



26 **Text:**

27 After 800,000 years of making simple Oldowan tools, early humans began manufacturing  
28 Acheulian handaxes around 1.75 million years ago (Ma). This advance is thought to reflect an  
29 evolutionary change in hominin cognition and language abilities. We used a neuroarchaeology  
30 approach to explore this hypothesis, recording brain activity via functional near-infrared  
31 spectroscopy (fNIRS) as modern human participants learned to make Oldowan and Acheulian  
32 stone tools in either a verbal or nonverbal training context. Here we show that Acheulian tool  
33 production requires the integration of visual, auditory, and sensorimotor information in the  
34 middle and superior temporal cortex, the guidance of visual working memory (VWM)  
35 representations in the ventral precentral gyrus (PrG), and higher-order action planning via the  
36 supplementary motor area (SMA), activating a brain network that is also involved in modern  
37 piano playing. The right analogue to Broca's area—which has linked tool manufacture and  
38 language in prior work<sup>1,2</sup>—was only engaged with verbal training. Acheulian toolmaking,  
39 therefore, may have more evolutionary ties to playing Mozart than quoting Shakespeare.

40 The human brain has increased in absolute and relative size in the last 2-3 million years,  
41 particularly the prefrontal and temporal cortices<sup>3</sup>. This increase in brain size undoubtedly  
42 coincided with the evolution of the distinctive features of modern human cognition<sup>4</sup>.  
43 Understanding the link between brain evolution and cognition remains a key scientific challenge  
44 because it is impossible to observe the functional brain activity of extinct human species to know  
45 how their brains operated. An innovative approach to this challenge is offered by the field of  
46 neuroarchaeology. Here, the idea is to use neuroscience methods and theories to investigate the  
47 evolution of the brain and cognition by capitalizing on the remnants of past material culture from  
48 the archaeological record<sup>5</sup>.



72           Acheulian stone tool manufacture is hypothesized to require more cognitive control and  
73 working memory than Oldowan tool manufacture<sup>11</sup>. This is because shaping a stone into a handaxe  
74 and maintaining a sharp edge along the entire piece (see Fig. 1d) requires the toolmaker to proceed  
75 through a series of complex action sequences that have an ambiguous goal hierarchy<sup>12,13</sup>.  
76 Nevertheless, activation of working memory neural circuits has been purportedly absent during  
77 replicative Oldowan and Acheulian tool production experiments<sup>1,14</sup> (but see Supplementary Fig. 1  
78 and Supplementary Discussion). This may reflect the challenges of using neuroimaging techniques  
79 like functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) to capture real-time brain activity during the  
80 act of making stone tools. For example, two fMRI studies attempted to simulate tool production  
81 by having participants observe videos of the toolmaking process<sup>11,15</sup>, rather than actually knapping.  
82 These studies might have underestimated the role of working memory circuits because participants  
83 did not have to hold complex action sequences actively in mind during the imaging task.

84           Researchers have also hypothesized that a special co-evolutionary relationship exists  
85 between toolmaking and language because the earliest stage of stone toolmaking skill transmission  
86 appears to improve with verbal instructions<sup>16</sup>. Also, studies using positron emission tomography  
87 (PET), fMRI, and functional transcranial Doppler ultrasonography revealed that both behaviours  
88 activate overlapping brain regions and present similar cerebral blood flow lateralization  
89 signatures<sup>1,14,15,17</sup>. This suggests that language may have piggy-backed on the motor and  
90 hierarchical processing functions sub-served by the ventral precentral and inferior frontal gyrus  
91 (IFG), brain areas critically involved in Acheulian tool manufacture<sup>2</sup>. Because the learning context  
92 was not carefully controlled in these neuroimaging studies, however, this overlap could be the  
93 product of learning to knap by receiving verbal instructions from an interactive teacher. It is  
94 possible, for instance, that participants in these studies relied upon internal speech, recalled



95 verbally delivered instructions, or enlisted specific language-based behavioural strategies because  
96 they learned with language instruction<sup>18</sup>. This may not mimic the learning context that existed  
97 during the Pleistocene when hominins likely did not possess modern language or the cognitive  
98 elements required for interactive teaching.

99         In the present study, we tested these hypotheses, examining the brain networks that underlie  
100 Early Stone Age toolmaking by firstly, using image-based fNIRS, a cutting-edge neuroimaging  
101 technique that measures changes in oxygenated and deoxygenated haemoglobin (oxy-Hb, deoxy-  
102 Hb) in the cortex. This approach produces reconstructed images of localized functional brain  
103 activity that can be directly compared to fMRI results<sup>19,20</sup>. Because fNIRS is less influenced by  
104 motion artefacts than fMRI, it was possible to use fNIRS to measure real-time, localized cortical  
105 activity as people made Oldowan and Acheulian tools. We predicted that fNIRS would detect a  
106 relative increase in the activation of brain areas involved in cognitive control and working memory  
107 during Acheulian tool production when contrasted with Oldowan tool production.

108         Secondly, we carefully controlled the learning context. We taught 31 participants to make  
109 both types of tools across seven learning sessions (Fig. 1e). During individual training sessions,  
110 fifteen of the participants learned to knap stone via *verbal* instruction by watching videos of a  
111 skilled knapper's actions as he demonstrated and explained how to knap (his face was not visible);  
112 sixteen of the participants learned to knap via *nonverbal* instruction using the same instructional  
113 videos, but with the sound turned off. Brain activity was measured while participants completed a  
114 motor baseline task that involved striking two rocks together without attempting to make flakes,  
115 as well as during an Oldowan task and an Acheulian task. We predicted that the two learning  
116 groups would show different neural activation patterns, with selectively greater activation in  
117 language-specific brain areas, including the right IFG, in the verbal instruction condition.

118           A two-way analysis of variance with Task (Oldowan, Acheulian) and Group (verbal,  
119 nonverbal) as factors (see Supplementary Discussion) replicated the Acheulian-biased activation  
120 in the left ventral PrG from previous PET research<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 2a). This area forms part of the VWM  
121 network<sup>19</sup> (see overlap between dark green and red in Fig. 2a). Working memory is not a uniquely  
122 human feature, but modern humans have been argued to possess an “enhanced working memory”  
123 that did not evolve until the late Pleistocene – much later than the onset of Acheulian tool  
124 manufacture<sup>21</sup>. Our findings suggest that even stone tool industries as ancient as the early  
125 Acheulian required working memory.

126           The analysis also revealed novel areas of activation associated with Acheulian toolmaking,  
127 including middle and superior temporal areas (Fig. 2b-c), as well as the SMA (Fig. 2d). The  
128 temporal areas are involved in complex sound processing, auditory short-term memory, and the  
129 integration of visual, auditory, and sensorimotor information in relation to tool use<sup>22,23,24</sup>. The  
130 SMA forms the cognitive control centre of a medial premotor system whose function is to plan  
131 complex action sequences, especially those requiring bimanual coordination<sup>25</sup>. The superior  
132 temporal gyrus (STG), middle temporal gyrus (MTG), and SMA are connected via white fibre  
133 tracts that coalesce at the insular cortex<sup>26</sup>, which plays a critical role in guiding behaviour via  
134 attentional modulation<sup>27</sup>. While blood oxygenation concentrations in the insular cortex are too  
135 deep to record with fNIRS, this area has been implicated in stone tool production in previous  
136 work<sup>15</sup>.

137           Acheulian toolmaking depends on the execution of a skilled striking platform setup to plan  
138 the direction, shape, and size of a series of flakes that will effectively thin and shape the piece<sup>28,29</sup>.  
139 The activation of bilateral temporal areas during the Acheulian task may signify that participants  
140 were holding in mind the varying sounds of impact to judge whether a platform was successfully

141 prepared for removal of a flake. The ability to plan and execute a flexible sequence of actions to  
142 make a handaxe could be accomplished by integrating the working memory component of left  
143 ventral PrG with the complex motor planning of SMA and the auditory feedback and multimodal  
144 processing of STG and MTG via the insular circuit. Interestingly, this cognitive network is nearly  
145 identical to one that is active when trained pianists play the piano<sup>30</sup>, consistent with our proposal  
146 that this network is critical for audiomotor integration. The relatively weak Oldowan activation in  
147 this network is also informative. In the Oldowan task, each strike is an independent event that  
148 attempts to create a flake with a sharp edge; there is little need to actively hold in mind a long  
149 chain of actions to meet the overarching goal of the task.

150 The ANOVA revealed four clusters where the instruction context had an effect on  
151 cortical activation during the toolmaking tasks (Supplementary Table 2). Post-hoc tests identified  
152 two areas where the Acheulian task significantly varied by group. A large cluster that includes  
153 the right temporal pole and *pars orbitalis* was activated in the nonverbal group and suppressed in  
154 the verbal group (Mann-Whitney  $U = 55.0$ ;  $p = 0.009$ ; Fig. 2e). The right temporal pole is a  
155 multimodal association cortex involved with semantic processing<sup>31</sup> and has strong connections to  
156 *pars orbitalis* and the insula<sup>32</sup>. The right orbital portion of the prefrontal cortex is known to be  
157 involved in decision-making and reward-related feedback<sup>33</sup>. This may indicate that the nonverbal  
158 group relied more extensively on auditory and visuospatial feedback while planning actions  
159 related to handaxe production. Post-experiment interviews support this claim. Only participants  
160 in the nonverbal group emphasized sound and tactile sensation as important to their thought  
161 process while knapping. Their descriptions also mentioned visuo-spatial imagery more often than  
162 descriptions produced by the verbal group.

163 The second cluster, *pars triangularis* of the right IFG, had significantly higher activation  
164 in the verbal group than the nonverbal group during the Acheulian task (Mann-Whitney  $U =$   
165  $198.0; p = 0.001$ ; Fig. 2f). This right hemisphere analogue to Broca's area participates in  
166 language functions, such as syntactic and sentence processing, especially in relation to context<sup>34</sup>,  
167 as well as some non-language functions, such as response inhibition<sup>35</sup>. This suggests that  
168 participants who received verbal instruction may have engaged in inner speech during the  
169 Acheulian task, which is supported by post-experiment interviews (Supplementary Fig. 2).  
170 Critically, this cluster overlapped with the IFG cluster from previous work that led to the  
171 conclusion that language may have co-opted the neural circuits involved in toolmaking<sup>1</sup> (see  
172 yellow region in Fig. 2f). If language evolved by co-opting the motor areas of the brain that were  
173 used first for Early Stone Age tool manufacture, then we should observe activation of the right  
174 IFG in both groups as a result of the complex knapping task. Because this area shows elevated  
175 activation only among the verbal group participants, this suggests that language instruction in the  
176 modern learning context is responsible for right IFG activation in this and previous studies.  
177 Caution is urged, therefore, when interpreting results of neuroarchaeological studies that do not  
178 control for spoken language in the learning context.

