh, S., WoldeGabriel, G., Hart, W. K., Uto, K., Sudo, M., Kondo, M., Hyodo, M., Renne, P. R., Suwa, G., & Asfaw, B. (2013). The characteristics and chronology of the earliest Acheulean at Konso, Ethiopia. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110(5), 1584–1591. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1221285110>
- Caruana, M. V. (2020). South African handaxes reloaded. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 34, 102649. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102649>
- Clarkson, C. (2013). Measuring core reduction using 3D flake scar density: a test case of changing core reduction at Klasies River Mouth, South Africa. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 40(12), 4348–4357. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2013.06.007>
- Corbey, R., Jagich, A., Vaesen, K., & Collard, M. (2016). The acheulean handaxe: More like a bird's song than a beatles' tune? *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 25(1), 6–19. <https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21467>
- Crompton, R. H., & Gowlett, J. A. J. (1993). Allometry and multidimensional form in Acheulean

- 307 bifaces from Kilombe, Kenya. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 25(3), 175–199. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jhev.1993.1043>
- 308
- 309 Davidson, I. (2002). *The Finished Artefact Fallacy: Acheulean Hand-axes and Language Origins* (A.  
310 Wray, Ed.; pp. 180–203). Oxford University Press. <https://rune.une.edu.au/web/handle/1959.11/1837>
- 311
- 312 Dibble, H. L., Schurmans, U. A., Iovita, R. P., & McLaughlin, M. V. (2005). The measurement and  
313 interpretation of cortex in lithic assemblages. *American Antiquity*, 70(3), 545–560. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40035313>
- 314
- 315 Diez-Martín, F., Sánchez Yustos, P., Uribelarrea, D., Baquedano, E., Mark, D. F., Mabulla, A.,  
316 Fraile, C., Duque, J., Díaz, I., Pérez-González, A., Yravedra, J., Egeland, C. P., Organista, E., &  
317 Domínguez-Rodrigo, M. (2015). The Origin of The Acheulean: The 1.7 Million-Year-Old Site of  
318 FLK West, Olduvai Gorge (Tanzania). *Scientific Reports*, 5(1), 17839. <https://doi.org/10.1038/srep17839>
- 319
- 320 Duke, H., Feibel, C., & Harmand, S. (2021). Before the Acheulean: The emergence of bifacial  
321 shaping at Kokiselei 6 (1.8 Ma), West Turkana, Kenya. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 159, 103061.  
322 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2021.103061>
- 323 Gala, N., Lycett, S. J., Bebber, M. R., & Eren, M. I. (2023). The Injury Costs of Knapping. *American  
324 Antiquity*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1017/aaq.2023.27>
- 325 García-Medrano, P., Ollé, A., Ashton, N., & Roberts, M. B. (2019). The Mental Template in Handaxe  
326 Manufacture: New Insights into Acheulean Lithic Technological Behavior at Boxgrove, Sussex,  
327 UK. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 26(1), 396–422. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-018-9376-0>
- 328
- 329 Gärdenfors, P., & Höglberg, A. (2017). The archaeology of teaching and the evolution of homo  
330 docens. *Current Anthropology*, 58(2), 188–208. <https://doi.org/10.1086/691178>
- 331 Grosman, L., Muller, A., Dag, I., Goldgeier, H., Harush, O., Herzlinger, G., Nebenhaus, K., Valetta,  
332 F., Yashuv, T., & Dick, N. (2022). Artifact3-D: New software for accurate, objective and efficient  
333 3D analysis and documentation of archaeological artifacts. *PLOS ONE*, 17(6), e0268401.  
334 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0268401>
- 335 Hay, R. L. (1976). *Geology of the Olduvai Gorge: A study of sedimentation in a semiarid basin.*  
336 University of California Press.
- 337 Hecht, E. E., Gutman, D. A., Khreisheh, N., Taylor, S. V., Kilner, J. M., Faisal, A. A., Bradley, B. A.,  
338 Chaminade, T., & Stout, D. (2015). Acquisition of Paleolithic toolmaking abilities involves

