The Evolution of Technical Competence: Strategic and Economic Thinking Ben Jeffares (Ben.Jeffares@vuw.ac.nz)

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Abstract

Thi a e ill o line a e ie of change in he a chaeological eco d ela ed o Hominin .¹ I a g e ha he e change nde lie he eme gence of he ca aci fo a egic hinking. The a e ill a b e amining he fo nda ion of echnical kill fo nd in ima e , and hen o k h o gh a io ha e of he a chaeological and aleon ological eco d. I a g e ha he ke d i e fo he de elo men of a egic hinking a he need o e and ange i e and co e i h inc ea ingl he e ogeneo en i onmen .

Keywords: H man E ol ion; S a egic Thinking; A chaeolog; Hominin;

Introduction

In ecen decade, di c ion of h man cogni i e e ol ion ha e f e en l foc ed on ocial kill. H man a e, o he a g men goe, h e - ocial. Thi h e - ociali nde in all o he ni el h man achie emen , a i allo fo , and e i e, co-o e a ion, co-o dina ion, ooled info ma ion, eciali a ion, lang age e, e ceea. Con e en l, cogni i e cien i ha e foc ed on he e ion: Ho did h man e ol e o be h e - ocial? Collec ion ch a he B ne and Whi en edi ed "Machia ellian A e," (1988), and monog a h cha Robin D nba' "G ooming, go i and he e ol ion of lang age," (1996), o name b eal e am le of o k on he cognii e kill a ocia ed i h ocial com le i . The im lica ion i ha h man e ol ion ha been ha ed almo en i el b de elo men in he ocial he e, and ha he ni ene of h man being i he e l of o ociali .

In ome ha a k con a a chaeologi ha e de elo ed inc ea ingl o hi ica ed econ c ion of hominin beha io a ocia ed i h one ool and o he a ec of he ma e ial o ld. Rich beha io al econ c ion of o hominin ance o in de ailed ecological and ocial e ing a e becoming common lace (See fo in ance Odell, 1996).

Thi a e i a of a b oade ojec ha in eg a e he e o and of e ea ch: he e ol iona cogni i e cience and he a chaeological cience. I ake a lead f om S e en Mi hen' (1996) "The P ehi o of he Mind," and b e en o k b eo le ch a Thoma W nn (Coolidge & W nn, 2009; W nn, 2002), ho ing ha he a chaeological and h iological e idence, co led i h ha f om cogni i e cience, con ain ec la ion abo

h man cogni i e e ol ion. Cogni i e cience and a chaeolog o en iall ill mina e one ano he.

On hi ie, ool, hei man fac e and e, ho ld no be inciden al o o nde anding of o e ol iona a: The ho ld be cen al. Thi ho ld come a no i e o cogni i e cien i . A he cogni i e cience inc ea ingl come o ee mind a embodied, e ended, and embedded in hei en i onmen al con e , one ool become le he de i of he h man a , and mo e he fo ili ed ha d a of e heme al ho gh .

Thi a e look a one and of h man cogni ion: he abili o engage in a egic lanning. I e amine he a chaeological eco d and eek o iden if he eme gence of hi kill in i e ol iona con e . I ill do o b e amining he a chaeological eco d in a ch onological o de , ho ing he b le hif in kill ha nde in one ool making, a ing i h he ima e backg o nd, and og e ing h o gh o he echnologie a ocia ed i h Homo sapiens.

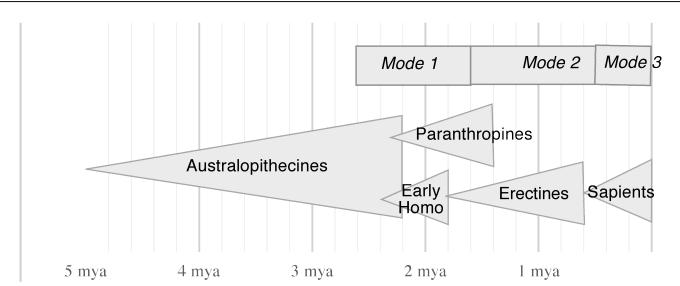
The Shared Legacy

E an ima e a e in fac he fe i ola ed i o of a di e e and ide ead g o ha flo i hed in he Miocene (Came on, 2004; Came on & G o e , 2004). Of he la ge ima e , *Homo sapiens* a e mo clo el ela ed o *Pan Paniscus* and *Pan Troglodytes* (he chim an ee). Con e en l , fea e ha ed b Pan and Homo a e obabl homologie : fea e common o all of he h man

