

¹ Imposed form in the Early Acheulean? Evidence from Gona, ² Afar, Ethiopia

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

2023-08-06

Abstract

TBD.

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

9 Contents

10	1	Introduction	1
11	1.1 Identifying design	2	
12	1.2 Measuring artifact form and modification	5	
13	1.3 The Early Acheulean at Gona	8	
14	2	Materials and Methods	9
15	2.1 Materials	9	
16	2.2 Methods	9	
17	3	Results	14
18	References		14

19 1 Introduction

²⁰ The imposition of intended form on artifacts has long been viewed as a watershed in human
²¹ cognitive and cultural evolution and is most commonly associated with the emergence of “Large
²² Cutting Tools” (LCTs) in the Early Acheulean ([Holloway, 1969](#); [Isaac, 1976](#); [Kuhn, 2020](#)). However,

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

[†]Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA; raylc1996@outlook.com

[†]Institute of Archaeology, Mount Scopus, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel; antoine.muller@mail.huji.ac.il

[§]Department of Anthropology, Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, CT, USA; rogersm1@southernct.edu

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

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

41 1.1 Identifying design

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

54 production remained an important ([Shea, 2010](#)) or even primary ([Moore & Perston, 2016](#)) purpose
55 of Early Acheulean large core reduction.

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

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

81 The degree of intentional design reflected in the shape of Early Acheulean LCTs is more difficult to
82 determine. For example, LFB production using a simple “least effort” bifacial/discoidal strategy
83 will tend to generate predominantly elongated (side or end struck) flakes ([Toth, 1982](#)) whether
84 or not this is an intentional design target. Similarly, the difficulty of flaking relatively spherical

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

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

Interpretive approaches address this quandary by “reading” the organization of scars on individual pieces to infer intent, but an adequate method to objectively quantify these insights has yet to be developed. Current measures of reduction intensity, such as the scar density index (SDI)

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

¹²⁸ Li, et al. (2015) proposed a Flaked Area Index (FAI) as an alternative to SDI as a measure of
¹²⁹ reduction intensity, arguing that its validity is supported by an observed correlation ($r=0.424$) with
¹³⁰ SDI. However, they also explain that “flaked area does not necessarily relate to the number of flake
¹³¹ scars...a small number of large scars can produce a large area of scar coverage, and conversely, a
¹³² large number of small scars can produce a small area of scar coverage.” (p. 6). We suggest that
¹³³ what FAI actually captures is the spatial extent modifications to the surface of a core. It is thus
¹³⁴ complementary to the measure of volume reduction provided by SDI and provides additional
¹³⁵ information to inform technological interpretations. For example, a correlation between FAI and
¹³⁶ artifact form without any effect of SDI would suggest a focus on “least-effort” shape imposition
¹³⁷ whereas the opposite pattern would be consistent with relatively intense resharpening of spatially
¹³⁸ restricted areas on the core. A lack of shape correlation with either measure would be expected
¹³⁹ for simple debitage with no morphological targets whereas a strong correlation with both would
¹⁴⁰ indicate a highly “designed” form achieved through extensive morphological and volumetric
¹⁴¹ transformation. In the current study we thus considered SDI and FAI together in order to evaluate
¹⁴² evidence of intentional shaping in the early Acheulean of Gona.

¹⁴³ 1.2 Measuring artifact form and modification

¹⁴⁴ Three-dimensional scanning and geometric morphometric (3DGM) methods are increasingly
¹⁴⁵ common in the study of LCT form and reduction intensity (Archer & Braun, 2010; Caruana, 2020;

