

¹ Ecological perspectives on technological diversity at
² Kanjera South

³ **Abstract**

The aspects of hominin behavior responsible for Oldowan stone tool variation are the focus of much debate. There is some consensus that Oldowan artifact variation arises from a combination of ecological and cultural factors. These factors are often examined independently of one another. The diversity of raw material types and technological strategies present at Kanjera South, Kenya provide an opportunity to examine the interaction of ecology and culture on Oldowan stone tool variation. Here we combine previous analyses of raw material properties, provenance, and technology with quantitative measures of core reduction intensity and tool utilization to examine the influence of both ecological and techno-cultural factors on stone tool variation at Kanjera South. The results of this analysis reflect a dynamic relationship between raw material properties, provenance, and hominin mobility. Exotic raw materials are generally more resistant to edge attrition compared to those available locally, which may have incentivized their transport over long distances and more extensive reduction. Cores produced on raw materials from distant sources also exhibit more complex core reduction strategies than locally acquired materials. While this pattern is partially due to the differences in the quality of knappable stone, bifacial centripetal and multifacial core reduction strategies also arise due to the continuous transport and use of exotic raw materials. Moreover, the variation in stone tool reduction is not consistent with neutral models of stone tool transport and discard. These results demonstrate that ecological factors such as raw material provenance and physical properties have strong impacts on reduction intensity and the technological strategies utilized by hominins. Oldowan stone tool variation should not be examined from a strictly ecological or technological perspective, but rather within the context of its broader cultural-ecological system.

⁴ **1.0 Introduction**

⁵ Upon its initial discovery, the Oldowan was considered an expedient industry
⁶ that was akin to simply smashing stones. Nearly a century later, the Oldowan is
⁷ now known to reflect a complex behavioral pattern that encompasses not only
⁸ the technical capacity to efficiently produce flakes, but also dynamic patterns of
⁹ transport. Technological analyses show that Oldowan hominins had at least a
¹⁰ basic understanding of the general principles of flaking and selection of suitable
¹¹ tool stones for artifact manufacture (Semaw, 2000; de la Torre, 2004; Delagnes
¹² and Roche, 2005; Stout et al., 2005; Schick et al., 2006; Braun et al., 2009b,

13 2019; Goldman-Neuman and Hovers, 2012). This pattern of tool production was
14 integrated into a broader land-use strategy in which raw material is acquired,
15 transported, utilized, maintained and eventually discarded (Hay, 1976; Isaac
16 and Harris, 1976; Isaac, 1981, 1984; Toth, 1985, 1987; Schick, 1987; Potts, 1991,
17 1994; Blumenschine and Peters, 1998; Potts et al., 1999; Blumenschine et al.,
18 2008; Braun et al., 2008a). Though these actions remained simple, the various
19 ways in which they are combined create a variety of production strategies that
20 can be evaluated on a site-by-site basis (Delagnes and Roche, 2005).

21 Research on these topics has revealed a multitude of technological diversity
22 in the Oldowan across time and space. A primary objective of current Oldowan
23 research is identifying the behavioral processes in which such a diversity of
24 production strategies arise (Plummer, 2004; Roche et al., 2009; Gallotti, 2018).
25 A multitude of work now links the technical diversity of the Oldowan to the
26 cognition, skill, the social transmission of information, and, in some cases, the
27 social learning mechanisms of Plio-Pleistocene hominins (Schick and Toth, 1994;
28 Hovers, 2009, 2012; Stout and Chaminade, 2009; Stout, 2011; Goldman-Neuman
29 and Hovers, 2012; Roche et al., 2018; Toth and Schick, 2018; Stout et al., 2019).
30 However, while our understanding of technical decision making has dramatically
31 increased, research focusing on ecological influences on Oldowan technological
32 diversity, such as land-use and tool transport, has waned in recent decades (de
33 Torre and Mora, 2009).

34 Though stone tool diversity is linked to constraints imposed by raw material
35 geometry, quality, and abundance (Toth, 1982, 1985, 1987; Potts, 1988, 1991; de
36 la Torre, 2004; Blumenschine et al., 2008; Braun et al., 2009a), how hominin tool
37 transport and more broadly land-use patterns influence the technical decision
38 making of Oldowan tool makers remains unclear. Early work on this subject has
39 suggested that the technological diversity in the Oldowan points to a continuum
40 of reduction as stone is moved across the landscape (Toth, 1985; Potts, 1991).
41 While Potts (1991) illustrated an interesting relationship between mass and
42 Leakey's typological core categories, little work has been done to further establish
43 connections between hominin land-use and technological diversity. With the
44 advent of new quantitative methods and our much-expanded knowledge of the
45 Oldowan, further investigation into this pattern would enhance our understanding
46 of Oldowan technical decision making, land use, and the stone tool variation in
47 the Oldowan.

48 The ~2.0 ma site of Kanjera South contributes to our understanding of
49 the relationship between stone tool production, technical decision making and
50 hominin behavioral ecology. The lithic assemblage at Kanjera South shows a
51 substantial representation of exotic raw materials (e.g. rock types not available
52 within 10 km of the archaeological site) and a diversity of different core reduction
53 strategies that, when combined with novel statistical analyses, provide an opportu-
54 nity to understand the technical decision making within the context of broader
55 hominin land-use strategies. Although early Oldowan assemblages dating to 2.0
56 million years ago and older illustrate a similar level of technological competence
57 to those from later timeframes, substantially less is known about the broader
58 foraging behaviors and land-use strategies of hominins during this interval. An

59 investigation of hominin stone tool transport and utilization patterns at Kanjera would not only add to our understanding of how the landscape structures
60 stone tool-use and transport but also further elucidate the relationship between
61 Oldowan technological strategies and the land-use patterns.

