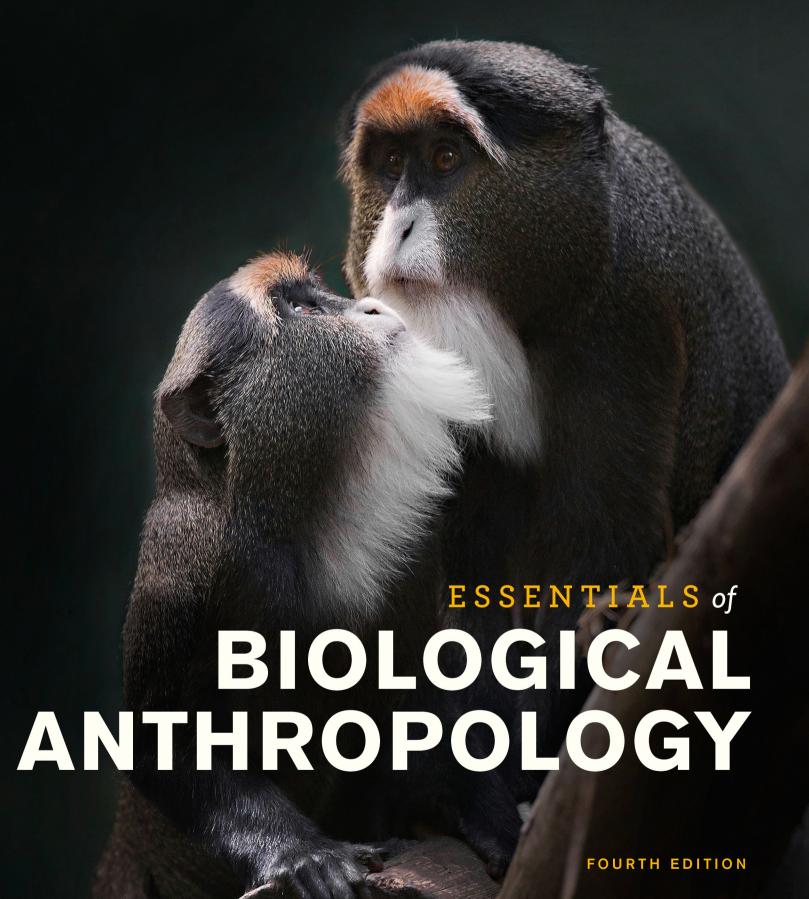
## CLARK SPENCER LARSEN





**FOURTH EDITION** 



## **ESSENTIALS OF**

# BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

## **CLARK SPENCER LARSEN**

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY



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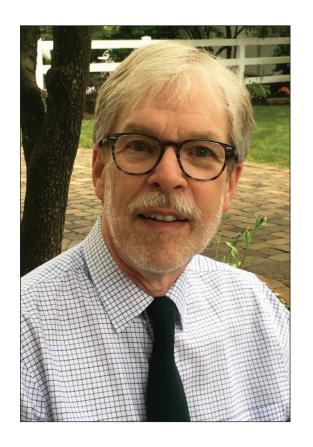
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To Chris and Spencer, with my deepest thanks for their help, encouragement, and (unwavering) patience

In memory of Jack Repcheck (January 13, 1957–October 14, 2015) Editor, writing mentor, and friend

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Clark Spencer Larsen is a native of Nebraska. He received his B.A. from Kansas State University and M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. Clark's research is in bioarchaeology, skeletal biology, and paleoanthropology. He has worked in North America, Europe, and Asia. His current fieldwork is in Turkey, Italy, and the United States. He has taught at the University of Massachusetts, Northern Illinois University, Purdue University, and the University of North Carolina. Since 2001, he has been a member of the faculty at The Ohio State University, where he is Distinguished University Professor. He served as Chair of the Department of Anthropology from 2001 to 2017. He teaches introductory biological anthropology, osteology, bioarchaeology, and paleoanthropology. Clark has served as president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists and as editor-in-chief of the American Journal of Physical Anthropology. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In addition to Essentials of Biological Anthropology, he has authored or edited 35 books and monographs, including Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Behavior from the Human Skeleton, Skeletons in Our Closet, Advances in Dental Anthropology, and A Companion to Biological Anthropology.

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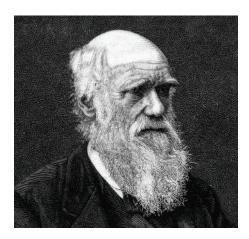
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## TO THE INSTRUCTOR

## HOW THIS BOOK CAN HELP YOUR STUDENTS DISCOVER BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

#### It Is about Engagement

Teaching is about engagement—connecting the student with knowledge, making it real to the student, and having the student come away from the course with an understanding of core concepts. *Essentials of Biological Anthropology* seeks to engage the student in the learning process. Engaging the student is perhaps more of a challenge in the study of biological anthropology than in the study of other sciences, mainly because the student has likely never heard of the subject. Most students have taken a precollege course in chemistry, physics, or biology. Biological anthropology, though, is rarely mentioned or taught in precollege settings. Commonly, the student first finds out about the subject when an academic advisor explains that biological anthropology is a popular course that fulfills the college's natural science requirement.

Once taking the course, however, that same student usually connects quickly with the subject because so many of the topics are familiar—fossils, evolution, race, genetics, DNA, monkeys, forensic investigations, and origins of speech, to name a few. The student simply had not realized that these separately engaging topics come under the umbrella of one discipline, the subject of which is the study of human evolution and human diversity.