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

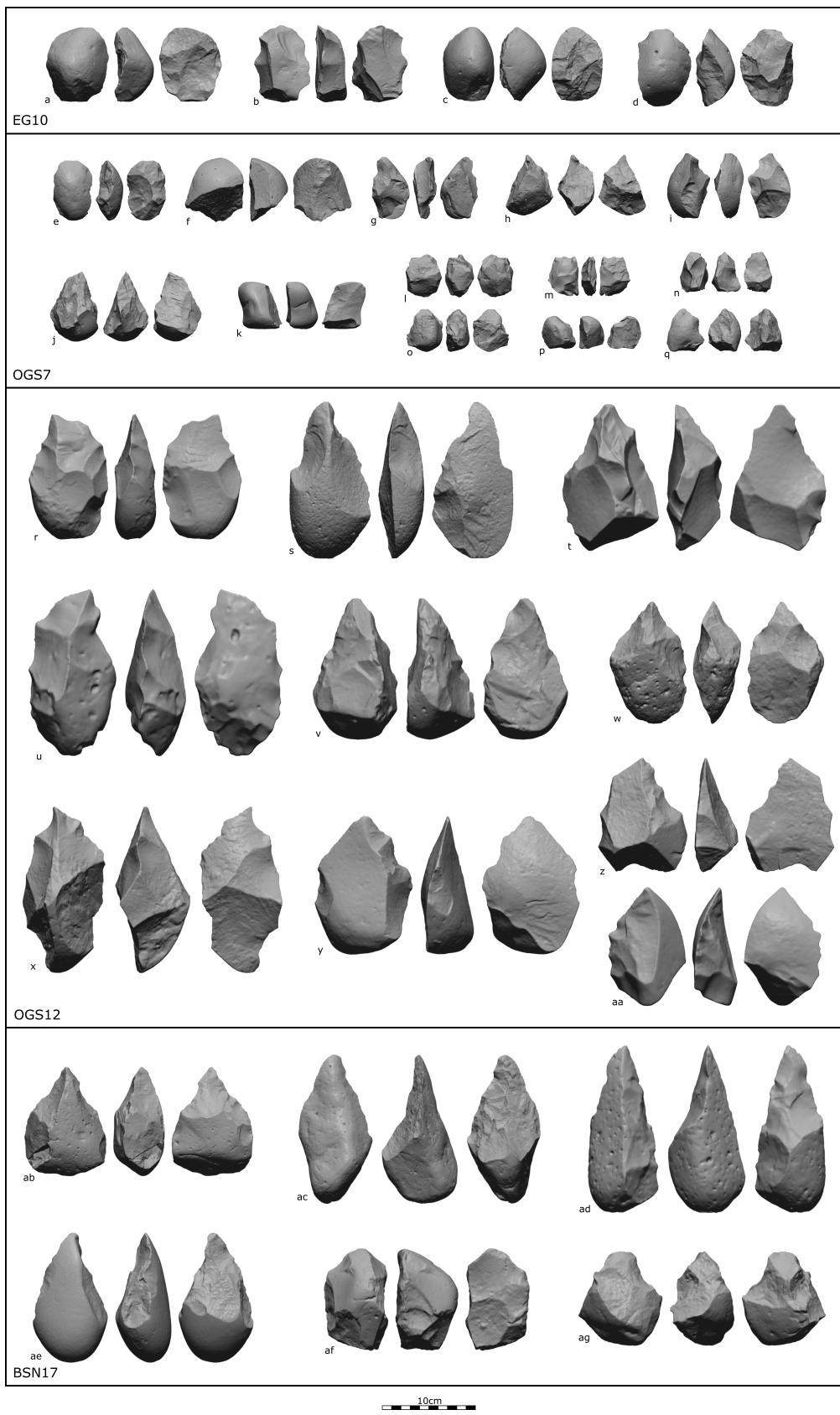


Figure 1: 3D Artifact scans from Gona used in this study.

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

183 1.3 The Early Acheulean at Gona

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

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

206 2 Materials and Methods

207 2.1 Materials

208 2.1.1 Archaeological Sample

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

215 2.2 Methods

216 2.2.1 Artifact Classification

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

²¹⁹ LCT), and archaeological context (Oldowan vs. Early Acheulean sites). LCTs were additionally
²²⁰ classified as handaxes, knives, or picks following definitions from Kleindienst ([1962](#)). The validity
²²¹ of technological interpretations and typological classifications was assessed through cluster
²²² analysis based on artifact shape and reduction intensity variables.

²²³ **2.2.2 Artifact Measurement**

²²⁴ Conventional linear measures capture the direction (e.g., length > breadth) but not the location of
²²⁵ geometric relations (e.g., position of maximum breadth). We address this by collecting linear mea-
²²⁶ sures defined by homologous semi-landmarks. All artifacts were oriented along their maximum
²²⁷ dimension, which was measured and defined as “length.” The next largest dimension orthogonal
²²⁸ to length was used to define the plane of “breadth,” with the dimension orthogonal to this plane
²²⁹ defined as “thickness” Width (W_1, W_2, W_3) and thickness (T_1, T_2, T_3) measures were then collected
²³⁰ at 25%, 50%, and 75% of length, oriented so that 25% Width > 75% Width. To partition variation
²³¹ in shape from variation in size, we divided all linear measures by the geometric mean ([Lycett et](#)
²³² [al., 2006](#)). GM-transformed variables were then submitted to a Principal Components Analysis
²³³ (covariance matrix) to identify the main dimensions of shape variation.

