

1 **Cumulative build-up of techniques in captive orangutans is contingent on**
2 **novel exigencies**

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28 **Abstract**

29 Cumulative cultural evolution refers to cultural traditions that have cumulatively been
30 modified over time by different individuals in the direction of greater complexity.
31 Experimental evidence for cumulative social learning in great apes is ambiguous. We expand
32 a previous study that showed that orangutans were able to modify a preferred technique when
33 this became necessary, thus demonstrating high behavioral flexibility in problem solving
34 (Lehner et al. 2011). Our main present objective was to investigate in orangutans whether
35 ratcheting of techniques requires novel exigencies or whether they can also arise
36 spontaneously under constant conditions; and second, if not, whether orangutans can learn
37 ratcheted techniques through socially mediated learning if they are demonstrated to them. We
38 presented a foraging box to nine captive Sumatran orangutans. The reward in the box could
39 be accessed in roughly two different ways, one of which cumulatively built upon the other
40 one and was more efficient and productive. We found that novel exigencies were indeed
41 required for the emergence of the cumulatively built-up technique. These results show that
42 orangutans could learn a technique by social mediation they previously failed to learn on their
43 own.

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45 **Keywords:** Cumulative build-up, cumulative culture, ratcheting, orangutan

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53 **Introduction**

54 Striking variation in behavior in chimpanzees and orangutans at different study sites has been
55 interpreted as evidence for culture in our closest relatives (Boesch 1996; McGrew 1992; van
56 Schaik et al. 2003; Whiten et al. 1999). Initially, culture was considered human by definition
57 (reviewed in McGrew 1998), whereas animals were accorded traditions; a tradition
58 representing a behavioral practice that is shared by two or more individuals in a social unit,
59 which persists over time and is acquired by new individuals in part through socially aided
60 learning (Fragaszy and Perry 2003). Whiten and van Schaik (2007) defined culture as the
61 possession of multiple traditions, spanning different domains of behavior. The number of
62 such traditions identified in chimpanzees and orangutans (at least 39 and 24, respectively) far
63 exceeds the cultural repertoire of other animals (van Schaik et al. 2003; van Schaik et al.
64 2006; Whiten et al. 1999; Whiten et al. 2001), which suggests that the basic features of
65 culture are shared by most or all great apes (Whiten et al. 2009b). At the same time, no one
66 doubts that human culture is characterized by many more traditions than chimpanzee and
67 orangutan culture. However, this difference is not merely quantitative, but also qualitative, as
68 humans use behavioral strategies and technologies that are much more complex. This vast
69 discrepancy in cultural accomplishments between humans and great apes could be due to
70 cumulative culture or ratcheting, i.e. the accumulation of modifications made by different
71 individuals over time in the direction of greater complexity (Tomasello et al. 1993). By
72 greater complexity Boesch and Tomasello (1998) meant that a wider range of functions is
73 encompassed. More recently Dean et al. (2013) and Pradhan et al. (2012) defined behavioral
74 complexity as the number of steps required to produce the behavior. Another way to
75 recognize cumulative culture is by showing a low probability that naïve individuals can
76 invent the ratcheted technique on their own (Boyd and Richerson 1996).

77 Arguably, cumulative culture is uniquely human (Henrich and McElreath 2003;
78 Tomasello et al. 1993; Tomasello 1999; Tomasello 2001) and its emergence may have been
79 facilitated by our ultrasociality (cooperative breeding and prosociality) (Burkart et al. 2009a)
80 and our excellence, efficiency and fidelity in skill transmission (teaching, imitation) (Burkart
81 et al. 2009a; Dean et al. 2013; Lewis & Laland 2012; Pradhan et al. 2012; Tomasello 1994).
82 The first traceable archeological indication of cumulative build-up of technology is seen in
83 the replacement of the Oldowan by the Acheulean stone industry (Mithen 1999).
84 Nevertheless rudimentary forms of cumulative technology do exist in apes (as described in
85 the following 3 paragraphs - and have also been suggested for New Caledonian crows, Hunt
86 and Gray 2003), and the main question is to what extent great apes are spontaneously capable
87 of such cumulative build-up, or can be coaxed into inventing or adopting ratcheted
88 techniques. Rudimentary forms of cumulative technology have also been suggested in non-
89 primate species: Hunt and Gray (2003) suggested that the diversification of *Pandanus* tool
90 designs they found in New Caledonian crows are the first indication that a non-human species
91 evolved techniques that built up on previous versions and were passed on through social
92 learning.

93 Boesch (2003) and Whiten et al. (2003) suggested that some examples of chimpanzee
94 cultures indicate that chimpanzees do have some power for cumulative build-up of
95 techniques, at least in qualitative, modest terms. For instance, several chimpanzee
96 populations crack nuts by hitting them directly with the hand against tree trunks or use stone
97 hammers to break harder and smaller nuts on stone anvils, but only at Bossou (Guinea) have
98 some individuals been observed to occasionally use an additional stone to prop up the stone
99 anvil, thus leveling it or increasing its stability (Matsuzawa and Yamakoshi 1996; Sugiyama
100 1997). However, because the technique did not reach customary status, one could doubt its
101 interpretation as cumulative culture.

102 Recent reports of evidence for cumulative material culture in chimpanzees are more
103 convincing. Chimpanzees in the Congo Basin have been found to use two or more different
104 tools in one functional sequence in termite extraction or during honey gathering. In the latter
105 case, they use a large, club-like stick to pound open a beehive and then extract honey by
106 dipping into the hive using a smaller stick (Sanz and Morgan 2009). While using a probe to
107 dip into a beehive to extract honey is a widespread tactic used by chimpanzees in honey-
108 gathering, pounding of beehives with a large club seems exclusive to populations of the
109 Congo Basin (Sanz and Morgan 2009). The “pound-and-dip” technique includes behavioral
110 elements of the dipping technique and probably makes additional beehives accessible that
111 cannot be opened when only the dipping technique is available. Thus, it is reasonable to
112 consider the “pound-and-dip” technique as cumulatively building up on the dipping
113 technique. Nonetheless, it is remarkable (1) how rare such built-up techniques are in wild
114 chimpanzees and (2) how limited the steps are, never building upon this two-step process by
115 adding additional steps in all the other tool sets reported by Sanz and Morgan (2009) as well.
116 Explaining this rarity, and this limitation to a two step-process, remain a priority if we are to
117 explain the ape-human contrast in culture.