62 To this end, we present a novel study of the Kanjera South lithic material
63 that combines previous analyses of raw material properties, provenance, and
64 technology with quantitative measures of core reduction intensity and tool
65 utilization to elucidate the broader land-use pattern. In doing so, we show
66 that the technological variation at Kanjera South reflects an interaction of raw
67 material properties, foraging ecology, and landscape scale constraints on raw
68 material availability. Not only are we able to characterize the broader pattern
69 of land-use of Oldowan hominins at Kanjera South, but we also show that this
70 pattern may condition the economization of stone resources across space. This
71 study not only sheds light on the environmental and technical variables that
72 contribute to Oldowan stone tool variability, but also provides a unique insight
73 into hominin land-use patterns during the early part of the Oldowan industry.
74

75 **2.0 Background to Kanjera South**

76 The ~2.0 Ma site of Kanjera South is situated on the northeastern side of the
77 Homa Peninsula on the edges of the Nyanza Rift near the shores of Lake Victoria
78 (Plummer et al., 1999; Ditchfield et al., 2019, Fig. 1). The extensive excavation
79 of a 3 meter deep sequence of silts and clays recovered over 3000 fossils and
80 similar numbers of stone artifacts (Plummer et al., 2009a). The stratigraphy
81 at Kanjera South is made up of approximately 30 meters of fluvial, colluvial
82 and lacustrine sediments (Ditchfield et al., 2019). Extensive research on the
83 geochronology and sedimentary context has demonstrated that the lithics and
84 fossils accumulated predominantly by hominin activity (Behrensmeyer et al.,
85 1995; Plummer et al., 2009a, 2009b; Ferraro et al., 2013; Ditchfield et al., 2019).
86 The frequencies of different bovids and enamel isotope studies indicate that the
87 landscape surrounding Kanjera South, unlike the setting of many Oldowan sites,
88 was dominated by a grassland as opposed to more closed habitats (Plummer
89 et al., 2009b, 2009a). Zooarchaeological evidence at Kanjera South strongly
90 implicates a scenario where hominins had early access to small carcasses and
91 mixed access to larger carcasses (Oliver et al., 2019). This record is consistent
92 through the stratified sequence, suggesting that persistent carnivory spanned
93 hundreds to thousands of years (Ferraro et al., 2013). Though Kanjera South is
94 considered to have been of significance to hominins, it is difficult to determine
95 if there was something unique about its location specifically or if the Homa
96 Peninsula as a whole, was simply a hospitable place (Behrensmeyer et al., 1995).
97 Substantial faulting in the region makes it difficult to assess the ecological
98 qualities of Kanjera South within a broader landscape context.

99 Extensive geological surveys of the Homa Peninsula and the surrounding
100 area reveal a high diversity of igneous and metamorphic rocks that provided a
101 wide range of suitable materials that hominins could utilize for flake production
102 (Saggesson, 1952; Le Bas, 1977; Braun et al., 2008a; Finestone et al., 2020). As



Figure 1: A map of the Homa Peninsula. Kanjera South is situated to the East of Homa Mountain. The Homa Mountain carbonatite center is the primary source of the local raw materials including Homa limestone (HLi), Homa Phonolite (HPh), and Fenetized nyanzian rocks (FNy). Drainages coming off the flanks of Homa Mountain carry these local rock types to within the immediate vicinity of Kanjera South. Distant or exotic raw materials originate in river conglomerates much farther to the east of the Samanga Fault. These include Bukoban andesite (BBa), Bukoban felsite (BF_e), Bukoban quartzite (BQu), Nyanzian rhyolite (NyR), and Oyugis granite (OGr)

such, this diversity is reflected in the lithic assemblage. More than 16 different rock types are represented in the assemblage although the bulk of the material is produced on 8 of them (Braun et al., 2008a). Geochemical provenance studies of the lithic material make it possible to further subdivide the lithic assemblage to two broad categories: local and exotic (Table 1; Braun et al., 2008a). Local materials are derived from the Homa Mountain Carbonatite center (Fig. 1). Drainages running off the flanks of this mountain would have carried materials such as phonolite, limestone, and fenitized rocks within the immediate vicinity of Kanjera South. Sources of the exotic materials, such as quartzite, rhyolite, andesite, and granite are located further to the east in places such as the Kisi Highlands and Oyugis (Fig. 1). While these materials were likely acquired from river channels traveling west-ward toward Kanjera South, they are not present in Pleistocene river conglomerates within 10 kilometers of Kanjera South (Braun et al., 2008a).

Table 1: A list of rock types found at Kanjera South included in this analysis

Raw Material	Abreviation	Origin	Provenance
Fenitized nyanzian	FNy	Homa Mountain	Local
Homa limestone	HLi	Homa Mountain	Local
Homa phonolite	HPH	Homa Mountain	Local
Bukoban andesite	BBa	East of Samanga Fault	Exotic
Bukoban felsite	BFe	East of Samanga Fault	Exotic
Bukoban quartzite	BQu	East of Samanga Fault	Exotic
Nyanzian rhyolite	NyR	East of Samanga Fault	Exotic
Oyugis granite	OGr	Oyugis	Exotic

The Kanjera South lithic assemblage is distinguished from other Oldowan assemblages by the number of raw materials represented, as well as the diversity of technological production strategies present within the assemblage. Unlike most other Oldowan sites from this timeframe which have a predominate core reduction strategy present (see Gallotti, 2018), the flake production strategies at Kanjera South range from simple unifacial techniques to bifacial and multifacial techniques (Fig. 2). Previous work has suggested that some of this diversity reflects the differences in the quality of available raw materials or the need to maximize the amount of flakes removed from high quality materials (Braun et al., 2009a). The wide range in diversity of materials from local and exotic sources, and technological reduction strategies, provide an opportunity to investigate the dynamics between hominin land-use patterns, stone tool production, and Oldowan assemblage variability.