La ge mammal like he imae, a ic la l *K*-elec ed o gani m, end o ha e off ing ha e i e high a en al in e men (Fole, 1987). Con e en l, off ing end o be bon ingl, and aced a a o allo fo long e iod of g o h, de endenc and lea ning.

High le el of ociali and in e ac ion, co led i h hi long e iod of de endence, o ide a ob la fo m fo ocial lea ning in he ima e, a i doe in man o he ecie (See fo in ance Rendell & Whi ehead, 2001). Beha io i c ed b he o o ni ie o ided b he h ical en i onmen h o gh e lo a ion and la, co led

¹ Recen gene ic o k ha b oadened he e m *Hominid* o incl de he chim an ee *Pan Paniscus* and *Pan troglodytes*. The e m Hominin efe o he Homininae, he bi- edal ima e : he A alo i hecine and Homo gen .



The Evolutionary Timetable.

Fo o o e, e e i e onl a b oad o line ie o e ol iona hi o .

Hominin Species. The la common ance o of chim an ee and h man a a o ima el 5-6 million ea ago (m a). In Ea e n and So he n Afica, he e eme ged he Australopithecines, bi- edal ima e and he fi hominin. Thi incl ded ecie ch a A. Anamensis, A. Afarensis, and A. Africanus and o ibl o he. Wi h he inc ea ed d ing of he Afican con inen, he A alo i hecine a ea o ha e li in o o lineage; he Paranthropines (P. Robustus, P. Boisei) eem o ha e become ada ed o che ing la ge an i ie of eed and ege able ma e. The Pa an h o ine a a g o en e inc. Early Homo ed inc ea ingl ob io ool, a mo e g acile in b ild, and obabl incl ded mo e mea in hei die. Ea l Homo incl de ecie ch a H. Habilis and H. Rudolfensis. F om Ea l Homo he e eme ged he e ec g ade, labelled he e Erectines. H. E ec a h man i ed, long legged, b i h a malle b ain and a im le echnolog. Gi en he E ec ine ead ac o Afica and E a ia, i eem likel ha H. erectus sensu lato incl ded a n mbe of ecie, and Colin G o e gge ha he E ec ine migh incl de H. Erectus, H. Pekenensis, and H. Georgicus (Came on & G o e, 2004). The Archaic Sapiens, o Sa ien g o incl de H. Heidelbergensis, H. Neandertalensis, and H. Sapiens.

<u>Technologies</u>. Technolog doe no o e la di ec l i h ecie o ecie g o , and mo e of en han no, he e i a lag be een he eme gence of a ne ecie /e ol iona g ade, and ne echnological fo m . Ho e e , gi en he ca ci of fo il, and nce ain i h da e, e can b oadl link ecie and ool. Mode 1 ool a e im le cho ing ool and flake, and he a ea a o imael 2.6 million ea ago in Afica i h he Homo gen, and a ea in E o e oon af e. Mode 2 ool a e he cla ic Ache lean Handa e and a ocia ed i h he E ec ine, a ic la l H. Erectus sensu lato. The e ool a e bi-faciall flaked ool, and man eem o be man fac ed o a anda di ed ea do ha e. Mode 3 oce ha an ini ial iece of a mae ial ha i ha ed, and ool a e man fac ed f om a e a ed co e. Thi o- e f om hi la ge, nifo m flake a e emo ed. The e anda di ed flake a e in n ha ed in o diffe en ool . Mode 3 echnolog i a ocia ed i h Homo neandertalensis and o he A chaic a ien, a ic la l Homo heidelbergensis. I inc ea ed di e i and eciali a ion of ool and ome ecen anal e gge he eme gence of egionali a ion, and local ool making adi ion, gge i e of inc ea ed edagog and di ec ed lea ning. Mode 4 Tool (nma ked on hi diag am) e e en he eme gence of blade, fine o ked one ool, and i gene all con ide ed o e e en he eme gence of a f ll h man i e of ool . I eme ge abo 200k a b i o en iall began de elo ing m ch ea lie .

