

# Ape cultures do not require behaviour copying

## Authors

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## Abstract

While culture is widespread in the animal kingdom, human culture has been claimed to be special due to being cumulative. It is currently debated which cognitive abilities support cumulative culture, but behavioural form copying is one of the main abilities proposed. One important source of contention is the presence or absence of behaviour copying in our closest living relatives, non-human great apes (apes) – especially given that their behaviour does not show clear signs of cumulation. Those who claim that apes copy behaviour often base this claim on the existence of stable ape cultures in the wild. We developed an individual-based model to test whether ape cultural patterns can emerge in absence of any behaviour copying, when only allowing for a well-supported alternative social learning mechanism, socially mediated reinnovation, where only the frequency of reinnovation is under social influence, but the form of the behaviour is not. Our model reflects wild ape life conditions, including physiological and behavioural needs, demographic and spatial features, and possible genetic and ecological variation between populations. Our results show that, under a wide range of values of parameters, we can reproduce the defining features of wild ape cultural patterns. Overall, our results show that ape cultures can emerge and stabilise without behaviour copying. Ape cultures do not show the signatures of behaviour copying abilities, lending support to the notion that behaviour copying is, among apes, unique in the human lineage. It therefore remains an open question when and why behaviour copying evolved in hominins.

## Keywords

Cultural transmission; cultural evolution; cumulative culture; non-human great ape culture; individual-based models; behaviour copying.

## 1 Introduction

2 Cumulative culture, the transmission and improvement of knowledge, technologies, and beliefs from  
3 individual to individual, and from generation to generation, is key to explain the extraordinary  
4 ecological success of our species (1,2). Which cognitive abilities underpin humans' cumulative  
5 cultural capacities, and how these abilities affect the evolution of culture itself are among the most  
6 pressing questions of evolutionary human science.

7 Many species are able to at least use social cues to adjust their behaviour. Various ape species have  
8 been shown to possess traditions that are socially influenced in this way (3–7). Humans, by contrast,  
9 have cumulative culture. While there are various definitions of cumulative culture (8), some of its  
10 characteristics are broadly accepted. Cumulative culture requires the accumulation of cultural traits  
11 (more cultural traits are present at generation  $g$  than at time  $g-1$ ), their improvement (cultural  
12 traits at generation  $g$  are more effective than at generation  $g-1$ ), and ratcheting (the innovation of  
13 cultural traits at generation  $g$  depends on the presence of other traits at generation  $g-1$ ) (9).

14 While not all human culture needs to be supported by faithful copying (10), cumulative culture  
15 depends on an ability to accurately transmit and preserve new behaviours. Experiments have indeed  
16 shown that humans are capable of copying behaviours, and that they routinely do so cross-culturally  
17 (11,12). More controversial is the claim that other primate species copy behaviours. Arguments  
18 regarding the existence of non-human great ape cultures based on behaviour copying raise a puzzling  
19 question: if other ape species can and do copy behaviours, why do they not develop cumulative  
20 cultures? There are only two possible answers to this question: either apes do not copy behaviour,  
21 or copying behaviour does not automatically lead to cumulative culture.

22 Primatologists have claimed the existence of ape cultures based on the ability of behavioural forms  
23 copying, drawing on observations conducted on wild ape populations. For example, researchers  
24 examined the population-level distribution of behaviours in populations of chimpanzees across seven  
25 sites, and argued that the inter-site differences in the frequency of behaviours proved the existence of  
26 behaviour copying-based cultures in these populations (3). We developed an individual-based model  
27 to assess whether these patterns, and similar patterns found in orangutans (5), spider monkeys  
28 (13), gorillas (6), and bonobos (14), actually justify the conclusion that behaviour copying is the

29 underlying learning mechanism. We focus, as illustration, on the original study (3), but the model  
30 is aimed to illustrate, more generally, how non-copying mechanisms can generate population-level  
31 distributions of behavioural traits that have been interpreted as proof of individual-level copying  
32 abilities.

