Dead infant carrying by chimpanzee mothers in the Budongo Forest

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ABSTRACT

It has been suggested that non-human primates can respond to deceased conspecifics in ways

that suggest they experience psychological states not unlike humans, some of which could

indicate they exhibit a notion of death. Here, we report long-term demographic data from two

East African chimpanzee groups. During a combined 40-year observation period we recorded

191 births of which 68 died in infancy, mostly within the first year. We documented the post-

mortem behaviour of the mothers and describe nine occasions where Budongo chimpanzee

mothers carried infants for 1-3 days after their death, usually until the body started to

decompose. We also observed three additional cases of extended carrying lasting for more

than two weeks, one of which was followed by the unusual extended carrying of an object

and another which lasted three months. In each case, the corpses mummified. In addition, we

report four instances of recurring dead infant carrying by mothers, three of whom carried the

corpse for longer during the second instance. We discuss these observations in view of

functional hypotheses of dead infant carrying in primates and the potential proximate

mechanisms involved in this behaviour.

INTRODUCTION

Primate thanatology, the study of the behaviour and underlying physiological and

psychological factors associated with dead or dying individuals in non-human primates

(hereafter primates), continues to raise important questions about human uniqueness

(Anderson 2011, 2018; Anderson et al. 2018). Humans do not immediately abandon their

dead but exhibit a plethora of post-mortem social behaviour towards them (Parkes et al.

1997). These activities can last for days or weeks but are typically terminated by the onset of

physical decay, although certain cultures continue to interact with the deceased for long after

(e.g., Hollan 1995). Humans experiencing the loss of socially close individuals undergo

significant psychological trauma with long-term physiological effects, including symptoms of

post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and depression (Figley et al. 1997; Parkes et al. 1997;

Lannen et al. 2008). There is archaeological evidence that tending the dead evolved before

modern humans (Martinón-Torres et al. 2021), with mortuary behaviour documented in

Homo sapiens neanderthalensis (Rendu et al. 2014) and *Homo naledi* (Dirks et al. 2015),

having been interpreted as an indication of some abstract notion of death and understanding

of irreversible loss (Pettitt 2018). Given our biological and social similarities, other primate

species – in particular other great apes – may experience similar cognitive and physiological

changes. Cross-species comparisons, especially in primates, are often used to reveal past

evolutionary trajectories of the hominid lineage. Primate behaviour and physiology in

relation to deceased individuals provide valuable data to better understand the origins of why

humans are so powerfully affected by death. More generally, primate responses to death may

provide further insight into other aspects of animal cognition, such as animacy or the

perception of time (Gonçalves and Carvalho 2019).

Because death is unpredictable and rarely observed in wild primates, the available datasets

are usually anecdotal, and descriptions of events are often incomplete (Watson and

Matsuzawa 2018; Ramsay and Teichroeb 2019). Nevertheless, an increasing number of

primate groups have been habituated to human observers (Kappeler et al. 2012), which has

led to more frequent reporting and more systematic efforts to extract patterns of behaviour in

responses to death (Anderson 2020). These observations have led to claims that primates

respond to death in ways that are similar to humans, by producing strong emotional, social,

and exploratory responses (Watson and Matsuzawa 2018; Gonçalves and Carvalho 2019).

Among non-human animals, the emphasis on primates may result from easier detection or the

relatively large number of long-term studies. However, observations from corvid, elephant,

and cetacean species suggest that attentive responses towards dead conspecifics may be

widespread among long-lived highly-social species (Reggente et al. 2016; Gonçalves and

Biro 2018; Bercovitch 2020).

Here, we focus on a particularly remarkable behaviour seen in many primates, dead infant

carrying by mothers, which in chimpanzees typically occurs for a period of up to three days

(Gonçalves and Carvalho 2019). Dead infant carrying (also referred as infant corpse carrying)

is the most frequently reported thanatological behaviour and shows substantial variation in

how it is expressed across primate species (Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021; Watson and

Matsuzawa 2018). In addition to chimpanzees (Matsuzawa 1997; Hosaka et al. 2000;

Kooriyama 2009; Biro et al. 2010), dead infant carrying has been reported in bonobos

(Fowler and Hohmann 2010; Tokuyama et al. 2017), gorillas (Warren and Williamson 2004;

Masi 2020), chacma baboons (Carter et al. 2020), red colobus (Georgiev et al. 2019), geladas

(Fashing et al. 2011), bonnet and lion-tailed macaques (Das et al. 2019), Japanese macaques

(Sugiyama et al. 2009; Takeshita et al. 2020), and vervet monkeys (Botting and van de Waal

2020) among others (Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021), while failed apparent attempts at carrying

have been observed in ring-tailed lemurs (Nakamichi et al. 1996) and marmosets (Thompson

et al. 2020). Several hypotheses have been put forward in an attempt to explain the function

of and motivation for this puzzling behaviour (for a review see: Watson and Matsuzawa

2018; Gonçalves and Carvalho 2019). We summarise six of the main current hypotheses

from the literature to provide a framework for evaluating the potential functions and

mechanisms of new observations and discuss their implications.