179 [Insert Figs. 2-3]

180 Unique cortical areas recruited during the Oldowan task include the hand representation  
181 portions of the primary sensorimotor cortex in both hemispheres (Fig. 3a-b). This suggests the  
182 involvement of a lateral premotor system, which is dependent on external visual input to recognize  
183 and assign significance to external objects<sup>25</sup>. This is unsurprising, as the only goal of the Oldowan  
184 task is to visually identify ideal platforms and remove flakes until the core is exhausted. An  
185 evaluation of the video footage captured during the experiment and participant responses during

186 an exit interview reveal that the absence of activation in these hand areas during the Acheulian  
187 task might have resulted from participants using the leg rather than the hand as a support for the  
188 core. Participants also took their time to evaluate progress more often during the Acheulian task  
189 than during the Oldowan task, which could have resulted in less activation in the hand motor areas.

190         The Oldowan task also appears to come under increased cognitive control when it has been  
191 learned in the absence of verbal instruction (Fig. 3c). For example, it is only in the nonverbal group  
192 that the left MFG, or frontal eye field, is activated (Mann-Whitney  $U = 33.0$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). This area–  
193 also activated in the study by Stout et al.<sup>1</sup> (see yellow cluster in Fig. 3c)–forms part of the dorsal  
194 visual attention network<sup>36</sup>. The recruitment of this network only in the nonverbal condition  
195 suggests that learning to produce simple flakes without language requires increased attention to  
196 visuospatial demands. When learned verbally, Oldowan tool production elicits activity in the left  
197 dorsal PrG (Fig. 3d), an area that also is activated when passively reading action words related to  
198 the arm<sup>37</sup>.

199         Considered together, our findings suggest that Oldowan tool manufacture relies on the  
200 coordination of visual attention and motor control to successfully remove simple flakes. It would  
201 not be surprising to find that a homologous cognitive network is active in wild chimpanzees when  
202 they skilfully crack nuts with stone tools<sup>38</sup>, or even in capuchin monkeys when they strike two  
203 stones together, which can sometimes lead to unintentional flakes similar to those made by early  
204 hominins<sup>39</sup>. In sum, results of this experiment point to cognitive abilities that were more ape-like  
205 than human-like among hominin toolmakers prior to 1.8 Ma.

206         Acheulian tool manufacture, in addition, requires the integration of higher-order motor  
207 planning, working memory, and auditory feedback mechanisms to attend to information from  
208 multiple modalities as the toolmaker coordinates the different goals required by this more complex

209 task. We propose that, like the processing of an auditory speech stream, Acheulian knapping  
210 requires the knapper to discriminate between knapping sounds and to assign meaning to those  
211 sounds based on how they relate to the hierarchy of goals involved in making a handaxe (e.g., how  
212 does this strike and its associated sound get me closer to setting up an ideal platform to remove a  
213 flake that will be long and thin enough to remove this nearby convexity; how does this strike and  
214 its associated sound relate to the overall shape of the handaxe that I am trying to achieve). Thus,  
215 the knapping of Acheulian tools may have played a role in fine-tuning this function in the STG,  
216 perhaps facilitating the evolution of neural connections involved in speech perception.  
217 Interestingly, the Acheulian technocomplex coincides in timing with the evolution of a derived  
218 middle ear anatomy in *Homo* that was more attuned to human speech frequencies<sup>40,41</sup>. Together,  
219 fossil and neuroarchaeological evidence now reveal that a major shift in hominin auditory  
220 processing occurred after *Homo* diverged from *Australopithecus* and *Paranthropus* and before the  
221 appearance of *H. heidelbergensis*.

222         The adoption of the Acheulian toolkit by early *Homo* also coincides in time with a more  
223 unpredictable environment, an increase in brain and body size, and a more diverse diet that relied  
224 upon tool-assisted hunting and foraging of large game animals and tough, fibrous plant products<sup>42</sup>.  
225 As reliable food items became scarcer in this unpredictable environment, those individuals who  
226 were capable of holding in mind multiple modes of information to guide and coordinate their motor  
227 behaviours likely experienced higher reproductive success because of their enhanced ability to  
228 produce complex tools. We speculate that this ability allowed these individuals and their offspring  
229 greater access to a diverse set of food resources.

230         Our findings do not neatly overlap with prior claims of a technological origin for language.  
231 There is more support for a working memory hypothesis, as VWM plays an active role in the

232 network identified here that today allows modern humans to perform such behaviours as skilfully  
233 playing a musical instrument. Our data suggest that this cognitive network was probably necessary  
234 for early *Homo* to make Acheulian handaxes and might also have been important for other learned,  
235 complex behaviours. Additionally, a larger working memory capacity may have led to more  
236 complex imitative abilities, as Arbib has suggested<sup>43</sup>. We propose that selection for this integrated,  
237 multimodal network around 1.8 Ma in response to an unpredictable environment marked a turning  
238 point in the evolution of the hominin brain, leading to the expansion of prefrontal and temporal  
239 cortices<sup>3</sup>, a more complex cognitive toolkit, and the evolution of a new species of *Homo*.

240

## 241 **Methods**

### 242 *Experimental Design, Participants, and Procedure*

243 *An a priori* power analysis was performed for sample size determination based on data  
244 from a pilot study, comparing verbal with nonverbal instruction. Beta values from fifteen 20-s  
245 intervals of knapping were extracted from a channel that overlies anterior Broca's area. The  
246 effect size (Cohen's  $d = 1.13$ ) was considered to be large using Cohen's criteria<sup>44</sup>. With an alpha  
247 = 0.05 and power = 0.80, the projected sample size needed with this effect size is approximately  
248 14 subjects per group<sup>45</sup>.

249 Participants were recruited for the study via posted flyers that advertised for individuals  
250 interested in learning to make stone tools. Any persons interested in participating in the study  
251 received an online questionnaire that determined their eligibility to participate. They were  
252 screened for knapping experience, handedness, neurological, psychiatric, and physical handicaps,  
253 and drug use. Only individuals with no prior experience making stone tools were asked to  
254 participate. Because of evidence for abnormal language lateralization in left-handed and

255 ambidextrous individuals<sup>46</sup>, the Benton Neuropsychology Clinic Handedness test was  
256 administered during the screening process to determine the laterality quotient of potential  
257 subjects<sup>47</sup>. Only subjects who fell within the range of +75 - +100 points, or extreme right-  
258 handedness, were included in the experiment.

259         After positively demonstrating right-hand dominance and consenting to participate,  
260 subjects were asked about their psychiatric and neurologic history. Persons who had experienced  
261 traumatic brain injury (including stroke, anoxia and hypoxia, brain tumour, infections of the  
262 brain, etc.), loss of consciousness, a history of seizures, or severe learning disability were not  
263 included. Individuals with serious psychiatric disorders, such as autism, were excluded from the  
264 study. Additionally, the Drug Abuse Screen Test (DAST-10) was included to quantify the degree  
265 of drug abuse problems of potential subjects<sup>48</sup>. Individuals with a recent history of drug abuse  
266 show impairments in cognitive tasks<sup>49</sup>. Only persons who received a score of 2 or lower were  
267 permitted to participate. The study was approved by the IRB and Human Subjects Office at the  
268 University of Iowa (IRB ID #: 201304789), and all subjects signed an informed consent  
269 document prior to participating.

270         Participants were divided into two groups based on their performance during a manual  
271 dexterity test so that dexterity levels were equally distributed across groups. One group received  
272 verbal instruction while learning how to knap stone ( $N = 15$ ; 8 females, 7 males), and the other  
273 group received nonverbal instruction only ( $N = 16$ ; 8 females, 8 males). Manual dexterity was  
274 measured using the Minnesota Manual Dexterity Test (MMDT). This test assesses the manual  
275 dexterity required to place sixty round pegs with the dominant hand in specific places on a  
276 board<sup>50</sup>. While it is often used by physical and occupational therapists to determine baseline  
277 progress data from an injured patient, the MMDT has also proven to be a reliable and valid



278 method for obtaining measures of manual dexterity in healthy adults<sup>50,51</sup>. For the final sample of  
279 included participants, the nonverbal group averaged  $182.4 \pm 17.5$  s to place all sixty pegs in the  
280 holes on the board in three iterations, while the verbal group averaged  $182.7 \pm 16.9$  s. There was  
281 no significant difference in dexterity between the two groups based on this assignment ( $t = 0.06$ ,  
282  $p = 0.95$ ). Males, who averaged  $181.4 \pm 14.2$  s, and females, who averaged  $183.6 \pm 19.5$  s, also  
283 did not significantly differ from each other in their dexterity scores ( $t = -0.34$ ,  $p = 0.74$ ).

284         After screening and group assignment, participants attended their first practice session.  
285 One participant dropped out of the study halfway through this first session. Four additional  
286 participants were withdrawn after their first neuroimaging session because they had dark or thick  
287 hair that interfered with our ability to obtain high-quality NIRS signals. Finally, two subjects  
288 withdrew from the study before the final neuroimaging session for personal reasons. The final  
289 sample had 31 participants (nonverbal = 16, verbal = 15; 16 females, 15 males; age  $24.0 \pm 8.1$   
290 years [mean  $\pm$  SD]) who completed the entirety of the experiment.

291         The participants individually attended seven 60-min knapping practice sessions, during  
292 which they learned how to knap stone tools by watching instructional videos. We chose video  
293 instruction rather than in-person instruction to ensure that every subject received the exact same  
294 instructions at the same rate and also to control for interactive teaching, as there is currently not  
295 enough evidence to confirm that early *Homo* was capable of interactive teaching. The videos  
296 featured an expert knapper with over 12 years of experience. His face was not visible in the  
297 frame, though his hands, lap, and torso were visible. This prevented the nonverbal group from  
298 picking up on any verbal cues that were communicated by the face. Both groups watched the  
299 same instruction videos; however, the nonverbal group watched a silent version. Each practice  
300 session proceeded in the following order: 1) a 10-min instruction video; 2) 20 min of practice; 3)

301 the same 10-min instruction video; and 4) 20 min more to practice. Subjects were not able to  
302 manipulate the video in any way, for example, by pausing it. All the debitage created while  
303 knapping fell on a large tarpaulin mat. After the participants completed a core or core tool and  
304 were ready to move on to another rock, the core/core tool and its corresponding debitage were  
305 collected, bagged, and labelled with the rock number and other pertinent information for further  
306 analysis.