²³⁴ Our semi-landmark measurement system allowed us to improve on the prism-based surface area
²³⁵ formula ($2LW + 2LT + 2WT$) by using our 7 recorded dimensions to more tightly fit three prisms
²³⁶ around the artifact: $SA = W_1T_1 + 2(.33L * W_1) + 2(.33L * T_1) + 2(.33L * W_2) + 2(.33L * T_2) + 2(.33L * W_3) + 2(.33L * T_3) + W_3T_3$. Surface area calculated in this way correlates with mass^{2/3} at $r^2 = 0.947$
²³⁷ in our sample. Calculated surface area was then used to derive the Scar Density Index: SDI =
²³⁸ number of flake scars > 1cm per unit surface area ([Clarkson, 2013](#); [Shipton & Clarkson, 2015a](#)).
²³⁹ The Flaked Area Index (FAI: flaked area divided by total surface area) ([Li et al., 2015](#)) was estimated
²⁴⁰ directly “by eye” as a percentage of the total artifact surface.

²⁴² **2.2.3 3D Methods**

²⁴³ Artifact scans (N=33) were cleaned, smoothed, and re-meshed using MeshLab. The 3D triangular
²⁴⁴ mesh of each scan was computed using Kazhdan and Hoppe’s ([2013](#)) method of screened Poisson
²⁴⁵ surface reconstruction in MeshLab. 3DGM analysis was conducted using the *AGMT3-D* program
²⁴⁶ of Herzlinger and Grosman ([2018](#)). Artifacts were automatically oriented according to the axis
²⁴⁷ 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.

Three-dimensional scanning and geometric morphometric (3DGM) methods are becoming increasingly common in the study of LCT form (Archer & Braun, 2010; Caruana, 2020; Li et al., 2021; Lycett et al., 2006; Presnyakova et al., 2018; Shipton & Clarkson, 2015b). These methods can provide high-resolution, coordinate-based descriptions of artifact form including detailed information about whole object geometric relations that is not captured by conventional linear measures (Shott & Trail, 2010). However, they also impose additional costs in terms of data collection and processing time as well as required equipment, software, and training. Insofar as these costs might present an obstacle to participation by some researchers and/or draw resources away from other activities, they must be balanced against benefits. In particular, it is not clear that these powerful methods are required in order to describe relevant variation in Acheulean LCT shape. Unlike hominin crania or even projectile points, Acheulean handaxes, cleavers, and picks are not complex shapes. Individual LCTs exhibit complex morphologies defined by idiosyncratic scar patterns, but these details are largely noise at the level of comparative

analyses. Laser-scanning 3DGM studies of LCTs collect vast amounts of shape data, but typically discard upward of 50% of the observed variation in order to focus on two or three interpretable principal components. Across studies, these PCs consistently correspond to basic features like elongation, relative thickness, pointedness, and position of maximum thickness that also emerge from lower-resolution spatial data (Archer & Braun, 2010; García-Medrano et al., 2019; Lycett et al., 2006) and studies employing linear measures rather than spatial coordinates (Crompton & Gowlett, 1993; Pargeter et al., 2019). Thus, while the level of detail enabled by 3DGM is arguably useful for building artifact phylogenies (Okumura & Araujo, 2019), it is of questionable behavioral/technological relevance for the study of LCTs. For these reasons, we favored the use of simple caliper-based linear measures to quantify shape in our study. Nevertheless, Shott and Trail (2010) do identify three potential shortcomings of linear measurements compared to 3DGM. We considered each in the context of our particular materials and research questions. First, conventional linear measures capture the direction (e.g., length > breadth) but not the location of geometric relations (e.g., position of maximum breadth). We address this by collecting linear measures defined by homologous semi-landmarks. All artifacts were oriented along their maximum dimension, which was measured and defined as “length.” The next largest dimension orthogonal to length was used to define the plane of “breadth,” with the dimension orthogonal to this plane defined as “thickness.” Breath and thickness measures were then collected at 25%, 50%, and 75% of length, oriented so that 25% Breadth > 75% Breath. To partition variation in shape from variation in size, we divided all linear measures by the geometric mean (Lycett et al., 2006). Second, linear measures risk reducing complex forms to overly simplistic “stick figure caricatures” (Shott & Trail, 2010). However, whether or not this risk actually presents a problem depends on the particular artifacts and research questions involved. We have already noted that 3DGM LCT studies typically evaluate only a small portion of the measured variation. To better evaluate the measurement density required for our study, we reanalyzed a data set of 128 experimental handaxes previously published by Pargeter et al. (2019). These data comprise 19 linear measures (length plus breadth and thickness at 10% increments of length) collected from digital photos using the same orientation protocol described above. We conducted a PCA on the full set of 19 measures and again on a reduced set of 7 (length plus breadth and thickness at 30%, 50%, and 70% length). Despite this reduction, the first two components from each analysis displayed strikingly similar component loading matrices (PC1 positive on length and tip breadth, negative on thickness; PC2 positive on base breadth, negative on length and thickness) almost perfectly