Perhaps drawn to biological anthropology because it focuses on our past and our present as a species, the student quickly sees the fundamental importance of the discipline. In *Discover* magazine's 100 top stories of 2009, 18 were from biological anthropology. Three topics from the field were in the top 10, including the remarkable discovery of our earliest human ancestor, *Ardipithecus*. So important was this discovery that *Science*, the leading international professional science journal, called it the "Breakthrough of the Year" for 2009. The discussions in this textbook of topics, familiar and unfamiliar, give the student stepping-stones to science and to the centrality of biological anthropology

as a window into understanding our world. Whether the students find the material familiar or unfamiliar, they will see that the book relates the discipline to human life: real concerns about human bodies and human identity. They will see themselves from an entirely different point of view and gain new awareness.

In writing this book, I made no assumptions about what the reader knows, except to assume that the reader-the student attending your biological anthropology class-has very little or no background in biological anthropology. As I wrote the book, I constantly reflected on the core concepts of biological anthropology and how to make them understandable. I combined this quest for both accuracy and clarity with my philosophy of teaching; namely, engage the student to help the student learn. Simply, teaching is about engagement. While most students in an introductory biological anthropology class do not intend to become professional biological anthropologists, some of these students become interested enough to take more courses. So this book is written for students who will not continue their study of biological anthropology, those who get "hooked" by this fascinating subject (a common occurrence!), and those who now or eventually decide to become professionals in the field.

The book is unified by the subject of biological anthropology. But equally important is the central theme of science—what it is, how it is done, and how scientists (in our case, anthropologists) learn about the natural world. I wrote the book so as to create a picture of who humans are as organisms, how we got to where we are over the past millions of years of evolution, and where we are going in the future in light of current conditions. In regard to biological anthropology, the student should finish the book understanding human evolution and how it is studied, how the present helps us understand the past, the diversity of organisms living and past, the diversity of human beings, and the nature of biological change over time and across geography. Such knowledge should help the student answer questions about the world. For example, How did primates emerge as

a unique group of mammals? Why do people look different from place to place around the world? Why is it important to gain exposure to sunlight yet unsafe to prolong that exposure? Why is it unhealthy to be excessively overweight? Throughout their history, what have humans eaten, and why is it important to know?

I have presented such topics so that the student can come to understand the central concepts and build from them a fuller understanding of biological anthropology. Throughout the book, I emphasize hypothesis testing, the core of the scientific method, and focus on that process and the excitement of discovery. The narrative style is personalized. Often I draw on my own experiences and those of scientists I know or am familiar with through their teaching and writing, to show the student how problems are addressed through fieldwork or through laboratory investigations.

Scientists do not just collect facts. Rather, they collect data and make observations that help them answer questions about the complex natural world we all inhabit. Reflecting this practice, Essentials of Biological Anthropology is a collection not of facts for the student to learn but of answers to questions that help all of us understand who we are as living organisms and our place in the world. Science is a way of knowing, it is a learning process, and it connects our lives with our world. In these ways, it is liberating.

#### **How the Book Is Organized**

The book is divided into two parts. After an introductory overview of anthropology and biological anthropology, part I presents the key principles and concepts in biology, especially from an evolutionary perspective. This material draws largely on the study of living organisms, including humans and our closest biological relatives, and nonhuman primates. Because much of our understanding of the past is drawn from what we have learned from the present, this part lays the foundation for the presentation in part II—the past record of primate and human evolution. In putting the record of the living up front, this book departs from the style of most other introductory biological anthropology textbooks, which start out with the earliest record and end with the living. This book takes the position that most of what we learn about the past is based on theory and principles learned from the living record. Just as all of Charles Darwin's ideas were first derived from seeing living plants and animals, much of our understanding of function and adaptation comes from living organisms as models. Therefore, this book views the living as the window onto what came before—the present contextualizes and informs our understanding of the past. The origins of who we are today do not just lie in the record of the past, but are very much embodied in the living. Our origins are expressed in our physical makeup (bones, teeth, and muscles), in our behavior, and in so many other ways that the

student taking this course will learn about from this book and from you. You can teach individual chapters in any order, and that is partly because each chapter reinforces the central point: we understand our past via what we see in the living.

Part II presents evidence of the past, covering more than 50 million years of primate and human evolution. Most textbooks of this kind end the record of human evolution at about 25,000 years ago, when modern Homo sapiens evolved worldwide, but this textbook also provides the record since the appearance of modern humans, showing that important biological changes occurred in just the past 10,000 years, largely relating to the shift from hunting and gathering to the domestication of plants and animals. Food production was a revolutionary development in the human story, and part II presents this remarkable record, including changes in health and well-being that continue today. A new subdiscipline of biological anthropology, bioarchaeology, is contributing profound insights into the past 10,000 years, one of the most dynamic periods of human evolution. During this period, a fundamental change occurred in how humans obtained food. This change set the stage for our current environmental disruptions and modern living conditions.

#### **Changes in the Fourth Edition**

Instructors who have used previous editions of the book will note the title change from "Essentials of Physical Anthropology: Discovering Our Origins" for previous editions to "Essentials of Biological Anthropology: Discovering Our Origins" for the current edition. The change in book title reflects the development of this growing and exciting discipline, its discoveries, and the central focus of the research and teaching that I present throughout the book.