33 While our hypothetical ape species, “oranzees”, can be influenced by social cues (widespread in  
34 the animal kingdom, and certainly present in all apes), we did not implement behaviour copying.  
35 More specifically, oranzees acquire behaviours through socially mediated reinnovation (15): all  
36 behavioural forms are already latent in the behavioural repertoire of oranzees, meaning that these  
37 form can be reconstructed (“innovated”) by individual learning. Initial innovation, by acting as cues,  
38 can trigger reinnovations in others: the behavioural forms are not under social influence, but their  
39 frequency is. Our results show that, under realistic values of the main parameters, this mechanism  
40 can reproduce the distribution of behavioural traits found in (3). In other words, as oranzees can  
41 and do show cultural patterns resembling wild ape patterns, this shows that such patterns do not  
42 allow to conclude that behaviour copying must have taken place.

## 43 **Materials and methods**

44 We build an individual-based model that reproduces a world inhabited by six populations of  
45 “oranzees”, a hypothetical ape species. The model is spatially explicit: the oranzees populations  
46 are located at relative positions analogous to the six chimpanzees sites in (3). This is important to  
47 determine the potential genetic predispositions and ecological availabilities associated with their  
48 possible behaviours (see below). Population sizes are also taken from the sites in (3). Following  
49 (16), we use data from (17), and we define population sizes as  $N = \{20; 42; 49; 76; 50; 95\}$ .

50 Oranzees are subject to an age-dependent birth/death process, broadly inspired by descriptions in  
51 (18). A time step  $t$  of the simulation represents a month in oranzees’ life. From when they are 25  
52 years old ( $t = 300$ ), there is a 1% probability an oranzee will die each month (maximum lifetime is  
53 capped at 60 years, i.e.  $t = 720$ ). The number of individuals in the population is fixed, so each time  
54 an oranzee dies it is replaced by a newborn.

55 A newborn oranzee does not yet show any behaviour, but is individually capable of developing

56 them. Behaviours can be developed at each time step, among the 64 possible behaviours. The  
57 process of development of behaviours is influenced by: (i) the oranzees ‘state’, which depends  
58 on the behaviours an individual already expresses, (ii) the frequency of the behaviours already  
59 expressed in the population (“socially mediated reinnovation”), and (iii) the genetic propensity and  
60 ecological availability locally associated with the behaviour. At the beginning of the simulations,  
61 the populations are randomly initialized with individuals between 0 and 25 years old.

## 62 **Oranzees’ behaviours and state**

63 In the oranzees’ world, 64 behavioural form are latently possible (loosely modelled on the 65  
64 behaviours coded in (3), but making it an even number from modelling convenience). Behaviours  
65 are divided into two categories: 32 social and 32 food-related behaviours. These figures were  
66 chosen to resemble the behavioural categories considered in (3). Behaviours serve oranzees to fulfill  
67 various goals. Oranzees have a ‘state’ that is based on how many goals are fulfilled in the two main  
68 categories of social and food-related behaviours.

69 In the case of social behaviours, we further assume four sub-categories (‘play’, ‘display’, ‘groom’,  
70 ‘courtship’; note tht the names are only evocative), each with eight possible different behaviours  
71 that serve the same goal. A goal is considered fulfilled if an oranee shows at least one behaviour  
72 out of the eight in the sub-category. Oranzees have a ‘state’ that is based on how many of the  
73 four goals are fulfilled. An oranee has a state value of 0.25 if, for example, it shows at least one  
74 behaviour in the category ‘play’, and none of the others, and a state value of 1 if it shows at least  
75 one behaviour in each sub-category.  $p_{\text{social}}$ , the probability to innovate a social behaviour, is drawn  
76 from a normal distribution with mean equal to  $1 - \text{state}_{\text{social}}$ .

77 Food-related behaviours are analogously divided into sub-categories. Differently from social be-  
78 haviours, there is a variable number of behaviours in each sub-category. In addition, sub-categories  
79 are associated to two different ‘nutrients’,  $Y$  and  $Z$ . Here individuals need to balance their nutritional  
80 intake, so that their optimal diet consist in a roughly equal number of food for one and the other  
81 nutrient. The state, for food-related behaviours, depends on the total amount of food ingested *and*  
82 on the balance between nutrients. The state is calculated as the sum of each sub-category fulfilled  
83 (as above, for this to happen there needs to be at least one behaviour present) minus the difference

84 between the number of sub-categories providing nutrient  $Y$  and the number of sub-categories  
85 providing nutrient  $Z$ . We normalize the state between 0 and 1, and, as above,  $p_{\text{food}}$  is then calculated  
86 as  $1 - \text{state}_{\text{food}}$ .