2.0 Materials and methods

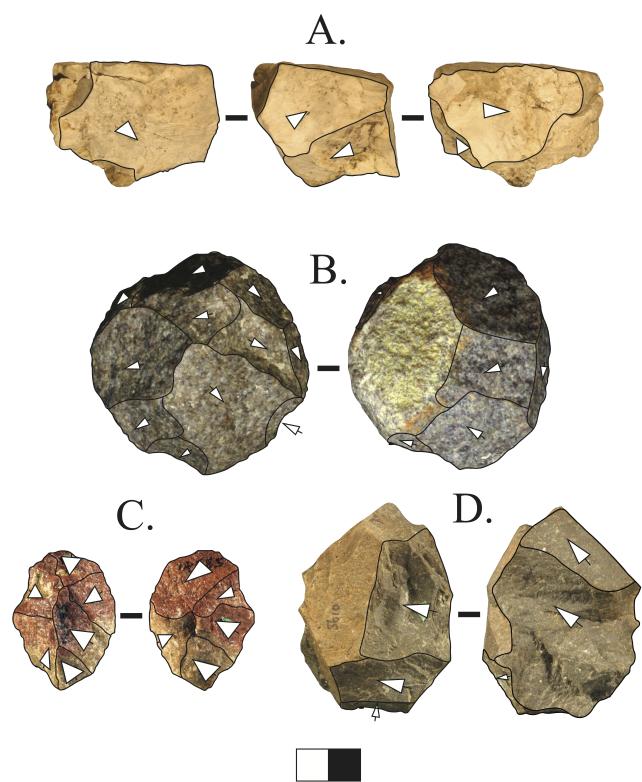


Figure 2: Examples of the stone artifacts found at Kanjera South. (A) Core produced on Homa limestone. (B) Core produced on Oyugis granite. (C) Core produced on Bukoban quartzite. (D) Core produced on Fenetized nyanzian.

131 *2.1 Materials*

132 To explore the relationship between stone tool transport and Oldowan as-
 133 semblage variability, we characterize the technology of stone tools produced on
 134 both exotic and local materials at Kanjera South (Table 1) through the study
 135 of the core and complete flake assemblages (i.e., our analysis at this time does
 136 not incorporate angular fragments) (Tables 2 and 3). Preexisting knowledge
 137 regarding raw material provenance, raw material properties, and core exploita-
 138 tion strategies (Braun et al., 2009a, 2009a, 2009b; Finestone et al., 2020) was
 139 combined with an in-depth analysis of the lithic material designed to quantify
 140 the intensity of stone tool utilization prior to their discard at Kanjera South.

141 A total of 1500 stone artifacts (171 cores and 1329 flakes) were analyzed using
 142 a series of continuous and ordinal variables (see below). Tables 2 and 3 provides
 143 a detailed summary of the number of lithics per raw material included. The raw
 144 data for this analysis can also be accessed by following this Link. In addition to
 145 the previously published technological analysis, the cores were also categorized
 146 using de la Torre and Mora's (2005) idealized schemes of free-hand core reduction
 147 (de la Torre Ignacio, 2011). These measurements provided a means by which to
 148 characterize the assemblage in terms of core and flake utilization using measures
 149 of core reduction intensity, flake sequence and edge to mass ratios.

Table 2: A summary of the cores included in this analysis

RM N	Length	Width	Thickness	Avg. Mass	Avg.	Avg.	Ex-	Avg. Surface	Min.	Avg.	Max.
					Avg.	N	plota-		%	%	%
					Scars	flake	tion		Surface	Mass	Mass
RM N	Length	Width	Thickness	Avg. Mass	Avg. Scars	N	Exploitation	Avg. Surface	Min. %	Avg. %	Max. %
BBA4	65.82	54.38	38.28	198.380	8	2	2	11	66	89	
BFE15	60.87	47.02	35.28	137.447	6	3	2	29	58	95	
BQU19	47.30	36.31	25.51	51.932	8	3	3	44	74	94	
NYR19	50.38	36.61	23.89	50.987	7	3	2	19	61	95	
OGR16	68.43	59.52	43.13	276.371	9	3	2	31	59	86	
HLI13	54.53	42.21	28.01	86.873	4	3	2	17	41	69	
HPH12	58.81	42.63	28.60	79.777	4	2	1	14	40	84	
FNY38	53.29	38.52	22.77	63.947	4	2	1	7	33	72	

150 *2.2 Estimating Core Reduction Intensity*

151 The reduction intensity of cores influences a variety of attributes that interact
 152 throughout the reduction sequence (Douglass et al., 2018). As a result, core
 153 reduction intensity is understood from a diversity of variables ranging from mass,
 154 the number of flake scars, to more sophisticated methods that use linear models
 155 to estimate the degree to which a core has been reduced (Toth, 1985; Potts,
 156 1991; Clarkson, 2013; Li et al., 2015; Douglass et al., 2018; Lombao et al., 2019).
 157 Simple measures such as mass and the number of flake scars are not always
 158 appropriate because nodules selected for exploitation are sometimes not similar
 159 in size. This is particularly the case at Kanjera South, where toolstones originate

from a variety of sources and can vary substantially in nodule size (Braun et al., 2008a). The number of flake scars does not reflect a 1 to 1 relationship with reduction intensity, because the continuous removal of flakes erases evidence of previous removals (Braun et al., 2005; Moore and Perston, 2016). As a result, multivariate estimates of core reduction intensity provide the necessary tools to simultaneously consider a suite of attributes as opposed to a single variable.

Here we follow methods outlined by Douglass et al. (2018) to estimate the reduction intensity of individual cores to calculate the proportion of mass lost prior to its discard using a predictive generalized linear model. This model was developed based on the experimental reduction of cobbles collected from the Homa Peninsula, specifically to estimate the reduction intensity of cores recovered from Kanjera South. Estimates of core reduction intensity are accurate within an error range of 10%, and application to a subset of the cores from the Kanjera South assemblage suggests that the model is generally applicable to the broader Kanjera South assemblage. To estimate core reduction intensity, the model considers the number of flake scars, exploitation surfaces, the number of exploitation surface convergences, and average platform angle. Although the definitions of the aforementioned attributes are outlined in Douglass et al. (2018), they are worth summarizing here.

The number of flake scars refers to the number of previous flake removals present on the core. The number of exploitation surfaces refers to the number of areas of the core where flakes were removed along a similar axis. This variable is related to core rotation which is argued to increase as core reduction increases (e.g. Delagnes and Roche 2005). The number of exploitation surface convergences documents the number of times different exploitation surfaces intersect with each other. Throughout reduction, exploitation surfaces with different flaking axes tend to converge (Braun 2005, Douglass et al 2017). Average platform angle, measured in degrees, refers to the mean angle between striking surfaces. Various experimental replication studies show that, as this angle approaches 90°, it becomes increasingly difficult to detach a flake (Cotterell et al., 1985). Thus, as a core approaches exhaustion, the platform angles on the core are likely to approach 90°. More details regarding the specification of the model and associated lithic attributes can be found in Douglass et al. (2018).