118 The question of why ratcheted techniques are so rare in wild apes can be addressed
119 experimentally with captive great apes. In a first experiment on cumulative culture in great
120 apes, Marshall-Pescini and Whiten (2008) investigated chimpanzees’ capacity for cumulative
121 social learning by designing an apparatus whose food content could be extracted in two
122 different ways. Both solutions were demonstrated to the subjects by a familiar human. The
123 second technique incorporated the core actions of the first technique and was both more
124 complex and more productive. Subjects that had previously learned the first technique did not
125 learn the second more complex one, thus proving incapable of acquiring a cumulatively built-
126 up technique through socially mediated learning. The authors concluded their chimpanzees

127 had become “stuck” on a technique they had learned initially, which inhibited cumulative
128 social learning and possibly constrains the species’ capacity for cumulative culture (Marshall-
129 Pescini and Whiten 2008; see also Hopper et al. 2011; Hrubesch et al. 2009; Pesendorfer et
130 al. 2009). More recently, however, positive findings regarding cumulative build-up of
131 techniques have been reported in great apes (Lehner et al. 2011; Manrique et al. 2013).
132 Lehner et al. (2011) found that captive orangutans in a different experiment demonstrated a
133 high flexibility to abandon a preferred technique that had been made non-functional for
134 solving a syrup-tube task and to switch successfully to different, functional techniques. More
135 importantly, the study subjects invented two techniques that built up on previous ones and
136 were thus cumulative; these were also acquired by other group members, by socially
137 mediated learning (as suggested by the authors), indicating that modest cumulative culture is
138 possible in captive orangutans. A critical question arising from Lehner et al.’s (2011) study is
139 whether creating these novel exigencies by inhibiting preferred techniques was crucial for
140 subjects to modify and improve on present solutions, and thus produce ratcheted techniques,
141 or (whether) eventually ratcheting would also have taken place under unchanging conditions.
142 Novel exigencies are part of Tomasello et al.’s (1993) description of cumulative culture,
143 which suggests that without such novel exigencies there would be no cumulative build-up of
144 techniques; however this description needs experimental validation, especially as Koops et al.
145 (2014) reported that primate tool innovations arose from opportunity rather than necessity.
146 Further tests of orangutans’ and great apes’ ability for cumulative build-up of techniques
147 under *unchanging* conditions are needed to shed light on the potential for cumulative culture
148 in these species.

149 The main objective of this study with captive orangutans was therefore to investigate
150 whether novel exigencies further prove to be indispensable for cumulative build-up of
151 techniques, or whether cumulative build-up is also possible under constant conditions. A

152 secondary objective was to investigate whether orangutans could socially learn a technique
153 they previously failed to invent by themselves. According to Tennie et al. (2009),
154 chimpanzees will only socially learn what they (i.e. some individuals) could learn on their
155 own.

156 We performed an experiment using an apparatus functionally similar to the one used
157 by Marshall-Pescini and Whiten (2008), allowing us to compare results of orangutans and
158 chimpanzees to a better extent than before. We first examined if under constant conditions
159 subjects would spontaneously find both the simple solution first, and then also the second
160 more complex and more productive solution that cumulatively builds up on the simple
161 technique. Second, we investigated whether they learnt it from a familiar human
162 demonstrator (by socially mediated learning). Third, a final phase of the experiment
163 followed, where we created novel exigencies by making the first technique nonproductive,
164 while demonstrations of the built-up technique were continued. Thus, we examined whether
165 subjects that previously had not invented the cumulatively built-up technique adopted this
166 technique demonstrated to them, if conditions of the task were changed and novel exigencies
167 created. We used the same criteria for cumulatively built-up techniques as in a previous study
168 (Lehner et al. 2011)

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170

171 **Methods**

172 *Animals and living conditions*

173 We conducted the study on a population of Sumatran orangutans held at the Zurich Zoo
174 (Switzerland). The study group consisted of 9 individuals: 6 females (ages: Timor 33;
175 Selatan 26; Oceh 21; Tuah 16; Xirah 12; Cahaya 7) and 3 males (ages: Djarius 14; Dahulu 5;
176 Hadia 1). Hadia was excluded from examination due to young age, hence sample size was N

177 = 8. Subjects were socially housed in one main indoor cage (480 m³) and an outdoor cage
178 (188 m³). They had the possibility to retreat in boxes formerly used as sleeping boxes, out of
179 sight of the visitors. The cages were equipped with tree trunks and ropes, which allowed the
180 animals to show their natural locomotion, and a water source; environmental enrichment was
181 provided almost daily. Subjects were not food or water deprived at any time. We performed
182 all experiments in the main indoor cage with the whole group present. Their behavioral
183 repertoire had been established previously (Lehner et. al 2010).

184

185 *Apparatus*

186 We presented subjects with a foraging box (l = 25cm, w = 15cm, h = 15cm) originally
187 containing syrup and peanuts. A transparent window (9 x 9 cm) in the front allowed animals
188 to look inside the wooden box. In the front of the box there was a tunnel with a recessed bolt
189 inside that locked the lid at the top of the box. This lid had a hole (d = 1cm) that was covered
190 by a transparent trap door; the hole led to the box's content. The size of the hole did not allow
191 the subjects to insert a finger, as we did not want to give them the possibility to lever open the
192 lid by any other means than inserting a stick in the hole, because this is crucial for the
193 "Poking and Levering" technique to qualify as a ratcheted technique (see below). This is an
194 important and intentional difference to the box used by Marshall-Pescini and Whiten (2008)
195 where the hole happened to be wide enough for chimpanzees to insert a finger and to lever
196 the lid open with the finger. In its home position the box's lid was locked by the recessed bolt
197 and the trap door covered the lid's hole (Figure 1a).

198 We constructed the foraging task box so it could be solved in two different ways, by
199 either "Dipping" or "Poking and Levering" (Figure 2).

200 (1) "Dipping" technique: Sliding open the trap door by pushing it back with a finger,
201 thereby exposing the hole of the lid, and whilst holding on, use the other hand to dip a stick

202 into the revealed hole down into the syrup (Figure 1b), pull the stick out and lick the syrup
203 from the stick. In addition to this dipping technique we distinguished two slight variations of
204 dipping techniques where the trap door was let go before pulling the stick out or where the
205 same stick was used to both open the trap door and dip in the revealed hole (Table 1).

