1	Interindividual differences in neonatal sociality and emotionality predict juvenile social
2	status in rhesus monkeys
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24 **Research Highlights**

25	We examined whether neonatal sociality, temperament, and early social experience
26	predicted juvenile social status in rhesus macaques (Macaca mulatta).
27	Greater neonatal imitation and emotional reactivity, measured in the first month of life,
28	predicted higher juvenile social status 2-3 years later.
29	Infants with normative early social experiences (presence of the mother and social group)
30	achieved higher juvenile status than infants reared with peers only.
31	Neonatal characteristics and early social experience may have stable, long-term effects on
32	the development of social status.

33 Abstract

34 In humans, socioeconomic status (SES) has profound outcomes on socio-emotional 35 development and health. However, while much is known about the *consequences* of SES, little 36 research has examined the *predictors* of SES due to the longitudinal nature of such studies. We 37 sought to explore whether interindividual differences in neonatal sociality, temperament, and 38 early social experiences predicted juvenile social status in rhesus monkeys (Macaca mulatta), as 39 a proxy for SES in humans. We performed neonatal imitation tests in infants' first week of life 40 and emotional reactivity assessments at 2 and 4 weeks of age. We examined whether these traits, 41 as well the rearing environment in the first 8 months of life (with the mother or with same-aged 42 peers only) and maternal social status predicted juvenile (2-3 years old) social status following 43 the formation of peer social groups at 8 months. We found that infants who exhibited higher 44 rates of neonatal imitation and newborn emotional reactivity achieved higher social status as 45 juveniles, as did infants who were reared with their mothers, compared to infants reared with 46 peers. Maternal social status was only associated with juvenile status for infant dyads reared in

47	the same maternal group, indicating that relative social relationships were transferred through
48	social experience. These results suggest that neonatal imitation and emotional reactivity may
49	reflect ingrained predispositions towards sociality that predict later outcomes, and that non-
50	normative social experiences can alter socio-developmental trajectories. Our results indicate that
51	neonatal characteristics and early social experiences predict later social outcomes in adolescence,
52	including gradients of social stratification.
53	Keywords: mother-rearing, dominance rank, early life adversity, social behavior, social
54	hierarchy, nonhuman primate
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67 Introduction

68 While there is no consensus on the definition of socioeconomic status (SES), it generally 69 refers to an individual's relative social standing and access to various resources (i.e., capital, 70 education, income, healthcare, social integration). Unsurprisingly, therefore, there is a 71 considerable amount of research examining the relationship between SES and developmental 72 outcomes such as emotion regulation, cognitive functioning, stress, and overall health across the 73 lifespan (e.g., Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Farah, 2017; Sapolsky, 2004). For example, in humans, 74 individuals with low, compared to high, SES generally have poorer emotion regulation and 75 higher rates of mood disorders (Hackman, Farah, & Meaney, 2010; South & Krueger, 2011), 76 score lower on cognitive functioning tests (Lyu & Burr, 2016), have decreased cortical surface 77 area (Noble et al., 2015), and exhibit higher levels of stress (Dettenborn, Tietze, Bruckner, & 78 Kirschbaum, 2010; Rippe et al., 2016) resulting in poor cardiac outcomes (Marmot, Rose, & 79 Hamilton, 1978) and greater mortality (Marmot, 2004; Marmot et al., 1991; Marmot, Shipley, & 80 Rose, 1984). Thus, the effect of SES on other outcomes is clear. 81 However, while much research has focused on the developmental *consequences* of SES, 82 little research has examined the developmental *predictors* that have the potential to influence 83 SES. This gap in the field is largely due to the longitudinal nature of such studies and the 84 potential heritability of SES (Deckers, Falk, Kosse, & Schildberg-Hörisch, 2015). Indeed, there 85 are two non-mutually exclusive theories: social causation theory and social selection theory 86 (Hackman, Farah, & Meaney, 2010; Ortega & Corzine, 1990; Johnson, Cohen, Dohrenwend,

87 Link, & Brook, 1999). 'Social causation theory' hypothesizes that SES may affect

88 developmental outcomes, whereas 'social selection theory' theory hypothesizes that, from early

89 in development, children's characteristics (e.g., emotional reactivity, sociality) or environment

90 may predispose them to a particular SES. 'Social causation theory' addresses the *consequences* 91 of SES, while 'social selection theory' assesses the *predictors* of SES. For the purposes of this 92 study, we chose to specifically address 'social selection theory' and therefore examine the 93 developmental predictors of SES. 94 One developmental characteristic potentially influencing developmental trajectories is 95 neonatal imitation, a newborn's ability to match modeled behaviors shortly after birth, which has 96 been reported in humans (Heimann, 1989; Heimann, Nelson, & Schaller, 1989; Meltzoff & 97 Moore, 1977), chimpanzees (Pan troglodytes; Myowa-Yamakoshi, Tomonaga, Tanaka, & 98 Matsuzawa, 2004), and rhesus macaques (Macaca mulatta; Ferrari et al., 2006). Neonatal 99 imitation has been proposed as a possible intrinsic predisposition towards sociality (Heimann, 100 Nelson, & Schaller, 1989; Suddendorf, Oostenbroek, Nielsen, & Slaughter, 2012) that may 101 predict developmental outcomes (rhesus macaques: Ferrari et al., 2009). As such, human infants 102 classified as neonatal imitators, compared to non-imitators, exhibit fewer gaze aversions during a 103 face-to-face mother-infant interaction at 3 months of age (Heimann, 1989, 1998). However, the 104 most extensive research regarding the developmental outcomes of neonatal imitation comes from 105 experimental studies with rhesus macaques. Infant macaques classified as neonatal imitators look 106 more at faces (Simpson, Paukner, Suomi, & Ferrari, 2014), especially the eyes, (Paukner, 107 Simpson, Ferrari, Mrozek, & Suomi, 2014); exhibit better gaze following at 7 months of age 108 (i.e., looking where another individual looks; Simpson, Miller, Ferrari, Suomi, & Paukner, 109 2016); engage in more frequent social interactions with peers and less anxious behaviors at one 110 year of age (Kaburu, Paukner, Simpson, Suomi, & Ferrari, 2016); and exhibit increased 111 affiliative behaviors compared to their non-imitative peers following oxytocin administration 112 (Simpson et al., 2014). The extent to which neonatal imitation could predict later social status