All a e a e man all de e o , and he g ea a e all ho ign of ba ic ool ing. Chim an ee a e no able fo hei e of e c i e echnologie, i h n c acking being a familia e am le f om a e e oi e of e c i e echnological c l e (And e Whi en, Schick, & To h, 2009). The combina ion of man al de e i and

ob e a ion of a en manife i elf in long, and f e en l com le, e ac i e fo aging beha io (Coolidge & W nn, 2009). A e a e ca able of lea ning long e ence of chained ac ion ha lead o a goal.² So

² Like e ended childhood, com le ignalling o ociali , hi i no a ni el hominid ai . Ne Caledonian c o a ea o

ano he homolog of he hominin i hi ca aci fo m liage food e ac ion, ih e a a o ac i i ie ha in ome ca e in ol e ool and ool e a a ion, a a of a chained e ence of beha io

Gi en hi common ance , e can e me i h a high deg ee of confidence ha e en befo e a chaeologi can ee ool in he a chaeological eco d, ea l hominin o e ed a b a e of kill a ocia ed i h ool, ool man fac e,

and mani la ion of he e e nal old. The engaged in long e acie fo aging e ence. Thei e acie e ence in oled he mani la ion of ool and maeial. And, he e ence e e lean in ago cone hogh obe a ion of adl and ee, and ee oen iall fine ned ohe local en i onmen. All hominin had ool making and ool ing cle.

The Australopithecines

With he ding of he ea coa of Afica, ocke of he la common ance o of chim and h man fond hem ele in incea ingl no elen i onmen. In ead of homogeno foe habia, he ea coa of Afica became ecologicall a iable. The ee e a ea of acacia foe, bhland, den efoe ed en i onmen a ondie, aella en i onmen hae emo eo en and a annah like. Eal bi-edal hominin, he Aalo i hecine cha A. afarensis, and A. Australopithecus, ee in ahe eogeneo land cae.

In ch a he e ogeneo en i onmen, bo h e ac i e fo aging e ence and c l al lea ning o ld la and inc ea ingl im o an ole. E ac i e fo aging, abe ed b echnical kill, ma e en ha e had an e anded ole in he A alo i hecine fo aging e e oi e. C l al lea ning migh ha e fine- ned he e kill o a ne le el of ada i e ignificance. A g o i h a c l al ool ing kill ch a ma o e ac ion f om abandoned ca ca e, o be e ac ion f om he oo of a lan, ma ha e had a c cial ada i e edge ha enabled hem o flo i h, ega dle of hich di a a e iece of he o ld he fo nd hem el e in.

The a chaeological eco d of ch kill i obabl in i ible. Rock ed o o ni icall b hominin a e indi ing i hable f om geologicall ab ndan ma e ial (E. S. Sa age-R mba gh & Le in, 1994) i ho clo e mic o co ic e amina ion ha migh e eal di inc i e ea-

ho a imila alen fo long com le e ac i e fo aging e ence (See he o k b H n and G a : Ga in R. H n & G a , 2002; Ga in. R. H n & G a , 2004; G. R. H n , R ledge, & G a , 2007). Wha i ni e o h man i he a ic la combina ion of ai o e ed: high le el of ociali , mani la ion and e ac i e fo aging, long e iod of off ing de endenc , a iall and em o all a iable en i onmen , com le ignaling em , and o fo h. No o he o gani m ha hi com le e " ackage" of kill .

a e n . Ho e e , e can a e he inc ea ing im o ance of ch kill b cl e in he h iological eco d.