### 87 **Socially mediated reinnovation**

88 At each time step, all oranzees have a probability of individual innovation for social and food-related  
89 behavioural forms calculated as described above. The specific behavioural form an oranzeer will  
90 acquire depends both on the frequency of the behaviours that are already present in the population  
91 (see below), and on the ecological availability and genetic propensity associated to the behavioural  
92 form. A further parameter of the model,  $S$ , controls the probability that each reinnovation is  
93 socially mediated (15). When a reinnovation is socially mediated, the probability of innovating  
94 each behaviour  $B_i$  is weighted by its proportional instances in the population among the behaviours  
95 of the same category (social or food-related). That is, the frequency of behavioural forms can  
96 catalyse more individual innovations of the same behaviour: common behaviours are more likely to  
97 be individually reinnovated.

98 When the innovation is not socially mediated, the probability of innovating each behaviour is  
99 random. Only one behaviour per category can be innovated at each time step.

### 100 **Genetic propensity and ecological availability**

101 The behaviour selected in the previous step is then innovated or not according to its genetic  
102 propensity and, in case of food-related behaviours, ecological availability.

103 Genetic propensity is a probability  $p_g(0, 1)$ , assigned independently for each of the 64 behaviours. A  
104 parameter of the model,  $\alpha_g$ , determines the probability that the genetic propensity of each behaviour  
105 is equal for all the six populations or whether is different. If the probability is equal,  $p_g$  is randomly  
106 drawn. If it is different, we assign the propensity using a geographical gradient. We choose a  
107 random point and calculate its distance to each population. Distances are then transformed to  $p_g$  by  
108 rescaling them between 0 and 1, so that for the farthest site where  $p_g = 0$ , the associated behaviour  
109 cannot possibly be expressed (see SI). Notice that  $\alpha_g = 0$  does not mean that there are no genetic  
110 influences on the behaviour, but that there are no *differences* between the populations with regard

111 to this aspect.

112 Ecological availability is a probability  $p_e(0, 1)$  that represents the likelihood of finding a resource, or  
113 its nutritional value, in each site. Ecological availability is assigned only to food-related behaviours,  
114 and it is calculated in the same way of  $p_g$ , using the parameter  $\alpha_e$  to determine the probability of  
115 ecological availability being different in the six populations.

## 116 **Model's output**

117 We run simulations for  $t_{\max} = 6000$  (corresponding to 500 years of oranzee-time). For each simulation,  
118 following (3), we classify each behaviour, in each population, as:

- 119 • *customary*: a behaviour observed in over 50% of individuals in at least one age class (see SI  
120 for how age classes are defined in our model).
- 121 • *habitual*: a behaviour observed in at least two individuals across the population.
- 122 • *present*: a behaviour observed in at least one individual across the population.
- 123 • *absent*: a behaviour not observed even once in the population.
- 124 • *ecological explanations*: a behaviour that is absent due to a complete lack of local ecological  
125 availability (i.e., in our model, associated to  $p_e = 0$ ).

126 Notice that one category in (3) (*unknown*, i.e. “the behaviour has not been recorded, but this may  
127 be due to inadequacy of relevant observational opportunities”) does not apply in our case, because  
128 we have complete knowledge of the output of the simulations.

129 Finally, to test how well our model compares to wild apes, we calculate the same “patterns” described  
130 in (3):

- 131 • *A*: behaviour absent at no site.
- 132 • *B*: behaviour not achieving habitual frequencies at any site.
- 133 • *C*: behaviour for which any absence can be explained by local ecological factors.
- 134 • *D*: behaviour customary or habitual at some sites yet absent at others, with no ecological  
135 explanation, i.e. behaviours defined as “cultural”.

136 Further details of the model implementation and of how outputs are processed are available in SI.  
137 The full code of the model allowing to reproduce all our results, plus a detailed description of the  
138 model development is available in a dedicated GitHub repository, at <https://github.com/albertoac>  
139 [erbi/oranzees](https://github.com/albertoac/erbi/oranzees).