115 Another potential predictor of SES is temperament, defined as individual differences in 116 emotional, motor, and attentional reactivity (Rothbart & Derryberry, 1981), which can be 117 reliably measured in human newborns and is stable by 2-4 years of age (Lemery, Goldsmith, 118 Klinnert, & Mrazek, 1999; Pedlow, Sanson, Prior, & Oberklaid, 1993). Individual differences in 119 toddler temperament (i.e., 24 months of age), such as negative emotional reactivity (e.g., 120 intensity and duration of affective arousal; distress: Rothbart & Derryberry, 1981), have been 121 described as contributing to various social outcomes, such as increased conflict with peers during 122 toddlerhood (Calkins, Gill, Johnson, & Smith, 1999). Increased conflict with others may be 123 deleterious for other social outcomes as well. Accordingly, low self-control of emotions as early 124 as 3 years of age has been associated with higher unemployment in early adulthood (i.e., 15-21 125 years) and higher adult criminal behavior (Caspi, 2000). Children exhibiting greater negative 126 emotionality later in childhood (8 years of age) also had lower educational attainment and long-127 term unemployment as adults (27-36 years: Kokko, Pulkkinen, & Puustinen, 2000; Kokko, 128 Bergman, & Pulkkinen, 2003). Together, these studies suggest that emotional reactivity may be a 129 stable attribute of an individual that can predict important life outcomes years later (Roberts, 130 Kuncel, Shiner, Caspi, & Goldberg, 2007). It is less clear, however, whether neonatal 131 temperament (i.e., in the first month of life) can predict later outcomes beyond infancy (Nagy, 132 2011).

Finally, early social experiences also remain a critical influence on developmental trajectories, including later social status. For example, in humans, individuals without a stable caregiver and who experience physical abuse have increased risks for homelessness (Herman,

136 Susser, Struening, & Link, 1997), and infant rhesus macaques reared in the absence of the 137 mother (i.e., without a stable caregiver) also have lower social status in juvenility and adulthood 138 likely due to improper attachment tendencies (Bastian, Sponberg, Suomi, & Higley, 2003) and 139 dysregulation of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenocortical (HPA) axis (Dettmer et al., 2016). 140 Moreover, the SES that an individual is "born into" may create a social and financial vacuum 141 thereby limiting (or promoting) opportunities (e.g., nutrition, education, healthcare), which may 142 have prognostic effects on the development of SES. Conversely, traits related to SES may be 143 heritable. Similar to their mothers, children from high SES families are more patient, more 144 altruistic, score higher on IQ tests, and are less risk-seeking than children from low SES families 145 (Deckers et al., 2015). These consequences of childhood SES may result in a positive feedback 146 loop, whereby childhood SES may influence personality, which in turn, may influence 147 subsequent SES. Similarly, in rhesus macaques, infants of high-status mothers also exhibit 148 different temperamental traits compared to low-status monkeys, such as increased levels of 149 activity, lowered startle responses, and reduced cortisol levels (Suarez-Jimenez et al., 2013) and 150 exhibit different socio-visual preferences (i.e., looking more at the eyes, Paukner, Slonecker, 151 Murphy, Wooddell, & Dettmer, 2017), potentially predisposing them to achieve higher status as 152 adults as well. The social class that one is "born into" therefore may have future impacts on later 153 social status due to similar genetic characteristics (inheritance of maternal temperament; e.g., see 154 Sullivan, Mendoza, & Capitanio, 2011 in rhesus macaques) or environmental characteristics 155 (e.g., social opportunities), which are difficult to tease apart in human studies. Studies in 156 nonhuman primates offer a unique opportunity to test the influence of genetics and environment 157 on later social status.

158 Like humans, rhesus monkeys exhibit large variations in emotionality (Capitanio, 2010), 159 neonatal imitation (Simpson et al., 2014), and sociality (Capitanio, Hawkley, Cole, & Cacioppo, 160 2014; Feczko, Bliss-Moreau, Walum, Pruett, & Parr, 2016). Furthermore, social status in 161 monkeys is often used as a proxy for SES in humans (e.g., Chiao, 2010; Dettmer et al., 2016; 162 Hackman, Farah, & Meaney, 2010; Sapolsky, 2004; Willard & Shively, 2016) due to the 163 asymmetries in power and access to resources among high and low status individuals. For 164 example, high-ranking monkeys, much like humans, also reap the benefits of high social status; 165 compared to low-ranking monkeys, they have lowered risks of predation (Ron, Henzi, & Motro, 166 1996), enjoy priority access to food resources (Deutsch & Lee, 1991), exhibit greater 167 reproductive success and earlier reproductive debut (Rodriguez-Llanes, Verbeke, & Finlayson, 168 2009; Pittet, Johnson, & Hinde, 2017), experience increased levels of social support and 169 affiliation (Snyder-Mackler et al., 2016), and have lowered risks of illness (Sapolsky, 2005) and 170 chronic stress (Qin et al., 2013; Sapolsky, 2005), all of which may collectively increase the 171 lifespan.

172 Social status also influences a number of behavioral attributes in rhesus monkeys (such as 173 boldness and grooming frequencies; Kohn et al., 2016; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2016), which are 174 amenable to change following changes in social status. In addition, the juvenile period is an 175 especially lengthy period in primates during which a considerable amount of energy expenditure 176 is invested in development (Altmann & Alberts, 2005; Leigh, 2004; Walker, Burger, Wagner, & 177 von Rueden, 2006) and learning to navigate their complex social lives (Barale, Rubenstein, & 178 Beehner, 2015; Joffe, 1997). These attributes therefore make juvenility an ideal period to 179 investigate how neonatal characteristics and early social experience predict social status during a 180 highly transitional developmental period.