206 (2) “Poking and Levering” technique: Using a stick to poke the recessed bolt inwards,
207 thereby unlocking the lid at the top (Figure 1c). Slide open the trap door with a finger and use
208 the other hand to insert a stick into the hole (as in the “Dipping” technique), let the trap door
209 go, lever open the lid, making all the contents available (Figure 1d). Within the latter
210 technique a variation of the first technique is contained, and while the “Dipping” technique
211 makes only little amounts of syrup accessible (and no peanuts), the second one allows rapid
212 access to both syrup and peanuts, making the “Poking and Levering” technique a solution
213 cumulatively building up on the “Dipping” technique. Holding the trap door open whilst
214 dipping a stick in and out of the hole - as in the “Dipping” technique - is in the “Poking and
215 Levering” technique modified to letting the trap door go after having put the stick in the hole,
216 so the stick is blocked in the hole by the trap door and the lid can be levered open with the
217 stick. Thus, broadly summarized, the components of “Poking and Levering” are “Poking”
218 and a modification of “Dipping” (see also Figure 2). Therefore subjects are expected to first
219 show both “Poking” and “Dipping” before mastering “Poking and Levering”.

220 The “Poking and Levering” technique stringently must include a variation of the
221 “Dipping” technique, in order to qualify as a ratcheted technique. Therefore we prohibited
222 subjects to lever the lid open in any other way than putting a stick in the lid’s hole, e.g. by
223 inserting a finger into the hole instead of a stick, or by inserting fingernails along the lid; such
224 forms of “Poking and Levering” would not qualify as cumulatively building up on “Dipping”.
225 Table 1 gives an overview of the main behaviors that were recorded along with their
226 descriptions.

227

228 *Experimental procedure*

229 We carried out the experiment in the group's main indoor enclosure, in a behind the
230 scenes area of the zookeepers, nonetheless visible for zoo visitors, where subjects could put
231 their forearms through the cage mesh. We fixed the apparatus to the outside of the enclosure,
232 allowing subjects to watch through the box's transparent window and see the content. The
233 content originally consisted of syrup and peanuts (or occasionally walnuts), all highly
234 appreciated food items. We provided several sticks that were adequate to perform the two
235 techniques.

236 The experiment consisted of three phases (Table 2): (1) an innovation phase; (2) a
237 demonstration phase; and (3) a novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase. Subjects were
238 tested as a group. Experimental sessions usually lasted 90 minutes each and were performed
239 on different days. There were a maximum of two experimental sessions per week.

240 (1) Experimental procedure phase 1: In the innovation phase, we ran seven
241 experimental sessions to investigate how subjects would handle the foraging box that was
242 attached to the outside of the enclosure.

243 (2) Experimental procedure phase 2: In the demonstration phase, we ran seven
244 sessions. First we ran one session in which one box was presented in its home position as
245 before, but a second box was also present, which was empty but had the lid opened; this was
246 to ensure that subjects knew the lid could be opened. If subjects had learned the "Poking and
247 Levering" technique at this stage this would have implied a form of emulation learning (i.e.
248 learning about the environment), e.g. end-state emulation (learning about the result of the
249 model's action and copying this product, but independently re-inventing the way to get there)
250 or affordance learning (learning about the properties of objects) (cf. Wood 1989; Tomasello
251 1996; Tomasello 1998; Tennie et al., 2009; Whiten et al. 2009a). Then in the next six

252 sessions the complete process of the “Poking and Levering” technique was demonstrated to
253 the subjects by a familiar human (S.L.). We carried out the demonstrations at a distance of
254 about 1 m, in front of the whole group. For the first 20 minutes of a session, we carried out
255 demonstrations repeatedly. After that, we put the box used by the demonstrator in its home
256 position and fixed it to the wire mesh for subjects to interact with for the following 70-80
257 minutes, whilst the demonstrator used a duplicate box to demonstrate the technique “Poking
258 and Levering” whenever a subject was watching the demonstrator or this box.

259 (3) Experimental procedure phase 3: In the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration
260 phase, we ran 10 sessions in which we paired demonstrations with changed conditions.
261 Subjects were exposed to the foraging box, which now no longer contained syrup but only
262 peanuts. This made the “Dipping” technique (that had so far made the syrup accessible)
263 ineffective, leaving subjects only the “Poking and Levering” technique to access the reward.
264 We carried out the demonstrations the same way as described for the demonstration phase.
265 We expected that with the novel conditions subjects would be more attentive to the
266 demonstrations of the “Poking and Levering” technique than in the demonstration phase, and
267 that subjects would show greater effort to lever open the lid.

268

269 *Data coding and analyses*

270 We video-recorded all experiments. We undertook continuous behavior sampling (Table 1;
271 Altmann 1974) from the video recordings. Table 1 provides descriptions of all behaviors we
272 recorded. Amongst others we recorded for each individual the number of demonstrations of
273 “Poke and Lever” it observed completely. More precisely, our criteria for “observing
274 demonstration” requested that for the duration of a complete performance of the “Poke and
275 Lever” technique a subjects eyes were directed at the human demonstrator’s (or later a
276 successful subject’s) performance from a close distance ($< 2\text{m}$). The recorded data of

277 “observing demonstrations” provides a measure for each subject’s attentiveness to the
278 demonstrations of the “Poke and Lever” technique. The first author did all the coding of the
279 video footage, the second author blind coded a subset, resulting in no differences. We
280 calculated statistics in SPSS 14.0. We used Page’s L Trend Test (Page 1963) to test for
281 successive increase in successful application of the “Dipping” technique over the seven
282 sessions of the innovation phase.

283

284 *Ethical note*

285 All procedures of the study were performed in accordance with Swiss laws and approved by
286 the Zurich State Veterinary Office (Nr. 2008202).

287

288 **Results**

289 In the seven sessions of the innovation phase (in total lasting 10 hours 14 minutes), seven out
290 of eight orangutans discovered at least one of the three forms of the “Dipping” techniques
291 that could be distinguished (complete information about latencies after which subjects
292 successfully performed a particular behavior for the first time can be found in Appendix 1).
293 During the course of the innovation phase subjects increasingly performed the “Dipping”
294 techniques successfully to gain access to the syrup (Figure 3). There was a highly significant
295 trend for subjects to gradually increase their successful use of any of the three forms of
296 “Dipping” proportionally to their total manipulation time (Page’s L Trend Test: $L = 975.5$; k
297 $= 7$; $N = 8$; $P < 0.01$). Two of the subjects that had used “Dipping” also discovered “Poking”,
298 but no individual came up with the technique “Poking and Levering” in this phase.

299 In the demonstration phase, the technique “Poking and Levering” that cumulatively
300 builds up on the “Dipping” techniques was still not performed by any subject. Rather, their
301 interest in the task declined, as indicated by a lower participation with the task than in the

302 innovation phase, measured as individuals' active manipulation with the apparatus relative to
303 the time the apparatus was fixed to the cage in the corresponding phase (Wilcoxon signed-
304 ranks test: $Z = -1.960$, $N = 8$, $P = 0.05$; Figure 4). The six individuals that had acquired
305 "Dipping" techniques still applied them in the demonstration phase to extract some syrup
306 from the apparatus.