A first group of hypotheses presumes that primate mothers are unable to understand the

ramifications of death and their behavioural responses are side effects of evolved

physiological mechanisms. The 'unawareness hypothesis' states that mothers are unable to

discriminate between temporarily unresponsive and irreversibly deceased individuals and

continue providing maternal care (e.g., grooming) and trying to elicit responsiveness (e.g.,

poking, smelling) in order to avoid the costs of premature abandonment (Hrdy 1999). Given

that the decomposition of the corpse can be mediated by local climate, dry and particularly

hot or cold conditions favouring mummification should also favour prolonged carrying of

dead infants ('climate hypothesis': Matsuzawa 1997; Fashing et al. 2011). The 'post-

parturient condition' hypothesis (also referred as 'hormonal', see Gonçalves and Carvalho

2019) proposes that the maternal physiological conditions associated with pregnancy and

birth favour persistent care of the dead infant as long as the mother is lactating or until

resumption of ovulation (Biro et al. 2010; Kaplan 1973). After giving birth, the endocrine

system of the mother releases hormones (e.g., oxytocin) that stimulate maternal behaviours

(Keverne 1988; Bercovitch 2020). Thus, when mothers lose their infants close to birth, they

are expected to continue to invest in infant care, increasing the likelihood and duration of

post-mortem behaviour.

A second kind of hypothesis assumes that primate mothers can have a notion of death,

provided they have relevant personal experience. The 'learning about death' hypothesis states

that chimpanzees do not intuitively understand death but can learn the notion by attending to

relevant cues (Cronin et al. 2011). Here, the predication is that younger or inexperienced

mothers are more likely to carry dead-infants to learn about death (Watson and Matsuzawa

2018). Specifically, experiencing multiple infant deaths (their own or others') and interacting

with more living infants and/or for longer periods of time might increase mothers' awareness

of the irreversible change of death. The 'grief-management hypothesis' assumes that

chimpanzees possess a notion of death and suggests dead-infant carrying represents a strategy

to cope with grief or the stress associated with infant loss (e.g., Takeshita et al. 2020). This

hypothesis predicts that mothers able to carry their dead infants experience lower levels of

'stress' hormones (i.e., glucocorticoids) (Nicolson 1991).

A third group of hypotheses are agnostic about whether chimpanzees possess a notion of

death but propose various adaptive mechanisms that favour post-mortem mothering

behaviour. The 'learning-to-mother hypothesis' states that dead-infant carrying improves

maternal skills (Warren and Williamson 2004), predicting that the behaviour should mainly

be observed in inexperienced primiparous females. The 'maternal-bond strength hypothesis'

predicts that mothers with older infants share a stronger bond, due to more extensive

association and interactions between them, and are more likely to show extensive carrying

(Watson and Matsuzawa 2018).

The existence of multiple – sometime contrasting – hypotheses is likely a reflection of both

the small and highly variable data available and the diversity of potential drivers of this

behaviour across different species and individuals. A recent systematic study on 18 primate

species (n=48 cases) showed that duration of infant carrying is affected by the age of the

mother, with older mothers carrying for longer periods (Das et al. 2019). However, some

species do not fit this pattern, with previous findings by Sugiyama and colleagues (2009)

detecting no effect of age in a large study on Japanese macaques. Infants that died of sickness

were carried for longer than those who were stillborn or victims of infanticide, but the age of

the infant did not influence duration of carrying (Das et al. 2019). A study using the largest

primate database to date (n=50 species and n=409 cases) found that dead infant carrying was

more likely to occur when the cause of death was non-traumatic, when mothers were

younger, and that older infants were carried for shorter periods (Fernández-Fueyo et al.

2021). While dead infant carrying is a shared behaviour in primates, the frequency of

occurrence, duration of carrying, and ease of observation, vary considerably between species

and individuals. Nevertheless, given the observations currently available, carrying duration

seems to be the longest in great apes, particularly in chimpanzees (Das et al. 2019).

Chimpanzee mothers typically carry their dead infants for a few days, though a recent

analysis of the largest chimpanzee dataset (n=33 cases) did not provide clear support for any

of the previous hypotheses (Lonsdorf et al. 2020). Lonsdorf and colleagues (2020) proposed

that the 'unawareness hypothesis' is unlikely because of the presence of atypical carrying

postures and sensory cues after death as compared to those displayed towards living infants.