- 339 structural remodeling to inferior frontoparietal regions. *Brain Structure & Function*, 220(4),  
340 2315–2331. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00429-014-0789-6>
- 341 Herzlinger, G., & Grosman, L. (2018). AGMT3-D: A software for 3-D landmarks-based geometric  
342 morphometric shape analysis of archaeological artifacts. *PLOS ONE*, 13(11), e0207890. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0207890>
- 343 Holloway, R. L. (1969). Culture: A human domain. *Current Anthropology*, 10(4), 395–412. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2740553>
- 344 Iovita, R., & McPherron, S. P. (2011). The handaxe reloaded: A morphometric reassessment  
345 of Acheulian and Middle Paleolithic handaxes. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 61(1), 61–74.  
346 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2011.02.007>
- 347 Isaac, G. L. (1969). Studies of early culture in east africa. *World Archaeology*, 1(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1969.9979423>
- 348 Isaac, G. L. (1976). Stages of Cultural Elaboration in the Pleistocene: Possible Archaeological  
349 Indicators of the Development of Language Capabilities. *Annals of the New York Academy of  
350 Sciences*, 280(1), 275–288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1976.tb25494.x>
- 351 Isaac, G. L. (1977). *Olongesailie: Archaeological studies of a middle pleistocene lake basin in kenya*.  
352 University of Chicago Press.
- 353 Isaac, G. L., & Isaac, B. (1997). *The stone artefact assemblages: A comparative study* (p. 262299).
- 354 Kazhdan, M., & Hoppe, H. (2013). Screened poisson surface reconstruction. *ACM Transactions on  
355 Graphics*, 32(3), 29:129:13. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2487228.2487237>
- 356 Key, A. J. M. (2019). Handaxe shape variation in a relative context. *Comptes Rendus Palevol*, 18(5),  
357 555–567. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crpv.2019.04.008>
- 358 Key, A. J. M., & Lycett, S. J. (2017). Influence of Handaxe Size and Shape on Cutting Efficiency: A  
359 Large-Scale Experiment and Morphometric Analysis. *Journal of Archaeological Method and  
360 Theory*, 24(2), 514–541. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-016-9276-0>
- 361 Kleindienst, M. R. (1962). *Components of the east african acheulian assemblage: An analytic  
362 approach*. 40, 81105.
- 363 Kuhn, S. L. (2021). *The evolution of paleolithic technologies*. Routledge.
- 364 Lepre, C. J., Roche, H., Kent, D. V., Harmand, S., Quinn, R. L., Brugal, J.-P., Texier, P.-J., Lenoble,  
365 A., & Feibel, C. S. (2011). An earlier origin for the Acheulian. *Nature*, 477(7362), 82–85.  
366 <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature10372>
- 367 Li, H., Kuman, K., & Li, C. (2015). Quantifying the Reduction Intensity of Handaxes with 3D

- 371 Technology: A Pilot Study on Handaxes in the Danjiangkou Reservoir Region, Central China.  
372 *PLOS ONE*, 10(9), e0135613. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0135613>
- 373 Li, H., Lei, L., Li, D., Lotter, M. G., & Kuman, K. (2021). Characterizing the shape of Large Cutting  
374 Tools from the Baise Basin (South China) using a 3D geometric morphometric approach.  
375 *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 36, 102820. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2021.102820>
- 377 Lin, S. C. H., Douglass, M. J., Holdaway, S. J., & Floyd, B. (2010). The application of 3D laser  
378 scanning technology to the assessment of ordinal and mechanical cortex quantification in  
379 lithic analysis. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 37(4), 694–702. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2009.10.030>
- 381 Linares Matás, G. J., & Yravedra, J. (2021). ‘We hunt to share’: Social dynamics and very large  
382 mammal butchery during the oldowan–acheulean transition. *World Archaeology*, 53(2), 224–  
383 254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2022.2030793>
- 384 Lombao, D., Rabuñal, J. R., Cueva-Temprana, A., Mosquera, M., & Morales, J. I. (2023). Establishing  
385 a new workflow in the study of core reduction intensity and distribution. *Journal of Lithic  
386 Studies*, 10(2), 25 p.–25 p. <https://doi.org/10.2218/jls.7257>
- 387 Lycett, S. J., Cramon-Taubadel, N. von, & Foley, R. A. (2006). A crossbeam co-ordinate caliper  
388 for the morphometric analysis of lithic nuclei: a description, test and empirical examples of  
389 application. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 33(6), 847–861. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2005.10.014>
- 391 Marshall, G., Dupplaw, D., Roe, D., & Gamble, C. (2002). *Lower palaeolithic technology, raw  
392 material and population ecology (bifaces)*. Archaeology Data Service. <https://doi.org/10.5284/1000354>
- 394 McNabb, J., & Cole, J. (2015). The mirror cracked: Symmetry and refinement in the Acheulean  
395 handaxe. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 3, 100–111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.06.004>
- 397 McPherron, S. P. (2000). Handaxes as a Measure of the Mental Capabilities of Early Hominids.  
398 *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 27(8), 655–663. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jasc.1999.0467>
- 399 Moore, M. W. (2020). Hominin Stone Flaking and the Emergence of ‘Top-down’ Design in Human  
400 Evolution. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 30(4), 647–664. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S095974320000190>
- 402 Moore, M. W., & Perston, Y. (2016). Experimental Insights into the Cognitive Significance of Early