Reflecting the dynamic nature of biological anthropology, there are numerous revisions and updates throughout this new, fourth edition of Essentials of Biological Anthropology. These updates serve to provide content on the new and cutting-edge developments in the discipline, to give new ways of looking at older findings, and to keep the book engaging and timely for both you and your students. Although the core principles of the book remain the same, namely the focus on evolution, the revisions throughout the book present new insights, new discoveries, and new perspectives. Other changes are intended to give added focus and clarity and to increase the visual appeal that supports the pedagogy of engagement and learning:

 New content on race and human variation. The new edition provides answers to fundamental questions about race in America. This fourth edition explains that while race is a social reality, there is no meaningful biological basis for categorizing human

- variation. Therefore, while governmental and other institutions use categories to describe "race," the categories are not biologically informed.
- New content on the globalization of diet. The traditional low-fat, high-protein diet in many settings around the world is rapidly shifting to a high-fat, high-carbohydrate diet, resulting in an epidemic of obesity globally. This has important consequences for world health in the twenty-first century.
- New content on rapidly emerging infectious diseases. New infectious diseases—such as those caused by Ebola, bird flu, and, most recently, Zika—are emerging owing to the evolutionary changes taking place in the viruses and in the human hosts. We are learning how that evolution occurs, and how understanding this evolution offers a very practical foundation for mitigating these life-threatening events.
- New content on epigenetics. The new edition explores the remarkable advances in our understanding of the human genome and the role of environment in modifying the way that DNA is regulated and expressed (but without modifying the DNA itself). Some of these modifications taking place well before birth can have long-term health consequences.
- New content on primate social behavior. Anthropologists are learning much more about social interactions between members of primate groups, and just how critical social behavior is for the well-being and functioning of social units.
- New content on the genomes of hominins.
   Analysis of ancient DNA of Neandertals reveals the presence of alleles for modern human disease. New analysis of ancient DNA from Kennewick Man and other Paleoamericans reveals a clear genetic link between the earliest humans in the Western Hemisphere and modern Native Americans.
- New content on fossil primate discoveries. A newly discovered fossil New World monkey pre-dates the earliest known fossil New World monkey by as much as 10 million years.
- New content on fossil hominin discoveries. New discoveries of *Ardipithecus* extend the lineage back to more than 6 million years ago, taking us closer to the divergence of the great apes and hominins. In South Africa, cavers exploring the Rising Star Cave system discovered hundreds of skulls, teeth, and bones, all representing at least 15 early hominins. Named *Homo naledi*, this species is represented by the largest assemblage of early hominins in a single site in Africa. Its study is full of surprises

- and is expanding the scope of our understanding of human origins and human evolution. Excavations on Flores Island, where the famous "hobbit" (*Homo floresiensis*) fossils were found, landed a new surprise: a dwarf hominin that may be the ancestor of *H. floresiensis*. Re-dating of *H. floresiensis* takes it back in time to at least 60,000 yBP.
- Anthropology Matters Videos New videos highlight exciting and relevant new developments in biological anthropology, including work at the "Body Farm" for developing the field of forensic anthropology; the Ebola virus and how knowledge of its evolution helps us combat the disease; new findings from genomics and the origins and evolution of modern humans and their migrations; the meaning of race and what anthropology brings to the discussion of the controversial topic; new developments in primate conservation; the exciting discovery and study of Homo naledi; bone chemistry and its application to the study of diets in past human evolutions, both long extinct and recent; and the earliest evidence of warfare and what human skeletons tell us about violence and conflict.
- New content on dramatic changes in the world's climate today. We are living at a time of rapidly changing climate, involving global warming. New content in this edition makes the case that we may be living in a wholly new epoch, what many scientists are calling the "Anthropocene." New content in the final chapter of Essentials of Biological Anthropology focuses on the effects of climate change happening in the world around us today.
- Revision of content to enhance clarity. There is a continued focus on understanding core concepts, with considerable attention given to cell biology, genetics, DNA, race and human variation, primate taxonomy, locomotion, and dating methods. Like previous editions, I paid careful attention to the clarity of figure captions. The figure captions do not simply repeat text but rather offer the student additional details relevant to the topic and occasional questions about concepts that the figures convey.
- Greatly enhanced art program. The new edition contains many new or revised figures, often using a new "photorealistic" style. The book adds several full-color two-page spreads developed by Mauricio Antón, a world-renowned artist with expertise in representing past life in wonderful visual presentations.

- InQuizitive. InQuizitive is an online formative and adaptive learning tool that includes a variety of question types featuring the vibrant, detailed, and photorealistic art from the text, as well as the accompanying suite of animations. Answer-specific feedback for every question helps students work through their mistakes, and InQuizitive personalizes students' quizzing experience to target the areas they need help with most.
- New teaching and learning tools. Consistent with the highly visual nature of biological anthropology, the instructor media package has been greatly expanded. Please see the complete listing that starts on p. xxii. The Update PowerPoint Service features a new minilecture that will be posted to the Norton Instructor's site each semester on the latest discoveries in the discipline.

#### AIDS TO THE LEARNING PROCESS

Each chapter opens with a *vignette* telling the story of one person's discovery that relates directly to the central theme of the chapter. This vignette is intended to draw your students into the excitement of the topic and to set the stage for the Big Questions that the chapter addresses.

**Big Question** learning objectives are introduced early in the chapter to help your students organize their reading and understand the topic.

**Concept Checks** are scattered throughout each chapter. These aids are intended to help your students briefly revisit the key points they have been reading.

**Locator Maps** are placed liberally throughout the book. College-level instructors tend to hope that students have a good sense of geography, but like a lot of people who do not look at places around the world on a daily basis, students often need reminders about geography. In recognition of this, locator maps in the book's margins show the names and locations of places that are likely not common knowledge.

Photorealistic Art You Can "Touch": Designed to give students an even better appreciation for the feel of the discipline, the art program has been substantially reworked. Now most illustrations of bones and skeletons have an almost photorealistic feel, and most primates were redrawn for a high degree of realism. This book helps your students visualize what they are reading about by including hundreds of images, many specially prepared for the book. These illustrations tell the story of biological anthropology, including

key processes, central players, and important concepts. As much thought went into the pedagogy behind the illustration program as into the writing of the text.

**Definitions** are also presented in the text's margins, giving your students ready access to what a term means in addition to its use in the associated text. For convenient reference, defined terms are signaled with boldface page numbers in the index.

At the end of each chapter, **Answering the Big Questions** presents a summary of the chapter's central points organized along the lines of the Big Questions presented at the beginning of the chapter. In addition, I have added to the Chapter Review at the end of each chapter a new Study Quiz, asking a handful of key questions that I ask my own students.