307 Each practice session introduced a new goal for them to meet, or reviewed and refined  
308 skills already introduced. The skills and tool types learned during practice sessions 1 and 2 were  
309 comparable to the skills and tool types of Oldowan simple tool production. This is a quick and  
310 expedient method of obtaining a sharp flake to use as a tool<sup>52</sup>. They learned how to recognize  
311 ideal striking angles on the raw material and tried to create flakes. They continued to practice  
312 making expedient flakes during the second practice session. The second video taught them how  
313 to recognize the best raw material for flaking. Subjects learned which materials fracture easily by  
314 trial and error. This also was communicated verbally to the verbal group. Practice sessions 3-7  
315 introduced and reviewed skills involved in the production of the early Acheulian technocomplex,  
316 which involves a more efficient removal of flakes and the intentional shaping of a large cutting  
317 tool<sup>53</sup>. The third practice session video featured alternate flaking around a square edge as the  
318 main goal for this session, which is an important skill for making bifaces. The instruction video  
319 for the fourth practice session introduced core bifaces, and the instructor in the video  
320 demonstrated biface manufacture at a very slow rate. In the fifth practice session, the video  
321 began to focus more on primary thinning of a piece to remove large convexities. The sixth  
322 instruction video presented information on how to shape and refine a biface by trimming.  
323 Finally, the subjects were presented with an instruction video during the seventh practice session

324 that focused on the entire process of bifacial reduction so that they could continue to practice the  
325 skills they learned from prior sessions.

326 For all practice and neuroimaging sessions, subjects were required to wear safety  
327 goggles, leather work gloves, and lap pads. They were also given the choice to wear a facemask  
328 to block out small particles of airborne silicates.

329 In addition to the training sessions, participants attended three 90-min neuroimaging  
330 sessions after the first, fourth, and seventh training sessions, during which they were video  
331 recorded and brain activity was observed using the TechEn CW6 system. They sat in a small  
332 room surrounded by black curtains. The experiment program was designed with EPrime  
333 software. The presentation of stimuli was synchronized with the CW6 system. Set-up involved  
334 measuring the participant's head to ensure the proper cap size, and measuring 10-20 landmarks  
335 to ensure proper cap placement on the head. Hair was cleared at each optode site. The 10-20  
336 landmarks and positions of the sources and detectors on the head were then digitized.

337 Each imaging session consisted of 1) a motor baseline task made up of 9 40-s blocks of  
338 activity segregated by 20-s rest periods to observe activation of motor-related brain areas while  
339 striking rocks together without the added element of actual knapping; 2) an Oldowan toolmaking  
340 task that was segregated into five 1-min blocks of activity with 15-s resting periods in between  
341 each block; and 3) an Acheulian toolmaking task segregated into fifteen 1-min blocks, separated  
342 by 15-s rest periods. The order of the tasks was not randomized during each imaging session nor  
343 was the length of resting periods; thus, there is some possibility that habituation effects impacted  
344 our results. These limitations should be addressed in future studies.

345 To eliminate the possibility of linguistic contamination, the experiment was designed so  
346 that all instructions were given via silent video with timing of events indicated by different tones,

347 and subjects were instructed to not talk during the experiment. Subjects were told at the  
348 beginning of the experiment to perform the same activity that they viewed in the instruction  
349 videos, which preceded each new task or event. Instructions also included training on the  
350 meanings of different tones they would hear throughout the session that would signal whether to  
351 stop or start an action. Only data from the final neuroimaging session are included here because  
352 this was the first point when more than 90% of the surveyed participants were able to identify the  
353 different goals of the Oldowan and Acheulian tasks.

354         At each practice and neuroimaging session, subjects were presented with three or four  
355 local, granitic rocks of varying sizes that were naturally rounded for use as hammer stones. A  
356 goal of the training was to introduce the subjects to different qualities, shapes, and types of rock  
357 to fracture so that they would learn to select the blank of highest quality and the most workable  
358 edges from the three choices that they were always provided. Thus, a variety of unheated cherts  
359 from the Midwestern United States, Texas, and California were obtained from collectors in  
360 Missouri and Texas, though most of the material was Burlington chert, a fine- to medium-  
361 grained stone that is easy to flake<sup>54</sup>. Prior to being made available for the subjects to knap, each  
362 stone was assigned a unique, identifying label, weighed on a digital scale, and assigned a  
363 measurement of volume by the water displacement method. Spalls and cobbles ranged between  
364 69.6 and 3000.0 g in mass (mean = 676.8 g) and had a volume between 20 and 1200 cm<sup>3</sup> (mean  
365 = 284.3 cm<sup>3</sup>). Generally, smaller pre-made spalls of chert with edges of very acute angles were  
366 provided in the first two practice sessions. By the third and fourth practice sessions, the  
367 participants could choose from medium-sized spalls without cortex that had edges with more  
368 difficult angles, as well as rounded cobbles with cortex but with one or more flakes already  
369 removed to help them get started. A mix of small- to medium-sized spalls and cobbles were

370 available to choose from for the Oldowan task during the neuroimaging sessions. Larger, more  
371 challenging pieces, many with square edges, were provided for the fifth, sixth, and seventh  
372 practice sessions and the Acheulian task during the neuroimaging sessions.

373

#### 374 *Behavioural Data Acquisition and Processing*

375 A key issue when comparing different groups in neuroimaging studies that measure  
376 changes over learning is that participants might learn at different rates depending upon their  
377 group assignment. To examine this possibility, digital callipers were used to take measurements  
378 on cores and flake debris from both knapping tasks during the final neuroimaging session to  
379 determine whether one of the learning groups produced stone tools with greater skill than the  
380 other group (see Supplementary Discussion). All core anddebitage pieces were collected after  
381 the completion of each finished core during the neuroimaging session. Anydebitage that passed  
382 through a ¼” screen was discarded. The remaining pieces were labelled and measured. Each  
383 piece was weighed to the nearest tenth of a gram and allocated to a metric size category  
384 continuum as defined by the smallest of a series of nested squares on centimetre graph paper into  
385 which the piece would completely fit (i.e., 1 cm<sup>2</sup>, 2 cm<sup>2</sup>, 3 cm<sup>2</sup>..., etc.). The maximum thickness  
386 was recorded for each piece. All non-coredebitage was coded as a flake (either complete,  
387 proximal, or distal) or nonflakedebitage shatter<sup>55</sup>. Any flakes with an intact striking platform  
388 underwent measurements for the maximum platform width and thickness.

389 These measurements were applied to a total of 5,757debitage pieces that correspond to  
390 72 cores, which were reduced by 30 of the participants in the study\*. Relative knapping skill as  
391 determined by thedebitage was measured using the following variables. The first set of variables

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\* Debitage output from the final neuroimaging session for one participant was not available for analysis.

392 measured correspond to flake and platform shape. Platform shape, determined by the ratio of  
393 maximum platform width to platform thickness, is a common method used to measure knapping  
394 skill<sup>18,28,56</sup>, as platform shape contributes to the size and shape of the overall flake. The ratio of  
395 flake size to flake mass was also included to determine flake shape differences between the  
396 groups<sup>18,56</sup>. A larger ratio in both cases signifies a flake that is both relatively thin and elongated,  
397 which demonstrates the knapper's ability to remove desired flake tools in the case of the  
398 Oldowan task and long, thinning flakes for shaping the core tool in the case of the Acheulian  
399 task. We calculated the relative platform area ( $[\text{platform width} \times \text{platform thickness}] / \text{flake size}$ )  
400 with the expectation that knappers of a higher skill level would produce smaller, thinner  
401 platforms relative to the size of the rest of the flake<sup>28</sup>.

402 The second set of variables measured correspond to the efficient use of raw material, as  
403 inefficient use of raw material is indicative of low skill level<sup>57</sup>. We examined the proportion of  
404 intended flakes to unintended shatter fragments, both on low quality and high quality  
405 material<sup>18,56</sup>, with the expectation that the assemblages of relatively more skilled knappers would  
406 include a higher percentage of flakes than the assemblages of less skilled knappers,  
407 demonstrating better control of the material. We also examined the proportion of whole flakes to  
408 flake fragments. Previous experimental research demonstrated that the assemblages of skilled  
409 knappers included more flake fragments than the assemblages of less skilled knappers, perhaps a  
410 result of skilled knappers striking the core at a higher velocity<sup>56</sup>. A clear sign of knapping skill in  
411 the case of the Oldowan task is the level of reduction of the cobble into usable flakes<sup>56</sup>. We  
412 measured this by determining the proportion of the original cobble's mass into flake, shatter, and  
413 unexploited core mass, with the expectation that the more skilled knappers would have a larger  
414 percentage of flake mass and a smaller percentage of unexploited core mass. Finally, we

415 examined the relative number of missed strikes on cores and debitage (total number of missed  
416 strikes/original cobble mass), which can be observed as incipient cones of percussion, micro-  
417 flake scars or battered edges, and hammer stone marks<sup>18</sup>. While it is impossible to get an exact  
418 count of missed strikes by looking at the lithics alone, if one group were to have a higher number  
419 of missed strikes than the other, this would be indicative of less skill, signifying less manual  
420 control.

421         Forty-nine core tools (attempted bifaces) from the Acheulian task were analysed. Along  
422 with the measures described above, core tools were determined to be bifaces by the presence of  
423 two opposing faces and at least one bifacial edge. A bifacial edge is defined as any sharp edge  
424 that has been created by removing flakes near the same location that run across opposite planes  
425 of the stone. This would require the knapper to strike off one flake and then flip the piece over  
426 and use the newly created angle to remove a second flake, a technique known as alternate  
427 flaking. The proportion of successful bifaces was determined by dividing each group's total  
428 number of successful bifaces by the group's total number of attempted bifaces. The maximum  
429 breadth and thickness of each successful biface were recorded with digital callipers. The ratio of  
430 biface breadth to thickness is informative about the level of biface refinement, such that a refined  
431 handaxe should have a larger breadth relative to thickness, which would present as a larger  
432 ratio<sup>28</sup>.

433         At the conclusion of the experiment, participants were asked questions related to their  
434 experience in the experiment, and their answers were recorded. Specifically, they were asked  
435 what they thought the goals were for the knapping tasks and whether or not they believed they  
436 achieved these goals. They were asked to explain how the two knapping tasks differed from each  
437 other, at what point in the experiment they understood there were differences between the two

438 knapping tasks, and whether or not they used different strategies to achieve the different goals of  
439 the two tasks. They explained what they were generally thinking about while knapping, whether  
440 or not these thoughts included language. Finally, they were asked for their opinion on whether  
441 language would be beneficial for learning to knap. Some of their answers have been summarized  
442 in Supplementary Fig. 2.

443

#### 444 *Designing the fNIRS Cap to Record from Target Regions of Interest (ROIs)*

445 Prior to the study, we identified a set of ROIs reported in three stone knapping studies  
446 that involve either PET or fMRI<sup>1,14,15</sup>. To further investigate the supposed involvement of the  
447 ventrolateral prefrontal cortex (vlPFC) during the transition to bifacial flaking, we also included  
448 coordinates from Table 2 in Badre and Wagner<sup>58</sup>, which averages the coordinates for the vlPFC  
449 reported in six other studies. Similarly, to test for the involvement of the dorsolateral prefrontal  
450 cortex (dlPFC) during Early Stone Age tool manufacture, coordinates for dlPFC activation were  
451 compiled from Pessoa and colleagues<sup>59,60</sup>.