Fo a a, he eme gence of bi- edali m ho ld no be nde e ima ed. O e looked in man mode n die of h man cogni i e e ol ion, bi- edali m a long con ide ed a majo mile one b io gene a ion of aleoan h o ologi (Landa, 1984, 1991). Bi- edali m f ee he hand, allo fo he nenc mbe ed a m o

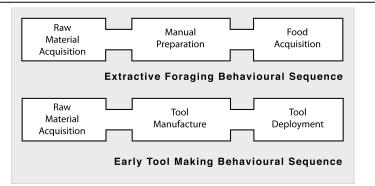


Figure 1: Basic Extractive Sequence. All Hominid (Chim and Hominin) can engage in e ac i e fo aging e ence ha in ol e man al mani la ion and e a a o o k befo e acce i gained o food. The e e ence a e icall done in a ingle loca ion o e a limi ed ime f ame, and can be een a a chained beha io al e ence. Indi id al can lea n hei o n a ian of cha e ence, b he b a e, he ma e ial ed a ool and he a ge food, a e c l all lea n. The e of one in che ence ac ed a a ec o o i ible one ool echnologie.

e, and c ciall fo o in e e he e, i enable hing efficien l . Inc ea ed abili hominin o ca fo he mo emen of good ca hing efficien l allo be een loca ion, and change he o en ial e of he land ca e ma kedl . The efficien an fe of e o ce a o en iall c cial, a i allo ed fo he e loi a ion of a ange of habi a . One co ld fo age in one loca ion, b e ea o afe in ano he. One migh oce a food in one loca ion, b con me i in ano he. Thi mean ha beha io al e ence a ocia ed i h e ac i e fo aging o ld ha e o e ch o accommoda e hi ne fo he e loi a ion of ace.

I' al o o h no ing ha no j ool and food ha co ld be ca ied: Infan, ca ied f on all, gain he o en ial o engage in d al moni o ing of a en and hei a en 'o ld (S. Sa age-R mba gh, 1994).

The Australopithecine Legacy

The A alo i hecine e e ome hing mo e han igh chim an ee . Wi h he common ance of echnologicall aided food e ac ion, he A alo i hecine e e ac i el engaging i h echnolog a ome le el. C ciall , biedali gge ha an o a ion of food ff and ma e ial o e di ance a e fea e of he A alo i hecine o ld. Beha io al e ence a e nde e e o e ch

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o accommoda e la ge ange. Indi id al ho co ld main ain an e ac i e fo aging e ence o e a longe di ance o ld be able o e loi a gea n mbe of ecological one.

The hominin ba eline i hen of a mani la i e bi- edal a e, ac i el engaging he h ical o ld. I i no n il he eme gence of he Oldo an c l e, in ea e n Af ica, da ed o 2.6 million ea ago and a ocia ed i h he eme gence of he *Homo* gen , ha e a eeing defini e a chaeological e idence of ool .

The First Tools

We ma hink of ock a fail bi io, b in fac, ock ih he igh o e ie fo one ool man fac e can be a e and diffic l o ob ain. The e l i ha one ool man fac e i no j abo he co of he man fac ing labo; i i alo abo he co of oc ing mae ial. Go ha li e nea a a mae ial ie a e le con ained b oc emen co, hile ohe go ma be foced o a el ignifican di ance, o ade, fo he be a mae ial. Sone ool man fac e h come ih ome ba ic con ain ha c e he o imal fo m and beha io a ocia ed i h ool.

Once e ecogni e con ain, e can hen a nde anding o imal ool man fac ing, gi en he likel ada i e e e . Take a an e am le a g o ha fo age along a i e ine en i onmen fo ca ca e i able fo ma o e ac ion. On di co e ing a ca ca , a nea b ock f om he i e edge i ed o b eak o en long limb bone , and ma o i e ie ed. If he ool 'b eak ,' ano he ock can be icked and ed. Once he a k i fini hed, he ool can be di ca ded, a con in ed fo aging in hi en i onmen gge a ead acce o a ma e ial . Tool a e chea .