Table 3: A summary of the flakes included in this analysis.

RM N	Avg. Length	Avg. Width	Mass (g)	Avg.	N of	Avg.	N of	Avg.	Avg.	Avg.
				platform facets	dorsal scars	N of scar dir	per cent	Flake cortex	Edge to Seq	Mass Ratio
BBA63	34.15	34.15	15.499	2	5	2	0.15	15	11.42	
BFE156	36.15	36.15	19.901	2	4	2	0.27	15	13.16	
BQU95	33.79	33.79	16.700	2	4	2	0.23	14	11.35	
NYR107	30.74	30.74	11.851	2	4	2	0.23	15	13.40	
OGR54	40.10	40.10	26.971	2	4	2	0.17	13	NaN	

RM N	Avg. Length	Avg. Width	Mass (g)	Avg. N platform facets	Avg. N dorsal scars	N of scar dir	Avg. per cent cortex	Avg. Flake Seq	Avg. Edge to Mass Ratio
HLI86	41.48	41.48	39.547	2	3	1	0.38	8	10.45
HPH265	29.82	29.82	12.309	2	3	2	0.30	8	10.13
FNY508	31.50	31.50	14.800	1	3	1	0.45	7	9.85

193 *2.2. Flake Sequence Estimates*

194 Flake sequence can be generally defined as the order number that a given
 195 flake was removed from the core. It is a complimentary measure to core reduction
 196 intensity as it examines the influence of core reduction on the flake assemblage.
 197 The distribution of flake sequence values within an assemblage can provide insight
 198 into the relationship between stone tool transport and assemblage formation
 199 (Toth, 1985, 1987). For example, if sequence values from the beginning of the
 200 reduction sequence (i.e. the 1st, 2nd, 3rd flakes removed) are absent from the
 201 flake assemblage this could indicate that early stage flakes were discarded prior
 202 to the core's arrival at the site, or were removed off site. In the Early Stone
 203 Age, flake sequences are most commonly characterized using a six-category
 204 classification system (more colloquially known as Toth types), based on the
 205 presence of cortex on a flake's platform and/or dorsal surface (Toth, 1985). Here
 206 we follow Braun et al. (2008), which uses a multi-linear model to estimate flake
 207 sequence values. Unlike Toth's flake types, that categorizes flakes into six stages,
 208 the multi-linear model allows for a more specific placement of a flake within a
 209 reduction set (within a prescribed error). The predictive model uses flake length,
 210 width, number of platform facets, number of flake scars, and the number of flake
 211 scar directions; specific details for each measurement are outlined in Braun et al.
 212 (2008: 2156, Fig 3). Before the sequence number can be estimated, the number
 213 of flake scars and amount of dorsal cortex must be divided by the log of the
 214 surface area of the flake (Braun et al., 2008c). These variables are then used
 215 by the predictive model to estimate the flake sequence number. Flake sequence
 216 estimates have a maximum error between +/- 8 sequences (Braun et al., 2008c).
 217 Despite this error, an application of the method to refitting sequences from
 218 the Koobi Fora Formation showed it always places flakes in their relative order
 219 (Braun et al., 2008c). Therefore, while information derived from individual flake
 220 sequence estimates may be coarse-grained, it remains useful for assemblage scale
 221 comparisons.

222 *2.3 Edge to mass ratio*

223 Flake efficiency was calculated for a subset of flakes included in this analysis
 224 (SOM Table 1). Assuming that most stone tools are produced to create sharp
 225 edges, one possible measure is estimating the amount of sharp edge produced
 226 per given unit of mass. Technologies that produced a higher amount of edge
 227 per volume of material can be considered more efficient (Braun and Harris,

228 2003). Here we use a measure of edge that is based on tracing the edge of whole
229 flakes from digital images (Braun and Harris, 2003). To calculate efficiency
230 this edge estimate is divided by the logarithmic transformation of mass (Braun
231 and Harris, 2003). This transformation is important when calculating this ratio
232 since mass increases in three dimensions (i.e. volumetrically) and the edge of a
233 flake increases in two dimensions. Thus, the logarithmic transformation of mass
234 prevents distortions of this ratio that are the result of general size parameters
235 (i.e. allometry). For example, very small flakes have relatively high edge for a
236 given amount of mass, but this is not always the most efficient way to produce
237 the greatest amount of edge relative to volume [e.g. see discussions on this topic
238 in Kuhn (1990)]. Flakes that have high amounts of edged relative to their mass
239 tend to be relatively thin flakes, and there is the possibility that the efficiency of
240 these tools is limited by their capabilities to complete certain tasks (e.g. tasks
241 that require intensive use of edges such as hide scraping may not be feasible with
242 relatively thin flakes). Here we calculate the edge to mass ratio of flakes within
243 raw material categories. These values can then be studied according to raw
244 material type and provenance as aggregate measures are likely more reflective of
245 the generalized pattern of efficiency in tool production over time.

246 *2.4 Statistical comparisons*

247 The following statistical comparisons were made to elucidate the broader
248 land-use strategy of the Kanjera South hominins. To examine the influence
249 of raw material provenance and transport on core utilization, core reduction
250 intensity values, flake sequence values, and edge to mass ratio, values were
251 compared according to raw material provenience (i.e. local versus exotic). The
252 significance of these differences was tested using a Mann-Whitney U test as our
253 data are not normally distributed and significant differences were determined
254 using a p-value threshold of .05 (Gotelli and Ellison, 2013). To determine whether
255 there is relationship between raw material provenance and the core reduction
256 strategies employed at Kanjera South, the frequency of idealized free hand
257 reduction types was compared by raw material type. Since some of the reduction
258 strategies are represented by 4 or fewer cores a Fishers exact test was used to
259 test the significance of these differences (Gotelli and Ellison, 2013). Finally, core
260 reduction intensity values were also analyzed according to raw material type. A
261 Kruskal-Wallis was used to assess the significance of these differences. Given the
262 number of quantitative approaches used in this study, we have made the R code
263 and markdown documents used in this analysis available online ([Link](#)).