307 In the subsequent novel-exigencies-and-demonstration phase, one subject (Selatan)
308 eventually succeeded in performing the technique "Poking and Levering", achieving a total
309 of six correct performances over four consecutive sessions. The first time was in the fifth
310 session (19th session overall), or after a latency of more than 27 hours. As expected, this
311 individual had previously acquired both "Poking" and "Dipping". In the remaining sessions,
312 no other subject acquired the "Poking and Levering" technique. Selatan did not perform the
313 "Poking and Levering" technique during the last two sessions, despite some failed attempts.

314 We then investigated why most animals failed to acquire the "Poking and Levering"
315 technique. Subjects mainly seemed to fail because they largely neglected to poke. Broadly,
316 the components of "Poking and Levering" are "Poking" and a modification of "Dipping",
317 thus subjects were expected to first show both "Poking" and "Dipping" before mastering
318 "Poking and Levering". First, we therefore analyzed subjects' latencies until discovering
319 "Poking" and "Dipping". Figure 5 shows that most subjects' latencies until the first correct
320 performance of "Poking" were longer than for "Dipping". Five animals acquired both
321 "Poking" and "Dipping", but of these only one succeeded to combine and modify them into
322 the effective "Poking and Levering" technique, while four of these animals had discovered
323 "Poking" much later than "Dipping". Two other subjects had acquired one of the "Dipping"
324 techniques, but never acquired "Poking". Only one subject (Dahulu: male juvenile) acquired
325 "Poking" but not "Dipping".

326 Second, we examined whether at some point “Poking” became common by analyzing
327 its frequency in the three phases of the experiment. “Poking” was very rarely shown in the
328 innovation and demonstration phases, but more often under the novel conditions of the last
329 phase (Figure 6). We corrected the frequencies of “Poking” for the different time the
330 apparatus was attached to the cage in the three phases (by calculating all frequencies relative
331 to the time the foraging box was available in the demonstration phase). In the novel-
332 exigencies-plus-demonstration phase subjects showed significantly more correct “Poking”
333 than in both the demonstration phase (Wilcoxon signed-ranks test: $Z = -2.207$, $N = 8$, $P =$
334 0.027) and the innovation phase ($Z = -2.207$, $N = 8$, $P = 0.027$). Although “Poking” was most
335 frequent in the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase, its occurrence did not become
336 common there either: except for the individual that acquired the ratcheted technique “Poking
337 and Levering” no individual “poked” more than eight times in the 10 sessions of the novel
338 exigencies phase (averages of correct “Poking” in phases 1-3, Selatan excluded: 0.4; 0; 2.1).
339 Their use of social information (i.e. number of demonstrations observed) did not correlate
340 with their frequency of successful “Poking” (Spearman’s $Rho = 0.558$, $p = 0.151$).

341 These two analyses thus support the idea that most subjects failed to acquire the
342 “Poking and Levering” technique because they largely neglected to poke. However, several
343 other potential factors why most animals failed to acquire the “Poking and Levering”
344 technique also had to be excluded, namely (1) subjects not paying attention to the human’s
345 demonstration of the “Poking and Levering” technique, (2) subjects lacking motivation to
346 lever open the lid (because they did not understand its need), and (3) limited access to the
347 task.

348 First, by analyzing subjects’ attentiveness to the demonstrations of the “Poking and
349 Levering” technique we could exclude the possibility that most subjects failed to acquire this
350 technique because they did not watch the demonstrations. All subjects paid attention to the

351 demonstrations of the “Poking and Levering” technique by the human demonstrator (Figure
352 7). A seven-year old female (Cahaya) was the most attentive individual, in total watching 92
353 demonstrations (thereof 2 by Selatan), followed by a 16-year old female (Tuah), who
354 watched 39 demonstrations but both did not manage to reproduce the exact observed pattern.
355 The individual (Selatan) that did acquire the “Poking and Levering” technique in session 19
356 had watched a total of 21 demonstrations before her first successful performance. Three of
357 her correct performances of the “Poking and Levering” techniques were observed by other
358 subjects.

359 Second, a simple lack of motivation (and of understanding the need to open the lid)
360 could also be excluded as a possible explanation for most animals’ failure to show the
361 “Poking and Levering” technique in the novel-exigencies-and-demonstration phase. Because
362 with the novel conditions only the “Poking and Levering” technique was effective to gain a
363 reward, we expected subjects to increase their efforts to somehow lever open the lid in the
364 novel-exigencies-and-demonstration phase. Therefore we measured individuals’ time spent
365 attempting to lever open the lid without succeeding (sum of Lever non-successful, Lever in
366 vain, Lever in gaps; Table 1) and calculated its proportion of the time during which subjects
367 could manipulate the foraging box in the corresponding phase to correct for different
368 durations in the three phases of the experiment. Indeed, subjects’ effort to lever open the lid
369 was greatest when the novel exigencies prevailed (Figure 8), and this effort to lever open the
370 lid was significantly greater in the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase than in the
371 demonstration phase (Wilcoxon signed-ranks test: $Z = -2.197$, $N = 8$, $P = 0.028$). This
372 indicates that subjects indeed recognized the need to open the lid due to the novel conditions
373 in the novel-exigencies-and-demonstration phase and that they were motivated to do so. The
374 conspecific demonstrator had only been observed to perform the “Poking and Levering”
375 technique three times, indicating subjects were motivated to open the foraging box because of

376 the environmental necessities, rather than because they had only now observed a conspecific
377 demonstrator.

378 Third, limited access to the foraging box also needs to be excluded as a possible
379 explanation for most animals' failure to show the "Poking and Levering" technique. Access
380 to the foraging box was clearly not limited: although all subjects participated in the task in all
381 phases of the experiment the apparatus remained unoccupied for most of the time. The only
382 individual that acquired the "Poking and Levering" technique showed the most interaction
383 with the task in the novel exigencies phase but by no means monopolized the apparatus
384 (Figure 4).

385

386 **Discussion**

387 Our original aim here was to investigate whether captive orangutans (after having learned a
388 simple technique) would under constant conditions be able to invent a more productive
389 technique that added actions to this pre-existing technique, thus making it cumulatively built-
390 up or ratcheted (innovation phase). We found that orangutans did not learn the cumulatively
391 built-up technique by themselves under the constant conditions of the innovation phase.
392 Seven subjects learned at least one of the three forms of "Dipping" techniques, and two of
393 those also discovered "Poking", but none combined and built up on these two techniques to
394 invent the ratcheted technique "Poking and Levering".