181	Although there are many similarities between social status in rhesus macaques (e.g.,
182	dominance rank) and SES in humans, it is also imperative to note that there are important
183	differences. Notably, social status in nonhuman primates reflects social asymmetries among
184	individuals within a common group, whereas SES in humans reflects social asymmetries based
185	on demographic attributes with individuals of different classes potentially being anonymous to
186	one another (Kaplan & Manuck, 1999). This difference is meaningful because this indicates that
187	social status within primate groups is dependent on group membership, which may change and
188	consequently change social status (i.e., Tung et al., 2012; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2016), whereas
189	SES in humans is theoretically independent of group membership and potentially stable.
190	However, given that the group memberships remained stable throughout the study period and
191	that the broad definition of SES in humans refers to the relative access to power with which they
192	can obtain resources (McLoyd, 1998), we and others (e.g., Jarrell et al., 2008; Massart et al.,
193	2017; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2018; Vandeleest et al., 2016) argue that the social construct of
194	status in nonhuman primates is still a good translational model for humans.
195	In the current study, we sought to explore whether interindividual differences in
196	newborns' sociality and temperament-neonatal imitation and emotional reactivity in the first
197	month of life—as well as early social experiences (across the first 8 months of life) predict
198	juvenile social status in rhesus monkeys. To address these questions, we performed neonatal
199	imitation testing within the first week of life and a neurobehavioral assessment measuring
200	emotional reactivity twice in the first month of life on infant rhesus macaques. The neonatal
201	imitation task assessed the frequency with which infant macaques imitated facial gestures
202	performed by a human caretaker. The emotional reactivity task measured components relating to
203	irritability, consolability, and distress during neurobehavioral assessments. In addition, we also

204 measured two components of early social experience for the first 8 months of life: the rearing 205 environment (being reared with mothers within a larger social group, or peers only) and maternal 206 social status. At 2-3 years of age, we studied the social hierarchy of 33 individuals to examine 207 whether the neonatal characteristics and early social experience predicted later juvenile social 208 status. Given that neonatal imitation has been hypothesized to be a precursor to advanced 209 sociality and that macaque imitators initiate more social interactions and exhibit fewer anxious 210 behaviors at one-year of age (Kaburu et al., 2016), we hypothesized that those who displayed 211 greater frequencies of neonatal imitation in infancy, compared to less-imitative newborns, would 212 achieve a higher social status as juveniles (prediction 1). We also predicted that infants who 213 exhibited greater emotional reactivity (as opposed to being calm and passive), compared to those 214 who were less reactive, would achieve a lower social status (*prediction 2*). Similar to previous 215 studies (Bastian et al., 2003; Dettmer et al., 2016), we predicted that infants reared with their 216 mothers (and then subsequently separated) would achieve higher social statuses in adolescence 217 than infants reared solely with peers (*prediction 3*). Finally, rhesus macaques are a matrilineal 218 social species and undergo a process called "maternal rank inheritance" (Kawai, 1958) by which 219 offspring attain adjacent ranks to their mothers through maturation via vigorous matrilineal 220 support in aggressive interactions (Berman, 1980; Wooddell, Kaburu, Suomi, & Dettmer, 2016; 221 Wooddell, Kaburu, Murphy, Suomi, & Dettmer, 2017). We therefore predicted that if social 222 status is a socially acquired process—i.e., through maternal social transmission (Berman, 223 1980)—then infants from high-ranking mothers would achieve higher statuses if they were 224 mother-reared, but not if they were reared with peers only (*prediction 4*). Alternatively, if social 225 status has a potential genetic component (Massart et al., 2017, Tung et al., 2012), maternal social 226 status should predict juvenile social status regardless of previous social experience (i.e., rearing).

227 Materials and Methods

228 Subjects and rearing

229 Subjects were 33 rhesus monkeys (Macaca mulatta) born in two cohorts in 2013 (N=19) 230 and 2014 (N=14). All infants were born and reared at the Laboratory of Comparative Ethology 231 (LCE) at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Animal Center in Poolesville, Maryland. All 232 procedures described adhered to the NIH Guide for the Care and Use of Laboratory Animals 233 (National Research Council, 2010; National Institutes of Health, 1985), the US Public Health 234 Service's Policy on Humane Care and Use of Laboratory Animals, and were approved by the 235 Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Animal 236 Care and Use Committee (ACUC). Infants were randomly assigned at birth to one of two rearing 237 conditions, described below.

238 Mother-reared subjects

239 Thirteen (5 males; 8 females) mother-reared infants (9 from 2013 cohort; 4 from 2014 240 cohort) were born and reared in one of five harem groups consisting of 10-12 adult females, one 241 adult male, and several similar-aged infants. No juveniles were present in these groups, and each 242 mother only had a single offspring in the group. Given that there was only one adult male, 243 infants born into the same harem group were paternal half-siblings. The groups lived in 244 enclosures consisting of indoor $(2.44 \times 3.05 \times 2.21 \text{ m})$ and outdoor $(2.44 \times 3.0 \times 2.44 \text{ m})$ 245 portions, equipped with perches, swings, barrels, and wood shavings. All infants had ab libitum 246 access to Purina LabDiet #5045 High Protein Monkey Diet chow (St. Louis, MO). Fresh fruit 247 and seeds were provided once daily. Mother-reared infants lived with their mothers and social 248 group until approximately 8 months of age, after which they were placed into one large social

group (along with non-mother-reared infants; described below) consisting of similar-aged peersand one adult male.