However, while a decomposing body may be perceived differently from a living one through

several sensory modalities (Gonçalves and Biro 2018), chimpanzee mothers may also be

responding to an inability of their infant to grasp, rather than a recognition of its status as

living or dead. Here, we report observations of dead infant carrying by female chimpanzees

using a 40-year dataset of two study groups of the Budongo Forest, Uganda, including three

detailed observations of extended dead infant carrying by two different females.

METHODS

Study site and subjects

The Budongo Forest Reserve is a semi-deciduous tropical rain forest located along the

Western Rift Valley in Uganda. This reserve is made of 793 km^2 of protected forest and

grassland, including 482 km^2 of continuous forest cover (Eggeling 1947) . The reserve

contains a population of approximated 600 East African chimpanzees (*Pan troglodytes*

schweinfurthii). Our observations took place in two adjacent communities, Sonso and

Waibira, studied regularly by researchers and followed on a daily basis by field assistants

since 1990 and 2011 respectively, contributing a combined 43-years of long-term

observational records (Reynolds 2005; Samuni et al. 2014).

At the time of the events, the Waibira community contained an estimated 120 individuals, 96

of which could be individually recognised. Individuals involved in the first event were Ketie

(KET), a 20-year old adult primiparous female (estimated birth 1998) and her 2-year old

female infant Karyo (KYO) born in December 2015. The Sonso community contained 65

named individuals, in addition to three unnamed females in the process of immigrating. The

individuals involved in the event were Upesi (UP), a 21-year old parous female (estimated

birth 1999) and a) in the second event, her recently born unnamed unsexed infant UP3, born

mid-September 2020 and b) in the third event, her fourth born unnamed unsexed infant UP4,

estimated birth 7th August 2021. Her first two infants (born in 2017 and 2018) were victims

of within-community infanticide before reaching a month old (see Leroux et al. 2021 for one

reported case).

We considered the scope for bias in our study subjects by using the STRANGE framework to

report potential sampling biases in our study (Webster and Rutz 2020; Rutz and Webster

2021). The Sonso community are of typical size whereas the Waibira community are

particularly large as compared to that of other chimpanzees (in a recent comparison of 18

groups across three subspecies: *P.t. schweinfurthii, P.t. troglodytes, P.t. verus*; communities

range from 7-144 individuals with a mean 42; within these data the East African sub-species

(*P.t. schweinfurthii*) range is 18-144 with a median 49; Wilson et al. 2014). Sonso have a

typical female-biased sex ratio among mature individuals (M:F; 1:1.7), whereas the Waibira

community have more unusual evenly-balanced sex ratio among mature individuals (M:F;

1:1.2; mean among 9 *P.t. schweinfurthii* communities 1:1.7; Wilson et al. 2014). Of relevance

to sampling biases in infant mortality and opportunities to carry dead infants, the Sonso

community experience high levels of infanticide (Lowe et al. 2019, 2020). Characterised by a

medium altitude rainforest (~1100 m) with significant annual rainfall (~1500 mm per year),

the area is slightly more seasonal than true rainforest with a distinct dry-season during

December-March and a drier season during June-August (Newton-Fisher 1999).

Observations of wild chimpanzees in dense secondary forest are often challenging and

individuals in highly fission-fusion East African chimpanzee communities may not be

observed for days or weeks (Badihi et al. Preprint). In addition, we often choose not to

follow, or only to follow at an extended distance, individuals who are experiencing high-

stress events, such as maternal loss. We considered a mother to be carrying a dead infant if

they were seen to be doing so on the day following their infant's death. In doing so, we may

underestimate occurrences of shorter carries (i.e., under a day), or the total duration of

carries. Similarly, as we rarely observed the moment that the mother stopped carrying the

dead infant, our estimation of duration may be particularly conservative. However, given the

challenges in discriminating the precise moment of infant death from for example

unconsciousness, we felt that a conservative approach was appropriate.

Ethical note

Data collection was observational and adhered to the International Primatological Society's

Code of Best Practice for Field Primatology (MacKinnon et al. 2014). All applicable

international, national, and institutional guidelines for the care of animals were followed.

Research was conducted under approval by the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the Uganda

National Council for Science and Technology. All work was in accordance with the ethical

standards of the Budongo Conservation Field Station at which the study was conducted.

Data collection

Researchers and a team of field assistants followed chimpanzees daily (Waibira: from 06:00

to 18:00; Sonso: from 07:00 to 16:30). Long-term data collection included continuous focal

individual activity and party composition taken on a 15-min scan basis. In addition, all

unusual events or otherwise remarkable behaviour were recorded in detail in logbooks for

each community, including births, deaths, and associated descriptions of behaviour (Sonso:

since 1993; Waibira: since 2011).