264 *3. Results*

265 *3.1. Core Utilization*

266 Core reduction intensity estimates reveal a wide range of variation in the
267 amount of mass removed from the cores at Kanjera South. Some cores were
268 minimally utilized whereas others were reduced as much as 95% of their original
269 mass. While there are some differences in the level of reduction between individual
270 raw material types, the primary differences are driven by raw material provenance

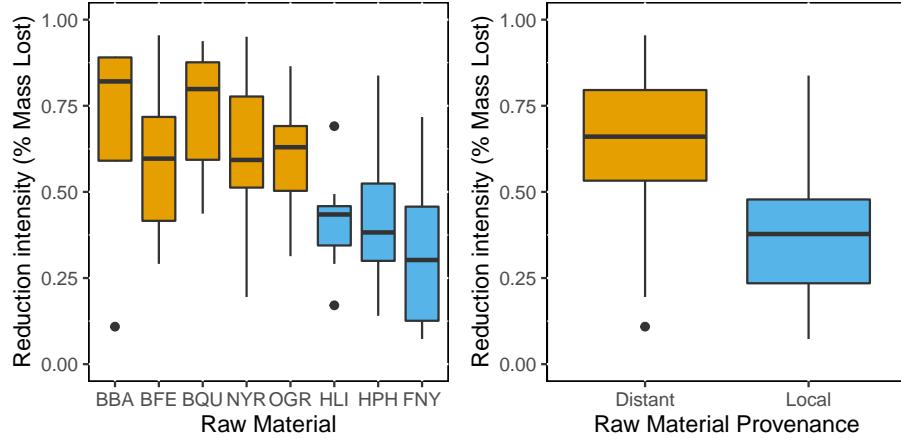


Figure 3: The distribution of core reduction intensity values as predicted by the GLMM (Douglass et al 2018). The results show stark differences in the degree of reduction in materials originating from more distant sources than those that originate from local sources of stone.

(Fig. 3). Cores produced on raw material types that originate from more distant sources (BBa, BFe, BQu, NyR, and OGr) are on average more substantially reduced than those that occur locally (FNy, HPh, HLi) (Mann Whitney U, W= 5639.5, $p < 0.0001$; Fig. 3).

This pattern of core utilization is also reflected in the flake assemblages. Flake sequence values range from the first flakes off the core to the 30th flake in the sequence. The largest differences are, again, between rock types derived from more distant sources and those found locally (Fig. 4, Mann Whitney U, W= 3.3325×10^5 , $p < .0001$). Flakes produced on rock types from more distant raw material sources are from later in the reduction sequence, while flakes produced on raw materials that are available locally are from earlier stages of reduction (Fig. 4). Interestingly, there is a striking amount of homogeneity in the distribution of flake sequence values associated with exotic or distant raw materials. With the exception of Bukoban Felsite (BFe), the inter-quartile range of flake sequence values are very similar from distant sources. Even though Bukoban Felsite has a wider range than the other exotic materials, its median is quite similar. The flake sequence values associated with the local materials are also similar to each other but show slightly more variation.

As previously reported, the Kanjera core assemblage is comprised of a wide variety of technological types and core reduction strategies (Braun et al., 2009a). The frequency of core reduction strategies present has a significant relationship with the raw material type (Fisher's exact test, $p = 5 \times 10^{-4}$). Though unifacial and unidirectional reduction strategies are present in small frequencies, there is a greater representation of centripetal, bifacial and multifacial exploitation strategies in materials from more distant origins (Fig. 5). On the other hand, local materials such as the Fenetized Nyanzian (FNy) and Homa Phonolite (HPh)

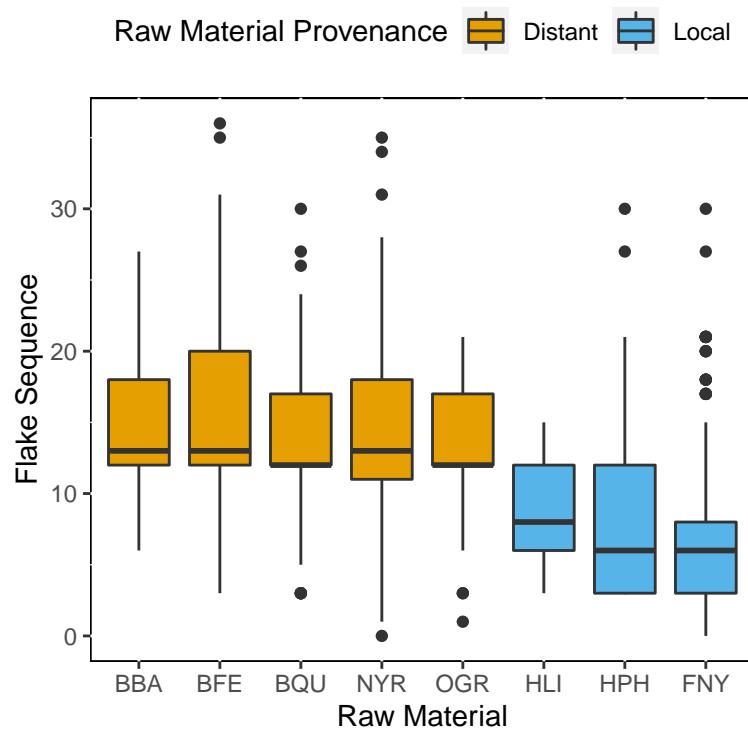


Figure 4: The distribution of flake sequence values present within the Kanjera South flake assemblage. As is the case with the core assemblage, the primary differences in flake sequence values are between materials originating from more distant sources and those that originate from local sources of stone.