251 Non-mother-reared subjects

252 Twenty (9 males; 11 females) infants (10 from 2013 cohort; 10 from 2014 cohort) were 253 born from mothers in the harem groups, but on the day of birth (typically by 8 am), infants were 254 separated from their mothers and reared in a nursery for unrelated studies. All housing 255 arrangements contained an inanimate fleece surrogate, loose pieces of fleece fabric, and various 256 plush, plastic, and rubber toys. For the first month of life, infants could see and hear, but not 257 physically contact, other infants of similar age. Human caretakers were present for 13 hours each 258 day, and interacted with infants every two hours for feeding and cleaning in addition to other 259 assessments. Infants were bottle fed Similac formula. Starting at 16 days of age, infants were 260 additionally offered Purina LabDiet #5045 High Protein Monkey Diet chow. Lights were on 261 from 7:00 to 21:00. For unrelated studies, infants were randomly assigned to one of two rearing 262 conditions when the youngest infant of the group turned 37 days. Half of these infants (N=9:3263 males; 6 females) were surrogate-peer-reared, individually placed in a large cage and given daily 264 two-hour play sessions with three to four other peers each weekday. The other half of these 265 infants (N=11: 6 males, 5 females) were peer-reared, placed in a large cage with three to four 266 peers, providing continuous access to other peers. Infants were individually housed in incubators 267 $(51 \times 38 \times 43 \text{ cm})$ for the first two weeks of life and in larger cages $(61 \times 61 \times 76 \text{ cm})$ thereafter, 268 until approximately 8 months of age, when all infants were introduced into a novel social group 269 (along with mother-reared infants) of similar-aged peers and one adult male (described below). 270 We classified all infants reared in the nursery as non-mother-reared (N=20) because sample sizes precluded us from analyzing peer-reared (*N*=11) and surrogate-peer-reared (*N*=9) infants
separately.

273 Group formation

274 At approximately 8 months of age, all infants were moved into one large social group 275 consisting of both mother-reared and non-mother-reared infants and one unrelated adult male. 276 The groups lived in indoor (7.3 x 3.4 x 3.7m) and outdoor (corncrib measuring 5.03 x 5.03 x 5.49 277 m) habitats. The mother-reared and non-mother-reared subjects born in 2013 all lived in one 278 social group, and the mother-reared and non-mother-reared subjects born in 2014 all lived in 279 another, distinct social group. It is important to note that these social groups now consisted only 280 of similar-aged peers plus one unrelated adult male; the mothers were not present and could not 281 influence the social hierarchy of the peer groups.

282 Data collection

283 Neonatal imitation

284 We tested 19 of the 20 non-mother-reared infants for neonatal imitation three times per 285 day, every other day, in the first week of life (days 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, and 7-8), for up to four days 286 (Kaburu et al., 2016; Simpson et al., 2016). Neonatal imitation tests were done on non-mother-287 reared infants only due to the extensive nature of testing (although previous studies have been 288 conducted on mother-reared infants; see Vanderwert et al., 2015). One infant was rejected from 289 his mother and subsequently reared in the nursery and therefore was not included in neonatal 290 imitation testing due to his older age (34 days) before arriving in the nursery. There was at least 291 an hour between each test session. A demonstrator presented infants with three stimuli, one 292 during each session, at a distance of approximately 30 cm at eye-level with the infant: a

293 lipsmacking gesture (LPS; rapid opening and closing of the mouth), a tongue protrusion gesture 294 (TP; slow protrusion and retraction of the tongue, ca. one gesture per second), and a nonsocial 295 control condition (CTRL; a white plastic disk with orthogonal stripes—which were either 296 black/red or green/yellow-slowly rotated clockwise and counter-clockwise). Each stimulus type 297 was presented once a day to infants; the order of stimulus presentations remained the same for 298 each infant but was randomized between infants. In each test session, one experimenter held the 299 infant, a second experimenter—the demonstrator—served as the source of the stimuli, and a third 300 experimenter was the time-keeper who ensured stimuli were presented for appropriate lengths. 301 All sessions were videotaped. Individual demonstrators were randomly assigned to conditions 302 but remained consistent across days within each infant.

303 At the beginning of a trial, there was a 40-s baseline phase in which the demonstrator 304 displayed a calm, neutral facial expression (or the still disk in CTRL). During the subsequent 305 stimulus phase, the demonstrator displayed a facial movement (LPS or TP) or rotated the disk for 306 20-s followed by a still/neutral facial expression (still disk in CTRL) period for 20-s. This 307 movement-still face sequence was repeated once and ended with an additional 20-s movement 308 period (total of 100-s stimulus phase). Facial gesture responses (LPS and TP) were coded by an 309 experimenter blind to the experimental condition. For analyses, responses in each phase were 310 converted to a rate by adjusting to a common time period.

We examined interindividual differences in neonatal imitation by utilizing a continuous behavioral measure of the strength of the imitative response (Simpson, Paukner, Sclafani, Suomi, & Ferrari, 2013). We computed two imitative indices (i.e., imitation strength scores), one for LPS and one for TP, using the averaged gesture rate across days, with the following formulas:

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- LPS Imitation Index = $[(LPS_{Stim} LPS_{Base1})_{LPS cond}] [(LPS_{Stim} LPS_{Base1})_{CTRL cond}]$ TP Imitation Index = $[(TP_{Stim} - TP_{Base1})_{TP cond}] - [(TP_{Stim} - TP_{Base1})_{CTRL cond}]$
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319 For LPS Imitation Index, we first calculated a difference score: LPS rate produced in Stimulus 320 and subtracted from it LPS rate produced in Baseline. This difference score was computed for 321 the LPS and CTRL conditions, and we subtracted the CTRL condition from the LPS condition to 322 obtain the difference of the difference scores. The resulting value was positive, and thus infants 323 are classified as imitators, if there was a greater imitative response in the LPS condition, and zero 324 or negative (non-imitators) if there was an equal or greater response in the CTRL condition. We 325 calculated the TP Imitation Index in the same way: rate of TP gestures produced in the Stimulus 326 period and subtracted from it the TP rate produced in Baseline, and subtracted this difference 327 score in the CTRL condition from the difference score in the TP condition.