## 140 Results

141 We are particularly interested in the realistic parameter conditions of moderate to high environmental  
142 variability (i.e.  $\alpha_e$  from 0.5 to 1) and zero to moderate genetic differences (i.e.  $\alpha_g$  from 0 to 0.5). We  
143 ran 20 simulations for each combination (for a total of 600 runs). For all, reinnovation is socially  
144 mediated ( $S = 1$ ). The results show that various combinations of parameters produce a number of  
145 cultural behaviours (pattern  $D$ ) consistent with the general pattern described in (3), in absence of  
146 any explicit copying mechanism being implemented (see Figure 1). In Figure 2, we reproduce the  
147 output of a run where 38 cultural behaviours were found, and how they were classified in each of  
148 the six simulated populations, using a visualization inspired by (3).

149 We also analysed the effect of the parameter  $S$  (proportion of socially mediated reinnovations), in  
150 three conditions (see Figure S4): (a) no genetic differences and intermediate ecological differences  
151 (compare to the high-left corner of Figure 1, where with  $S = 1$  simulations produce less than 38  
152 cultural behaviours), (b) one of the conditions that produce good match with (3), namely  $\alpha_e = 0.8$   
153 and  $\alpha_g = 0.2$ , and (c) intermediate genetic differences and high ecological differences (compare  
154 to the low-right corner of Figure 1, where with  $S = 1$  simulations produce more than 38 cultural  
155 behaviours). As expected, decreasing  $S$  decreases the number of cultural behaviours. Conditions  
156 where, with  $S = 1$ , there were more than 38 cultural behaviours could still produce results analogous  
157 to (3), given that not all reinnovations are socially mediated.

158 As a further proof of our model's fit with empirical data, our outputs not only accurately reproduce  
159 the number of cultural behaviours (pattern  $D$ ), but also the number of behaviours classified in the  
160 other three patterns ( $A$ ,  $B$ ,  $C$ , see above) in (3) (see Figure S5).

161 Finally, we ran 100 simulations for one of the conditions where we have a good match for the number  
162 of cultural behaviours in (3) ( $\alpha_e = 0.8; \alpha_g = 0.2, S = 1$ ). In each simulation, we recorded, for each