Some gge ha hi cena io i no oo fa emo ed f om he ea lie hominin ool making. Mode 1 ool (See E ol iona Time able) a e im le cobble i h flake ck off. The ha e f e en l been made and de lo ed locall, al ho gh he e i ome e idence of an o a ion. Bo h in oc emen co, and man fac ing co, he e ool a e 'chea,' i h lo in e men enco aged b he eadil a ailable a ma e ial.

In chim an ee, he inabili o an o ma e ial long di ance mean ha beha io al e ence f om ool e a a ion o oce ing o ac i i ion o con m ion ill be h icall and em o all com ac. Ma e ial and a ge ill be h icall con ig o. Wi h bi- edali m, he abili o an o bo h ool and oil mean ha hominin ac o a e le ied o ecific en i onmen.

Ho e e, hi fo ce he beha io al chain o e ch em o all and a iall o e i e diffe en a ea, i h longe ime f ame, in he face of o en ial di ac ion. The e ac i e fo aging e ence i no longe com ac. Decoupling Repr co1 1141 111 m (g) 2(1) 112 are og 41 (oTr) 3 (e

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beha io al chain, e en if ill a he igid and e eo ed in e ence, allo fo he e loi a ion of he e e anding, com le ange.

Thi need o main ain beha io o e inc ea ing di ance a agg a a ed b he inc ea ing ea onali of he ea l Plei ocene (Fole, 1987). Sea onal e o ce ha e o be ha e ed hen a ailable, and o o ni ie aken. Fle ibili in he face of changing ea onal e o ce o ld al o confe ada i e ad an age on indi id al and g o .3

The ic e ha eme ge i hen of agen i h lea ned beha io al chain a ocia ed i h ool e, beha io nde con an e e o e ch o accommoda e inc ea ing h ical and em o al di lacemen. Indi id al ho can main ain beha io al chain o e longe di ance, and e ha main ain ch chain in he face of di ac ion, o ld ha e mo e o o ni ie, and do be e, han ho e ha im l fo go ha he e e abo hen no conf on ed i h he di ec im l .

Allied o hi i he fac ha ool become al able. Reg la, and ada i el alien ool man fac e and e, hile ill im le and o ome e en elf-a gh, o ld ne e hele ho ign of delibe a ion. The e en ial oin o g a ho e e i ha beha io need o main ained i ho immedia e im l, and ac o inc ea ingl di e e one. The de elo men of he e kill o ide a ba e on hich o b ild f he kill.

Mode 1 to Mode 2 Tools

fa i ha of a e eo ed beha io al The ic e h e ence nde ome e e o become mo e fle ible, main ained in he face of di ac ion, and e fo med ac o inc ea ingl la ge em o al and a ial di ance. Wi h he eme gence of he E ec ine, hi e e become inc ea ingl ac e. Wha doe he a chaeological eco d gge i ha ening a hi age of h man e ol ion? Wi h i eme gence o of Afica a he beginning of he Plei ocene, he E ec ine inhabi ed a b oad a he of E a ia f om We e n E o e, ac o o China, do n h o gh Indone ia. Thi a e n of ead i one ha ed b eda o and o he mammal a hi e iod he la ge (Fole, 1991). The E ec ine need fo food and a ma e ial fo ool making, gge ha i dail and ea onal ange i e needed o be inc ea ingl la ge, encom a ing di e e en i onmen . Addi ional e idence i again h iological; Homo erectus lo e limb leng h inc ea ed o o ionall o bod i e com a ed o ea lie hominin (Pl mme, 2004) o each ha of mode n h man, enabling bo h longe di ance o be a e ed o e loi la ge ange, and o ibl end ance nning o be a fea e of Homo beha io . The inc ea ed ea onali of ea l en i onmen mean H. erectus had o co e i h changing fo aging i a ion. Longe - e m fl c a ion in clima e, i h inc ea ing glacial/in e -glacial c cle, o ld fa o

g o ha co ld lea n and ada o changing condi ion o e gene a ion .