328 Neurobehavioral assessments

329 At days 14 and 30 ± 2 days of life, we performed routine neonatal neurobehavioral 330 assessments (the Brazelton Neonatal Behavioral Assessment Scale; Schneider, Moore, Suomi, & 331 Champoux, 1991) on 31 of the 33 infants (12 mother-reared; 19 non-mother-reared). Two infants 332 (1 mother-reared and 1 non-mother-reared) were excluded from neonatal assessments, as one 333 infant was too old for testing before coming to the nursery, and one was only tested on day 14. 334 The 30-min assessments examined infants' reflexes, motor development, and emotional 335 reactivity. Infants were rated on each measure on a scale ranging from 0 to 2 in 0.5 increments, 336 with 0 reflecting a very weak response and 2 reflecting a very strong response. Two variables 337 (irritability and consolability) were originally scored during the assessment in reverse order (0 338 reflecting a very strong response and 2 reflecting a very weak response) and were thus reverse

339 coded for consistency so that all variables were scored with higher values reflecting higher 340 reactivity. We examined six emotional reactivity variables, which consisted of soothability, the 341 infants' ability to calm itself; irritability/ consolability, the amount of struggle exhibited by the 342 infant during the assessment; and the predominant state of the infant (calm or stressed; see also 343 Suarez-Jimenez et al., 2013). All six variables were combined to create an 'emotional reactivity 344 composite' variable for both days 14 and 30 of life. Emotional reactivity composite variables 345 could therefore range from 0 (absent emotional reactivity) to 12 (very strong emotional 346 reactivity). We examined both the average emotional reactivity composite (average for the first 347 month of life) and the change in emotional reactivity (day 30 emotional reactivity composite -348 day 14 emotional reactivity composite).

349 Early social experience: rearing environment and maternal social status

350 Infants were pseudo-randomized to one of the two rearing conditions: mother-rearing or 351 non-mother-rearing for the first 8 months of life. Briefly, infants were balanced across mothers to 352 ensure that a mother had both mother-reared and non-mother-reared infants over time and were 353 balanced across both high and low status mothers. For this study, observers were blind to the 354 rearing condition of the subjects and obtained this information retrospectively from a 355 longitudinal database following the establishment of the juvenile hierarchies. Mothers' social 356 statuses were established via longitudinal data collection by multiple observers (inter-rater 357 reliability $\geq 85\%$). Dominance data were collected in two, 30-min sessions per week in which all 358 instances of aggression (threats, chases, attacks) and submission (displacements, fear grimaces) 359 were recorded (see also Dettmer et al., 2016). Social status was calculated from these dominance 360 interactions (n=2,417) via Elo-rating (Albers & de Vries, 2001; Neumann et al., 2011). We used 361 the *elo.sequence* function (Neumann et al., 2011) in R software (v 3.4.0) to generate Elo-ratings,

with the initial value set at 1,000 and the k value set at 200. We calculated an average Elo-rating for each infant's mother starting at the infants' birth (in either 2013 or 2014 depending on the cohort) through the first 8 months of life. As group sizes differed, we calculated the relative social status by taking the number of animals outranked by the target animal, divided this number by the total number of animals in the social group, and subtracted it from 1. Relative social status therefore ranged from 0.05 (lowest-ranking) to 1 (highest-ranking).

368 Juvenile social status

369 Social status on the two juvenile social groups was collected from March 2016 to end of 370 May 2016, when the subjects were two (2014 cohort) and three years old (2013 cohort), 371 representing the juvenile period. Dominance data were collected 2-3 times per week by one 372 observer in which all instances of aggression (threats, chases, attacks) and submission 373 (displacements, fear grimaces) were recorded, following the same scheme as the maternal harem 374 group observations. 1,412 interactions were recorded for the 2013 cohort, and 959 interactions 375 were recorded for the 2014 cohort. Social status was established via Elo-rating. We calculated an 376 average Elo-rating for the entire study period and then transformed this average Elo-rating into a 377 relative social status following the same procedure as for the mothers.

378 Statistical analyses

Linear regression was used to assess whether neonatal imitation in the first week of life and the emotional reactivity from days 14 to 30 of life predicted significant variation in relative juvenile social status within their social groups. Given that the sample sizes were different for each of these variables (neonatal imitation: n=19; emotional reactivity: n=31), we ran two separate linear regressions to maximize the sample size for each variable. To examine whether early social experience (rearing and maternal social status) predicted significant variation in juvenile relative social status, we ran a separate multiple linear regression (as rearing and maternal social status were available on all subjects; N=33), reporting the change in the R² value. All means are reported as mean \pm SD. Unless indicated otherwise, all analyses were performed in SPSS 24. Alpha values were set at 0.05.

389 **Results**

390 Do neonatal imitation and emotional reactivity predict juvenile social status?

391 Neonatal imitation scores in the first week of life ranged from -6.60 to 13.88 (M=1.30 \pm 392 5.10). Linear regression revealed that the imitation index positively predicted juvenile social 393 status (F(1,17)=5.38, R²=0.24, P=0.03, β =0.49; see Figure 1 and Table 1), with imitators 394 achieving higher social statuses at 2-3 years of age than non-imitators (supporting *prediction 1*). 395 It is important to note that neonatal imitation data only included non-mother-reared infants. 396 Emotional reactivity scores from the neurobehavioral assessments in the first month of 397 life ranged from 0 to 12 on day 14 (M= 4.55 ± 4.19) and day 30 (M= 6.14 ± 4.48). The change 398 from days 14 to 30 ranged from -2.5 to 6.5 (M=1.60 \pm 2.38). Mother-reared infants exhibited 399 greater average emotional reactivity composites for the first month of life than non-motherreared infants (F(1,29)= 83.09, R^2 =0.74, P<0.001, β =0.86), but there was no significant 400 401 difference in the change with age (i.e., day 30- day 14) in emotional reactivity (F(1,29) = 0.81, 402 R^2 =0.03, P=0.38, β =0.17) across mother-reared and non-mother reared infants. We therefore 403 only examined whether the change with age in emotional reactivity predicted juvenile social 404 status, as rearing was a possible confounding variable. The change in emotional reactivity from 405 days 14 to 30 of life positively predicted a significant portion of the variance in juvenile social