The study of evolution is the central core concept of biological anthropology. The **Evolution Review** section at the end of each chapter discusses topics on evolution featured in the chapter and asks questions that will help the student develop a focused understanding of content and ideas.

**InQuizitive** is our online assessment service featuring visual, conceptual, and reading assessments keyed to the Big Question learning objectives, several of which are highlighted for your convenience at the end of each chapter. InQuizitive helps you track and report on your students' progress and make sure they are better prepared for class.

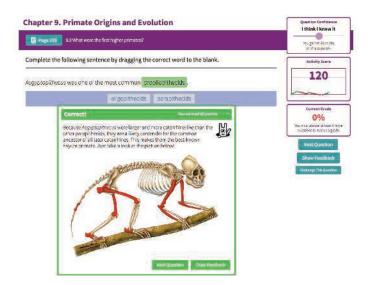
Join me now in engaging your students in the excitement of discovering biological anthropology.

#### TOOLS FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING

The *Essentials of Biological Anthropology* teaching and learning package provides instructors and students with all the tools they need to visualize anthropological concepts, learn key vocabulary, and test knowledge.

#### **For Instructors**

**InQuizitive** InQuizitive online assessment is available for use with *Essentials of Biological Anthropology*, Fourth Edition, featuring engaging assignments with focused feedback. InQuizitive includes drag-and-drop and other image-based questions designed to help students better understand the core objectives of each chapter. Further questions on the reading help you check if students have worked through the chapter material. Designed to be intuitive, accessible, and easy to use, InQuizitive makes it a snap to assign, assess, and report on student performance and help keep your class on track.

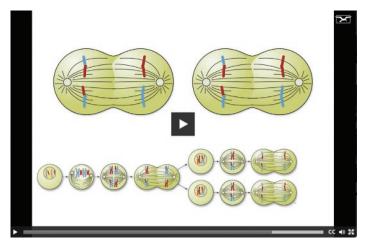


**Student Access Codes for InQuizitive** InQuizitive comes at no charge with all new books in any format (paperback, looseleaf, ebook, or custom). If students need to purchase a stand-alone access code for InQuizitive, they can do so at an affordable price at digital.wwnorton.com /essanthro4.

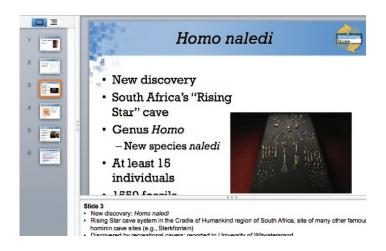
**New Interactive Instructor's Guide** Find all the resources you need to create a rich and engaging course experience in one place with the new Interactive Instructor's Guide: iig.wwnorton/essanthro4. Easily search by keyword, topic, or chapter to find and download videos, animations, inclass activity suggestions, PowerPoints, and more on this new site.

Coursepacks Available at no cost to professors or students, Norton Coursepacks for online or hybrid courses come in a variety of formats, including all versions of Blackboard. With just a simple download from wwnorton. com/instructors, instructors can bring high-quality Norton digital media into a new or existing online course. Content includes review and quiz questions designed for the distance or blended learning environment. Norton animations and videos are also made available to integrate in your classes, including the new Anthropology Matters videos. Additionally, if InQuizitive will be in use, contact the local Norton representative to learn about our easy integration options for a single sign-on and gradebook experience with your campus learning management system (LMS).

**New Animations** Animations of key concepts from the text are available to instructors and students in several ways, including via the Coursepack, the Interactive Instructor's Guide, and at wwnorton.com/instructors and digital.wwnorton.com/essanthro4. These are brief, easy to use, and great for explaining concepts either in class or as a self-study tool.



**Update PowerPoint Service** To help cover what is new in the discipline, each semester Norton will provide a new set of supplemental lectures, notes, and assessment material covering current and breaking research. Prepared by Jennifer Spence, this material will be available for download at wwnorton.com/instructors and in the Interactive Instructor's Guide.



**Lecture PowerPoint Slides and Art Slides** Designed for instant classroom use, these slides prepared by Melissa Torpey using art from the text are a great resource for your lectures. All art from the book is also available in Power-Point and JPEG formats. Download these resources from wwnorton.com/instructors or from the Interactive Instructor's Guide.

**Prepare for Class with the** *Essentials of Biological* **Anthropology Instructor's Manual** Prepared by Susan Kirkpatrick Smith this resource provides lecture ideas, discussion topics, suggested reading lists for instructors and students, and suggested answers to Evolution Review questions.

Quickly and Easily Create Tests with the Essentials of Biological Anthropology Test Bank Prepared by

[Greg Laden] this test bank contains multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter. It is downloadable from Norton's Instructor's site and available in Word, PDF, and ExamView\* Assessment Suite formats. Visit wwnorton.com/instructors.

**Ebook: Same Great Book, a Fraction of the Price!** An affordable and convenient alternative, Norton ebooks retain the content and design of the print book and allow students to highlight and take notes with ease, print chapters as needed, read online or off-line, and search the text. Instructors can even take notes in their ebooks that can be shared with their students.

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With the input of instructors and focus group attendees who are included in the reviewer list, we have created an extensive new media and assessment suite for the fourth edition. However, my thanks for extensive work in developing InQuizitive and our new animations go to Tracy Betsinger of SUNY Oneonta, Ashley Hurst, Kristina Killgrove of University of West Florida, Greg Laden, Joanna Lambert of the University of Colorado, and Heather Worne of University of Kentucky, with further thanks to contributors Jaime Ullinger, Quinnipiac University, and Nancy Cordell, South Puget Sound Community College. And thanks to Sandra Wheeler of University of Central Florida, Ellen Miller of Wake Forest University, Bonnie Yoshida of Grossmont College, Jacqueline Eng of Western Michigan University, Jeremy DeSilva of Dartmouth College, K. Elizabeth Soluri of College of Marin, and again Nancy Cordell of South Puget Sound Community College for their important feedback and reviews of these resources.