- 403 Stone Tools. *PLOS ONE*, 11(7), e0158803. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0158803>
- 404 405 Noble, W., & Davidson, I. (1996). *Human evolution, language and mind: A psychological and archaeological inquiry*. Cambridge University Press.
- 406 407 Pargeter, J., Khreisheh, N., & Stout, D. (2019). Understanding stone tool-making skill acquisition: Experimental methods and evolutionary implications. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 133, 408 146–166. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2019.05.010>
- 409 410 Pargeter, J., Liu, C., Kilgore, M. B., Majoe, A., & Stout, D. (2023). Testing the Effect of Learning Conditions and Individual Motor/Cognitive Differences on Knapping Skill Acquisition. *Journal*  
411 *of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 30(1), 127–171. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-022-09592-4>
- 412 413 Presnyakova, D., Braun, D. R., Conard, N. J., Feibel, C., Harris, J. W. K., Pop, C. M., Schlager, S.,  
414 & Archer, W. (2018). Site fragmentation, hominin mobility and LCT variability reflected in  
415 the early Acheulean record of the Okote Member, at Koobi Fora, Kenya. *Journal of Human*  
416 *Evolution*, 125, 159–180. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2018.07.008>
- 417 418 Quade, J., Levin, N. E., Simpson, S. W., Butler, R., McIntosh, W. C., Semaw, S., Kleinsasser, L.,  
419 Dupont-Nivet, G., Renne, P., & Dunbar, N. (2008). *The geology of gona, afar, ethiopia* (J. Quade  
& J. G. Wynn, Eds.; p. 131). Geological Society of America.
- 420 421 Quade, J., Levin, N., Semaw, S., Stout, D., Renne, P., Rogers, M., & Simpson, S. (2004). Paleoenvirons-  
422 ments of the earliest stone toolmakers, gona, ethiopia. *GSA Bulletin*, 116(11-12), 1529–1544.  
<https://doi.org/10.1130/B25358.1>
- 423 424 Reeves, J. S., Braun, D. R., Finestone, E. M., & Plummer, T. W. (2021). Ecological perspectives on  
425 technological diversity at Kanjera South. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 158, 103029. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2021.103029>
- 426 427 Richardson, E., Grosman, L., Smilansky, U., & Werman, M. (2014). *Extracting scar and ridge*  
428 *features from 3D-scanned lithic artifacts* (A. Chrysanthi, C. Papadopoulos, D. Wheatley, G. Earl,  
I. Romanowska, P. Murrieta-Flores, & T. Sly, Eds.; pp. 83–92). Amsterdam University Press.  
429 <https://doi.org/10.1017/9789048519590.010>
- 430 431 Rogers, M. J., Harris, J. W. K., & Feibel, C. S. (1994). Changing patterns of land use by Plio-  
432 Pleistocene hominids in the Lake Turkana Basin. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 27(1), 139–158.  
<https://doi.org/10.1006/jhev.1994.1039>
- 433 434 Semaw, S., Rogers, M. J., Cáceres, I., Stout, D., & Leiss, A. C. (2018). *The Early Acheulean 1.6–1.2 Ma*  
*from Gona, Ethiopia: Issues related to the Emergence of the Acheulean in Africa* (R. Gallotti & M.