406 status at 2-3 years old (F(1,29)= 5.50, R²=0.16, P=0.03, β =0.40; see Figure 2), with infants 407 exhibiting higher increases in emotional reactivity achieving subsequent higher social status 408 (contradicting prediction 2). When analyzing mother-reared and non-mother-reared infants 409 independently, the emotional reactivity change did not predict variance in juvenile social status 410 (mother-reared: F(1,10) = 3.10, $R^2 = 0.24$, P = 0.11, $\beta = 0.49$; non-mother-reared: F(1,17) = 1.86, 411 $R^2=0.10$, P=0.19, $\beta=0.31$). Also, when analyzing mother-reared and non-mother-reared infants 412 independently, the average emotional reactivity composite across the first month of life did not predict juvenile social status (mother-reared: F(1,10) = 0.03, $R^2 = 0.003$, P = 0.87, $\beta = 0.05$; non-413 414 mother-reared: F(1,17) = 0.63, $R^2 = 0.04$, P = 0.44, $\beta = 0.19$). The imitation index and change in 415 emotional reactivity were not collinear (V=1.0). 416 Does early social experience (rearing and maternal social status) predict juvenile social status? 417 Rearing and maternal social status were not significantly correlated (Pearson correlation: 418 r=-0.19, P=0.28, N=33). Out of the two components measuring early social experience, only 419 rearing significantly predicted variation in juvenile social status (rearing: $\Delta R^2 = 0.19$, P=0.01, see Figure 3; supporting *prediction 3*; maternal social status: $\Delta R^2 = 0.009$, P=0.57). When analyzing 420 mother-reared and non-mother-reared subjects independently, maternal social status still did not 421 predict variation in juvenile social status (mother-reared: F(1,11)=0.38, R²=0.03, P=0.55, 422 423 $\beta=0.18$; non-mother-reared: F(1,18)=0.02, R²=0.001, P=0.90, $\beta=0.03$; failing to support 424 prediction 4). However, not all mother-reared subjects were reared in the same harem groups in 425 infancy (N=5 different groups), thus providing no social experience with the other mothers in the 426 other rearing groups. This experience with the other mothers may be an important requisite for 427 acquisition of relative status (Wooddell et al., 2017). When we examined mother-reared dyads 428 that were reared together in infancy, 8/10 (80%) of their dyadic statuses were predicted by their

429 mothers' dyadic statuses, which is greater than what could be expected by chance (one sample t

430 test: t₉=2.25, P=0.05, d=0.71). This result suggests that maternal social status may not predict

431 infants' status overall, but only relative status with those reared together in infancy.

432 **Discussion**

433 In this study, newborn macaques that displayed more frequent neonatal imitation 434 attained higher social status as juveniles than their peers who exhibited less frequent imitative 435 responses. Neonatal imitation may reflect ingrained predispositions for advanced social skills 436 (Kaburu et al., 2016; Paukner et al., 2014; Simpson, Murray, Paukner, & Ferrari, 2014; Simpson 437 et al., 2016). The finding that imitators attained higher social status suggests that these 438 individuals may have advanced social competency in other regards (e.g., aggression, coalitions, 439 play; Bissonnette et al., 2015; Borgeaud & Bshary, 2015), consistent with previous reports 440 (Kaburu et al., 2016; Paukner et al., 2014; Simpson et al., 2016), at least up until one year of age. 441 Our study extends these findings into juvenility and encompasses one of the most important 442 social characteristics of rhesus monkeys: social status.

443 Unfortunately, we were unable to analyze neonatal imitation responses in mother-reared 444 infants, which will be an important comparison to make with non-mother-reared infants, and is 445 an exciting avenue for future studies. Mother-reared infants exhibit a greater neurological 446 signature in response to lipsmacking imitation than non-mother-reared infants (Vanderwert et al., 447 2015), as many macaque mothers engage in frequent face-to-face affiliative interactions (Ferrari, 448 Paukner, Ionica, & Suomi, 2009), which may potentially preprogram their infants to socially 449 complex cues, setting them up for future social success (Dettmer et al., 2016; Simpson et al., 450 2014). Here, we also replicated previous work showing that mother-reared macaques attain 451 higher social status than non-mother-reared infants (Bastian et al., 2003; Dettmer et al., 2016),

452 suggesting an intriguing association between early maternal interactions (mutual gaze, 453 lipsmacking, etc.), neonatal imitation, and future social status following maternal separation. 454 Future research should investigate these potential relationships. Finally, it is worthy to note that 455 the non-mother-reared infant macaques in this study were required to imitate a human and not a 456 conspecific, which could potentially complicate the interpretation of our findings. However, a 457 previous study found that neonatal macaques that engaged in greater lipsmacking imitation with 458 a human observer also displayed heightened visual preferences with a conspecific avatar (i.e., a 459 video of a computerized interactive monkey; Paukner et al., 2014), indicating that imitators 460 display similar behavioral responses regardless of the model species (e.g., Kaburu et al., 2016; 461 Paukner et al., 2014; Simpson et al., 2014; 2016).

462 Additionally, we found that infants who exhibited increases in negative affective 463 reactivity from days 14 to 30 of life also subsequently attained higher social status as juveniles. 464 The acquisition of high status in monkey society has ubiquitous consequences impacting nearly 465 every facet of everyday life from food acquisition (Deutsch & Lee, 1991) to health (Sapolsky, 466 2005). The finding that the increase in negative emotional reactivity scores was related to the 467 attainment of high social status highlights that emotional reactivity can have adaptive 468 consequences. Conversely, previous studies with children, ranging from 3 to 8 years old, have 469 found that greater negative emotional reactivity may be associated with lower SES, measured as 470 educational attainment and unemployment (Caspi, 2000; Kokko, Bergman, & Pulkkinen, 2003; 471 Kokko, Pulkkinen, & Puustinen, 2000), indicating potential maladaptive consequences of 472 emotional reactivity. While we found the opposite in monkeys, there are a few possible 473 explanations. The most parsimonious explanation for the different results is that they may be due 474 to differences in the methodological techniques and definitions used to assess emotional