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Columbus, Ohio August 27, 2018

## TO THE STUDENT

## BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IS ABOUT DISCOVERING WHO WE ARE

#### **Thinking Like an Anthropologist**

Who are we? Where do we come from? Why do we look and act the way we do? This book is a journey that addresses these and other big questions about us, Homo sapiens. This journey emphasizes humans' discovery of the fascinating record of our diversity and of our evolution, a record that serves as a collective memory of our shared biological presence on Earth. From here to the end of the book, I will share with you all kinds of ideas that add up to our current understanding of human beings as living organisms. Along the way, you will experience scientific breakthroughs such as the Human Genome Project and forensics. You will gain new understandings of phenomena such as race and human diversity, global warming and its impact on our evolution and our well-being, the origins of human violence, global disease, and the growing worldwide obesity epidemic. Like an anthropologist tackling important questions, you will discover places on nearly every continent and come to see what life was like millions of years before the present, before the emergence and evolution of humans.

Neither your instructor nor I can expect you as an introductory student to understand all the developments in biological anthropology. Both of us can, however, present you with a clear and concise framework of the field. By the time you are finished reading this book and completing this course, you will have a solid background in the basic tenets of the discipline. This knowledge will help you understand your place in nature and the world that we—more than 7 billion of us and growing—live in. The framework for developing your understanding of biological anthropology is the scientific method, a universal approach to understanding the very complex natural world. You should not assume that this book and this course are about only knowing the right answers, the "facts" of biological anthropology. Rather, they are also about seeing how biological anthropologists know

what they know—understanding the scientific method. So as you read, keep in mind the key questions that scientists try to answer, their processes and methods for finding the answers, and the answers themselves.

In writing this book, I have focused on the big questions in biological anthropology, how scientists have tackled them, and what key discoveries have been made. I have not shied away from identifying the scientists who made these discoveries—real people, young and old, from all over the world. Whether you need to learn all these individuals' names and what they contributed to the growth of biological anthropology and to our knowledge of human evolution and variation is up to your instructor. But in the introductory biological anthropology class that I teach, I encourage my students to learn about the people behind the ideas. By seeing the field through these people's eyes, you can start thinking like an anthropologist.

#### Seeing Like an Anthropologist

Thinking like an anthropologist includes seeing what anthropologists see. We anthropologists are constantly looking at things—fossilized human teeth, ancient DNA, excavated stone tools, primate skeletons, and much more—and using what we see to understand biology in the past and in the present. The photos and drawn art throughout this book have been chosen to help you see what anthropologists see. I strongly encourage you to pay close attention to the visuals in the book and their captions because much of our anthropological understanding is in the art program.

#### The Structure of the Book and Resources

The book is divided into two parts. After an overview of anthropology and biological anthropology (chapter 1), part I provides the basic context for how we understand human (and our nonhuman primate relatives') biology in the present (and how that helps us understand the past). From this section of the book you should come away with an understanding of evolution and the biology associated with it.

Evolution as an idea has a long history (chapter 2). You will need to fully grasp the meaning and power of this theory, which explains humans' biological variation today and in the past. Part I also has the important job of providing you with an understanding of genetics (chapters 3 and 4). This information is a central part of the evidence for evolution, from the level of the molecule to the level of the population.

Part I also looks at the biology of living people, that of the other living primates, and the variation among primate species. I am keen on debunking the common notion that there are discrete categories—races—of human beings (chapter 5). In fact, nothing about the biology of people, present or past, indicates that we can be divided into distinct groups. After looking at how environment and culture help shape the way humans look and behave, I will look similarly at nonhuman primates (chapters 6 and 7). Because nonhuman primates' appearances are much more categorical than humans' are, nonhuman primate appearance lends itself to classification or taxonomy. In these chapters, we will look at what nonhuman primates do in the wild, what they are adapted to, and especially the environment's role in shaping their behavior and biology. By looking at living people and living nonhuman primates, we will be better equipped to understand the biological evidence drawn from the past.

Part II examines the processes and evidence biological anthropologists and other scientists use to understand the past (chapter 8), the evolution of prehuman primate ancestors that lived more than 50 million years ago (chapter 9), and both the emergence of our humanlike ancestors and their evolution into modern humans (chapters 10, 11, and 12). Contrary to popular (and some scientific) opinion, human evolution did not stop when anatomically modern people first made their appearance in various corners of the globe. Rather, even into the past 10,000 years a considerable amount of biological change has occurred. Anthropologists have learned that agriculture, which began some 10,000 years ago, has been a fundamental force behind population increase. The downside of this shift to new kinds of food



Gorilla meets hominin and author of Essentials of Biological Anthropology, Clark Larsen.

and the resulting population increase was a general decline in health. The later section of part II (chapter 13) explores the nature and cause of biological change, including the changes associated with health and well-being that led to the biological and environmental conditions we face today.

With this book in hand and our goals—thinking and seeing like anthropologists—in mind, let us set off on this exciting journey. Consider it a voyage of discovery, on which our shipmates include your instructor and your fellow students. If we work hard and work together, we will find perhaps the most interesting thing on Earth: ourselves.