In addition to long-term records, AS, PF, EF, CF, DT and CH together with field-assistants

SA, JA, GA, BC, and GM of the Budongo Conservation Field Station observed the extended

carry events we report. KET and UP are typically comfortable with the presence of human

observers; however, following the death of KETs infant we avoided selecting her as a focal

individual because we observed behavioural cues known (or assumed) to be associated with

greater than typical social and physiological stress (e.g., self-scratching and vigilance) in her

interactions with other chimpanzees and we did not want our extended presence to further

impact these. Observations of her behaviour were taken on an ad libitum basis whenever she

joined the party of chimpanzees that included a focal individual, but we made an effort to

locate and observe her for a brief period of time each day to obtain regular updates on her and

her infant's state of decomposition. During the births and deaths of UP's infants, regular

research practices had been adjusted due to the Covid19 pandemic. In 2020 activities were

restricted to shorter hours of observation (7:30 to 13:00) and limited to CH and the permanent

field staff, who focused primarily on health monitoring of the chimpanzees during this

period; in late 2021, at the time of UP's second extended infant carry, restricted research

activities had resumed. Researchers and field staff opportunistically noted any unusual

behaviour exhibited. Particular attention was given to how the bodies, and in one event an

object that we suggest may have been a potential substitute for the dead infant, were

transported, the response of nearby individuals to the mother or the carcass, the interactions

of the mother with the corpse, and the state of the corpse. We were not able to collect

physiological samples from either corpse to perform laboratory analyses on the cause of

death, nor we were able to retrieve either body for autopsy.

RESULTS

Over a combined 40-year period of observations (30 years Sonso, 10 years Waibira) a total of

191 births were recorded. Of these, 68 (36%) died in infancy ($\leq$ 5 years) offering

opportunities for their mothers to carry the infant's corpse post-mortem. We found no

evidence for seasonality as deaths (with a confirmed observation month, n=59) occurred

throughout the year (Jan n=5; Feb n=2; Mar n=2; Apr n=3; May n=1; Jun n=3; Jul n=9; Aug

n=6; Sep n=10; Oct n=6; Nov n=9; Dec n=3). Of the 68 infant deaths, we excluded three that

died together with their mothers and 12 because they were partially dismembered or

cannibalised during infanticides. Of the remaining 53 cases, for 46 (87%) we were able to

estimate the infant's age at death ($\pm$1 month). The majority (n=25; 54%) died within the first

month, 17 (37%) at 1-month to 1-year old; 3 (7%) at 1- to 3-years old, and one (2%) at 3- to

5-years old.

We observed 12 carries of dead infants by their mothers (Table 1), 23% of observed

opportunities (n=53). To be included as a case of dead infant carrying we required that the

mother be seen with the infant the day after death was estimated to have occurred. In nine

cases the minimum carry length observed was 1-3 days, in three cases we observed a longer

minimum carry of n=18, n=56, and n= 89 days. These are described in more detail below.

The 12 carries occurred in both primiparous (n=1) and multi-parous females (n=11),

including a seventh born infant. However, these observations are likely an under-estimate of

the frequency of dead infant carrying behaviour in Budongo mothers. In 36 instances the

mother reappeared alone and could have carried for an unknown period prior to this. In total

there were 29 cases where the mother and dead infant were seen together, of these 12

included a death with the mother or infanticide with cannibalism. Of the remaining 17 cases,

12 showed carrying of the dead-infant, a rate of 71%. Of the five cases where the mother was

observed with the dead infant but did not carry it, all were infanticides (without cannibalism).

Finally, four out of eight mothers (ML, JN, KU, UP) were observed carrying the dead bodies

of two of their infants (Table 1), one carried for the same duration and three carried for

longer durations on the second occasion.

Table 1 Carrying of dead infants by Budongo chimpanzee mothers: mother-infant dyads

(with the mother first), mother's age, parity (indicated as multi-parous (multi) or primi-

parous (primi)), infant's age, cause of death, duration of carrying, community (Sonso or

Waibira), and date of infant death.

Mother-infant	Age mother (years)	Parity	Age infant (months)	Cause of death	Minimum carrying duration (days)	Community	Date of infant death
KG-KG2	21 ±3	multi	0.03	still birth (suspected)	2	Sonso	09.09.1997
ML-ML2	26 ±3	multi	0.03	still birth (suspected)	1	Sonso	08.07.2002
JN-JN2	21 ±1	multi	0.5	unknown	1	Sonso	24.01.2005
ZM-ZM6	41 ±5	multi	0.4	unknown	1	Sonso	19.03.2009
JN-JN4	28 ±1	multi	0.25	infanticide	3	Sonso	10.11.2012
KU-KU5	34 ±3	multi	0.1	infanticide (suspected)	2	Sonso	18.02.2013
KL-KL7	34 ±1	multi	0.12	infanticide	2	Sonso	30.07.2013
ML-ML5	39 ±5	multi	0.06	infanticide (suspected)	3	Sonso	17.11.2014
KET-KYO	20 ±1	primi	25	respiratory infection (inferred)	18	Waibira	06.01.2018
KU-KU7	40 ±3	multi	0.15	unknown	2	Sonso	26.11.2019
UP-UP3	21 ±1	multi	0.25	unknown	56	Sonso	23.09.2020