395 We then examined whether orangutans, having previously failed to invent the built-up
396 technique by themselves, could learn it after observing demonstrations by a human model:
397 first still under constant conditions (demonstration phase), second under novel exigencies
398 where the simpler technique was rendered obsolete (novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration
399 phase). In the demonstration phase, the "Poking and Levering" technique was demonstrated
400 to the subjects, but none acquired it. Rather, they continued using "Dipping" techniques.

401 Thus, orangutans did not learn the ratcheted technique “Poking and Levering” under constant
402 conditions, neither individually in the “innovation phase“, nor socially mediated in the
403 “demonstration phase”. Hence, under constant conditions subjects neither learned the
404 cumulatively built-up technique by themselves, nor did they copy it from the human model.

405 With increased exposure to the task, and once novel exigencies were introduced, a
406 single subject succeeded in learning the cumulatively built up technique. In the novel-
407 exigencies-plus-demonstration phase we created novel exigencies by loading the foraging
408 box with peanuts only rather than both syrup and peanuts, while demonstrations of the
409 “Poking and Levering” technique were continued. By doing so, we made the “Dipping”
410 techniques nonproductive. In order to extract any food reward from the foraging box, subjects
411 now had to apply the “Poking and Levering” technique. Despite extensive demonstrations, all
412 other subjects failed, although four of them had learned both one of the “Dipping” techniques
413 and “Poking“. However, they did not combine the two components into the ratcheted
414 technique.

415 These results have several implications. First and foremost, this study showed that
416 cumulative build-up of techniques is possible in captive orangutans and not exclusive to
417 humans, as also demonstrated by Lehner et al. (2011) and suggested by the observations on
418 wild chimpanzees (Matsuzawa and Yamakoshi 1996; Sanz and Morgan 2009; Sugiyama
419 1997). Second, there was no cumulative build-up of techniques under constant conditions, i.e.
420 when the “Dipping” techniques were still effective. This is in accordance with the experiment
421 of Marshall-Pescini and Whiten (2008) using a similar foraging box: chimpanzees that
422 learned the simple dipping technique did not learn the cumulatively built-up technique,
423 although both techniques had been demonstrated to them. Third, only as novel exigencies
424 prevailed (only) a single subject succeeded to learn the cumulatively built-up technique. This,
425 although based on only one subject, corroborates the finding by Lehner et al. (2011), using

426 the same subjects, that the creation of novel exigencies by inhibiting preferred techniques was
427 likely crucial to induce subjects to modify and improve on present solutions to result in
428 cumulative build-up of techniques. Manrique et al. (2013) have recently also shown that
429 chimpanzees, gorillas and bonobos were able to overcome conservatism (*contra* Hrubesch et
430 al. 2009) and abandon a previously established technique to extract food from a puzzle box
431 when changes in the physical constraints of the task made the old technique ineffective.
432 Interestingly, in that study orangutans were clearly outperformed by the other great ape
433 species. Fourth, subjects still applying the unproductive “Dipping” technique in the final
434 novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase obviously must have remained unsatisfied but did
435 not copy the successful “Poking and Levering” technique, even when there was a successful
436 conspecific model from whom the orangutans could have learned, which casts doubt on clear-
437 cut strategies such as “copy others when unsatisfied with own current strategy” (Laland
438 2004; Rendell et al. 2011; Yamamoto et al. 2013). In their review of limits to animal
439 innovation, Brosnan & Hopper (2014) concluded that "primates will preferentially use their
440 personal information unless there is some reason not to do so, such as when it is costly to
441 collect or use it, or when it is unreliable or outdated" (p. 327). Perhaps social learning
442 strategies (e.g. “copy if dissatisfied”) should be conceived as probabilistic likelihoods, just as
443 innovations are (Lehner et al. 2010).

444 The study of Marshall-Pescini and Whiten (2008) was similar to ours in design, but
445 also differed from ours in some ways. They tested the chimpanzees individually, whereas we
446 tested the orangutans in a group setting. They presented the task without syrup from the
447 beginning to three naïve subjects, making only the “Poking and Levering” technique effective
448 from the start. Two of these subjects actually discovered both the dipping technique and a
449 poking and levering technique by themselves, leading the authors to conclude that the poking
450 and levering technique was not too difficult for chimpanzees. However, the box used by

451 Marshall-Pescini and Whiten (2008) allowed chimpanzees to lever the lid open with a finger,
452 which was not possible in our case. As a consequence, the results of the two studies are not
453 directly comparable, because the definition for the “Poking and Levering” technique was less
454 restrictive in their study. We would argue that such a form of poking and levering that
455 included inserting a finger instead of a stick into the lid’s hole to lever the lid open is not
456 really a ratcheted technique. At best it might be justifiable to suggest that such poking and
457 levering represents a technique cumulatively building up on “dipping”, albeit only to a slight
458 degree, if at all. In order for the “Poking and Levering” technique to qualify as cumulatively
459 building up on the “Dipping” technique, it stringently must include a variation of the
460 “Dipping” technique; therefore we constructed our box in a way that prohibited levering the
461 lid open in any other way than putting a stick in the lid’s hole. Thus, our “Poking and
462 Levering” clearly was a ratcheted technique, whereas in the study with the chimpanzees
463 behavioral patterns whose status as “ratcheted” are questionable were also ascribed to the
464 “Poking and Levering” technique.

465 Our data also suggest that captive orangutans can learn something about the foraging
466 box or the ratcheted technique by social mediation that they previously failed to learn on their
467 own. Innovation seemed to be the main limiting factor for cumulative build-up of techniques
468 in this task, but social learning was also a limiting factor as the only subject that succeeded in
469 acquiring the “Poking and Levering” technique did so after having observed quite a large
470 number of demonstrations by the human model, 21. Individuals were given an extensive
471 amount of time to learn the “Poking and Levering” technique by themselves (our innovation
472 phase lasted more than ten hours), but no orangutan invented the technique, suggesting that
473 they lacked the ability to invent it on their own. The single individual (Selatan) that acquired
474 the technique in the novel-exigencies-and-demonstration phase had watched a total of 21
475 demonstrations prior to the first successful performance and seemed most focused in the two

476 sessions right before (watching 7 demonstrations). It seems plausible that as this information
477 was apparently gained it was then also used (in the process) to learn this technique, arguably
478 suggesting socially mediated learning. We cannot rule out the possibility that lack of
479 attentiveness to the demonstrations explains why the other individuals failed to learn the
480 “Poking and Levering” technique in the novel-exigencies-and-demonstration phase;
481 attentiveness was assessed in terms of observing demonstrations but it proved impossible to
482 distinguish general visual orientation from more focused attention (peering).