correlated component scores for individual pieces (PC1 $r=0.919$, PC2 $r=0.913$). As a further check, we performed the same comparison on a subset of the current archaeological sample from Gona for which photos were available for measurement ($n = 50$). This produced two PCs that were not only similar with each other, but also matched the PCs extracted from the experimental handaxe sample. Individual piece component scores were again highly correlated ($r=0.975$ and 0.927 respectively). Seven linear measures thus appear sufficient to explain technologically/behaviorally relevant shape variation in our sample. Third, linear measures may struggle to capture attributes such as cross-sectional area and shape (e.g., Caruana, 2020) more easily assessed using 3DGM. Particularly relevant here are measures of surface area used to calculate indices of reduction intensity (Clarkson, 2013; Shipton & Clarkson, 2015b) and surface modification (Li et al., 2015) used in our study. Clarkson (2013) advocates the use of 3D surface area measures as more accurate than estimation from linear measures (e.g., surface area of a rectangular prism defined by artifact dimensions). However, he also found that the error introduced by the linear approach was a highly systematic, isometric overestimation of surface area and that results correlated with direct 3D measures with an impressive $r^2 = 0.944$ and no effect of variation in core shape. Insofar as it is variation in the relationship between surface area and flaking intensity that is of interest, rather than the absolute size of artifacts, such consistent overestimation is not problematic. Here we improved on the prism-based surface area formula ($2LW + 2LT + 2 WT$) by using our 7 recorded dimensions to more tightly fit three prisms (Figure 1) around the artifact: $SA = W1T1 + 2(.33L * W1) + 2(.33L * T1) + 2(.33L * W2) + 2(.33L * T2) + 2(.33L * W3) + 2(.33L * T3) + W3T3$. Surface area calculated in this way correlates with mass $2/3$ at $r^2 = 0.947$ in our sample.

PCA on GM-transformed caliper measures (length, 3 breadth, 3 thickness). Length is maximum dimension, piece oriented so that Br1>Br3

Typological and technological attributions considered unreliable. Data grouped according to context (~2.5 mya Oldowan sites vs. ~1.5 mya Acheulean sites) and blank form (cobble, flake, indeterminant).

Associations between form and reduction intensity are considered as an indicator of “imposed form.” Such form could reflect mental templates and/or biased flaking patterns due to functional or technological constraints

³³⁹ **2.2.5 Reduction Indices**

³⁴⁰ Research by Clarkson and Shipton has established the Scar Density Index (SDI = number of flake
³⁴¹ scars > 1cm per unit surface area) as a reliable indicator of mass removed from a core across
³⁴² technologies (Clarkson, 2013) and for handaxes specifically (Shipton & Clarkson, 2015a). We thus
³⁴³ use SDI as an indicator of reduction intensity (mass removed) in our study. However, reduction
³⁴⁴ intensity does not constitute a full description of core modification. Mass removal is the aim
³⁴⁵ during flake production and extent of shaping are not necessarily the same thing. For example,
³⁴⁶ imposition of a desired form

³⁴⁷ **3 Results**

³⁴⁸ **References**

- ³⁴⁹ Archer, W., & Braun, D. R. (2010). Variability in bifacial technology at Elandsfontein, Western cape,
³⁵⁰ South Africa: a geometric morphometric approach. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 37(1),
³⁵¹ 201–209. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2009.09.033>
- ³⁵² Beyene, Y., Katoh, S., WoldeGabriel, G., Hart, W. K., Uto, K., Sudo, M., Kondo, M., Hyodo, M.,
³⁵³ Renne, P. R., Suwa, G., & Asfaw, B. (2013). The characteristics and chronology of the earliest
³⁵⁴ Acheulean at Konso, Ethiopia. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110(5), 1584–
³⁵⁵ 1591. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1221285110>
- ³⁵⁶ Caruana, M. V. (2020). South African handaxes reloaded. *Journal of Archaeological Science:*
³⁵⁷ *Reports*, 34, 102649. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102649>
- ³⁵⁸ Clarkson, C. (2013). Measuring core reduction using 3D flake scar density: a test case of changing
³⁵⁹ core reduction at Klasies River Mouth, South Africa. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 40(12),
³⁶⁰ 4348–4357. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2013.06.007>
- ³⁶¹ Corbey, R., Jagich, A., Vaesen, K., & Collard, M. (2016). The acheulean handaxe: More like a bird's
³⁶² song than a beatles' tune? *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 25(1), 6–19.
³⁶³ <https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21467>
- ³⁶⁴ Crompton, R. H., & Gowlett, J. A. J. (1993). Allometry and multidimensional form in Acheulean
³⁶⁵ bifaces from Kilombe, Kenya. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 25(3), 175–199. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jhev.1993.1043>
- ³⁶⁷ Davidson, I. (2002). *The Finished Artefact Fallacy: Acheulean Hand-axes and Language Origins* (A.