475 reactivity in humans and monkeys, with parent or teacher reports of disruptive behavior being 476 commonly utilized for children (Kokko, Bergman, & Pulkkinen, 2003; Kokko, Pulkkinen, & 477 Puustinen, 2000), and behavioral reactions towards neurobehavioral testing (e.g., vocalizations, 478 soothability, etc.) being utilized for monkeys (Schneider et al., 1991; Suarez-Jimenez et al., 479 2013). Another possibility is that the different results may be due to the differences in attainment 480 of social status in human and monkey societies and the definitions of social status. Social status 481 (e.g., dominance rank) in monkeys is achieved primarily via aggression (and other social 482 mechanisms), whereas social status attainment in humans is multi-faceted and not fully 483 understood and encompasses a variety of definitions (education, income, social hierarchies). This 484 difference is important to note: emotional reactivity may have adaptive consequences for 485 monkey society by influencing agonistic behavior and vigilance (thereby helping in the 486 attainment of high social status), which may be less adaptive for human society (Bernstein & 487 Gordon, 1974). However, it is also possible that the specific social status we measured in 488 monkeys (i.e., the social hierarchy of same-aged peers) may be more equivalent to social 489 hierarchies in human gangs of teenagers. In fact, overt aggression is an important predictor of 490 status and popularity in humans during the late elementary and teen years (see Koski, Xie, & 491 Olson, 2015 for a review). Our findings indicate that emotional reactivity therefore may have 492 important implications for social status specifically in teenage groups with social hierarchies. 493 Given that social status in humans can encompass a variety of definitions (education level, 494 income, popularity, social hierarchy, etc.), it is also important to emphasize that monkey studies 495 may be applicable to certain aspects of social status that are ecologically relevant to both species 496 (i.e., social hierarchies are applicable to both monkeys and humans; education and income are

497 not). Nevertheless, nonhuman primates serve as a valuable model in the behavioral and
498 physiological mechanisms shaping social status (Chiao, 2010).

499 Our study augments previous findings in humans that temperament can relate to 500 important life outcomes years later, such as SES (Kokko, Bergman, & Pulkkinen, 2003; Kokko, 501 Pulkkinen, & Puustinen, 2000; Roberts et al., 2007), and we have extended these predictors to 502 encompass nonhuman primates even earlier in infancy and to include neonatal temperament. Our 503 findings indicate that while the neonatal period includes rapid development and emergence of 504 systems, some aspects of neonatal sociality (e.g., neonatal imitation) and temperament (e.g., 505 emotional reactivity) may be stable and reliable predictors over the course of maturation (also 506 reported in human neonates until at least 2 years: Bornstein et al., 2015; Matheny, Riese, & 507 Wilson, 1985; Riese, 1987; Tirosh, Hard, Abadi, Berger, & Cohen, 1992; Worobey & Blajda, 508 1989).

509 In addition, previous monkey studies found a causal relationship between social status 510 and personality (Kohn et al., 2016; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2016), whereby social status, and 511 changes therein, affected personality, indicating that the social environment can shape 512 personality. Here, we found that temperament measured early in life predicted social status years 513 later. Fairbanks et al. (2004) found that adolescent (3 to 4 years of age) male vervet monkeys 514 (*Chlorocebus pygerythrus*) that were rated as more impulsive were more likely to become alpha 515 males as adults (6 years of age) compared to those that were less impulsive. However, as adults 516 the alpha males decreased in impulsivity to similar levels as low-ranking males, suggesting a 517 possible moderation of current status on personality. Ideally, we would have concurrent 518 measures of juvenile temperament to examine the stability of neonatal characteristics and the 519 relationship between current social status and temperament. In the future, we plan to analyze a

variety of socio-cognitive assessments through developmental stages to examine the stability of temperament over time and effects on social, cognitive, and health outcomes. Unsurprisingly, previous research found that temperament measured in infant rhesus macaques (at 3 months of age) is relatively stable across a variety of socio-cognitive tasks up to at least 4.5 years of age (Capitanio, 1999) and can predict other forms of sociality such as affiliation (Weinstein & Capitanio, 2008).

526 In accordance with previous findings (Bastian et al., 2003; Dettmer et al., 2016), we 527 found that infants reared with their mothers achieved higher social status than infants reared 528 solely with peers. As Bastian et al. (2003) hypothesized, the lack of species-typical social 529 environments in early development may alter socio-developmental trajectories, resulting in 530 subsequently lower social status. The long-lasting consequences of early socially impoverished 531 environments or early life adversity (such as institutionalization) are evident in humans: children 532 with early life adversity, compared to those without adversity, are more likely to attempt suicide 533 in later life (Dube et al., 2001), exhibit blunted stress responses to psychosocial stressors 534 (McLaughlin et al., 2015), have atypically large amygdalas (Tottenham et al., 2009) resulting in 535 difficulty in understanding emotional facial expressions (Wismer Fries & Pollak, 2004) and 536 emotional regulation (Tottenham et al., 2009), and develop fewer close relationships with peers 537 (Hodges & Tizard, 1989) or conversely exhibit indiscriminate sociality (for a review see Zeanah, 538 2000). The presence of consistent primary caretakers (e.g., mother, father, grandparents) early in 539 life, who serve as valuable attachment figures (Tarullo & Gunnar, 2005), enable infants to learn 540 to recognize important social cues and how to respond appropriately, which is a fundamental 541 aspect of sociality (Kanai et al., 2012). Indeed, adult non-mother-reared monkeys, compared to 542 mother-reared monkeys, display greater behavioral inhibition in response to a mild challenge (an unfamiliar human; Corcoran et al., 2012). A greater tendency for inhibition may explain why
non-mother-reared monkeys, as compared to mother-reared monkeys, were more likely to
become socially subordinate, as they may be more likely to respond to conspecific social cues
with submission (freezing or moving away) rather than aggression.