483 We now turn to the question why only one of our subjects succeeded in learning the
484 ratcheted technique. “Poking” and a modification of “Dipping” are the components of
485 “Poking and Levering”, thus subjects having mastered both these components could be
486 expected to learn the cumulatively built-up technique. There were five animals that learned
487 both “Poking” and “Dipping” but all but one did not succeed to build from these two the
488 “Poking and Levering” technique. In the comparable experiment of Marshall-Pescini and
489 Whiten (2008) chimpanzees that learned a dipping technique (which was demonstrated as
490 first solution to them) all failed to learn the “Poking and Levering” technique (which was
491 subsequently demonstrated to them). Thus the authors concluded that their chimpanzees had
492 become “stuck” on a technique they had learned initially. This explanation is less likely to fit
493 our findings, because our subjects had previously demonstrated high behavioral flexibility by
494 showing continued interest in acquiring new solutions to a task and by switching to other
495 techniques and relinquishing established techniques when this was advantageous (Lehner et
496 al. 2011). Hopper et al. (2014) question a blanket classification of chimpanzees as
497 conservative, as in their own study providing insights into chimpanzees’ ability for building
498 upon previously gained knowledge, chimpanzees demonstrated behavioral flexibility by
499 adding steps to an already learnt sequence when “forced” into adding a step to their
500 repertoire, and given several other recent studies where chimpanzees demonstrated

501 behavioral flexibility (e.g. Hopper et a. 2013; Manrique et al. 2013; Yamamoto et al. 2013)
502 However, since the only successful subject (Selatan) used the “Dipping” technique only once
503 and also did not interact with the task at high rates prior to the final phase, Selatan possibly
504 was less fixed on the first technique to yield a reward (i.e. “Dipping”) than other subjects
505 (supported by observations in a previous experiment with tubes where Selatan applied the
506 inefficient dipping technique only 7 times before changing to more efficient techniques;
507 Lehner et al. 2011) and could possibly more easily transition to the “Poking and Levering”
508 technique, which might explain her success, in accordance with the conclusion of Marshall-
509 Pescini and Whiten (2008). “Poking” was crucial for the acquirement of the ratcheted
510 technique, and subjects failed to acquire the “Poking and Levering” technique mainly
511 because they were largely reluctant to poke; although ”Poking” was shown more frequently
512 in the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase, it never became common.

513 We showed that all subjects paid attention to the demonstrations of the “Poking and
514 Levering” technique, that subjects’ effort to lever open the lid was greatest in the last phase
515 (when the novel exigencies were in place) and that access to the foraging box was not
516 limiting. However, even though subjects paid attention to complete demonstrations of
517 “Poking and Levering”, they possibly focused much more on the final, levering step. This
518 may explain why they failed to copy the complete action pattern of the ratcheted technique in
519 the correct sequence (imitation). At the same time subjects seemed not to understand how
520 “Poking” contributed to levering open the lid of the box, as this locking mechanism was not
521 visible and seemed arbitrary to them, which makes the task hard (or even impossible) to be
522 learned by product copying or affordance learning (emulation) and must therefore be learned
523 by imitation. Chimpanzees are capable of socially learning action sequences (Bonnie et al.
524 2007; Whiten 1998). The fact that “Poking” alone was never rewarded is probably the most

525 parsimonious explanation why subjects rarely “poked” and failed to learn the “Poking and
526 Levering” technique, except for one individual.

527 In line with previous work (Lehner et al. 2010; Lehner et al. 2011), the present results
528 have shown that captive orangutans are not only more innovative than their wild conspecifics,
529 but are capable of making ratcheted innovations (i.e. innovations that are solutions
530 cumulatively building up on previous solutions). Novel exigencies inhibiting previous
531 solutions to the task were found to be a factor stringently required for such cumulative build-
532 up of techniques. This suggests that the lack of cumulative culture in wild orangutans is not
533 due to a lack of behavioral flexibility when existing solutions to tasks become impossible, or
534 an inability to cumulatively build up on previous solutions. Rather, this critical factor of
535 novel exigencies suddenly inhibiting previous feeding techniques is almost certainly largely
536 missing in the wild, while at the same time other factors are in place that are impeding object
537 manipulation and also cause the low innovation tendency in wild orangutans. The latter we
538 suggested to be explained by the alienation from the environment experienced by zoo animals
539 provided them with more spare time and spare energy, allowing them to play with their
540 gratification system, as a human does (Lehner et al. 2010).

541 In sum, this study supports earlier results (Lehner et al. 2011) showing that
542 cumulative build-up of techniques is possible in captive orangutans and not limited to
543 humans, at least if they have to deal with novel conditions. Second, under constant conditions
544 subjects failed to acquire the ratcheted technique, which corroborates the suggestion that
545 cumulative build-up of techniques requires novel exigencies, so that previous solutions to the
546 task are inhibited. Third, our results indicate captive orangutans can learn (or at least learn
547 much faster) by social mediation something they previously failed to learn on their own.

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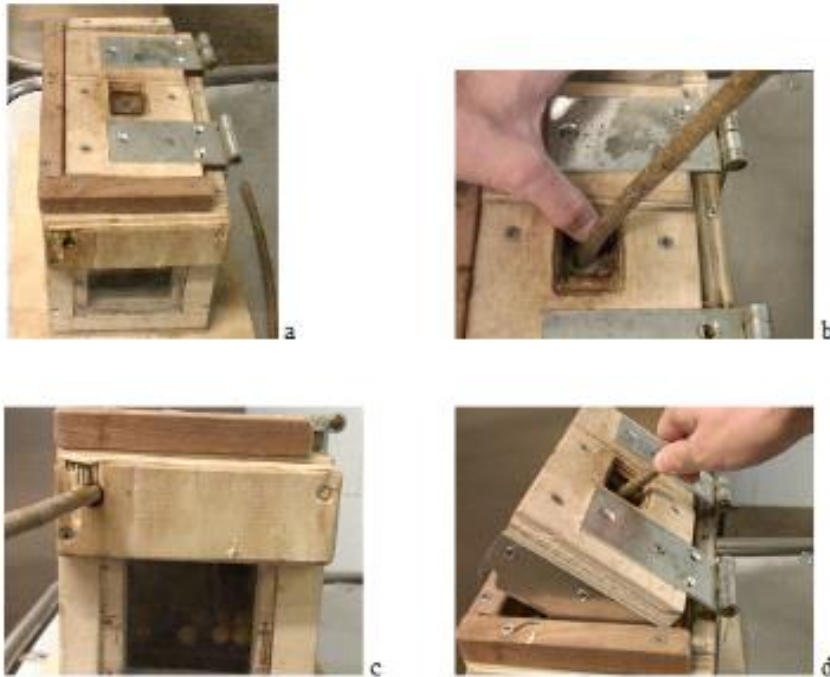
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682 **Figure 1:** Foraging box and its techniques. a) Overview of box in its home position. b)
 683 “Dipping” technique. c) “Poke and Lever” technique: Poke. d) “Poke and Lever” technique:
 684 Lever.