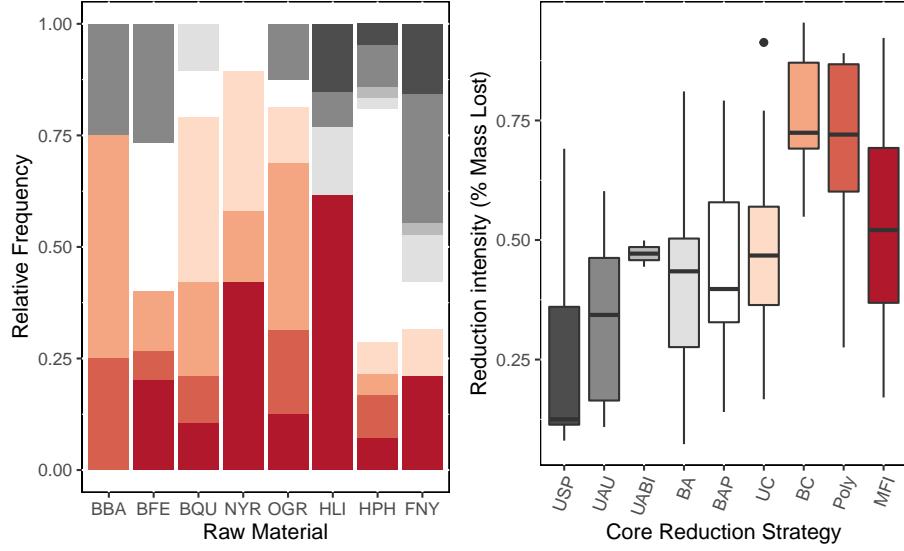


Figure 5: Left: The distribution of core reduction strategies by raw material type. With the exception of Homa Limestone, raw materials that derive from the Kisi highlands are more greatly represented by complex core reduction strategies than those that can be found in the immediate vicinity of Kanjera South. Right: The distribution of reduction intensity values according to reduction strategy. **USP**: Unifacial Simple Partial. **UAU**: Unidirectional abrupt unifacial. **UABI**: Unifacial abrupt bidirectional. **BA**: Bidirectional Abrupt. **BAP**: Bifacial Partial. **UC**: Unifacial centripetal. **BC**: Bifacial Centripetal. **Poly**: Polyhedral. **MFI**: Mutifacial Irregular. The colors of the boxplots correspond with the representation of different reduction strategies in the left figure.

are represented by greater number of unifacial or unidirectional core reduction strategies (Fig. 5). Contrary to this general pattern, cores produced from some of the local materials [e.g. Homa Limestone (HLI)] are often multifacially reduced. However, as addressed in the discussion, this is likely related to the properties of the raw material itself (Braun et al., 2009). When the core reduction intensity values for each reduction strategy are considered, unifacial and unipolar cores are reduced less than bifacial, multifacial or polyhedral cores (Kruskal Wallis, chi-squared = 57.07, p < 0.0001) (Fig. 5). In other words, core reduction strategies that require fewer core rotations, such as unifacial and unidirectional strategies, are less reduced than those that involved more complex patterns.

3.2. Flake efficiency

Analysis of the relative proportion of flake edge to mass indicates significantly different technological strategies applied to the different raw materials from the Kanjera South assemblage. Although the mean values of raw materials are relatively similar, the overall distribution indicates that rock types from sources that are further away from Kanjera South (e.g. NyR, BFe, BQu) are produced in a way that allows for much higher efficiency values than those seen in the

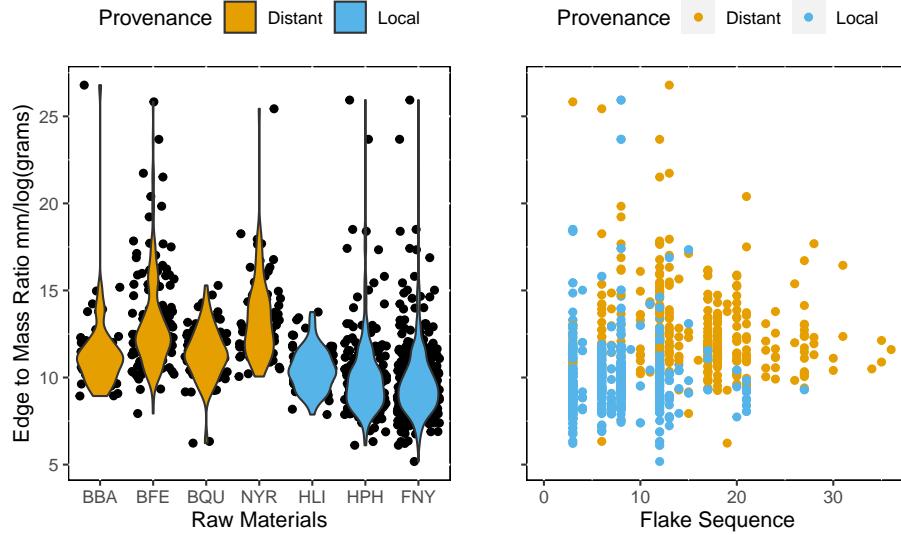


Figure 6: Left: Boxplots of the measures of flake efficiency. Y-axis represents perimeter of flakes divided by a logarithmically transformed mass value. Right: A scatter plot examining the relationship between flake efficiency and flake sequence.

314 rock types found close to Kanjera South (Mann-Whitney U, $W = 1.91209 \times 10^5$,
 315 $p < .0001$). It should be noted that even though there are significant differences
 316 between the edge to mass ratios, the distributions show overlap (Fig. 6). This
 317 indicates that it is physically possible to produce flakes with similar edge to mass
 318 ratios in each raw material type. Given the results of the core reduction intensity
 319 and flake sequence analysis, it could also be argued that the observed differences
 320 in flake efficiency could simply reflect the varying levels of reduction intensity
 321 observed between the distant and local assemblage. However, Fig. 6 (right)
 322 suggests that there is no strong relationship between flake sequence and flake
 323 efficiency. This suggests that hominins at Kanjera South did not implement this
 324 strategy as frequently on raw materials that were locally abundant. Hominins
 325 at Kanjera South consistently produced flakes with greater edge and less mass
 326 from rock types that came from more distant sources.

327 4. Discussion

328 4.1 Inferring land-use at Kanjera South

329 The results of this study show an interaction between stone tool utilization,
 330 raw material type and core reduction strategies. The most striking distinction
 331 is the difference in the degree of utilization of materials from local and exotic
 332 sources. This is also reflected in the flake sequence data. To some extent, this
 333 can be explained by the poor quality of some of the local materials. As discussed
 334 in Braun et. al (2009a), removal sequences in local fenitized rocks (FNy) tend to

335 be short because of the presence of preexisting internal fracture planes present
336 in the highly metasomatized rocks. The chalky nature and block-like geometry
337 of Homa limestone (HLi) also limits the number of flakes that can be removed.
338 In contrast, the majority of raw materials from more distant sources possess
339 fewer flaws and fracture more predictably than those found locally (Braun et al.,
340 2009a).