## **ESSENTIALS OF BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

**FOURTH EDITION** 



# WHAT IS BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY?

In the heat of the midday summer sun, our boat slowly made its way across the 5 miles of water that separate mainland Georgia from St. Catherines Island, one of a series of barrier islands dotting the Atlantic seaboard. Today, the island is covered by dense vegetation typical of the subtropical American South—palmettos and other palm trees, pines, hickories, and live oaks—and is infested with a wide array of stinging, burrowing, and biting insects. It is hard to imagine that this setting was once a focal point of the Spanish colonial "New World," representing the northernmost extension of Spain's claim on eastern North America (Figure 1.1). This was the location of the Roman Catholic church and Mission Santa Catalina de Guale, where several hundred Native Americans and a dozen Spaniards lived and worked during the late 1500s and most of the 1600s.

What could possibly have motivated my field team and me to work for months under a blazing sun, fighting insects?

#### **BIG QUESTIONS**

- 1. What is anthropology?
- 2. What is biological anthropology?
- 3. What makes humans so different from other animals?
- 4. How do biological anthropologists know what they know?

■ The Georgia coast was a focal point for Spanish colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. European colonization set in motion changes in human living conditions that eventually affected human biology on a global scale.

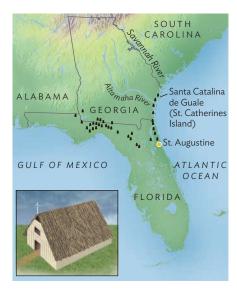


FIGURE 1.1 Spanish Mission Sites Spanish colonization relied on the establishment of missions north and west of St. Augustine, Florida, along the coast of Georgia and the panhandle of northern Florida. These sites, such as Mission Santa Catalina de Guale (on St. Catherines Island), provide insight into what the missions might have looked like (inset). Researchers have reconstructed the lifestyles of the Native Americans and the Spanish colonizers who inhabited the sites; by studying their skeletons, the researchers assessed how the inhabitants changed biologically after colonization.

Like any scientific investigation, our fieldwork was motivated by specific questions that we keenly wanted to answer. Buried in the sands of St. Catherines were the mortal remains—skeletons—of the native people who had lived at this long-abandoned place. These remains held answers to questions about the biology of modern people. Native Americans had lived in this area of the world for most of the past 10,000 years. We wanted to know about their biological evolution and variation: How had these people changed biologically over this time span? What caused these changes? What circumstances led to the changes that we hoped to identify and interpret?

When we first set foot on St. Catherines Island in the summer of 1982 to begin our work at Mission Santa Catalina, we were excited about our project, but little did we realize just what a spectacular scientific journey we were undertaking. The skeletons we sought turned out to provide wonderfully rich biological details about a little-understood region of the world, especially relating to the health and behavioral consequences of European contact on native peoples. In setting up the research project, I had envisioned that our findings would prove to be a microcosm of what had unfolded globally—in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Australia—during the previous 500 years of human history. During this period, significant biological changes had taken place in humans. Some of these changes were evolutionary—they resulted in genetic change. Other biological changes, nonevolutionary ones, reflected significant alterations in health and lifestyle, alterations that had left impressions on the skeletons we studied. Such study—of genetic and nongenetic changes—here and elsewhere in the world has proved fundamental to understanding human biology in the early twenty-first century.

Like any scientific investigation, the research project at Mission Santa Catalina did not develop in a vacuum. Prior to our work there, my team and I had devoted nearly a decade to studying hundreds of skeletons we had excavated from the region that predated the arrival of the Spaniards. We had learned from archaeological evidence that before AD 1000 or so, the people there are exclusively wild animals, fish, and wild plants—they were hunters and gatherers. Never settling into one place for any period of time, they moved from place to place over the year, hunting animals, fishing on the coastline, and collecting plants. Then, their descendants—the later prehistoric ancestors of the mission Native Americans—acquired corn agriculture, becoming the first farmers in the region. These people did lots of fishing, but farming produced the mainstay of their diet. This major shift in lifestyle led to the establishment of semipermanent villages. In comparison with the hunter-gatherers living before AD 1000, the later agricultural people were shorter, their skulls and limb bones were smaller, and they had more dental disease and more infections. All of this information—scientific discoveries about the prehistoric people, their biological changes, and their adaptations—set the stage for our return to the island to study the people who lived at Santa Catalina, the descendants of the prehistoric hunter-gatherers and later farmers. From our study of their remains, we learned that after the Spaniards' arrival, the native people worked harder, became more focused on producing and eating corn, and their health declined. The combination of declining quality of life and new diseases introduced by the Spaniards led to the native people's extinction in this area of North America.

The research just described is one small part of the broader discipline known as *biological* (or *physical*) *anthropology*. My work concerns life on the Atlantic coast of the southeastern United States, but biological anthropologists explore and study *everywhere* humans and their ancestors lived. This enterprise covers a lot of ground and a lot of time, basically the entire world and the past 50 million years or so!

The territorial coverage of biological anthropology is so widespread and so diverse because the field addresses broad issues, seeking to understand human evolution—what we were in the past, who we are today, and where we will go in the future. Biological anthropologists seek answers to questions about why we are what we are as biological organisms. How we answer these questions is oftentimes difficult. The questions, though, motivate biological anthropologists to spend months in the subtropics of coastal Georgia, learning about an extinct native people; in the deserts of central Ethiopia, finding and studying the remains of people who lived hundreds, thousands, or even millions of years ago; or at the high altitudes of the Andes, studying living people and their responses and long-term adaptation to low oxygen and extreme cold, to name just a few of the settings you will learn about in this book. In this chapter, we will explore in more detail the nature of biological anthropology and its subject matter.

## 1.1 What Is Anthropology?

When European explorers first undertook transcontinental travel (for example, Marco Polo into Asia in the late 1200s) or transoceanic voyages to faraway lands (for example, Christopher Columbus to the Americas in the late 1400s and early 1500s), they encountered people that looked, talked, dressed, and behaved very differently from themselves. When these travelers returned to their home countries, they described the peoples and cultures they saw. Building on these accounts, early scholars speculated on the relationships between humans living in Europe and those encountered in distant places. Eventually, later scholars developed new ideas about other cultures, resulting in the development of the discipline of anthropology.