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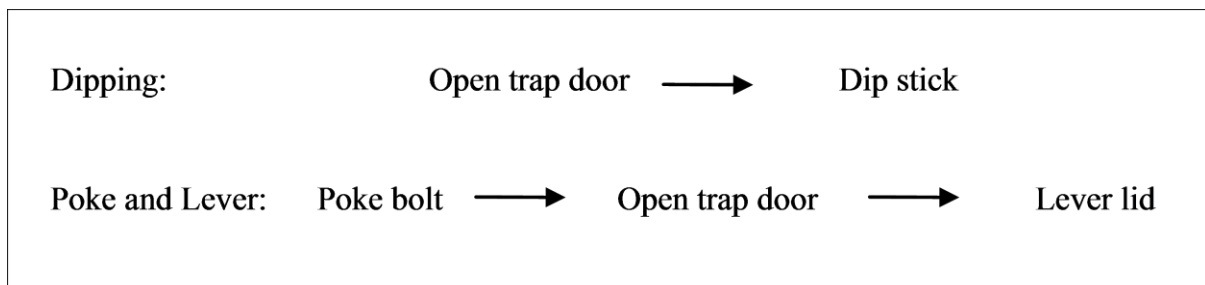


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688 **Figure 2:** The task could be solved by two techniques: 1) Dipping, 2) Poke and Lever. For a
 689 detailed description see Table 1.

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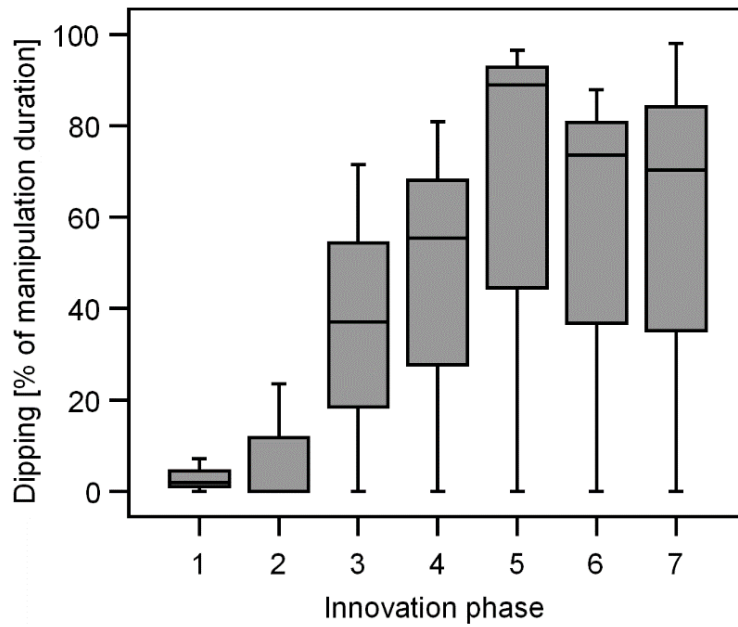


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693 **Figure 3:** Successful performance of the “Dipping” techniques as proportion of subjects’ (N
694 = 8) total manipulation durations in the seven sessions of the innovation phase. Medians and
695 quartiles are shown.

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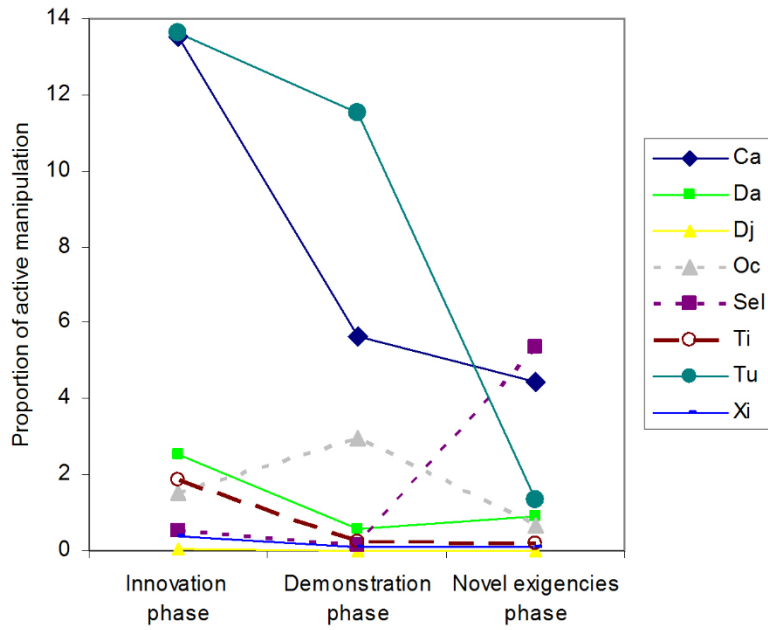


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699 **Figure 4:** Individuals’ participation in the three phases of the experiment, the innovation
700 phase, the demonstration phase, and the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase,
701 presented as duration of active manipulation with the apparatus proportionate to the time the
702 apparatus was fixed to the cage in the corresponding phase (32h 12min).