341 However, not all of the cores from local sources have internal flaws. In
342 particular, Homa phonolite does not have the defects common in the other local
343 raw materials but is still less reduced than the nonlocal raw materials. The
344 coarse-grained nature of Oyugis granite makes it difficult to maintain angles of
345 less than 90 degrees, thus limiting the degree that the material could be reduced
346 (Braun et al., 2009a). Despite these limitations, Oyugis granite is still more
347 reduced than any of the local raw materials (Fig. 4). The totality of these data
348 suggest that raw material properties play a role in reduction intensity but do
349 not explain all of the variation in the Kanjera South assemblage.

350 These outstanding differences in the degree of stone utilization at Kanjera
351 South can be interpreted as the result of the continuous use of the high quality
352 exotic raw materials as they were moved across long distances. The higher
353 core reduction intensity values and greater flake sequence values in the exotic
354 material is consistent with a distance-decay pattern of tool-use that has been
355 documented in a variety of time periods (Clark, 1979; Newman, 1994; Close,
356 1999; Blumenshine et al., 2008; Luncz et al., 2016). Though this pattern has
357 often been associated with a high level of planning and foresight, modeling
358 work has demonstrated that differences in the reduction intensity of materials
359 from local and distant sources can arise simply due to continuous transport
360 even in the absence of a structured land-use pattern [i.e., random movement,
361 (Brantingham, 2003; Pop, 2016)]. However, the Kanjera South assemblage
362 deviates from these neutral models in one critical aspect. These models predict
363 that the variance in tool reduction intensity will also decrease with distance from
364 the raw material source (Brantingham, 2003, p. 501). In contrast with model
365 expectations, while exotic materials are reduced more substantially than local
366 materials, the interquartile ranges of flake sequence and core reduction measures
367 of assemblages from distant sources are as wide (or wider) than those associated
368 with local sources.

369 Therefore, the Kanjera South assemblage does not fit expectations under
370 neutral conditions. It has been hypothesized that such deviations from the
371 neutral model of this nature may arise due to increasingly linear movements
372 toward specific locations (Brantingham, 2003, 2006; Blumenshine et al., 2008;
373 Braun et al., 2008b). Moreover, subsequent work modeling the influence of
374 directed movement towards attractors has shown that while a distance-decay
375 pattern remains visible, tools from earlier stages of reduction will be over-
376 represented (i.e. greater variance in reduction, (Reeves, 2019). Thus, the greater
377 than expected range in variance in the reduction intensity of distantly sourced
378 cores may suggest that hominins directed their movement to Kanjera South. This
379 is not to say that hominins carried rocks directly to Kanjera South. However,
380 Kanjera South may have acted as an attractor on the Pleistocene landscape

381 where hominins frequently visited to carry out stone tool-using behaviors. This
382 supported by the fact that the lithics included in this study were excavated
383 from a 3-meter sequence suggesting that the patterns evinced by this study are
384 the result of the repeated visitation by hominins over hundreds to thousands of
385 years.

386 This attractiveness of Kanjera South is also supported by other archaeological
387 and paleoecological evidence. Numerous taphonomic studies of the faunal
388 assemblage from Kanjera South have verified that hominins efficiently exploited
389 small bovids and may have processed larger carcasses that were scavenged
390 from carnivores (Ferraro et al., 2013; Oliver et al., 2019). Use-wear studies
391 demonstrate that hominins carried out a variety of resource processing activities
392 with stone artifacts at Kanjera South, including butchery and the processing
393 of a variety of plants, including underground storage organs (Lemorini et al.,
394 2014, 2019). These studies suggest that hominins spent a great deal of time
395 producing stone tools for a variety of tasks. While the notion that hominins
396 directed their movement toward specific localities or ecotones has been suggested
397 at other localities (e.g. Blumenschine et al., 2008, 2012a, 2012b), Kanjera South
398 represents the earliest documented evidence of this pattern. This reinforces
399 that notion that Oldowan stone tool-using behavior was strongly integrated into
400 broader foraging strategies of Early Pleistocene hominins. It may be that this
401 pattern of behavior, as has been suggested by Potts (1992), is synonymous with
402 the appearance of the Oldowan. This could be tested by future landscape scale
403 studies at the earliest localities such as Ledi Geraru and Gona (Stout et al., 2010;
404 Braun et al., 2019).

405 The land-use pattern elucidated at Kanjera South also differs from younger
406 Oldowan sites in scale. The movement pattern described at Koobi Fora (Braun
407 et al., 2008b) suggests that hominins directed their movements across paleo-
408 geographic settings at a scale of hundreds of meters. At Olduvai Gorge, the
409 directed movement toward riparian woodlands is thought to have occurred over
410 a scale no greater than 5 kilometers (Blumenschine et al., 2008, 2012a). The
411 data presented here imply that a pattern of directed movement occurs at a
412 scale of at least 10-13 kilometers for non-local materials. This is an interesting
413 distinction because Kanjera South is one of the few sites from this time frame
414 situated in an open grassland (Plummer et al., 2009b). Modern humans tend to
415 travel farther and more frequently in open arid environments than those that live
416 in more closed habitats (Kelly, 2007; Burnside et al., 2012). Savanna-adapted
417 chimpanzees from Fongoli, Senegal also possess a larger home range and practice
418 fission-fusion less frequently (Pruetz and Bertolani, 2009). In this respect, the
419 increased scale of this structured land-use pattern at Kanjera South may further
420 attest to the adaptive flexibility of Oldowan hominins open environments.