452 Next, we used methods described in Wijekumar et al.<sup>19</sup> to design a custom optode  
453 geometry to record from these ROIs. This involved digitizing candidate source and detector  
454 locations on an EasyCAP (Brain Products GmbH, Germany) using a Polhemus Patriot™ Motion  
455 Tracking System (Colchester, VT) and projecting these positions onto an adult atlas available in  
456 AtlasViewer GUI in the HOMER2 software package  
457 ([www.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/PMI/resources/Homer2](http://www.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/PMI/resources/Homer2))<sup>61</sup>. Final adjustments to the optode  
458 geometry were made after performing Monte Carlo simulations to create a sensitivity distribution  
459 for each source-detector pair (i.e., the sensitivity of each source-detector pair to detecting  
460 changes in absorption of NIR light) and visually inspecting whether these sensitivity volumes



461 overlapped with the target ROIs. The end result was an optode geometry that recorded from all  
462 ROIs, including regions along the central sulcus, lateral prefrontal, superior temporal, and  
463 inferior parietal cortex.

464

#### 465 *Image Acquisition and Processing*

466 fNIRS data were acquired at 25 Hz with a TechEn CW6 system with wavelengths of 690  
467 nm and 830 nm. Light was delivered to a customized cap via fibre optic cables. The probe  
468 geometry had 12 sources and 24 detectors, creating 36 channels with a source-detector separation  
469 of 3 cm and two short source-detector channels with a separation of 1 cm (see Fig. 1c for optode  
470 coverage). HOMER2 software was employed to demean and convert the data into optical density  
471 (OD) units. A targeted principal component analysis (tPCA) was applied to data from the three  
472 tasks mentioned above to eliminate noise and motion artifacts<sup>62</sup>. We used a general linear model  
473 (GLM) to obtain beta values ( $\beta$ ) for oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb measures in every channel for all  
474 conditions in every task for each subject. Signals from the short source-detector channels were  
475 regressed from the rest of the channels to account for effects from superficial layers of the head.

476 The image reconstruction process is summarized briefly here (see Wijekumar et al. for a  
477 more extensive explanation of this process<sup>19,20</sup>). Head 10-20 landmarks from the session that had  
478 the best symmetry were chosen as the reference for each subject. The landmarks from the other  
479 two sessions were transformed (linear) to fit this reference set of landmarks. The transformation  
480 matrices were applied to the corresponding source and detector positions. AtlasViewerGUI  
481 (available within HOMER2) was used to project the points onto an adult atlas using a relaxation  
482 algorithm. The projected geometry was used to run Monte Carlo simulations based upon a GPU-  
483 dependent Monte Carlo algorithm<sup>63</sup> for each session and subject. This resulted in sensitivity

484 profiles (100 million photons) for each channel of the probe geometry for each session and  
 485 subject. Head volumes and sensitivity profiles of channels were converted to NIFTII images.  
 486 Subject-specific head volumes were skull-stripped and transformed to the head volume in the  
 487 native atlas space using an affine transform (BRAINSFit in Slicer 3D). The transformation  
 488 matrix obtained was applied to the sensitivity profiles to move them to the transformed head  
 489 volume space (BRAINSResample in Slicer3D). Sensitivity profiles for all channels were  
 490 thresholded to include voxels with an OD of greater than 0.0001<sup>19</sup>. These profiles were summed  
 491 to create a session and subject-specific mask, and then these masks were summed across all  
 492 sessions and subjects. Those shared voxels were used to create an intersection mask across  
 493 participants.

494 The beta coefficients obtained for each channel, condition (within each task), and subject  
 495 for oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb were combined with the forward model results obtained from the  
 496 Monte Carlo simulations to create voxel-based changes in oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb concentration  
 497 using image-reconstruction methods described by Wijekumar et al<sup>20</sup>. Briefly, the image  
 498 reconstruction problem can be formulated as the following generic equation:

499

$$500 \quad Y = L \cdot X \quad (1)$$

501

502 where,

$$503 \quad Y = \begin{bmatrix} \beta_{dOD}^{\lambda 1} \\ \beta_{dOD}^{\lambda 2} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$504 \quad L = \begin{bmatrix} \varepsilon_{oxy-Hb}^{\lambda 1} \cdot F^{\lambda 1} & \varepsilon_{deoxy-Hb}^{\lambda 1} \cdot F^{\lambda 1} \\ \varepsilon_{oxy-Hb}^{\lambda 2} \cdot F^{\lambda 2} & \varepsilon_{deoxy-Hb}^{\lambda 2} \cdot F^{\lambda 2} \end{bmatrix}$$

505 
$$X = \begin{bmatrix} \Delta oxy - Hb_{vox} \\ \Delta deoxy - Hb_{vox} \end{bmatrix}$$

506

507 Inverting  $L$  to solve for  $X$  results in an ill-conditioned and under-determined solution that  
 508 might be subject to rounding errors. An alternative is to use Tikhonov regularization<sup>64</sup>. In this  
 509 case, the above ‘system’ can be replaced by a regularized ‘system’. The solution is given by the  
 510 Gauss-Markov equation,

511

512 
$$X = (L^T L + \lambda . I)^{-1} L^T . Y \tag{2}$$

513

514 where  $\lambda$  is a regularization parameter that determines the amount of regularization and  $I$  is the  
 515 identity operator.

516 The solution to (2) can be found by minimizing the cost function<sup>65</sup>,

517

518 
$$cost \min X = |L . X - Y|^2 + \lambda . |X - X_0|^2 \tag{3}$$

519

520 where the size of the regularized solution is measured by the norm  $\lambda . |X - X_0|^2$ .  $X_0$  is an *a priori*  
 521 estimate of  $X$ , which is set to zero when no priori information is available. Here  $X$  is determined  
 522 for each chromophore and condition separately. Once Equation (3) is solved, there is now a  
 523 voxel-wise estimate of the concentration data. Thus, the best estimate of the channel-wise  
 524 concentration data for each condition (from the GLM) has been combined with information from  
 525 the photon migration results to create an estimate of the voxel-wise concentration data for each  
 526 chromophore, for each condition, and for each subject.

527           The resultant beta maps were intersected with the Intersection mask to restrict analyses to  
528 the voxels that were common to all sessions and subjects. Consequently, beta maps were  
529 obtained for each condition (within each task) and subject for oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb  
530 concentration levels.

531

### 532 *Statistical Analysis*

533           The hemodynamic responses of the verbal and nonverbal groups and the Oldowan and  
534 Acheulian tasks were compared using two-way ANOVA tests for both the oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb  
535 signals, conducted with the 3dMVM function in AFNI (Analysis of Functional Images)<sup>66</sup>.  
536 Resultant functional images of main effects and interactions were corrected for family-wise  
537 errors using the 3dClustSim function (corrected at alpha = 0.05, corresponding to a cluster size  
538 threshold of > 27 voxels). We analysed the highest-order effect in each spatially unique cluster;  
539 thus, main effect areas that overlapped with areas where an interaction occurred between Group  
540 and Task were interpreted based on the interaction effect.

541           Using the coordinates for the centre of mass of activation for each effect, we extracted the  
542  $\beta$  values in these areas for the Oldowan and Acheulian tasks and the verbal and nonverbal  
543 groups. In cases of a significant interaction, the averaged  $\beta$  values of Task and Group were  
544 compared using the Wilcoxon signed-rank test and Mann-Whitney test, respectively. We also  
545 compared  $\beta$  values from the knapping conditions to the motor baseline conditions using the  
546 Wilcoxon signed-rank test to identify significant clusters that were unique to stone knapping and  
547 not simply general motor regions. Only those significant clusters where post-hoc tests  
548 determined knapping activation to be significantly higher than motor baseline activation were  
549 included in the final results discussed in the main text. Because the motor baseline task did not

550 control for auditory stimulation while clicking rocks together, temporal cortex clusters were  
551 included in the final results, even if the signal in these regions was not significantly higher than  
552 the motor baseline signal.

553 To test for differences in knapping skill between the verbal and nonverbal groups,  
554 Kolmogorov-Smirnov, Mann-Whitney U, and Student's two-sided T-tests were employed for  
555 each variable related to the debitage and bifaces, with results considered significant at  $p < 0.05$ .

556

#### 557 *Data Availability*

558 The datasets generated during the current study are available from the corresponding  
559 authors upon reasonable request.

560

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662

663

664

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674

675 **Author Contributions:**

676 S.S.P. and R.G.F. developed the concept for the study. S.S.P. and J.P.S. designed the study.  
677 S.S.P. performed the experiment and carried out the analyses, under the supervision of S.W. and  
678 J.P.S. S.S.P. and J.P.S. wrote the manuscript, with contributions from S.W. and R.G.F.

679

680 **Competing Interests Statement:**

681 The authors declare no competing interests.

682

683 **Figure Legends**

684 **Fig. 1.** The lithic reduction processes of early *Homo* (a) were replicated by 31 modern human  
685 subjects while we used functional near-infrared spectroscopy (b) to record regional brain activity  
686 from portions of the frontal, parietal, and temporal cortices of the brain (c). Both Oldowan (left)  
687 and Acheulian (right) tools from the archaeological record (d) were reproduced by the  
688 participants in the study (e).