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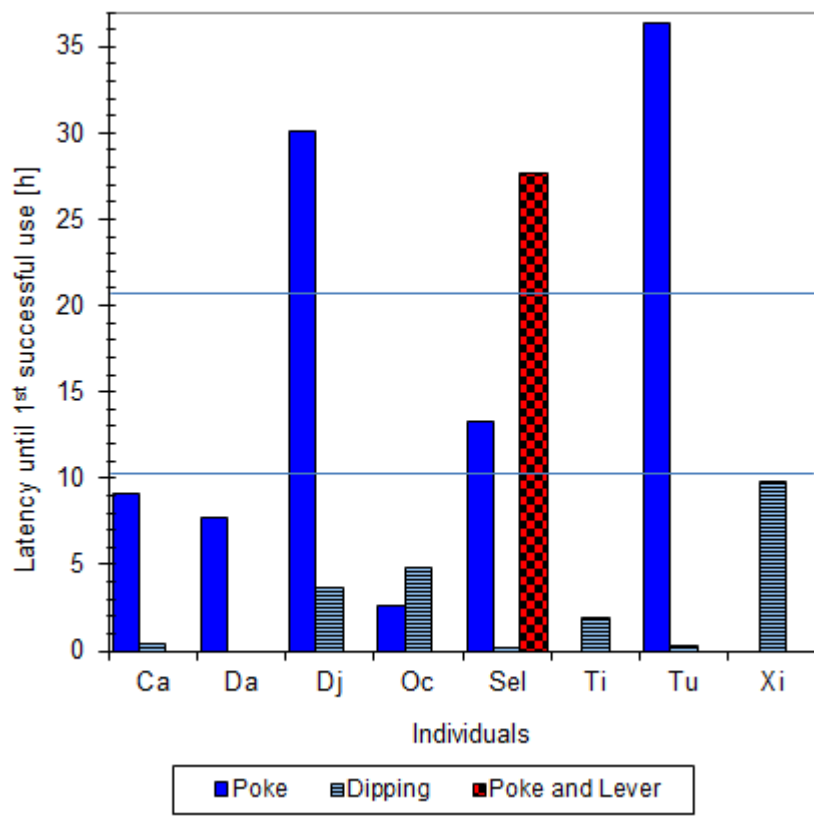


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706 **Figure 5:** Latencies (h) until individuals' (N = 8) first successful performance of a “Dipping”
 707 technique, the first successful “Poke”, and the first correct cumulative build-up on these two
 708 resulting in the ratcheted technique “Poke and Lever”. Horizontal lines indicate the beginning
 709 of phases 2 and 3.

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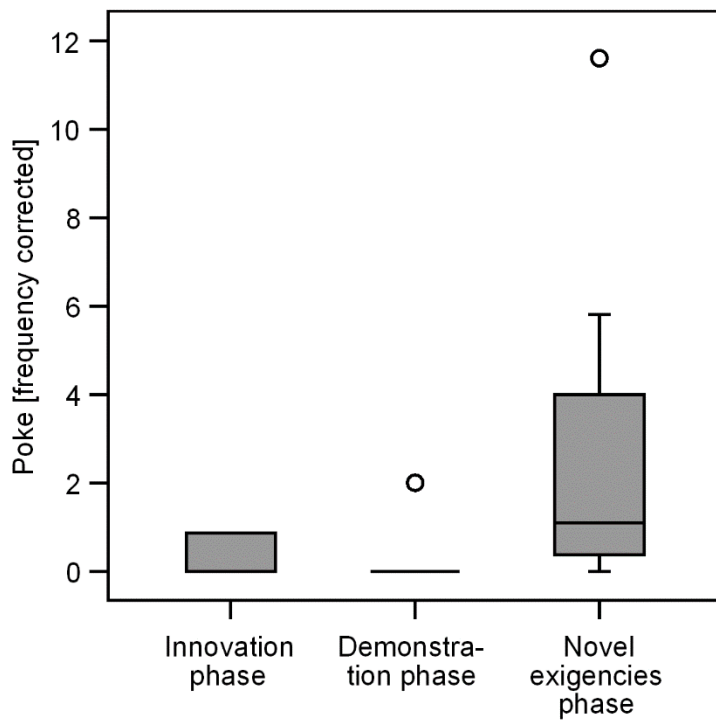
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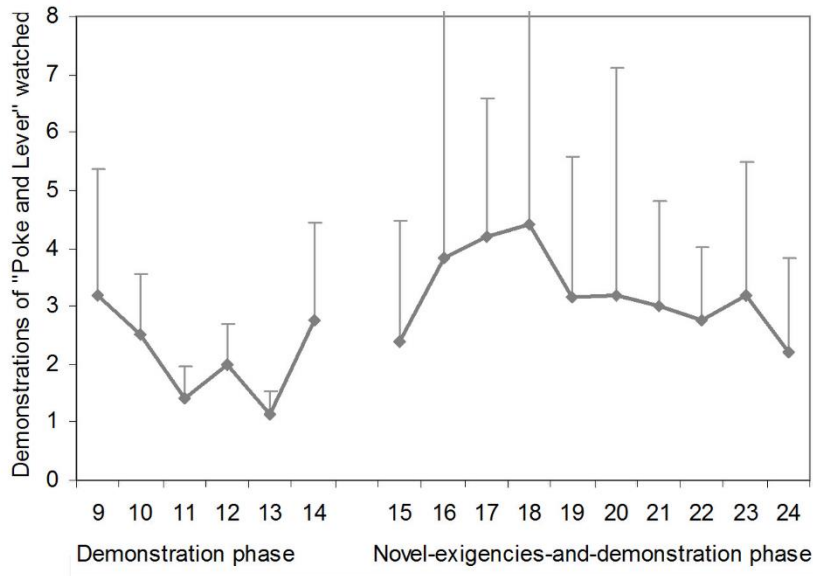
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725 **Figure 6:** Subjects' (N = 8) successful performance of "Poke" in the innovation phase, the
726 demonstration phase, and the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase. Frequency
727 corrected for different durations of the three phases. The positive outliers represent the
728 performance of the only individual (Sel) that mastered the "Poke and Lever" technique.
729 Medians and quartiles are shown.
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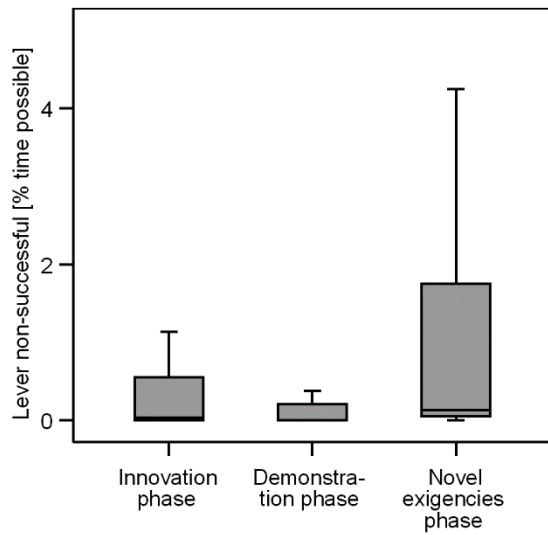
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738 **Figure 7:** Frequency of “Poke and Lever” demonstrations watched by individuals (N = 8) per
739 sessions in the demonstration phase and the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase. The
740 “Poke and Lever” technique was demonstrated by the human model. Means and SD are
741 shown.
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755 **Figure 8:** Effort to lever open the lid without succeeding as proportion of the time during
756 which subjects (N = 8) could interact with the apparatus for the innovation phase, the
757 demonstration phase, and the novel-exigencies-plus-demonstration phase. Medians and
758 quartiles are shown.
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