421 *4.2 The influence of land-use on Oldowan production strategies*

422 The results of this study also suggest that patterns of land-use influence
423 the technical decisions of Oldowan tool makers. At Kanjera South, exotic
424 raw materials show a strong bias toward more reduced, complete bifacial and
425 multifacial reduction strategies, as opposed to the more even representation of

426 core reduction strategies among local materials. This suggests that the broader
427 pattern of stone tool transport influenced the ways in which Oldowan hominins
428 economized stone. The relatively long transport distance, in combination with
429 the lower quality of material available near Kanjera South, may have incentivized
430 the retention of exotic raw materials in areas where lithologies of such quality
431 were less abundant. In this light, the high frequency of bifacial and multifacial
432 reduction strategies and the higher cutting edge to mass ratios present in the
433 exotic raw materials may reflect a general need to maximize the utility that
434 could be extracted from these cores. The exploitation of multiple flake removal
435 surfaces allows a core to remain active in a toolkit for a longer period of time.

436 In contrast, the predominantly unifacial and partial bifacial reduction strate-
437 gies in combination with the significantly lower edge to mass ratio values may
438 reflect a more expedient treatment of the lower quality local raw materials.
439 However, it must also be noted that some of the technical variation within the
440 local assemblage likely reflects the constraints imposed by the quality of the
441 raw material. The predominance of irregular multi-facial strategies in the Homa
442 limestone core assemblage (HLi) is argued to be result of its chalky nature and
443 block-like geometry (Braun et al., 2009a). Therefore, this corpus of information
444 may indicate that Oldowan hominins were able to adopt different technical
445 strategies in order to mitigate the changing qualities in available raw materials
446 over large transport distances. This pattern of exploitation, in the context of
447 the broader land-use strategy at Kanjera South, provides additional evidence for
448 a high level of planning and foresight in Oldowan hominins.

449 These results also have broader implications for how techno-economic varia-
450 tion arises in the Oldowan record. The variability in the Oldowan record is often
451 interpreted through a socio-cognitive lens, in which technological differences
452 between assemblages are argued to reflect socially learned information that
453 particularize various groups or individuals (Delagnes and Roche, 2005; Roche
454 et al., 2009, 2018; Stout, 2011; Stout et al., 2019). More recently, these criteria
455 have been used to argue for the presence of copying social learning mechanisms
456 in the earliest Oldowan (Stout et al., 2019). However, the results of this study
457 strongly link the application of various technical strategies with the broader
458 land-use system in which tool-use is incorporated. Moreover, the fact that core
459 reduction intensity seems to increase as cores are increasingly rotated further
460 suggests that unifacial, bifacial and multifacial cores may not reflect discrete
461 strategies but are rather points on continuum of reduction that arise out of a
462 need to maximize the utility of high-quality materials.

463 The notion that Oldowan stone tool variation may reflect a continuum of
464 utilization has been previously suggested based on evidence from controlled
465 least effort experiments by Toth (1982) and later by Moore and Perston (2016).
466 Potts (1991) suggested that this also may be the case with cores at Olduvai
467 Gorge by showing how different core types varied according to mass. By directly
468 estimating the amount of mass lost from each core in the assemblage, we find
469 further support for this notion as the various core exploitation strategies present
470 at Kanjera South are correlated with reduction intensity. In light of the results
471 of this study, the frequent use of unifacial reduction strategies at sites such as

472 Lokalelei 2C, East Gona, Hadar, Omo, Ledi Geraru may relate to the overall
473 abundance of knappable material that is immediately available at these sites
474 (Kimbrel et al., 1996; Roche et al., 1999; Stout et al., 2005; Braun et al., 2019)

475 Finally, while the preceding analysis emphasizes the role of the broader
476 environment and land-use on technological variability, ecology is not the sole
477 driver of Oldowan technical variation. The inter-quartile ranges in Fig. 6 show a
478 substantial amount of overlap between the reduction intensity and core reduction
479 strategies. This suggests that not all variation can be explained by environmental
480 parameters such as raw material availability and material properties. Moreover, at
481 other localities (e.g. West Turkana) inter-site differences are not easily explained
482 by factors such as raw material availability alone (Roche et al., 2018). This
483 unexplained variation may be the result of socio-cultural dynamics that may have
484 maintained information regarding the stone tool production process between
485 groups. However, the fidelity and the mechanisms that underlie the maintenance
486 of this information remain an open debate (Hovers, 2012; Morgan et al., 2015;
487 Tennie et al., 2016, 2017; Stout et al., 2019). Nevertheless, the application
488 of quantitative measures of core reduction intensity, flake sequence, and edge
489 to mass ratio, in combination with broader contextual information regarding
490 raw material quality and provenance, further elucidate the relationship between
491 hominin land-use and Oldowan technical decision making.

492 5.0 Conclusion

493 Despite the superficial simplicity of the Oldowan, its variability reflects a
494 complex interaction of ecological, behavioral and social factors. The combination
495 of quantitative measures of stone tool reduction with qualitative characterizations
496 of lithic technology (e.g. Braun et al., 2009; Plummer and Bishop, 2016) provides
497 new insights into the ecological factors that influence Oldowan technology, and
498 hominin behavior. At Kanjera South, exotic materials are more substantially
499 reduced than local materials, reflecting differences in the quality of the lithologies
500 available. The durability and hardness of exotic materials (Braun et al., 2009a)
501 would have incentivized their transport over longer distances (Braun et al.,
502 2008a). Differences in reduction highlight that Oldowan tools were part of a
503 mobile tool kit that reflects a broader land-use strategy. The marked differences
504 in reduction intensity in combination with the paucity of early sequence flakes
505 suggest that exotic materials were often utilized prior to their arrival at Kanjera
506 South. Although exotic materials are more reduced than local materials, the
507 variance in the amount of stone tool reduction does not adhere to neutral
508 expectations. This result suggests that the lithic assemblage at Kanjera South
509 reflects a structured land-use pattern where hominins may have directed their
510 movement, at least on occasion, to Kanjera South.

511 This pattern also appears to have an influence on the technological strategies
512 employed by Oldowan tool makers at Kanjera South. The relationship between
513 core reduction strategies and reduction intensity indicates that raw material
514 quality and provenance have a strong influence on the technological variation
515 observed within a lithic assemblage. While these results show that ecological

516 parameters have a strong effect on stone tool variation, a substantial amount of
517 variation remains unexplained by ecology alone. Future studies should utilize an
518 integrated approach to understand the behavioral significance of the Oldowan.

519 **Supplementary Material:**

520 S1: A link to where the data underlying this analysis and the R code used to
521 conduct the analysis can be downloaded and viewed. [Link](#).

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