Homo erectus h a ea o be e loi ing inc ea ingl di e e habi a , dealing i h con an change in habi a ac o a io ime cale , and managing o do hi ac o la ge a ea .

The Cognitive Solution

Wi h he geae ange i e of he E ec ine, and mo e a iable habia, beha io al e ence a e nde inc ea ingl e e o e ch. One ol ion i o allo he e e ence o ac all b eak: o a i ion he e ence in o e a a e mod la a k. The a k can become mo i a ionall di inc.

Wi h la e Mode 2 ool, e ee o e of e idence ha gge hi dia ociaion of ak i ha ening: Ra ma e ial an o, and ool in e men. Ben Ma ick, in hi a e on he e ol ion of lang age, oin o he inc ea ing di ance of a ma e ial an o a ion o e he Plei ocene (Ma ick. 2003). The a mae ial a ociaed i h Mode 1 e e a el an o ed mo e han a da ' di ance. B he la e Ache lean Mode 2, and in o Mode 3, an o di ance can in ome in ance become b an ial 40-50 kilome e ek o e en longe. Thi ha he economic of one ool are becoming inclea ingl im o an . I al o a g e ha ool e can no longe de end on a di ec e ce al and beha io al link be een a ma e ial and hei de lo men. Ra ma e ial ac i i ion and ool man fac e e e em o all and h icall di inc f om ool de lo men.

The econd ign of di a ocia ion i he e idence of inc ea ing in e men in ool. La e Mode 2 Ache lean ool ho ign of inc ea ing e- o ch, and fine o k on he ool. Some la e Mode 2 ool eem o be almo *over* o ked, and ome ho no ign of ac al e. Kohn and Mi hen gge ha ell made ool ma ha e ac ed a e al ignal (Kohn, 2000; Kohn & Mi hen, 1999). Tool making can nde go elec ion inde enden l of de lo men. Be ha a i ma, he inc ea ing in e men in ool b la e E ec ine i no in di e. One co ld ce ainl a g e ha he ool e e made inde enden l of de lo men con ide a ion.

Cognitive Linking

The an i ion f om Mode 1 o Mode 2 e e en he eme gence of beha io ha a e no co led oge he b di ec im 1 , b linked cogni i el . Lack of ace ecl de a f ll di c ion of hi beha io al link, b one oin i alien he e: he de i e o make a ool of a a ic la e need no be ia internal e e en a ion of o en ial e. The ool hem el e and hei e ence i hin he g o can ac a an e e nal mo i a ion fo m ch of he ool making ac i i . E e one el e ha a ool, o ma be I ho ld oo. E e one el e i ca ing a ool, o ma be I ho ld oo. Tool become social objec , in addi ion o hei ole a ool . J a j enile Chim an ee migh be mo i a ed o imi a e a en al ac i i ie ch a an -fi hing i h no

³ A fa a I am a a e he e i no e idence of ea onal comm ing fo hominin a hi ime. Sea onal comm ing obabl e i e a de h of info ma ion indica i e of a ich c l al kno ledge ba e of a o onl lang age co ld o ide.

ho gh of a food e a d, he im l fo ool man fac e migh ell be inde enden of i ac ical f nc ion.

Wha e ee hen i h Mode 2 ool i he inc ea ing beha io al e a a ion of ool man fac e and ool de lo men, and he need fo a ne kind of link be een he o. Tool man fac ing become le linked o ool e o accommoda e he inc ea ing a i of a ma e ial, and inc ea ingl di e e and ea onal habi a of he E ec ine. The im e a i e o make a ool become inde enden of he e of he ool.