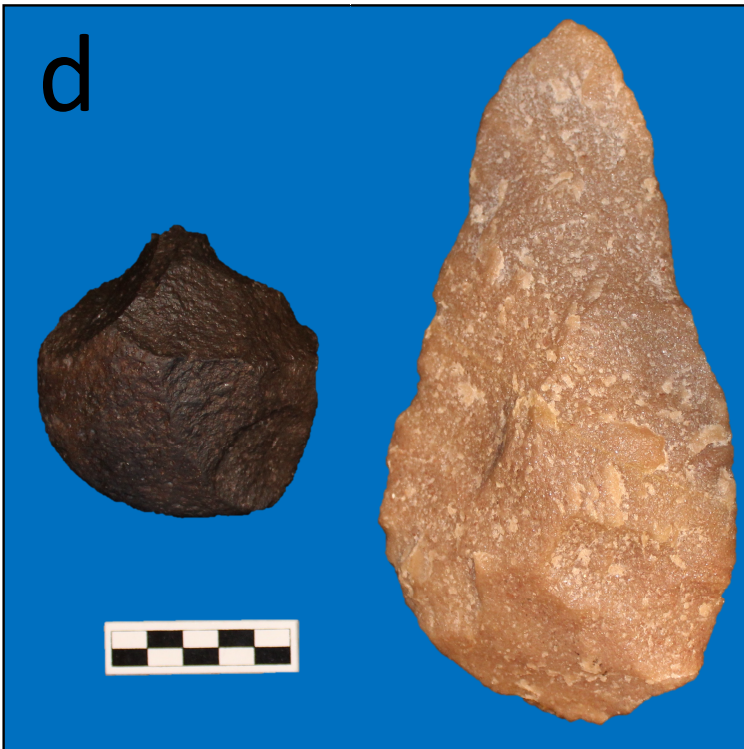
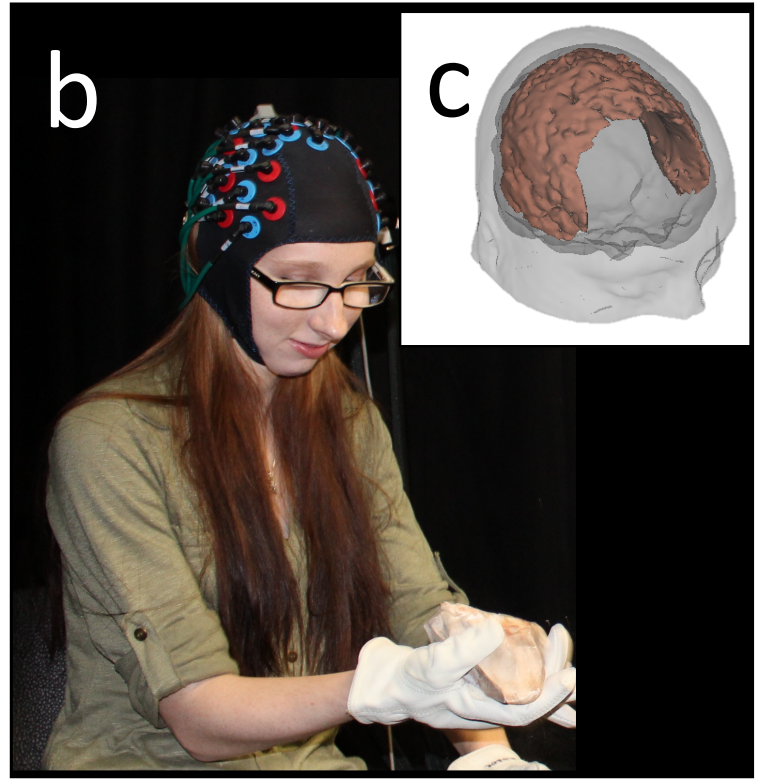
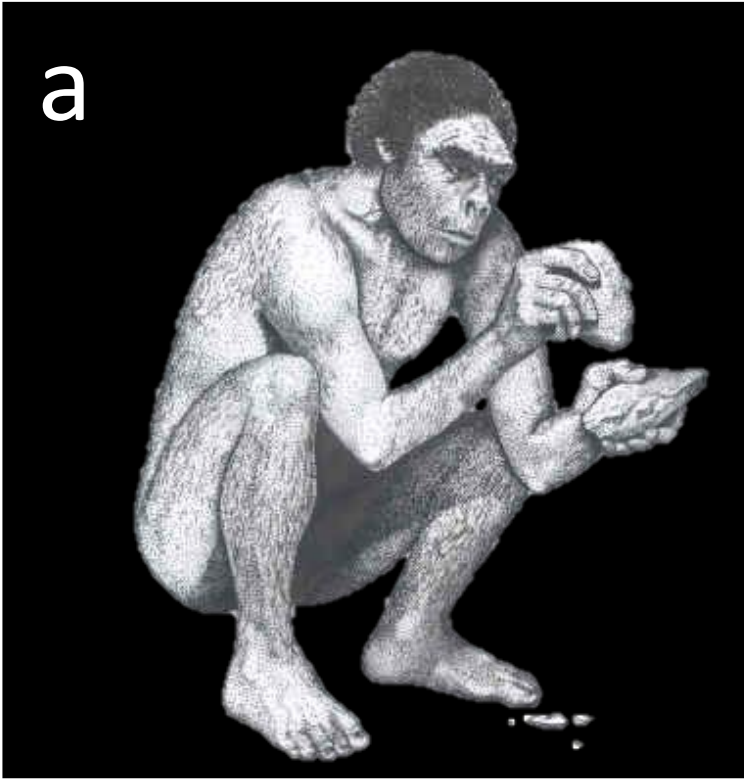
689

690 **Fig. 2.** Acheulian Activation and the Effect of Training Context. Spheres (8mm in diameter)  
691 show overlap between the current results (red;  $N = 31$ ,  $F = 4.19$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and previous findings

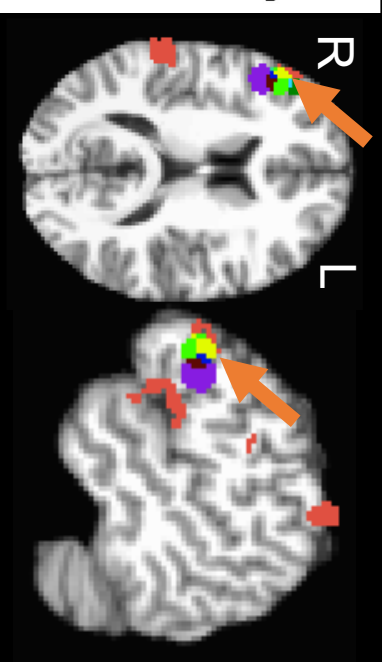
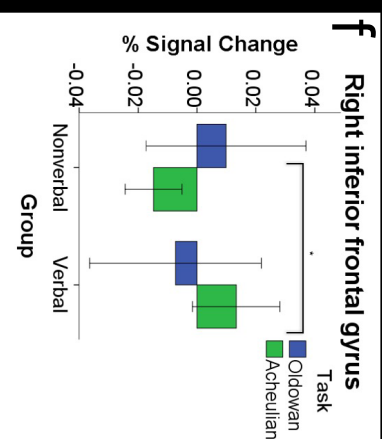
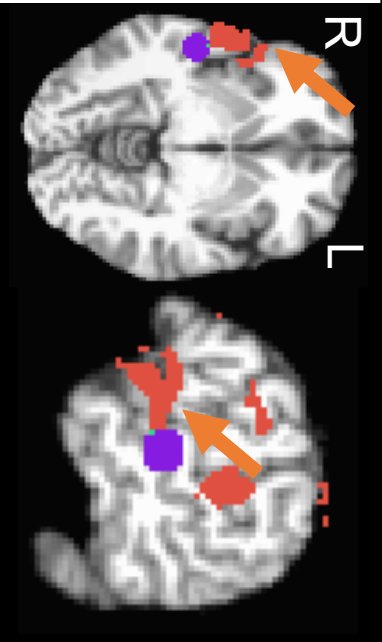
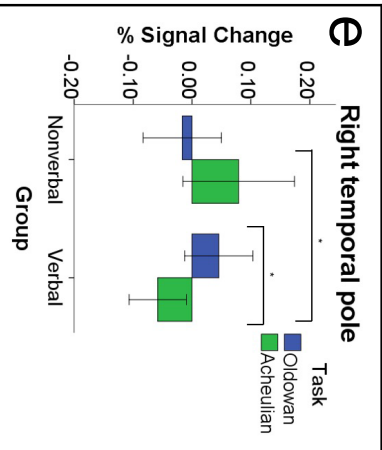
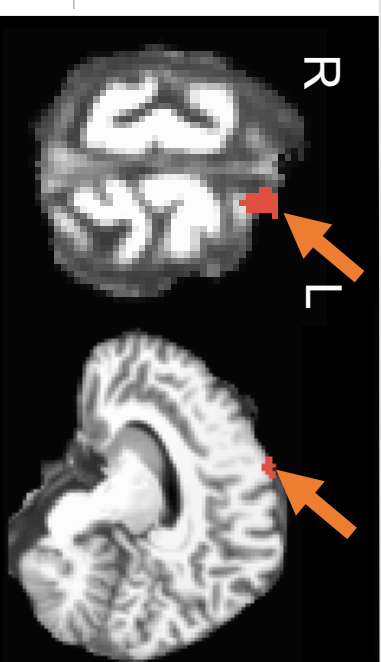
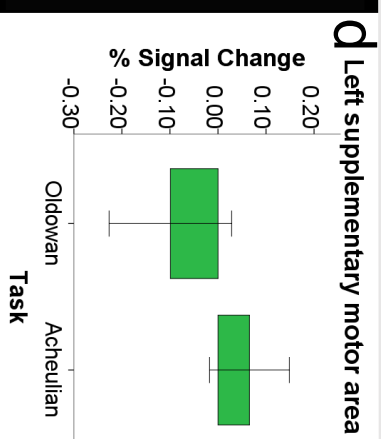
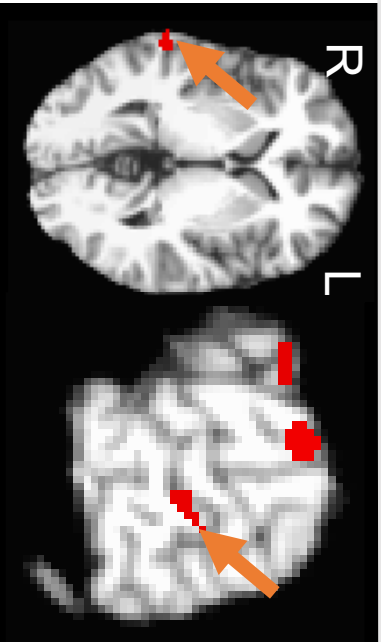
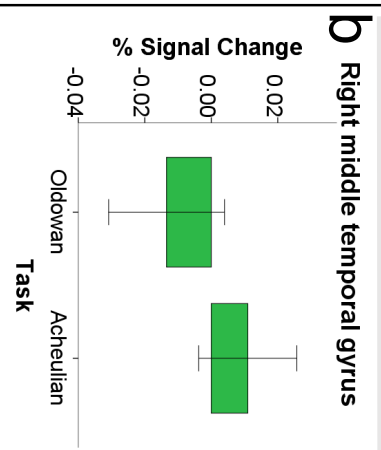
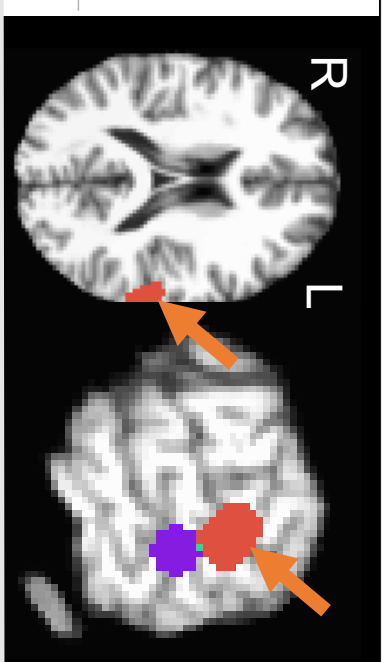
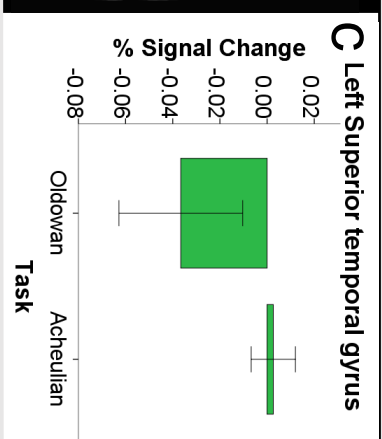
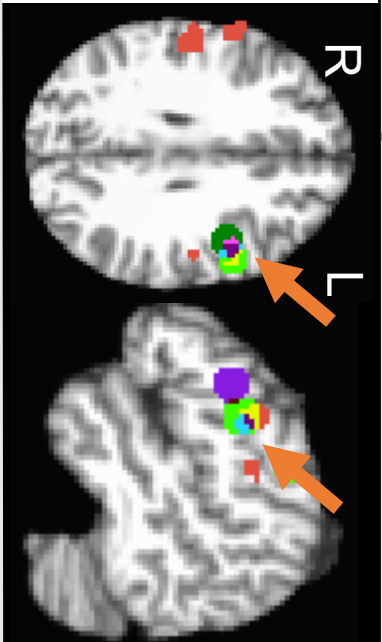
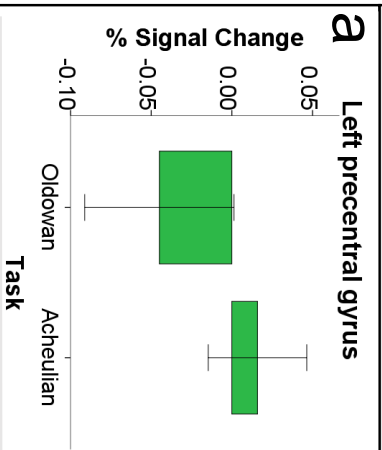
692 from a neuroarchaeological study<sup>1</sup> (light green), a language meta-analysis<sup>34</sup> (purple), and a  
693 VWM meta-analysis<sup>19</sup> (dark green). All other colours reflect overlap among these clusters (see  
694 text for additional detail). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. % Signal Change is in  
695  $\mu\text{M}$  units. Starred brackets in (e) and (f) indicate significant differences revealed via post-hoc  
696 tests where  $p < 0.05$  (see Methods).