Anthropology is the study of humankind, viewed from the perspective of all people and all times. As it is practiced in the United States, it includes four branches or subdisciplines: cultural anthropology, archaeology, linguistic anthropology, and biological anthropology, also called physical anthropology (Figure 1.2).

Cultural anthropologists typically study present-day societies in non-Western settings, such as in Africa, South America, or Australia. Culture—defined as learned behavior that is transmitted from person to person—is the unifying theme of study in cultural anthropology.

Archaeologists study past human societies, focusing mostly on their material remains—such as animal and plant remains and places where people lived in the past. Archaeologists are best known for their study of material objects—artifacts—from past cultures, such as weaponry and ceramics. Archaeologists study the processes behind past human behaviors; for example, why people lived where they did, why some societies were simple and others complex, and why people shifted from hunting and gathering to agriculture beginning more than 10,000 years ago. Archaeologists are the cultural anthropologists of the past—they seek to reassemble cultures of the past as though those cultures were alive today.

Linguistic anthropologists study the construction and use of language by human societies. **Language**—defined as a set of written or spoken symbols that refer to things (people, places, concepts, etc.) other than themselves—makes possible the transfer of knowledge from one person to the next and from one generation to the next. Popular among linguistic anthropologists is a subfield called **sociolinguistics**, the investigation of language's social contexts.

Biological (or physical) anthropologists study all aspects of present and past human biology. As we will explore in the next section, biological anthropology artifacts Material objects from past cultures.

**sociolinguistics** The science of investigating language's social contexts.

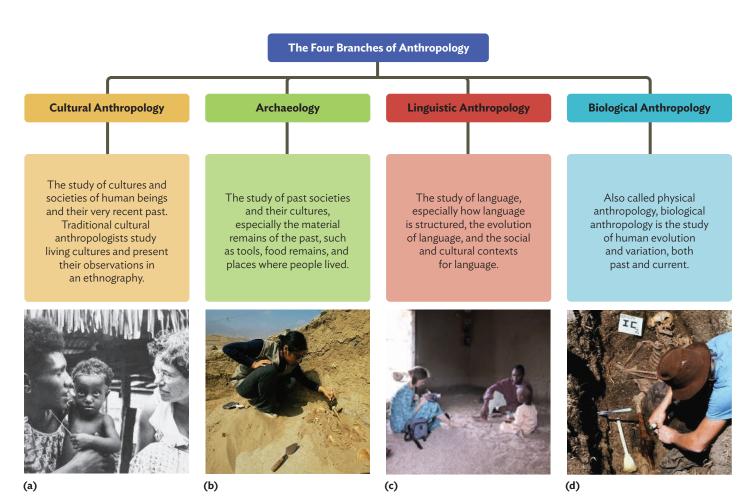


FIGURE 1.2 The Four Branches of Anthropology (a) Cultural anthropologists, who study living populations, often spend time living with cultural groups to gain more intimate perspectives on those cultures. The American anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901–1978), one of the most recognizable names in cultural anthropology, studied the peoples of the Admiralty Islands, near Papua New Guinea. (b) Archaeologists study past human behaviors by investigating material remains that humans leave behind, such as buildings and other structures. This archaeologist examines remnants from a pyramid in the ancient sacred city of Caral, Peru. (c) Linguistic anthropologists study all aspects of language and language use. Here, Leslie Moore, a linguistic anthropologist working in a Fulbe community in northern Cameroon, records as a teacher guides a boy in memorizing Koranic verses. (d) Biological anthropologists study human evolution and variation. Some biological anthropologists study skeletons from the past to investigate evolution and variation throughout human history. Those working in forensic anthropology, a specialty within biological anthropology, examine skeletons to identify who they were in life. Such an identification may be of a single person or of thousands. For example, the forensic anthropologist pictured here was called on to help identify the estimated 30,000 victims of Argentina's "Dirty War," which followed the country's 1976 coup.

deals with the evolution of and variation among human beings and their living and past relatives.

No anthropologist is expected to be an expert in all four branches. Anthropologists in all four areas and with very different interests, however, acknowledge the diversity of humankind in all contexts. No other discipline embraces the breadth of the human condition in this manner. In fact, this remarkably diverse discipline differs from other disciplines in its commitment to the notion that, unlike other animals, humans are biocultural—both biological and cultural beings. Anthropologists are interested in the interrelationship between biology and culture and call this focus the **biocultural approach**. Anthropology also differs from other disciplines in emphasizing a broad comparative approach to the study of biology and culture, looking at all people (and their ancestors) and all cultures in all times and all places. Anthropologists are interested in people and their ancestors,

**biocultural approach** The scientific study of the interrelationship between what humans have inherited genetically and culture.

wherever or whenever they lived. Simply, you are studying a field that is holistic, unlike any you have studied before.

## 1.2 What Is Biological Anthropology?

The short answer to this question is, biological anthropology is the study of human biological evolution and human biocultural variation. Two key concepts underlie this definition.

Number one, every person is a product of evolutionary history, or all the biological changes that have brought humanity to its current form. The remains of humanlike beings, or **hominins**, indicate that the earliest human ancestors, who appeared in Africa, date to sometime around 6–8 million years ago (mya). Since that time, the physical appearance of hominins and their descendants, including modern humans, has changed dramatically. Our physical appearance, our intelligence, and everything else that makes us distinctive biological organisms evolved in our predecessors, whose genes led to the species we are today. (Genes and species are among the subjects of chapters 3 and 4.)