- 368 Wray, Ed.; pp. 180–203). Oxford University Press. <https://rune.une.edu.au/web/handle/1959.11/1837>
- 370 Dibble, H. L., Schurmans, U. A., Iovita, R. P., & McLaughlin, M. V. (2005). The measurement and
371 interpretation of cortex in lithic assemblages. *American Antiquity*, 70(3), 545–560. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40035313>
- 372 Diez-Martín, F., Sánchez Yustos, P., Uribelarrea, D., Baquedano, E., Mark, D. F., Mabulla, A.,
373 Fraile, C., Duque, J., Díaz, I., Pérez-González, A., Yravedra, J., Egeland, C. P., Organista, E., &
374 Domínguez-Rodrigo, M. (2015). The Origin of The Acheulean: The 1.7 Million-Year-Old Site of
375 FLK West, Olduvai Gorge (Tanzania). *Scientific Reports*, 5(1), 17839. <https://doi.org/10.1038/srep17839>
- 376 Duke, H., Feibel, C., & Harmand, S. (2021). Before the Acheulean: The emergence of bifacial
377 shaping at Kokiselei 6 (1.8 Ma), West Turkana, Kenya. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 159, 103061.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2021.103061>
- 380 Gala, N., Lycett, S. J., Bebber, M. R., & Eren, M. I. (2023). The Injury Costs of Knapping. *American
381 Antiquity*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1017/aaq.2023.27>
- 382 García-Medrano, P., Ollé, A., Ashton, N., & Roberts, M. B. (2019). The Mental Template in Handaxe
383 Manufacture: New Insights into Acheulean Lithic Technological Behavior at Boxgrove, Sussex,
384 UK. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 26(1), 396–422. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-018-9376-0>
- 386 Gärdenfors, P., & Höglberg, A. (2017). The archaeology of teaching and the evolution of homo
387 docens. *Current Anthropology*, 58(2), 188–208. <https://doi.org/10.1086/691178>
- 388 Grosman, L., Muller, A., Dag, I., Goldgeier, H., Harush, O., Herzlinger, G., Nebenhaus, K., Valetta,
389 F., Yashuv, T., & Dick, N. (2022). Artifact3-D: New software for accurate, objective and efficient
390 3D analysis and documentation of archaeological artifacts. *PLOS ONE*, 17(6), e0268401.
391 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0268401>
- 392 Hay, R. L. (1976). *Geology of the Olduvai Gorge: A study of sedimentation in a semiarid basin*.
393 University of California Press.
- 394 Hecht, E. E., Gutman, D. A., Khreisheh, N., Taylor, S. V., Kilner, J. M., Faisal, A. A., Bradley, B. A.,
395 Chaminade, T., & Stout, D. (2015). Acquisition of Paleolithic toolmaking abilities involves
396 structural remodeling to inferior frontoparietal regions. *Brain Structure & Function*, 220(4),
397 2315–2331. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00429-014-0789-6>
- 398 Herzlinger, G., & Grosman, L. (2018). AGMT3-D: A software for 3-D landmarks-based geometric
399