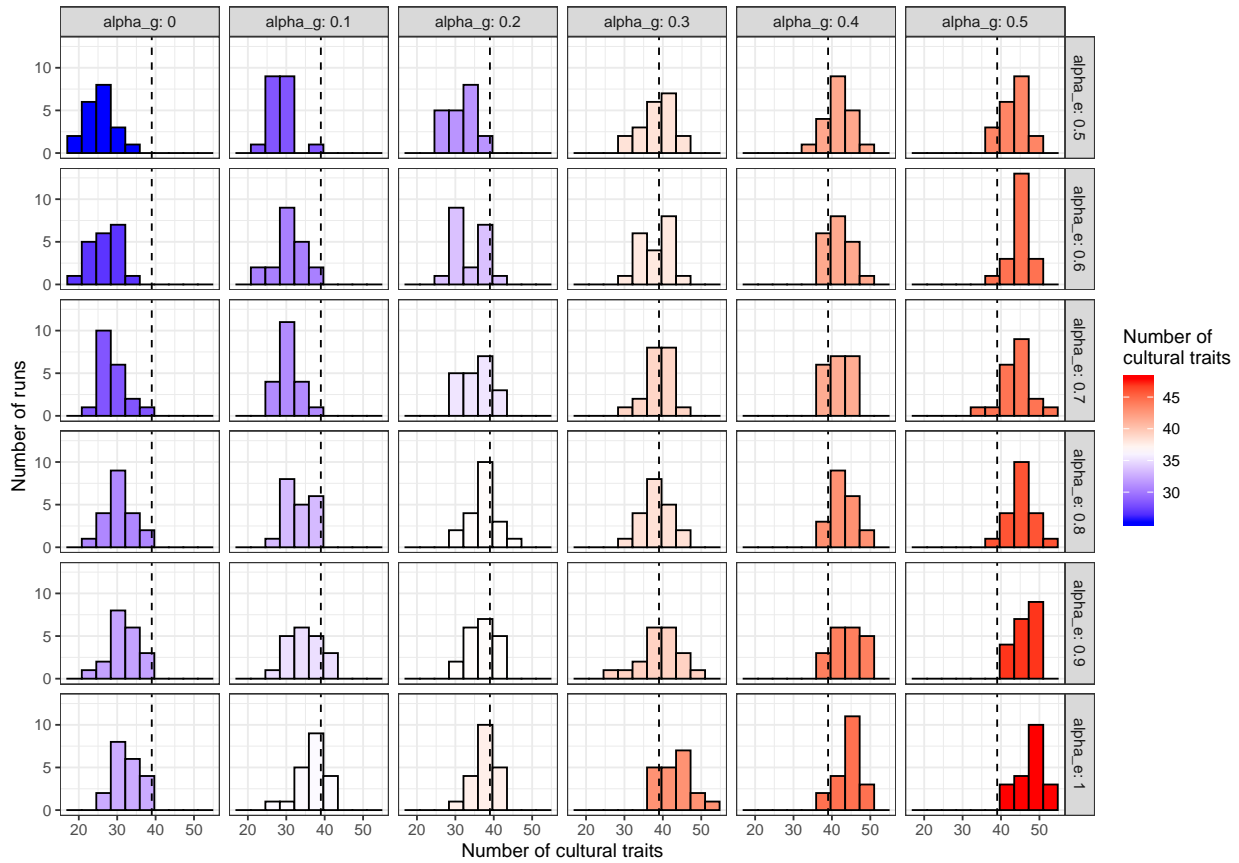


Figure 1: Number of cultural traits in oranzees, when varying ecological and genetic diversity. Red color indicates simulation runs that produced more than 38 cultural traits (the number of cultural traits identified in 1); blue color indicates simulation runs that produced less than 38 cultural traits. For all simulations,  $S = 1$ ,  $\alpha_e$  and  $\alpha_g$  as indicated in the plot.  $N = 20$  runs for each parameters combination. (See SI for other values of  $S$ ,  $\alpha_e$ , and  $\alpha_g$ , including all equal to zero.)





Figure 2: Example of a simulation run that produces 38 cultural traits ( $S = 1$ ,  $\alpha_e = 0.8$ , and  $\alpha_g = 0.2$ ). Color icons indicate customary behaviours; circular icons, habitual; monochrome icons, present; clear, absent; horizontal bar, absent with ecological explanation. The names of the behaviours are only evocative, see SI for a complete list.

163 population, the number of behaviours (habitual + customary + present) that are also classified as  
164 cultural (see Figure S6). We find a small, but significant, correlation between population size and  
165 number of cultural traits ( $p < 0.00001$ ,  $\rho = 0.2$ ,  $N = 600$ ). In other words, our model reproduces an  
166 effect of cultural accumulation (i.e. increased number of expressed behaviours) relative to population  
167 size possibly found in real populations - see (16,19,20) - again, in the absence of behaviour copying.

## 168 Discussion

169 We developed an individual-based model to examine under which conditions a distribution of cultural  
170 traits analogous to the distribution reported in (3), a representative study of primate culture, could  
171 emerge, crucially, without implementing any behaviour copying mechanism. We modelled various  
172 details of the original wild ape study, including demographic and spatial features, as well as effects  
173 of genetic propensity and ecological availability on the behaviours. Given the widespread availability  
174 of non-copying variants of social learning across the animal kingdom, we also included socially  
175 mediated reinnovation, where social learning merely catalyses individual reinnovation, without any  
176 behavioural form copying (15).

177 It is important to notice that our model do not, and cannot, *exclude* that the behavioural distributions  
178 observed in wild apes are produced by copying mechanisms at the individual level. What our  
179 model does, however, is showing that behaviour copying is not necessary and other mechanisms are  
180 sufficient to generate analogous distributions.

181 Socially mediated reinnovation is implemented in the model as a sampling biased by the frequency  
182 of the observed behavioural forms. The fact that this may be interpreted as equivalent to copying  
183 makes exactly our point.