697

698 **Fig. 3.** Oldowan Activation and the Effect of Training Context. Spheres (8mm in diameter) show  
699 overlap between the current results (red;  $N = 31$ ,  $F = 4.19$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and previous findings from a  
700 neuroarchaeological study<sup>1</sup> (light green) and a VWM meta-analysis<sup>19</sup> (dark green). All other  
701 colours reflect overlap among these clusters (see text for additional detail). Error bars represent  
702 95% confidence intervals. % Signal Change is in  $\mu\text{M}$  units. Starred brackets in (c) indicate  
703 significant differences revealed via post-hoc tests where  $p < 0.05$  (see Methods).



# Unique Acheulian Brain Activation

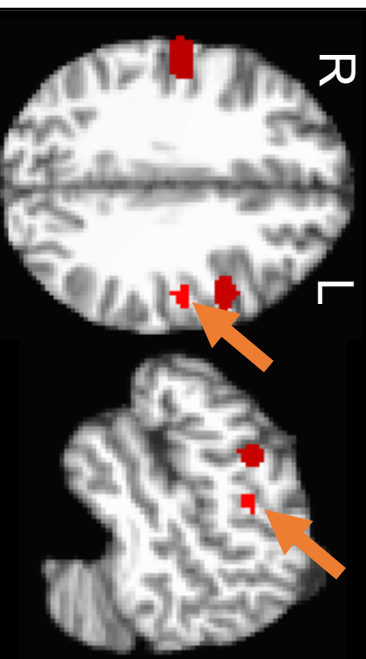
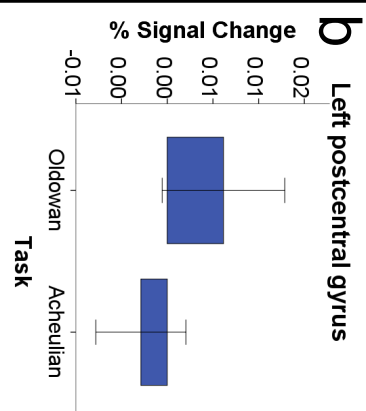
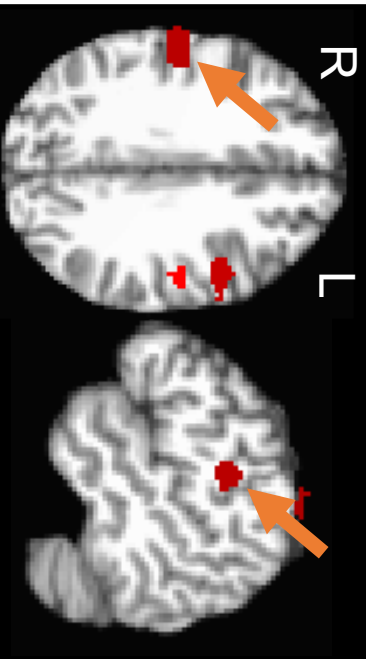
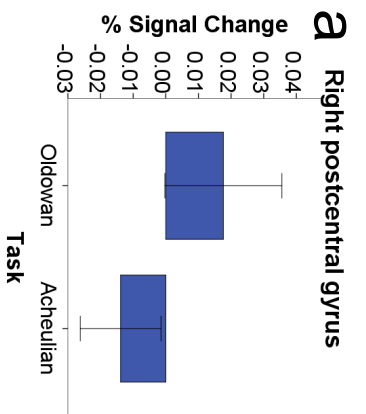


## Acheulian Activation by Training Context

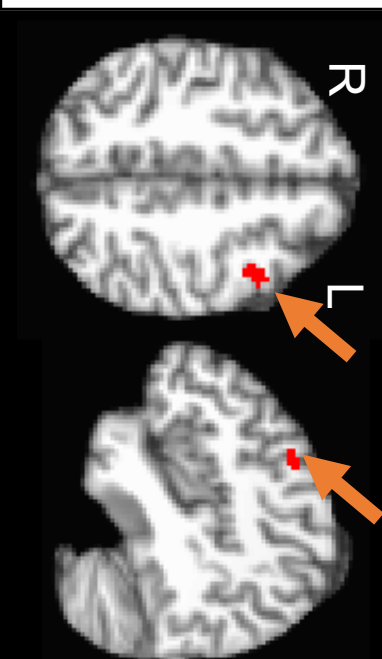
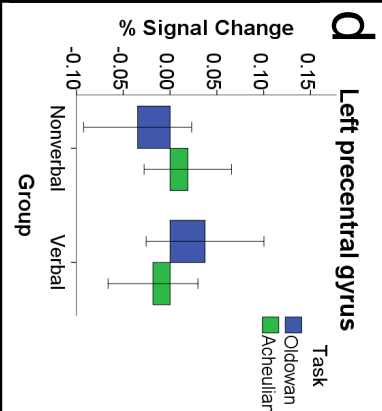
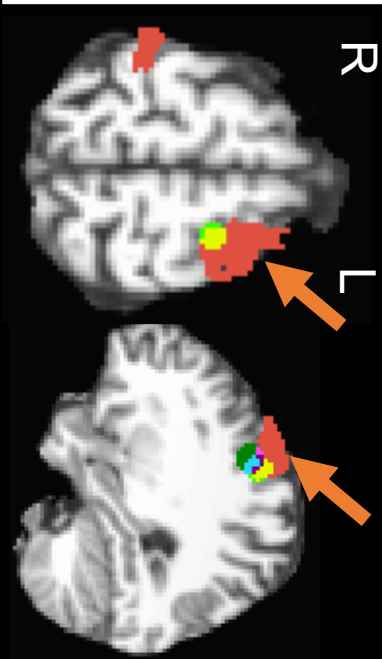
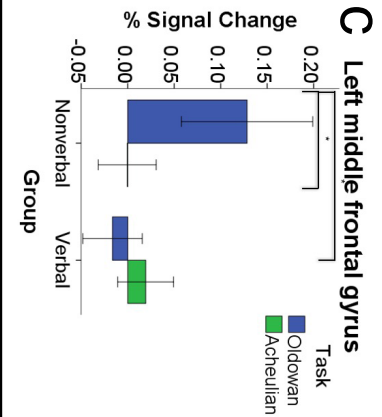
### Key

- Task/Interaction effect
- Language area (Vigneau et al.)
- Toolmaking area (Stout et al.)
- WWM area (Wijeakumar et al.)

# Unique Oldowan Brain Activation



## Oldowan Activation by Training Context



# **The Functional Brain Networks that Underlie Early Stone Age Tool Manufacture**

*Supplementary Information*

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## Supplementary Discussion

### *Behavioural Results*

Every participant was successful at removing flakes from a cobble by the final neuroimaging session. The statistical analysis of the debitage-related variables did not reveal a clear pattern of higher skill among one group over the other (Supplementary Table 1). Both groups produced a similar proportion of flakes to shatter on both low quality and high quality material, though the verbal group made significantly more whole flakes relative to flake fragments. The verbal group, on average, produced more flake mass than the nonverbal group, though this difference was not significant. Otherwise, both groups reduced a similar amount of shatter mass from the original cobble during the Oldowan task, leaving a similar amount of material unexploited on the core. The verbal group had fewer missed strikes than the nonverbal group, which could signify increased skill, but this difference was not significant. Some significant differences between the groups occurred among the measures of flake shape. The flakes produced by the nonverbal group had a shape that was significantly thinner and longer than those produced by the verbal group, which replicates the results of a previous study that looked at differences in knapping skill between verbally- and nonverbally-instructed novices in an interactive teaching environment<sup>18</sup>. The flakes made by the nonverbal group also had significantly smaller platforms relative to flake size than the verbal group, though platform shape on its own did not significantly differ between groups.

There is no evidence from the statistical analysis of the core tools that one group excelled over the other (Supplementary Table 1). Both groups had an almost identical proportion of successful bifaces (verbal = 0.652, nonverbal = 0.650). The verbal group's bifaces had a larger average breadth to thickness ratio than the nonverbal group, but this difference was not significant. These results imply that the two groups reached similar levels of skill, and any differences in localized neural activation reflect the type of tool constructed (Oldowan, Acheulian) and the training context (verbal, nonverbal).