Mode 2 to 3 transition

The an i ion f om Mode 2 o Mode 3 ool (f om Lo e o Middle Paleoli hic in E o e, and Ea l o Middle S one Age in Af ica) o ghl coincide i h he end of he E ec ine, and he eme gence of he A chaic a ien . I a 'o ghl,' beca e ool making c l e do no e e en he o of a ecie. Mode n h man g o make Mode l ool oda. Diffe en g o of hominin make diffe en elec ion of ool . Ne e hele , i i fai o a ha he eme gence of a ne e ol iona g ade i hin he hominin , he A chaic Sa ien , o ghl coincide i h he eme gence of a ne echnolog : Mode 3.

Mode 3 ool a e cha ac e i ed b a e a ed co e man fac ing oce. Ra he han c ea ing a la ge eno gh flake f om a cobble ha can hen be o ked in o a handa e, Mode 3 man fac e in ol e he delibe a e ha ing of a co e f om hich flake a e ck. I i in effec a o age man fac ing oce: e a ing a ma e ial and man fac ing ool become e a a e a k. Thi i a mo e efficien a of making ool, al ho gh nece a il mo e killed.

Addi ionall, Mode 3 ool alo mak he a ea ance of mo e ob io 1 eciali ed ool. The ea e ne ool ed fo di inci e ak, and in addi ion he incea ed e of ale nai e mae ial cha ood (Coolidge & Wnn, 2009).

We all of ee e idence of a male ial an ordinance including ill forms. With the emergence of late A chaic Salien and *Homo sapiens*, here an ordinance a ordinance look like of en ial ade of e, it has male ial being called ome hand ed of kilome er from order of lace of man face and dello men (Again, ee here a icle bound Male ick, 2003).

A chaic Sa ien inhabi ed an inc ea ingl di e e ange of habi a . Homo Neandertalensis a ea o be a highl eciali ed, cold ada ed de cenden of ea lie A chaic Sa ien . A chaeolog ho di inc i e c l al adi ion a common lace. Gi en ha Homo Heidelbergensis i likel o be he common ance o of bo h Homo sapiens and Homo Neandertalensis, ecie hich bo h ho e idence fo he ca aci fo lang age (Liebe man, 1998; Macla non & He i , 2004), i eem highl obable ha all he

⁴ Hence he of ion of name fo a chaeological "c l e " fo hi e iod: he Mo e ian, he Ch el e onian, he A ignacian, e c

A chaic Sa ien e e lang age ing ecie. To ha e en, and in ha fo m, he ed lang age, i diffic l o a . Ne e hele , lang age i i e likel o ha e la ed a ole in fine ning c l al an mi ion, making egional eciali a ion o ible.

While m ch emain con o e ial, he a chaeological and h iological e idence clea l indica e ha A chaic Sa ien o e ed he ca aci o hink be ond he he e and no , and beha io all fle ibili abo e ha of he E ec ine .

The cognitive skills of Mode 3 tools

A hi oin o beha io al chain (a ma e ial ac i i ion \rightarrow ool man fac $e \rightarrow$ ool de lo men) ha become a e of di c e e mod la beha io . U ing e a ed co e i elf a ma e ial ac i i ion and ool man fac e o become di inc. P e a ed co e a e no onl efficien a of ing a mae ial; he alo od ce blank ha can be e ha ed o a a ie of end. Gi en he e ence of ooden ea and he obable e a a ion of hide and o he ma e ial, he od c ion oce i elf eem o become deco led f om ecific e. Ho e e, hile he of A chaic Sa ien a e inc ea ingl di c e e, he ha he co ld accommoda e gge a egic and ac ical con ide a ion. Fo in ance, he e i ea on o hink ha diffe ing ea onal en i onmen i h concomi an change in a ailable e o ce (in game, o he food, o acce o a maeial) la eda ole in Achaic Sa ien deci ion-making oce e . A chaeological ha A chaic Sa ien co ld e loi e idence gge ea onal e o ce (See fo in ance A e e al., 1997). Changing oli ical ela ion hi i h neighbo ing g o co ld al o affec acce o e o ce.