- 400 morphometric shape analysis of archaeological artifacts. *PLOS ONE*, 13(11), e0207890. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0207890>
- 401
- 402 Holloway, R. L. (1969). Culture: A human domain. *Current Anthropology*, 10(4), 395–412. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2740553>
- 403
- 404 Iovita, R., & McPherron, S. P. (2011). The handaxe reloaded: A morphometric reassessment
405 of Acheulian and Middle Paleolithic handaxes. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 61(1), 61–74.
- 406 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2011.02.007>
- 407 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>
- 408
- 409 Isaac, G. L. (1976). Stages of Cultural Elaboration in the Pleistocene: Possible Archaeological
410 Indicators of the Development of Language Capabilities. *Annals of the New York Academy of
411 Sciences*, 280(1), 275–288. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1976.tb25494.x>
- 412 Isaac, G. L. (1977). *Olorgesailie: Archaeological studies of a middle pleistocene lake basin in kenya*.
413 University of Chicago Press.
- 414 Isaac, G. L., & Isaac, B. (1997). *The stone artefact assemblages: A comparative study* (p. 262299).
- 415 Kazhdan, M., & Hoppe, H. (2013). Screened poisson surface reconstruction. *ACM Transactions on
416 Graphics*, 32(3), 29:129:13. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2487228.2487237>
- 417 Key, A. J. M. (2019). Handaxe shape variation in a relative context. *Comptes Rendus Palevol*, 18(5),
418 555–567. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crpv.2019.04.008>
- 419 Key, A. J. M., & Lycett, S. J. (2017). Influence of Handaxe Size and Shape on Cutting Efficiency: A
420 Large-Scale Experiment and Morphometric Analysis. *Journal of Archaeological Method and
421 Theory*, 24(2), 514–541. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-016-9276-0>
- 422 Kleindienst, M. R. (1962). *Components of the east african acheulian assemblage: An analytic
423 approach*. 40, 81105.
- 424 Kuhn, S. L. (2020). *The evolution of paleolithic technologies*. Routledge.
- 425 Lepre, C. J., Roche, H., Kent, D. V., Harmand, S., Quinn, R. L., Brugal, J.-P., Texier, P.-J., Lenoble,
426 A., & Feibel, C. S. (2011). An earlier origin for the Acheulian. *Nature*, 477(7362), 82–85.
427 <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature10372>
- 428 Li, H., Kuman, K., & Li, C. (2015). Quantifying the Reduction Intensity of Handaxes with 3D
429 Technology: A Pilot Study on Handaxes in the Danjiangkou Reservoir Region, Central China.
430 *PLOS ONE*, 10(9), e0135613. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0135613>
- 431 Li, H., Lei, L., Li, D., Lotter, M. G., & Kuman, K. (2021). Characterizing the shape of Large Cutting

- 432 Tools from the Baise Basin (South China) using a 3D geometric morphometric approach.
433 *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 36, 102820. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2021.102820>
- 435 Lin, S. C. H., Douglass, M. J., Holdaway, S. J., & Floyd, B. (2010). The application of 3D laser
436 scanning technology to the assessment of ordinal and mechanical cortex quantification in
437 lithic analysis. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 37(4), 694–702. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2009.10.030>
- 439 Linares Matás, G. J., & Yravedra, J. (2021). ‘We hunt to share’: Social dynamics and very large
440 mammal butchery during the oldowan–acheulean transition. *World Archaeology*, 53(2), 224–
441 254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2022.2030793>
- 442 Lombao, D., Rabuñal, J. R., Cueva-Temprana, A., Mosquera, M., & Morales, J. I. (2023). Establishing
443 a new workflow in the study of core reduction intensity and distribution. *Journal of Lithic
444 Studies*, 10(2), 25 p.–25 p. <https://doi.org/10.2218/jls.7257>
- 445 Lycett, S. J., Cramon-Taubadel, N. von, & Foley, R. A. (2006). A crossbeam co-ordinate caliper
446 for the morphometric analysis of lithic nuclei: a description, test and empirical examples of
447 application. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 33(6), 847–861. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2005.10.014>
- 449 Marshall, G., Dupplaw, D., Roe, D., & Gamble, C. (2002). *Lower palaeolithic technology, raw
450 material and population ecology (bifaces)*. Archaeology Data Service. <https://doi.org/10.5284/1000354>
- 452 McNabb, J., & Cole, J. (2015). The mirror cracked: Symmetry and refinement in the Acheulean
453 handaxe. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 3, 100–111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.06.004>
- 455 McPherron, S. P. (2000). Handaxes as a Measure of the Mental Capabilities of Early Hominids.
456 *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 27(8), 655–663. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jasc.1999.0467>
- 457 Moore, M. W. (2020). Hominin Stone Flaking and the Emergence of ‘Top-down’ Design in Human
458 Evolution. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 30(4), 647–664. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959774320000190>
- 460 Moore, M. W., & Perston, Y. (2016). Experimental Insights into the Cognitive Significance of Early
461 Stone Tools. *PLOS ONE*, 11(7), e0158803. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0158803>
- 462 Noble, W., & Davidson, I. (1996). *Human evolution, language and mind: A psychological and
463 archaeological inquiry*. Cambridge University Press.