| UP-UP4 | 22 ±1 | multi | 0.25 | unknown | 89 | Sonso | 21.08.2021 |

We found no evidence for a clear effect of seasonality on the onset of carrying behaviour, but

our sample size is small (see Fig. 1). The Budongo Forest shows two marked periods of

intense rainfall (March – May, September – November), an intense drier season (December –

February) and a light drier season (June – August). Carrying of dead infants was as likely to

occur in the Wet (n=6) or Dry (n=6) seasons ($X^2 = 0.00$, p=1.000).

Fig. 1 Dead infant carrying occurrences for each mother-infant pairs relative to the average

daily rainfall (data extracted from Budongo Conservation Field Station long-term records

1993-2018). Single red dots represent occurrences of carrying that lasted between 1 and 3

days. Red dots connected with a line represent the approximated duration of extended

carrying, with the dots representing the start and end of carrying.

We found a possible effect of infant age. Our sample size of older infants was very small: of

the 46 opportunities to carry described above, we only observed four infants who died

between 1-5 years old, and a single case (25%) of carrying (aged 2-years, described below as

the extended carry by KET of KYO). We found a similar frequency of carries (n=11), given

opportunities to carry (n=42) of infants under one year old. However, within this larger

sample of younger infants aged 1-12 months, we found that only very young infants (aged

under 1-month) were carried. When considering the number of opportunities to carry, infants

aged under 1-month (11 of 25 cases, 44%) were more likely to be carried than infants aged 1-

12 months (0 of 17 cases; Fisher's exact test p=0.010).

Extended dead infant carrying

A detailed description and videos of the observations are available in the Supplementary

Materials. Here we provide a summary of the key information.

Observation 1: KET, extended dead infant carrying in Waibira

KET's first born infant KYO was last seen alive on the 6th January 2018, aged 25 months.

On the 7th January 2018 KET was observed carrying KYO who appeared lifeless. Other

chimpanzees were present and were apparently aware of her arrival with the infant but

showed no atypical reactions to KET or to the corpse. Based on the fact that most

chimpanzees exhibited signs of respiratory infection during that period and given the infant

had shown no other sign of illness, the likely cause of death was inferred to be respiratory

infection. During the first day KET was observed scratching herself repeatedly before

approaching a water area and when sitting close to a sub-adult male. These scratches

appeared to be stress-related (fast and repeated, and not accompanied by grooming or

response waiting). On several occasions she moved her hand over the dead body apparently

to chase away the flies. Other than this, during the entire 18-day period, she was never

observed to provide any direct maternal care (grooming, inspecting, touching, or peering)

other than carrying, and regularly left the body at short distances (up to 5 m) without visually

monitoring it. She did not stop others from approaching herself or the dead infant. When

moving or feeding in a tree, the dead body was usually (15 out of 16 observations) placed in

her right leg pocket, when on the ground she carried the body in her hand or arm (see Online

Resources). On one occasion a nulliparous young adult female (MON) was observed to

briefly carry the corpse in one hand while KET followed her. Across the 18-days KYO's

corpse decomposed, initially increasing in smell. By the 4th day, no hair remained on the

body. By the 9th day, the body looked "dried". By the 10th day the pungent smell and

number of flies decreased. It is likely that at this stage the body was completely mummified.

No other chimpanzees responded noticeably to either the smell or the flies. On the last day of

observed carrying, the body was still intact with only eyes missing and one deformed ear.

Fig. 2 KET holding KYO's mummified body while sitting on a tree (picture taken by co-

author on the 21.01.2018)

Observation 2: UP, extended dead infant and subsequent object carrying in Sonso

UP was first seen on the 25th September 2020 with an apparently recently dead infant (UP3),

estimated to be 1-week old. Her two previous infants were killed by intra-community

infanticide when under 2-weeks old. While some immature individuals (< 10 years old)

inspected the carcass, no others did, and an adult male showed no interest even while

grooming UP. The infant's corpse had started to dry out, but had a noticeable smell and flies,

and was assumed to have died several days earlier. UP was observed on the 4th and 26th

October and the 8th and 19th November, carrying the corpse on all occasions. She held it in

her hand when on the ground and moved it to a leg pocket when climbing or moving in trees.