**Supplementary Table 1.** Group differences in knapping skill using debitage and core variables

Variable	Nonverbal			Verbal			Statistic	Sig.
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.		
Platform Shape (Width/Thickness)	1719	3.68	2.42	1609	3.50	2.07	1.22 <sup>D</sup>	0.103
Flake Shape (Size/Mass)	3157	2.96	4.16	2711	2.34	3.85	4.78 <sup>D</sup>	<0.001*
Relative Platform Area	1710	27.54	33.1	1604	33.41	36.78	2.81 <sup>D</sup>	<0.001*
Proportion of Flakes to Shatter	35	0.89	0.10	36	0.89	0.11	612.00 <sup>U</sup>	0.836
Proportion of Flakes on Low Quality Material	32	0.84	0.15	35	0.85	0.16	589.00 <sup>U</sup>	0.715
Proportion of Flakes on High Quality Material	31	0.93	0.09	30	0.91	0.12	422.50 <sup>U</sup>	0.535
Proportion of Flakes to Flake Fragments	35	0.57	0.18	36	0.66	0.17	2.35 <sup>t</sup>	.021*
Proportion of Flake Mass Removed	35	0.48	0.20	36	0.56	0.22	771.00 <sup>U</sup>	0.105
Proportion of Shatter Mass Removed	35	0.11	0.12	36	0.12	0.18	693.00 <sup>U</sup>	0.469
Proportion of Remaining Core Mass	35	0.32	0.20	36	0.28	0.22	490.00 <sup>U</sup>	0.107
Relative Number of Missed Strikes	35	0.15	0.22	36	0.12	0.10	671.00 <sup>U</sup>	0.637
Biface ratio (Breadth/Thickness)	13	1.89	0.34	15	2.00	0.54	0.62 <sup>t</sup>	0.538

\*Significant at  $p < 0.05$

<sup>D</sup>A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was applied to cases with non-normal distributions and unequal variances. Statistic here refers to a *D* statistic.

<sup>U</sup>A Mann-Whitney U test was applied to cases with non-normal distributions and equal variances. Statistic here refers to a *U* statistic.

<sup>t</sup>Student's t-test was applied to cases with normal distributions and equal variances. Statistic here refers to a *t* statistic.

### *Preliminary Meta-Analysis*

Previous neuroarchaeological research suggests that stone knapping behaviours do not require working memory involvement but do overlap with language-processing areas<sup>1,14,15,17</sup>. This interpretation was based mainly on the lack of activation in the dlPFC, which is considered to be an important component of the working memory system. This claim may have been premature, however, as working memory is a distributed neural system with multiple integrated, cortical regions. Indeed, a recent ALE meta-analysis of neuroimaging studies focused on stone knapping reveals that working memory plays an essential role in stone knapping, especially during Acheulian tool replication<sup>67</sup>. By plotting the coordinates of eight significant clusters from a recent neuroarchaeological study<sup>1</sup> in the same space as the coordinates from a visual working memory (VWM) meta-analysis<sup>19</sup> and a language-processing meta-analysis that includes phonological, lexico-semantic, and sentence processing neuroimaging studies<sup>34</sup>, we also found that stone knapping functional activation not only overlaps with language centres but also overlaps with the VWM network, a fact that has been overlooked in previous studies (Supplementary Fig. 1).

### *Neuroimaging Results*

fNIRS is unique in that it simultaneously measures the changes in concentration of both oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb. Here we present the results for both chromophores. Supplementary Table 2 shows the list of all significant ANOVA results related to the oxy-Hb signal. The results reported in the main text (highlighted in grey in Supplementary Table 2) reflect active clusters with the highest-order effect (an Interaction effect in the case of overlap between a Main Effect and an Interaction; a Main Effect otherwise) that were also significantly higher than the motor baseline task. Effects that were not significantly greater than motor baseline but lie within the temporal cortex were also included because we did not control for sound production in the motor

baseline task. In total, we focused on six clusters that showed a significant effect of Task and four clusters where Oldowan and Acheulian toolmaking were modulated by the linguistic context of training. Note that all of the Group main effects were subsumed by an overlapping Task x Group interaction.

Supplementary Table 3 shows the list of all significant ANOVA results related to concentrations of deoxy-Hb. The ANOVA revealed multiple clusters showing a significant main effect of Group and Task, as well as significant Group x Task interactions. Ten of these significant clusters overlapped spatially with significant oxy-Hb clusters. In nine of these clusters, there was an inverse relationship between deoxy-Hb and oxy-Hb (highlighted in grey in Supplementary Table 3). Oxy-Hb and deoxy-Hb signals tend to be negatively correlated with each other<sup>68</sup>. Critically, six of these nine clusters overlapped with the oxy-Hb results reported in the main text, including the right temporal pole, left STG, right PoG, left MFG, and two areas in the left PrG (Supplementary Fig. 3). These deoxy-Hb results lend further support to the conclusions reached in the main text.

**Supplementary Table 2.** Regions of significant activation (oxy-Hb) as determined by a two-way ANOVA between Group (verbal and nonverbal) and Task (Oldowan and Acheulian)<sup>1</sup>.

Localization		Sig. Effect <sup>2</sup>	MNI Coordinates (mm)			Volume (mm <sup>3</sup> )	<i>M</i> Δoxy-Hb (μM) ± SEM
			x	y	z		
<b>Task main effect</b>							
Left	Superior temporal gyrus	A>O	-60.8	-31.9	17.7	3600	6.18 ± 0.06
Left	Precentral gyrus* <sup>α</sup>	O>A	-31.7	-4.3	59.7	3584	6.26 ± 0.07
Right	Postcentral gyrus <sup>α</sup>	A>O	46	-25.2	62	1688	5.07 ± 0.05
Right	Postcentral gyrus*	O>A	58.5	-14.7	32.3	1624	6.55 ± 0.12
Left	Precentral gyrus*	A>O	-50.2	5.8	33.5	1104	4.92 ± 0.05
Right	Middle temporal gyrus	A>O	67.7	-33.6	2.8	536	4.39 ± 0.02
Right	Precentral gyrus <sup>α</sup>	A>O	61.9	7	28.7	432	5.81 ± 0.20
Left	Supplementary motor area*	A>O	-9.9	1.4	75.7	352	4.73 ± 0.07
Left	Postcentral gyrus*	O>A	-50.7	-14.2	32.8	320	5.18 ± 0.11
<b>Group main effect</b>							
Right	Rolandic operculum <sup>α</sup>	NV>V	63.4	-12.3	11.6	6904	7.03 ± 0.10
Left	Inferior parietal lobule* <sup>α</sup>	NV>V	-55.2	-31.4	38.9	6312	7.38 ± 0.08
Left	Superior frontal gyrus* <sup>α</sup>	NV>V	-22.5	-0.7	65.8	5688	6.48 ± 0.06
Right	Postcentral gyrus <sup>α</sup>	NV>V	36.3	-33.1	71	328	5.30 ± 0.13
<b>Group x Task interaction</b>							
Right	Temporal pole	V: O>A; A: NV>V	57.3	9.6	-5.8	4968	6.83 ± 0.08
Left	Middle frontal gyrus*	NV: O>A; O: NV>V	-27.9	-1.4	64.9	4928	8.40 ± 0.13
Right	Supramarginal gyrus	O: NV>V	63.7	-26	19.9	4008	6.39 ± 0.07
Left	Supramarginal gyrus	V: A>O; O: NV>V	-55.5	-42.6	33	2456	5.13 ± 0.04
Right	Postcentral gyrus	V: A>O; O: NV>V	46.7	-32	62.8	1864	6.88 ± 0.13
Right	Postcentral gyrus	NV: A>O	60.3	-2	30.2	1192	5.78 ± 0.11
Right	Inferior frontal gyrus*	A: V>NV	51.4	37.2	13.5	776	4.79 ± 0.05
Left	Precentral gyrus*	NS	-40.3	6.5	46.2	624	5.00 ± 0.06

<sup>1</sup>Grey highlighted areas reflect active clusters with the highest-order effect (an Interaction effect in the case of overlap between a Main Effect and an Interaction; a Main Effect otherwise) that were also significantly higher than the motor baseline task.

<sup>2</sup>A=Acheulian, O=Oldowan, V=Verbal, NV=Nonverbal, NS=Not significant

\*Indicates cluster where knapping activation is significantly higher than motor baseline activation

<sup>α</sup>Main effect subsumed by an Interaction effect. Note that localization labels reflect the centre of mass of each cluster using MNI labelling conventions; thus, labels used for overlapping main effects and interactions might differ because the centres of mass differed.

**Supplementary Table 3.** Regions of significant activation (deoxy-Hb) as determined by a two-way ANOVA between Group (verbal and nonverbal) and Task (Oldowan and Acheulian).<sup>1</sup>