547 We found little evidence supporting the notion that macaque social status is inherent or 548 that infants are born into a particular social stratum, independent of experience. The absence of 549 the mother (and other kin), and the resulting lack of a similar status in the infants as in the 550 mothers in the current study, indicates that maternal rank inheritance is achieved via the mother's 551 presence, at least during some point in development. The mother does not need to be present 552 indefinitely, but likely needs to be present to "jumpstart" the process of rank inheritance. Indeed, 553 non-mother-reared monkeys, who have not experienced their mother's social status, did not 554 achieve a similar status as their mothers. The same null finding for mother-reared animals at first 555 is counterintuitive to this argument. However, it is important to note that, even for mother-reared 556 infants, there were many (5) harem groups, meaning that some groups of infants were not reared 557 together for the first 8 months. Mother-reared infants that were reared together however, did 558 obtain identical relative statuses to each other as their mothers, 2-3 years later, meaning the 559 offspring of the higher-ranking mother was also higher-ranking than the peers with whom they 560 were reared. Our results provide preliminary evidence that maternal rank inheritance persists for 561 mother-reared individuals initially reared together. This finding is similar to previous studies 562 indicating that infants reared in large multigenerational groups obtained identical relative ranks 563 as their mothers following separation (Wooddell et al., 2017), even following social instability, 564 suggesting that their relative ranks were socially transmitted early in development (i.e., within 565 the first 8 months of life) and persistent. Given that social status is a characteristic of

relationships, it is possible that early relationships in infancy may be maintained through at least juvenility. While considerably less is known about the social transmission of SES in human societies, which are understandably more complex than monkey societies, future research should investigate potential genetic and prenatal/postnatal environmental sources of SES transmission (Huston, McLoyd, & Coll, 1997).

571 This study is not without limitations. First, our small sample size warrants future 572 investigation and replication. In addition, while the change in emotional reactivity from days 14 573 to 30 of life was not predicted by rearing, the average emotionality score across both ages was, 574 revealing that as a whole, mother-reared infants were overall more emotionally reactive than 575 non-mother-reared infants. This result is likely not only due to rearing itself, but also possibly 576 unfamiliarity with the testing environment (see Wachs, Pollitt, Cueto, & Jacoby, 2004 for 577 findings in human neonates in laboratory compared to home environments) and being 578 temporarily separated from the mother (which in itself can cause distress). In the future, 579 neurobehavioral assessments should assess reactivity in the mother's presence (Muschinski et al., 580 2016; Parr et al., 2016; Vanderwert et al., 2015) or using novel apparatuses where mother-reared 581 infants can voluntarily partake in cognitive studies (Dettmer, Murphy, & Suomi, 2015). This 582 adjustment will allow for a meaningful comparison between different rearing environments 583 without the possible confound of distress from maternal separation for mother-reared individuals. 584 Finally, although our study was intentionally designed to examine predictors of status acquisition 585 in groups in which there were no sources of kin support that would undoubtedly influence status 586 outcomes, we acknowledge that in naturalistic groups (including humans), the absence of kin 587 support would be unlikely. In groups where there is a social transmission of status (such as in 588 rhesus macaques), it may be more likely that individual characteristics may instead influence

589	other properties of status acquisition, such as the speed. For example, male white-faced
590	capuchins (Cebus capucinus) that are more extraverted attained alpha status sooner than less
591	extraverted males (Perry, Godoy, Lammers, & Lin, 2017), indicating that personality can affect
592	the speed of status acquisition in wild settings.
593	Social status is a pervasive factor in the social lives of many primates, including humans,
594	with an understanding of others' status beginning in early development (Gazes, Hampton, &
595	Lourenco, 2015; Mascaro & Csibra, 2012; Pun, Birch, & Baron, 2016; Pun, Birch, & Baron,
596	2017), underscoring the ecological relevance of social asymmetries. Given the profound
597	consequences of social status on development, nonhuman primates are an important translational
598	model for SES in humans. The present study has begun to lay the groundwork for future studies
599	taking a multi-tiered approach to investigate links between interindividual differences and SES
600	across the lifespan.

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933	Table Legends
934	Table 1: Summary of results for predictors of juvenile social status in peer groups of rhesus
935	monkeys.
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938	Figure Legends
939	Figure 1: Infants that engaged in higher frequencies of neonatal imitation in the first week of life
940	attained higher juvenile social statuses than infants who engaged in less frequent neonatal
941	imitation.
942	Figure 2: Infants that had higher increases in negative emotional reactivity during
943	neurobehavioral assessments between days 14 and 30 of life attained higher social
944	statuses as juveniles than infants who exhibited lower increases in reactivity.
945	Figure 3: Mother-reared infants had higher social statuses as juveniles than infants that were
946	reared with peers only.
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Table 1.

949 Predictors of social status in peer groups of juvenile rhesus monkeys

Predictor (outcome: juvenile social status)	Sample size	Mean ± SD	R ² value, β, P value
Neonatal Imitation (days 1-7 of life)	19	1.30 ± 5.10	0.24, 0.49, P=0.03
Emotional Reactivity (day 14 of life)	31	4.55±4.19	N/A
Emotional Reactivity (day 30 of life)	31	6.14±4.48	N/A
Emotional Reactivity Composite (first month of life), Non-mother-reared only	19	2.54±2.47	0.04, 0.19, P=0.44
Emotional Reactivity Composite (first month of life), Mother-reared only	12	9.79±1.51	0.003, 0.05, P=0.87
Change in Emotional Reactivity (day 30-day 14 of life)	31	1.60 ± 2.38	0.16, 0.40, P=0.03
Change in Emotional Reactivity, (day 30-day 14 of life) Non-mother-reared only	19	1.29 ± 2.59	0.10, 0.31, P=0.19
Change in Emotional Reactivity, (day 30-day 14 of life) Mother-reared only	12	2.08 ± 2.02	0.24, 0.49, P=0.11
Rearing (first 8-months of life)	33	N/A	Δ=0.19, P=0.01
Maternal Social Status	33	0.57±0.31	Δ=0.009, P=0.57
Maternal Social Status, Non-mother-reared only	20	0.62±0.28	0.001, 0.03, P=0.90
Maternal Social Status, Mother-reared only	13	0.50±0.36	0.03, 0.18, P=0.55





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