Number two, each of us is the product of his or her own individual life history. From the moment you were conceived, your biological makeup has been deter mined mostly by your genes. (The human genome—that is, all the genetic material in a person—includes some 20,000-25,000 genes.) Your biological makeup is also strongly influenced by your environment. Environment here refers not just to the obvious factors such as climate but to everything that has affected youthe physical activities you have engaged in (which have placed stress on your muscles and bones), the food you have eaten, and many other factors that affect overall health and well-being. Environment also includes social and cultural factors. A disadvantaged social environment, such as one in which infants and children receive poor-quality nutrition, can result in negative consequences such as poor health, reduced height, and shortened life expectancy. The Native American child who lived after the shift from foraging to farming on the Georgia coast ate more corn than did the Native American child who lived in the same place before AD 1000. Because of the corn-rich diet, the later child's teeth had more cavities. Each child's condition reflects millions of years of evolution as well as more immediate circumstances, such as diet, exposure to disease, and the stresses of day-today living.

WHAT DO BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS DO?

Biological anthropologists routinely travel to places throughout the United States and around the world to investigate populations. Some biological anthropologists study living people, while others study extinct and living species of our nearest biological relatives, **primates** such as lemurs, monkeys, and apes. I am among the biological anthropologists who travel to museum collections and archaeological localities to study past societies. When I tell people outside the field what I do for a living, they often think biological anthropology is quite odd, bizarre even. Frequently they ask, *Why would anyone want to study dead people and old bones and teeth?* A good answer to this question is provided by American bioarchaeologist Tiffiny Tung, who says, "skeletons tell us a considerable amount about a person

hominins Humans and humanlike ancestors.

**genome** The complete set of genetic information—chromosomal and mitochondrial DNA—for an organism or species that represents all of the inheritable traits.



Anthropology of Decay
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**primates** A group of mammals in the order Primates that have complex behavior, varied forms of locomotion, and a unique suite of traits, including large brains, forward-facing eyes, fingernails, and reduced snouts.

when they were alive. Biological anthropologists study bones and teeth because they are a time capsule, telling the story of the person's life experiences, including the age of a person when they died, their sex, their diet, their stresses, injuries, and where they were from. Biological anthropologists place that person in their larger society and living circumstances." Everyone has heard of physics, chemistry, and biology; but the average person has never heard of biological anthropology. Compared to other areas of science, biological anthropology is small. But smallness does not make it unimportant. It is practical and significant, providing answers to fundamental questions that have been asked by scholars and scientists for centuries, such as *Who are we as a species? What does it mean to be human? Where did we come from?* Moreover, biological anthropology plays a vital role in addressing questions that are central to our society, sometimes involving circumstances that all of us wish had never come about. For example, the tragedy that Americans identify as 9/11 called immediately for the assistance of specialists from forensic anthropology.

The discipline as practiced in the United States began in the first half of the twentieth century, especially under the guidance of three key figures: Franz Boas for American anthropology generally; Czech-born Aleš Hrdlička, who started the professional scientific journal and professional society devoted to the field; and Earnest Hooton, who trained most of the first generation of biological anthropologists. While the theory and methods of biological anthropologists today have changed greatly since the early 1900s, the same basic topics first envisioned by these founders form what we do today.

Biological anthropologists study all aspects of human biology, specifically looking at the evolution and variation of human beings and their living and past relatives. This focus on biology means that biological anthropologists practice a biological science. But they also practice a social science, in that they study biology within the context of culture and behavior. Depending on their areas of interest, biological anthropologists might also examine molecular structure, bones and teeth, blood types, breathing capacity and lung volume, genetics and genetic history, infectious and other types of disease, origins of language and speech, nutrition, reproduction, growth and development, aging, primate origins, primate social behavior, brain biology, and many other topics dealing with variation in both the living and the dead—sometimes the bones and teeth of the very long dead (Figure 1.3).

In dealing with such topics, biological anthropologists apply methods and theories developed in other disciplines as well as in their own as they answer questions that help us understand who we are, a point that I will raise over and over again throughout this book. The very nature of their discipline and their constant borrowing from other disciplines mean that biological anthropologists practice an interdisciplinary science. For example, they might draw on the work of geologists who study the landforms and layering of deposits of soil and rock that tell us when earlier humans lived. Or they might obtain information from paleontologists, who study the evolution of life-forms in the distant past and thus provide the essential context for understanding the world in which earlier humans lived. Some biological anthropologists are trained in chemistry, so they can analyze the chemical properties of bones and teeth to determine what kinds of foods were eaten by those earlier humans. Or to learn how living humans adapt to reduced-oxygen settings, such as in the high altitudes of the Peruvian Andes, biological anthropologists might work with physiologists who study the ability of the lungs to absorb oxygen. The firm yet flexible identity of their science allows biological anthropologists to gather data from other disciplines in order to address key questions. Questions drive what they do.



FIGURE 1.3 A Sample of What Biological Anthropologists Do (a) Human remains excavated at Badia Pozzeveri, a medieval church cemetery in Tuscany, Italy, provide a window through which to view health and living conditions in Europe. (b) Geneticists analyze samples of human DNA for various anthropological purposes. DNA studies are used to determine how closely related humans are to other primate species, to examine human origins, and to determine individual identities. (c) A human biologist records the physical activities of a lactating woman (right, weaving basket) living in a rural community in the eastern Amazon, Brazil. These data will be used to calculate the woman's energy expenditure and to understand how she copes with reproduction's great energy demands. (d) In a lab, a forensic anthropologist measures and assesses human bones. If the bones came from a contemporary grave, this forensic information might help to identify the victim. If the bones belonged to a past population, biological anthropologists might use these data to gain insight into the population's health and lifestyle. (e) Laboratory investigations of human ancestors' bones help paleoanthropologists to determine where these ancestors fit in the human family tree. (f) Primatologists, such as the British researcher Jane Goodall (b. 1934), study our closest living relatives, nonhuman primates. The behavior and lifestyle of chimpanzees, for example, help biological anthropologists to understand our evolutionary past.