184 The model does not allow for the specifics of behavioural forms to be transmitted (in contrast to,  
185 e.g. (21)) Instead, the presence of behavioural form merely acts as a trigger, creating an illusion  
186 of behaviour copying (in humans, this happens for example during contagious yawning - where  
187 yawning likewise acts as a trigger only, and the form of yawns themselves are not copied). Given  
188 the empirical support for the existence of socially mediated reinnovation in apes (22,23) and the  
189 absence of spontaneous copying of behavioural forms in apes (24,25), our model's most parsimonious

190 interpretation has to be that wild ape cultural patterns do not allow to conclude for the presence of  
191 behaviour copying.

192 Our main result is that we can reproduce the general pattern observed in populations of wild apes  
193 under realistic values of the parameters of genetic propensity and ecological availability, namely zero  
194 to medium importance of genetic variation, and medium to high importance of ecological variation.  
195 (Notice however that even in the entire absence of any ecological and genetic variation, i.e. with  
196  $\alpha_e = 0$  and  $\alpha_g = 0$ , some cultural traits occur, see Figure S7). More generally, the model shows  
197 that behaviour copying is not logically required for patterns interpreted as cultural in primates  
198 studies (3,5–7,13,14) to emerge. In addition, and as further support for our results, our model not  
199 only reproduces the ape cultural behavioural patterns, but also the proportions among the other  
200 patterns observed in wild apes, i.e. absent behaviours, behaviours not achieving habitual frequencies  
201 at any site, and behaviours absent because of ecological factors. The exact number of behaviours  
202 for each patterns depend on model parameters, including the choice of considering a total set of 64  
203 possible latent behaviours that can vary between populations. The general conclusion that cultural  
204 patterns can be generated hold regardless the exact number of behaviour considered and, given that  
205 (3) selected this number based on relatively informal criteria, we used a similar strategy here.

206 In our model, we focused on the mechanism of socially mediated reinnovation, that is, we assumed  
207 that members of our hypothetical species, oranzees, had a probability to individually reinnovate  
208 the details of a specific behavioural form stochastically linked to how many other oranzees in the  
209 population were already showing this behaviour. Mere aspects of these behaviours (e.g. presence  
210 of sticks near prey) act as cues that trigger individual renovation of behavioural forms in others.  
211 While this is a realistic assumption (23) and while it reproduces in our model the chimpanzees'  
212 cultural pattern observed in realistic conditions, our results demonstrate that even this is not always  
213 necessary. Given certain combinations of parameters, such as higher genetic and ecological diversities,  
214 analogous population level patterns can be obtained even when reinnovation is not socially mediated,  
215 i.e. when oranzees are not influenced by the behaviours of the other individuals in their populations  
216 (compare figure S4). That is, similar patterns can exist when the underpinning individual-level  
217 mechanisms are not cultural even in a minimal sense (26). However, socially mediated reinnovation  
218 is likely required to explain observed differences in behavioural frequencies between the subset of

219 ape populations that exist in genetic contact and that share similar environments (27).

220 Finally, our model reproduces a reported correlation between population size and number of cultural  
221 traits in the six populations (16,19,20). The magnitude of the effect is small, which is to be expected,  
222 given that the presence of this correlation in real populations of (human and non-human) apes is  
223 currently debated (28). Notice that this correlation too is brought about without any behaviour  
224 copying, so that there is no need to invoke reasons concerning details of cultural transmsion  
225 (e.g. (29)) to explain such a pattern.

226 More generally, the results of our models suggest caution when deriving individual-level mechanisms  
227 from population-level patterns (see also (30,31)). Cultural systems, as many others, exhibit  
228 equifinality: the same global state can be produced by different local underlying processes. Models  
229 and experiments are crucial to test the plausibility of inferences going from global to local properties.

230 In conclusion, our model strongly suggests that the data available on the behavioural distributions of  
231 apes populations cannot demonstrate that ape possess cultures influenced by behaviour copying, let  
232 alone *requiring* behaviour copying. This, in turn, may provide an explanation to why ape cultures  
233 are not cumulative: if cumulative culture requires at minimum behavioural form copying, we should  
234 not expect any species lacking this mechanism to produce and maintain cumulative culture. Given  
235 the phylogenetic closeness of apes to the human lineage, our results speak also of the likely absence  
236 of behaviour copying of the last common ancestor of apes and humans (32).

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