By the 8th November the corpse appeared fully mummified. UP was last seen with the corpse

on the 19th November, a minimum carry duration of 56-days (although likely several days

longer given corpse appeared partially dry on first observation). She was next seen on the

23rd November. When approaching a water hole at the base of a tree, she carried a twig ~50

cm long in her mouth. As she reached the hole she transferred the twig to her hand and left

leg pocket, drank, and then returned it to her mouth (see Online Resources). She continued to

carry the twig throughout the morning, including while climbing large trees, and when

patrolling with the group over several kilometres. She was seen on the 24th November, and

3rd and 4th December, and was again observed to be carrying a similar twig consistently. She

was not seen to put it down on the ground. She was seen briefly on the 5th December, but it

was not clear if she had a twig with her, and when she was next observed in the new year

(30th January) she no longer carried anything.

Observation 3: UP, 2nd extended dead infant carrying in Sonso

UP was first seen on the 28th August 2021 with another dead infant (UP4), estimated to be 1-

week old. While we did not see her with a live infant, and it is thus at least possible that the

infant was not hers, we believe this to be very unlikely. UP was last observed in maximal

oestrus approximately 8 months prior to being observed with the dead infant, and all other

Sonso females were either confirmed to be pregnant, had unweaned infants at the time, had

been observed cycling regularly in the months prior to the observation, or were considered to

be post-reproductive. Finally, we know of no other reports of extended carrying of non-kin

dead infants. The infant's corpse had started to dry out but had a strong smell and on the 30th

August flies could be seen hovering around it. Given that the corpse still had a strong smell

but was already partially dried, it was assumed to have died at least one week prior. The

cause of death was unclear; however, UP was observed with wounds on her head and on her

left arm. UP was observed using three main carrying styles when traveling on the ground or

moving in trees. She either carried the corpse in one hand (typically left one), in the mouth,

or in one leg pocket (typically left one) (see Online Resources). When resting, she placed the

corpse on her lap, in a leg pocket, held it in one hand, or placed it on the ground close to her.

UP was not observed providing direct maternal care (e.g., grooming, inspecting, or peering)

to the corpse, though she was observed moving her hand around the dead body to chase away

flies on several occasions. On one instance UP was victim of aggression from other females

during which she dropped the corpse, and then followed the group when traveling and left the

corpse behind. Soon after, she was observed returning to retrieve the corpse. We observed a

juvenile male orphan (KJ) following her and peering close to the corpse on a few occasions.

No other individual was observed taking interest in or showing response to the corpse.

Throughout the observation period, UP was often seen in large groups and regularly

socialising with adult males (e.g., grooming). On this occasion there were no observations of

object carrying. UP was seen carrying the corpse on the 28th, 30th and 31st August; the 2nd,

6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 18th-25th and 29th September; the 7th, 12th, 13th, 15th-

21st, 26th, 28th October; and the 3rd, 10th, 14th and 17th November. On the 18th November

she was seen without the corpse and had resumed her sexual cycle (with visible sexual

swelling) for the first time since the last pregnancy.

Fig. 3 UP carrying UP4's mummified body in her hand while traveling on the ground

(picture taken by co-author on the 30.08.2021)

DISCUSSION

We compiled over 40-years of long-term data on chimpanzee mothers from the Budongo

forest that had lost their infants but continued carrying them for days. Dead-infant carrying

was practiced by both parous and primiparous mothers with both new-born and older infants.

If we consider only those in which we were able to observe the mother immediately after the

infant's death, it occurred in at least a fifth of cases. However, this value is very likely an

under-estimate of the frequency with which bereaved Budongo female chimpanzees carry

their infants. The Sonso community, in which we made most of our observations, experiences

periodic high levels of infanticide (Lowe et al. 2020). These infanticide cases are often

accompanied by some level of cannibalism or dismemberment, and/or the infant is taken

from the mother (Lowe et al. 2019), which may limit or shorten mothers' opportunities to

carry (Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021; Gonçalves and Carvalho 2019). In many cases the

mother was simply not seen in the days following her infant's death. In the limited number of

cases where the mother was seen in the days following the infant's death and where the death

was not an infanticide with cannibalism of the corpse, almost three quarters of cases involved

carrying of the dead infant.

We found no seasonal effect on dead infant carrying, but we do show a possible age effect:

amongst infants who died at under 1-year old, very young infants were more likely to be

carried. Our observations also support the suggestion that infants may be less likely to be

carried following traumatic death (Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021). Most cases of infant

carrying were relatively short (minimum confirmed carry length of a few days); however, we

also reported three prolonged cases of extended infant carrying. Our observations suggest that

these mothers, despite the evidence of irreversible loss including absence of any resemblance

to living infants, continued to experience a strong attachment to their deceased infants.