- 464 Okumura, M., & Araujo, A. G. M. (2019). Archaeology, biology, and borrowing: A critical examination
465 of Geometric Morphometrics in Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 101,
466 149–158. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2017.09.015>
- 467 Pargeter, J., Khreisheh, N., & Stout, D. (2019). Understanding stone tool-making skill acquisition:
468 Experimental methods and evolutionary implications. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 133,
469 146–166. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2019.05.010>
- 470 Pargeter, J., Liu, C., Kilgore, M. B., Majoe, A., & Stout, D. (2023). Testing the Effect of Learning
471 Conditions and Individual Motor/Cognitive Differences on Knapping Skill Acquisition. *Journal*
472 *of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 30(1), 127–171. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-022-09592-4>
- 474 Presnyakova, D., Braun, D. R., Conard, N. J., Feibel, C., Harris, J. W. K., Pop, C. M., Schlager, S.,
475 & Archer, W. (2018). Site fragmentation, hominin mobility and LCT variability reflected in
476 the early Acheulean record of the Okote Member, at Koobi Fora, Kenya. *Journal of Human*
477 *Evolution*, 125, 159–180. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2018.07.008>
- 478 Quade, J., Levin, N. E., Simpson, S. W., Butler, R., McIntosh, W. C., Semaw, S., Kleinsasser, L.,
479 Dupont-Nivet, G., Renne, P., & Dunbar, N. (2008). *The geology of gona, afar, ethiopia* (J. Quade
480 & J. G. Wynn, Eds.; p. 131). Geological Society of America.
- 481 Quade, J., Levin, N., Semaw, S., Stout, D., Renne, P., Rogers, M., & Simpson, S. (2004). Paleoenvironments
482 of the earliest stone toolmakers, gona, ethiopia. *GSA Bulletin*, 116(11-12), 1529–1544.
483 <https://doi.org/10.1130/B25358.1>
- 484 Reeves, J. S., Braun, D. R., Finestone, E. M., & Plummer, T. W. (2021). Ecological perspectives on
485 technological diversity at Kanjera South. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 158, 103029. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2021.103029>
- 487 Richardson, E., Grosman, L., Smilansky, U., & Werman, M. (2014). *Extracting scar and ridge*
488 *features from 3D-scanned lithic artifacts* (A. Chrysanthi, C. Papadopoulos, D. Wheatley, G. Earl,
489 I. Romanowska, P. Murrieta-Flores, & T. Sly, Eds.; pp. 83–92). Amsterdam University Press.
490 <https://doi.org/10.1017/9789048519590.010>
- 491 Rogers, M. J., Harris, J. W. K., & Feibel, C. S. (1994). Changing patterns of land use by Plio-
492 Pleistocene hominids in the Lake Turkana Basin. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 27(1), 139–158.
493 <https://doi.org/10.1006/jhev.1994.1039>
- 494 Semaw, S., Rogers, M. J., Cáceres, I., Stout, D., & Leiss, A. C. (2018). *The Early Acheulean 1.6–1.2 Ma*
495 *from Gona, Ethiopia: Issues related to the Emergence of the Acheulean in Africa* (R. Gallotti & M.