A chaic Sa ien had o in eg a e info ma ion ac o a n mbe of domain, and m ch of hi info ma ion a no o imal; i a emo e, 'heo e ical' info ma ion. In making hei deci ion, A chaic Sa ien had o kee in mind he al e of a ca ce o diffic l o ob ain a ma e ial, ha o man fac e, and o ible al e na i e e o ce ac i i ion a egie.

Multiple levels of control

The eme gen ic e of A chaic Sa ien i one of accommoda ing h ee diffe en e of info ma ion: b oadl a egic info ma ion, he ecific of a ic la a k, and he ela ion hi between a ic la a k.

Wa ne Ch i en en gge ha in killed a k, hi mo emen be een diffe en e of info ma ion i fe en l nece a (Chi en en, 2009). Chi en en ake a lead f om a ia ion cholog, he e he diffe en ia e be een he nece a le el of a a ene e i ed b ilo . To achie e he a io a k of fl ing, na iga ing, and comm nica ing, ilo need o b ing o he fo e diffe en kind of a a ene a diffe en ime. The need o loca e hei aic af ela i e o he a ial a a ene g o nd, o he ai c af and de ina ion. The need a a ene o manage he info ma ion abo hei ai c af : i f el le el, engine eed and o fo h. And finall, he

need a k a a ene o g ide hem h o gh a a ic la ac ion o e of ac ion a a a ic la ime, ch a landing. A a io oin he e diffe en le el of a a ene ill come o he fo e, g iding ac ion. The a io le el of a a ene ill fi oge he, in eg a ing in o a big ic e. Whil he ilo i foc ing on a k a a ene fo akeoff, he e need o be backg o nd a a ene of em and a ial info ma ion. One en i age a con an mo emen be een he e e of a a ene : a d namic em of con ol.

Wi h hi in mind, Ch i en en gge ha fo killed ac ion e migh ee a ange of le el of con ol. Ac o migh ha e ome hing e embling a elf-model ha o ide info ma ion on e onal goal and kill. A a egic a k model o ide info ma ion abo he a egic con e and he ole la ed b a c en a k i hin a b oade e of a k. Then he e migh be a i a ional model; he e am I no , and ha am I doing. Finall, he e migh be he di ec mo o con ol model ha con ol ac ion.

While e migh no ag ee i h Ch i en en' b eakdo n of con ol, hi nde l ing oin i clea l im o an. Indi id al m in eg a e info ma ion ac o a a ie of domain, mo ing be een diffe en le el of a a ene and info ma ion a diffe en age of beha io , and, c ciall, allo ing diffe en le el of a a ene o con ain and info m one ano he. The deg ee of cae I need in a moo ak in one ool man fac e i de enden on man fac o . Am I making a ool ha e i e eliabili o e long ime f ame, and making i o of a a e ma e ial? If o, hi hold con ain m acion, making me ca io, ho gh f l and e a ed o in e a g ea deal of ime in he man fac ing oce . Al e na i el , e ha I am among ee, and e a e engaging in come i i e ca enging i h membe of he ca ni o e g ild. Ra ma e ial in he fo m of la ge ock and cobble a e a ailable. A hi in e men in a ool i n a an ed. The be ool a ock can be i a mi ile and I effec i el ho a a ha I migh a ano he ime hink of a a al able e o ce.

Wi h he eme gence of Mode 3 ool, e ee he c lmina ion of a oce beg n b o A alo i hecine ance o . A en i onmen became a iall and em o all f agmen ed, indi id al did be e if he co ld main ain in eg a ed b com le fo aging beha io ac o he e di a a e one . Ideall, he main ained he e beha io al chain in he face of di ac ion . O e ime, i h hi f ndamen al kill idel e abli hed, indi id al did be e if he co ld mod la i e he e beha io , main aining he link be een he ele an ac cogni i el a he han el ing on di ec im li. Acco ding o he a chaeological eco d, hi a ea o ha e ha ened in o age . In he fi age, ool e e made io o need. The ool e e no eciali ed, gge ing ha he e e made fo a gene ic f e, o he ool-making a k a in ome en e de-

co led f om he ecific of de lo men. Ne e hele, inc ea ing an o

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