Neither female had any other living offspring and one, after eventually abandoning her dead

infant after 56 days, carried an object (a twig) for at least another two weeks. In the three

cases of prolonged carrying that we report, dead-infant carrying was not accompanied by

other forms of maternal care, such as grooming or other forms of maternal attention or

interactions (e.g., Matsuzawa 1997; Biro 2011), suggesting that the two mothers had become

aware of the biological facts. Both mothers were forced to use atypical modes of infant

carrying, including mouth carrying, more typically used for objects (Lonsdorf et al. 2020).

Overall, these data suggest that the 'unawareness hypothesis' is unable to fully explain

chimpanzee behaviour towards dead conspecifics.

As neither mother appeared to inspect or interact with the infant beyond carrying, our

observations do not support the 'learning about death' hypothesis. Further support against the

'learning about death' hypothesis is provided by the mothers who carried their dead infants

on more than on occasion: of the four mothers, three carried for longer on the second

occasion (one for the same amount of time). When we extracted the same data from Lonsdorf

et al. (2020, n=6), Biro (2011, n=1), and Hanamura et al. (2015, n=2), this pattern appeared

repeated: six of the nine cases described were longer on subsequent carries. Recurring and

prolonged carrying behaviours seem to indicate that mothers are not unaware of death.

While both KET and UP were inexperienced mothers (primiparous and parous but all

offspring killed at under a month old respectively), 10 of the 11 mothers who carried their

dead infants were parous and two of these cases were with sixth and seventh born infants.

Cases of extended carrying by parous mothers in other groups also suggest limited support

for the 'learning to mother hypothesis' (Matsuzawa 1997; Biro et al. 2010; Biro 2011;

Lonsdorf et al. 2020). However, in line with the fact that younger primate mothers are more

likely to carry dead infants (Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021), our three observations support the

suggestion that rare instances of extended carrying across several months might be more

frequent in young mothers. Nevertheless, repeated prolonged carries do not support the

suggestion that this is due to inexperience and, given that no clear pattern emerges when

considering observations across sites (e.g., Hanamura et al. 2015; Lonsdorf et al. 2020) and

that sample sizes of chimpanzee mothers remain very small, these rare instances could also

reflect individual differences.

Because we did not collect any hormonal data to assess the levels of stress associated with

dead infant carrying, we were unable to evaluate the 'grief-management hypothesis'.

However, a recent study by Girard-Buttoz and colleagues (2021) reported elevated cortisol

levels in infant chimpanzees who lost their mothers, supporting the notion that disruption of

the mother-infant bond leads to elevated stress. Similarly, female baboons experience high

levels of glucocorticoids when losing an ally to predation and in periods of infanticidal

attacks (Engh et al. 2006a, b). Given the bond chimpanzee mothers share with their infants is

among their most significant (Pusey 1983; Lonsdorf and Ross 2012; Stanton et al. 2017), we

expect mothers to experience elevated stress levels following the death of their infant.

One of the three prolonged carries took place during the peak of the driest season, whereas

the other two took place during the wettest season, and we found no effect of seasonality in

our wider data. Rather than mummification being the result of favourable climactic

conditions, it is possible mummification was observed because the extended carrying

durations allowed for it (see also Biro 2011). Recent explorations of several large datasets

also found no support for a 'climate hypothesis' (Das et al. 2019; Lonsdorf et al. 2020;

Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021). Of the three extended carries two infants were new-born, while

the other was 2-years old. The longest carry reported was for a new-born, however, other

new-born infants were carried for short periods of just a few days. One of the three extended

carries terminated with the resumption of the mother's reproductive cycles. While our

observation of carrying being more likely in very young infants (under 1-month) than in

infants aged 1-12 months, as well as the extended carrying by UP of her two young new-

borns would fit the pattern proposed for the 'post parturient hypothesis'; however, the

extended carrying by KET of her 2-year-old infant does not. Previous studies suggest that

while post parturient effects may contribute to this behaviour, they cannot explain extended

carrying alone (Watson and Matsuzawa 2018; Masi 2020). However, hormonal data are

needed to investigate this hypothesis effectively. While KET's case provides support for the

'maternal-bond strength hypothesis', UP's cases provide counterevidence. However, given

that the latter were UP's third and fourth infants in a five-year period, the first two having

been killed at under a month old in within-community infanticides, it is difficult to assess the

nature of her bond with these infants. Soon after dropping the corpse, UP was observed

carrying a twig for several days, which we suggest may have been used as a substitute for

her dead infant's body. This unusual behaviour together with the even more prolonged

second carry suggest she had a particularly strong motivation to carry. Our observations (see

Table 2 for a summary), combined with the fact that all recorded instances of carrying in our

dataset concern infants who died before weaning age, seem to indicate that maternal

behaviours, which are not limited to maternal care, and the bond between the mother and the

offspring likely play an important role in dead infant carrying (Fernández-Fueyo et al. 2021).