- 496 Mussi, Eds.; pp. 115–128). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75985-2_6
- 497
- 498 Semaw, S., Rogers, M. J., Simpson, S. W., Levin, N. E., Quade, J., Dunbar, N., McIntosh, W. C.,
499 Cáceres, I., Stinchcomb, G. E., Holloway, R. L., Brown, F. H., Butler, R. F., Stout, D., & Everett, M.
500 (2020). Co-occurrence of acheulian and oldowan artifacts with homo erectus cranial fossils
501 from gona, afar, ethiopia. *Science Advances*, 6(10), eaaw4694. <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aaw4694>
- 502
- 503 Semaw, S., Rogers, M., & Stout, D. (2009). *The Oldowan-Acheulian Transition: Is there a “Developed
504 Oldowan” Artifact Tradition?* (M. Camps & P. Chauhan, Eds.; pp. 173–193). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76487-0_10
- 505
- 506 Sharon, G. (2009). Acheulian giant-core technology: A worldwide perspective. *Current Anthropology*,
507 50(3), 335–367. <https://doi.org/10.1086/598849>
- 508 Shea, J. J. (2010). *Stone Age Visiting Cards Revisited: A Strategic Perspective on the Lithic Technology
509 of Early Hominin Dispersal* (J. G. Fleagle, J. J. Shea, F. E. Grine, A. L. Baden, & R. E. Leakey, Eds.;
510 pp. 47–64). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-90-481-9036-2_4
- 511 Shick, K. D. (1987). Modeling the formation of Early Stone Age artifact concentrations. *Journal of
512 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)
- 513 Shipton, C. (2018). Biface Knapping Skill in the East African Acheulean: Progressive Trends and
514 Random Walks. *African Archaeological Review*, 35(1), 107–131. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s104 37-018-9287-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/s104
515 37-018-9287-1)
- 516 Shipton, C. (2019). The Evolution of Social Transmission in the Acheulean. In K. A. Overmann & F.
517 L. Coolidge (Eds.), *Squeezing Minds From Stones: Cognitive Archaeology and the Evolution of
518 the Human Mind* (pp. 332–354). Oxford University Press.
- 519 Shipton, C., & Clarkson, C. (2015a). Flake scar density and handaxe reduction intensity. *Journal of
520 Archaeological Science: Reports*, 2, 169–175. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.01.013>
- 521 Shipton, C., & Clarkson, C. (2015b). Handaxe reduction and its influence on shape: An experimen-
522 tal test and archaeological case study. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 3, 408–419.
523 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.06.029>
- 524 Shipton, C., & Clarkson, C. (2015c). Handaxe reduction and its influence on shape: An experimen-
525 tal test and archaeological case study. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 3, 408–419.
526 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2015.06.029>
- 527 Shipton, C., Groucutt, H. S., Scerri, E., & Petraglia, M. D. (2023). Uniformity and diversity in

- 528 handaxe shape at the end of the acheulean in southwest asia. *Lithic Technology*, 0(0), 1–14.
529 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01977261.2023.2225982>
- 530 Shipton, C., & White, M. (2020). Handaxe types, colonization waves, and social norms in the
531 British Acheulean. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 31, 102352. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102352>
- 533 Shott, M. J., & Trail, B. W. (2010). Exploring new approaches to lithic analysis: Laser scanning and
534 geometric morphometrics. *Lithic Technology*, 35(2), 195–220. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01977261.2010.11721090>
- 536 Stout, D. (2002). Skill and cognition in stone tool production: An ethnographic case study from
537 irian jaya. *Current Anthropology*, 43(5), 693–722. <https://doi.org/10.1086/342638>
- 538 Stout, D. (2011). Stone toolmaking and the evolution of human culture and cognition. *Philosophical
539 Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 366(1567), 1050–1059. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0369>
- 541 Stout, D., Apel, J., Commander, J., & Roberts, M. (2014). Late Acheulean technology and cognition
542 at Boxgrove, UK. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 41, 576–590. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jas.2013.10.001>
- 544 Stout, D., & Chaminade, T. (2012). Stone tools, language and the brain in human evolution.
545 *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 367(1585), 75–87. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2011.0099>
- 547 Stout, D., Hecht, E., Khreicheh, N., Bradley, B., & Chaminade, T. (2015). Cognitive Demands of
548 Lower Paleolithic Toolmaking. *PLOS ONE*, 10(4), e0121804. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0121804>
- 550 Stout, D., Quade, J., Semaw, S., Rogers, M. J., & Levin, N. E. (2005). Raw material selectivity of the
551 earliest stone toolmakers at Gona, Afar, Ethiopia. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 48(4), 365–380.
552 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2004.10.006>
- 553 Tennie, C., Premo, L. S., Braun, D. R., & McPherron, S. P. (2017). Early stone tools and cultural
554 transmission: Resetting the null hypothesis. *Current Anthropology*, 58(5), 652–672. <https://doi.org/10.1086/693846>
- 556 Torre, I. de la, & Mora, R. (2018). Technological behaviour in the early Acheulean of EF-HR
557 (Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania). *Journal of Human Evolution*, 120, 329–377. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2018.01.003>
- 559 Toth, N. (1982). *The stone technologies of early hominids at koobi fora, kenya: An experimental*

- 560 approach [PhD thesis]. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/303067974/abstract/305CC66DA94A43EEPQ/1>
- 561
- 562 Wynn, T., & Coolidge, F. L. (2016). Archeological insights into hominin cognitive evolution.
- 563 *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 25(4), 200–213. <https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21496>
- 564
- 565 Wynn, T., & Gowlett, J. (2018). The handaxe reconsidered. *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues,*
- 566 *News, and Reviews*, 27(1), 21–29. <https://doi.org/10.1002/evan.21552>