- 435 Mussi, Eds.; pp. 115–128). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75985-2\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75985-2_6)
- 436
- 437 Semaw, S., Rogers, M. J., Simpson, S. W., Levin, N. E., Quade, J., Dunbar, N., McIntosh, W. C., Cáceres, I., Stinchcomb, G. E., Holloway, R. L., Brown, F. H., Butler, R. F., Stout, D., & Everett, M. (2020). Co-occurrence of acheulian and oldowan artifacts with homo erectus cranial fossils from gona, afar, ethiopia. *Science Advances*, 6(10), eaaw4694. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aaw4694>
- 441
- 442 Semaw, S., Rogers, M., & Stout, D. (2009). *The Oldowan-Acheulian Transition: Is there a “Developed Oldowan” Artifact Tradition?* (M. Camps & P. Chauhan, Eds.; pp. 173–193). Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76487-0\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76487-0_10)
- 443
- 444
- 445 Sharon, G. (2009). Acheulian giant-core technology: A worldwide perspective. *Current Anthropology*, 50(3), 335–367. <https://doi.org/10.1086/598849>
- 446
- 447 Shea, J. J. (2010). *Stone Age Visiting Cards Revisited: A Strategic Perspective on the Lithic Technology of Early Hominin Dispersal* (J. G. Fleagle, J. J. Shea, F. E. Grine, A. L. Baden, & R. E. Leakey, Eds.; pp. 47–64). Springer Netherlands. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-9036-2\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-9036-2_4)
- 448
- 449
- 450 Shick, K. D. (1987). Modeling the formation of Early Stone Age artifact concentrations. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 16(7), 789–807. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2484\(87\)90024-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2484(87)90024-8)
- 451
- 452 Shipton, C. (2018). Biface Knapping Skill in the East African Acheulean: Progressive Trends and Random Walks. *African Archaeological Review*, 35(1), 107–131. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10437-018-9287-1>
- 453
- 454
- 455 Shipton, C. (2019). The Evolution of Social Transmission in the Acheulean. In K. A. Overmann & F. L. Coolidge (Eds.), *Squeezing Minds From Stones: Cognitive Archaeology and the Evolution of the Human Mind* (pp. 332–354). Oxford University Press.
- 456
- 457
- 458 Shipton, C., & Clarkson, C. (2015a). Flake scar density and handaxe reduction intensity. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 2, 169–175. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.01.013>
- 459
- 460 Shipton, C., & Clarkson, C. (2015b). Handaxe reduction and its influence on shape: An experimental test and archaeological case study. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 3, 408–419. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.06.029>
- 461
- 462
- 463 Shipton, C., Groucutt, H. S., Scerri, E., & Petraglia, M. D. (2023). Uniformity and diversity in handaxe shape at the end of the acheulean in southwest asia. *Lithic Technology*, 0(0), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01977261.2023.2225982>
- 464
- 465
- 466 Shipton, C., & White, M. (2020). Handaxe types, colonization waves, and social norms in the

- 467 British Acheulean. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 31, 102352. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102352>
- 468
- 469 Shott, M. J., & Trail, B. W. (2010). Exploring new approaches to lithic analysis: Laser scanning and  
470 geometric morphometrics. *Lithic Technology*, 35(2), 195–220. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01977261.2010.11721090>
- 471
- 472 Stout, D. (2002). Skill and cognition in stone tool production: An ethnographic case study from  
473 irian jaya. *Current Anthropology*, 43(5), 693–722. <https://doi.org/10.1086/342638>
- 474 Stout, D. (2011). Stone toolmaking and the evolution of human culture and cognition. *Philosophical  
475 Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 366(1567), 1050–1059. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0369>
- 476
- 477 Stout, D., Apel, J., Commander, J., & Roberts, M. (2014). Late Acheulean technology and cognition  
478 at Boxgrove, UK. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 41, 576–590. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2013.10.001>
- 479
- 480 Stout, D., & Chaminade, T. (2012). Stone tools, language and the brain in human evolution.  
481 *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 367(1585), 75–87. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2011.0099>
- 482
- 483 Stout, D., Hecht, E., Khreisheh, N., Bradley, B., & Chaminade, T. (2015). Cognitive Demands of  
484 Lower Paleolithic Toolmaking. *PLOS ONE*, 10(4), e0121804. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0121804>
- 485
- 486 Stout, D., Quade, J., Semaw, S., Rogers, M. J., & Levin, N. E. (2005). Raw material selectivity of the  
487 earliest stone toolmakers at Gona, Afar, Ethiopia. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 48(4), 365–380.  
488 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2004.10.006>
- 489
- 490 Tennie, C., Premo, L. S., Braun, D. R., & McPherron, S. P. (2017). Early stone tools and cultural  
491 transmission: Resetting the null hypothesis. *Current Anthropology*, 58(5), 652–672. <https://doi.org/10.1086/693846>
- 492
- 493 Torre, I. de la, & Mora, R. (2018). Technological behaviour in the early Acheulean of EF-HR  
494 (Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania). *Journal of Human Evolution*, 120, 329–377. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2018.01.003>
- 495
- 496 Toth, N. (1982). *The stone technologies of early hominids at koobi fora, kenya: An experimental  
497 approach* [PhD thesis]. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/303067974/abstract/305CC66DA94A43EEPQ/1>
- 498 Wynn, T., & Coolidge, F. L. (2016). Archeological insights into hominin cognitive evolution.

499      *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 25(4), 200–213. <https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21496>

500      Wynn, T., & Gowlett, J. (2018). The handaxe reconsidered. *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 27(1), 21–29. <https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21552>