Table 2 Hypotheses, predictions, and supporting evidence from the present study for dead

infant carrying

Hypothesis	Prediction	Study support
Unawareness	Dead infants are treated as alive.	Unlikely
Post-parturition	Young infants are carried for longer.	Mixed
Learning about death	Mothers inspect and check state of infant.	Unlikely
Grief-management	Stress levels are lower in mothers carrying dead infants.	N/A
Learning-to-mother	Primiparous mothers carry dead infants more often/for longer.	Unlikely
Maternal-bond strength	Strongly bonded and intermediate/old infants are carried for longer.	Mixed

Within our observations of dead infant carrying, there were two examples of particularly rare

behaviour: KET allowing MON to briefly carry KYO, and UP's twig carrying. Carrying the

infant of others is an unusual behaviour in East African chimpanzees. It has been observed on

rare occasions in Budongo: two adult males snatched new born infants and carried them (still

alive) for at least two days (in one case the male continued to carry the infant for a further

two days after its death; Notman and Munn 2003; unpublished long-term data), and a

daughter was observed carrying what was suspected to be her mother's new infant for several

days (unpublished long-term data). It is possible that KET tolerated MON's brief carry

because they may share a close bond, but another explanation is that her own bond with the

infant's body had perhaps decreased by the 13th day.

We are not aware of any other reports of primate mothers carrying substitute objects

following their infant's death and we are cautious about interpreting this unique and unusual

observation. While chimpanzees may carry objects for many reasons, a number of features

suggest that the observation of UP carrying a twig was related to infant carrying. Prior to the

incident, neither UP nor any other adult Budongo chimpanzees had ever been observed to

carry non-food objects between locations. They are notoriously non-stick-tool users (Whiten

et al. 1999; Gruber et al. 2009, 2011; Gruber 2016). Chimpanzees have been reported at

several sites to engage in 'doll' play, where substitute objects, including logs and sticks, are

carried as if they were a young infant (Matsuzawa 1997; Kahlenberg and Wrangham 2010).

This behaviour typically peaks in juveniles and is more frequent in females and while it is

observed in some adult females it ceased once they became mothers (Kahlenberg and

Wrangham 2010). The description of log doll use in Bossou is of particular interest here, as it

was carried by a juvenile female during the period that her mother was carrying her sick

infant sister, who subsequently died and whose body was also then carried (Matsuzawa

1997). UP's behaviour was observed multiple times over several weeks and, unlike the

descriptions of other 'dolls', she was not seen interacting with the object, treating it instead in

the same way as she had her infant's corpse. Thus, object-carrying may also be associated

with the loss of an infant in bereaved chimpanzee mothers. In humans, the use of transitional

objects (e.g., dolls or objects associated with the deceased) has been suggested to function as

a coping mechanism following a bereavement (Graham et al. 1987; Lister et al. 2008). A

similar suggestion has been made for beluga whales where both wild (Smith and Sleno 1986)

and captive (Kilborn 1994) individuals have been seen to carry inanimate objects, apparently

as 'surrogates'. The captive whale carried a buoy followed the removal of her dead calf

immediately after birth (Kilborn 1994), and in the wild observations included carrying of

planks and netting (Smith and Sleno 1986). Further observations are necessary to validate the

use of object-carrying following the death of an infant as a coping mechanism in primates.

To sum up, our observations are consistent with previous observations that chimpanzee

mothers respond to the death of their infants with carrying behaviour across communities.

Furthermore, our observations support the argument that these mothers act as if they are

aware of the loss but continue to display a strong attachment to the bodies of their infants and

may be affected by psychological processes akin to human grieving. Nevertheless, more

detailed hormonal data are needed for a test of this potential mechanism. A combination of

ecological conditions favouring mummification, and social factors, such as the strong bond

shared between mothers and their infants, may explain the three particularly extended carries

by Budongo chimpanzees. While we did not observe other indications of maternal care in

these cases, we are cautious about interpreting this as a wider absence in Budongo mothers.

Mothers' pattern of behavioural responses to death may be individually specific and nuanced,

resulting from a combination of physical, ecological, and psychological factors, and more

observations are needed to generalise at the population or species level. Our interpretations

are limited by the small number of observations and the multitude of possible influential

factors to consider. We encourage researchers and long-term field sites to continue to report

the rare behaviours observed in different populations, for example by contributing to open-

access databases such as 'ThanatoBase' (http://thanatobase.mystrikingly.com), to allow a

richer exploration and more robust hypothesis testing of non-human primates' reaction to

death through data sharing and collaborations across sites.

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