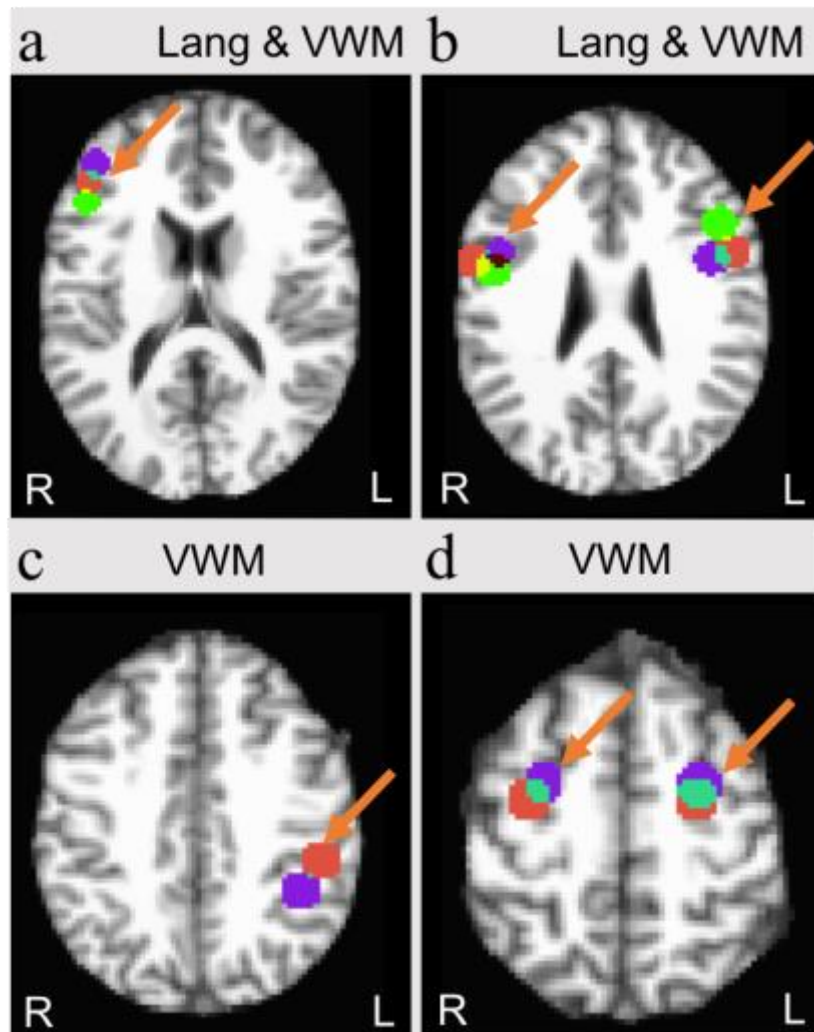
Localization		Sig. Effect <sup>2</sup>	MNI Coordinates (mm)			Volume (mm <sup>3</sup> )	<i>M</i> Δdeoxy-Hb (μM) ± SEM
			x	y	z		
<b>Task main effect</b>							
Right	Precentral gyrus <sup>α</sup>	O>A	43.1	-16.2	59.5	2728	5.24 ± 0.04
Left	Precentral gyrus	O>A	-49.2	-2.6	33.9	944	5.18 ± 0.08
Right	Postcentral gyrus <sup>α</sup>	A>O	58.9	-12.7	29.6	920	5.27 ± 0.08
Left	Superior temporal gyrus	O>A	-62.1	-37.6	14.7	744	4.91 ± 0.06
Right	Inferior frontal gyrus	A>O	53.0	29.1	15.7	704	5.02 ± 0.08
Left	Middle frontal gyrus	O>A	-39.3	30.0	41.0	600	4.94 ± 0.07
Left	Inferior frontal gyrus	O>A	-53.4	15.7	34.5	400	4.57 ± 0.05
Right	Superior parietal lobule <sup>α</sup>	A>O	36.0	-59.8	60.4	384	4.46 ± 0.04
<b>Group main effect</b>							
Left	Superior temporal gyrus	NV>V	-59.6	-17.4	10.7	1920	5.74 ± 0.07
Right	Postcentral gyrus	V>NV	55.9	-24.0	45.8	1120	5.74 ± 0.11
Left	Precentral gyrus <sup>α</sup>	NV>V	-41.9	0.7	50.0	648	4.83 ± 0.05
Left	Middle frontal gyrus	V>NV	-46.4	28.2	34.0	640	5.00 ± 0.06
<b>Group x Task interaction</b>							
Right	Precentral gyrus	NV: A>O; V: O>A; O: V>NV	52.3	-4.6	49.9	2704	6.25 ± 0.09
Left	Precentral gyrus	O: NV>V	-40.4	7.9	46.9	2384	6.33 ± 0.09
Left	Precentral gyrus	NS	-26.7	-0.6	58.8	2016	5.38 ± 0.06
Right	Superior parietal lobule	NS	40.8	-50.0	62.4	1120	5.52 ± 0.08
Right	Superior temporal gyrus	NV: O>A; A: V>NV	59.2	-21.6	6.9	1000	4.80 ± 0.04
Left	Superior temporal gyrus	V: A>O; A: V>NV	-64.4	-9.6	0.4	928	4.66 ± 0.04
Right	Postcentral gyrus	O: NV>V	59.7	-12.0	29.7	856	5.30 ± 0.09
Right	Supramarginal gyrus	NS	59.3	-45.6	35.5	856	4.72 ± 0.04
Right	Middle frontal gyrus	NV: O>A	41.6	13.3	55.5	784	5.17 ± 0.09
Left	Paracentral lobule	O: V>NV	-7.9	-32.2	78.2	632	4.83 ± 0.06
Right	Inferior frontal gyrus	O: NV>V	60.0	17.5	3.2	504	5.27 ± 0.09
Right	Postcentral gyrus	NS	33.2	-37.5	66.2	440	4.65 ± 0.05
Right	Middle temporal gyrus	V: A>O; A: V>NV	68.9	-20.6	-7.6	424	4.66 ± 0.04
Right	Inferior frontal gyrus	NV: O>A	63.3	-12.6	29.3	224	4.65 ± 0.08

<sup>1</sup>Grey highlighted rows represent clusters that overlap and share an inverse relationship with significant oxy-Hb clusters (see Supplementary Table 1).

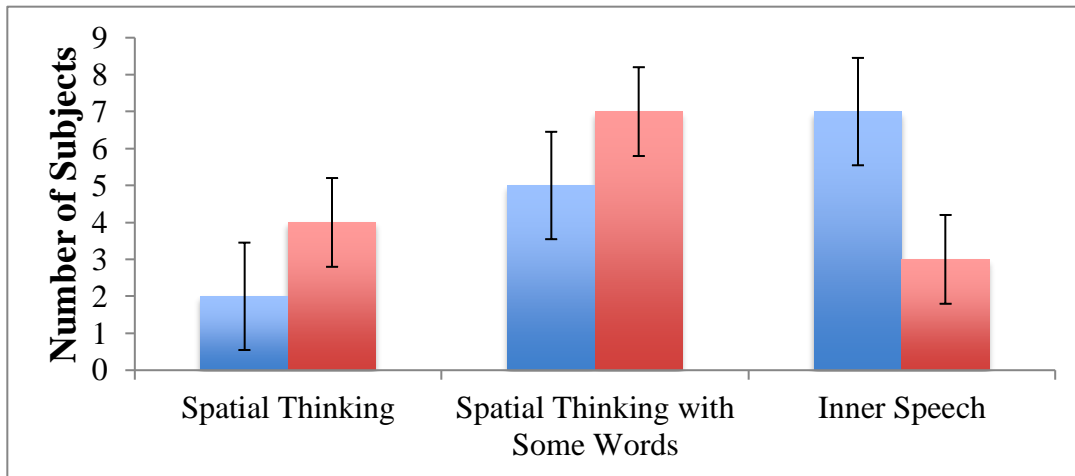
<sup>2</sup>A=Acheulian, O=Oldowan, V=Verbal, NV=Nonverbal, NS=Not significant

<sup>α</sup>Main effect subsumed by an Interaction effect. Note that localization labels reflect the centre of mass of each cluster using MNI labelling conventions; thus, labels used for overlapping main effects and interactions might differ because the centres of mass differed.

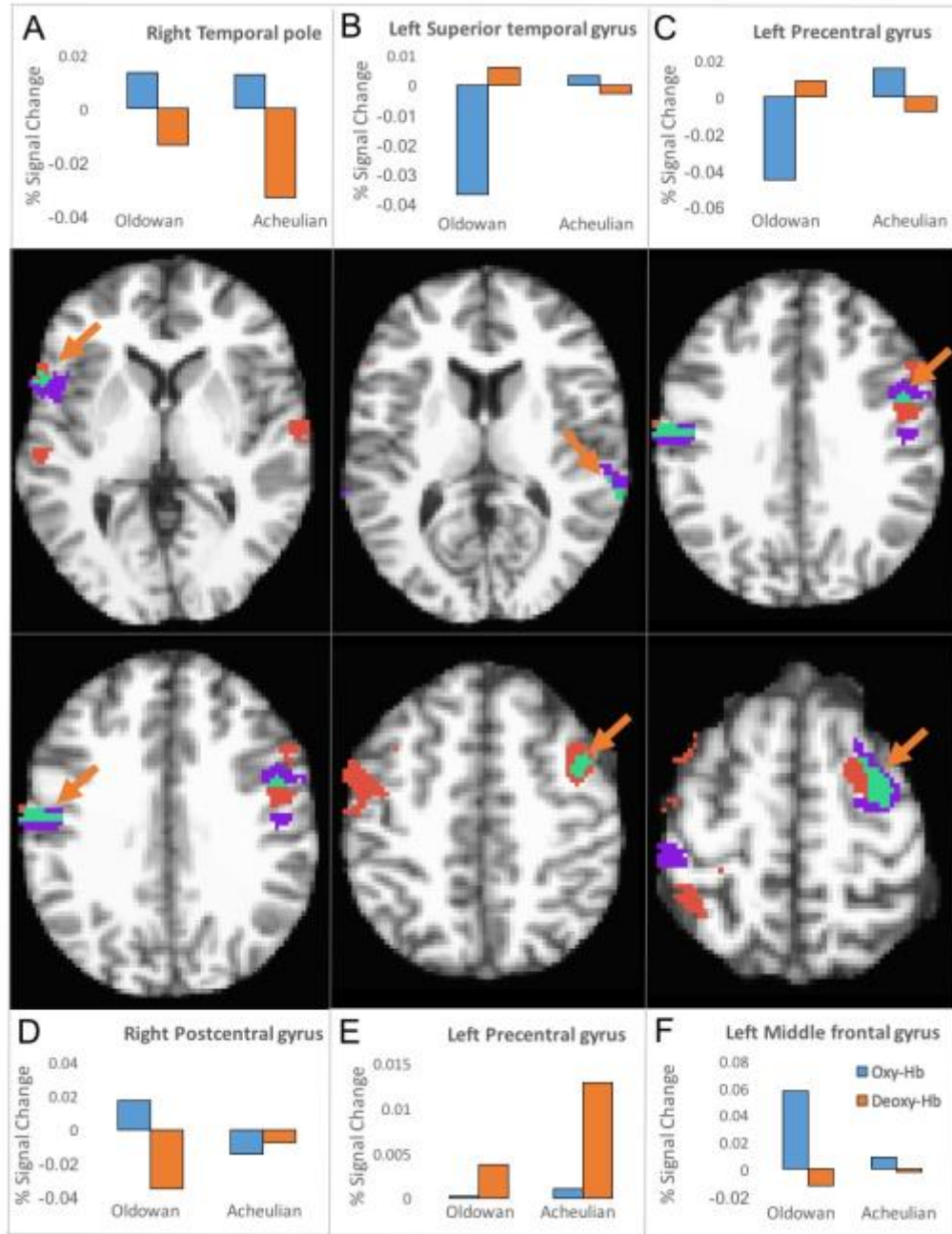
## Supplementary Figures



**Supplementary Figure 1.** Areas of functional overlap between a prior study of Early Stone Age knapping<sup>1</sup> (red), language-processing<sup>34</sup> (light green), and/or VWM<sup>19</sup> (purple), including (a) right IFG (*pars triangularis*), (b) bilateral ventral PrG, (c) left inferior parietal lobule, and (d) bilateral dorsal PrG. Overlap between spheres is represented by turquoise, mauve, and yellow colours. This figure demonstrates that stone knapping overlaps with the VWM network to an even greater extent than it overlaps with language centres.



**Supplementary Figure 2.** Post-experiment interview subject responses by group (nonverbal = red; n = 14, verbal = blue; n = 14) to the question, “Did you think with language while knapping?” Subjects’ responses were coded as one of three categories. A completely negative response to the question was coded as ‘Spatial Thinking.’ Responses that indicated minimal involvement of inner speech while thinking about the task were coded as ‘Spatial Thinking with Some Words,’ and participants who emphasized inner speech as their main mode of thinking or mentioned recalling entire phrases from the instruction videos were coded as ‘Inner Speech.’ Error bars represent standard error.



**Supplementary Figure 3.** Relationship between significant, overlapping oxy-Hb (purple) and deoxy-Hb (red) clusters ( $N = 31$ ). Overlap between clusters is represented by turquoise. Bar plots compare relative oxy-Hb (blue) and deoxy-Hb (orange) concentrations across tasks. % Signal Change is in  $\mu\text{M}$  units.

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