

1 Lineage frequency time series reveal elevated levels of genetic drift
2 in SARS-CoV-2 transmission in England

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21 Abstract

22 Genetic drift in infectious disease transmission results from randomness of transmission and host recovery or
23 death. The strength of genetic drift for SARS-CoV-2 transmission is expected to be high due to high levels of
24 superspreading, and this is expected to substantially impact disease epidemiology and evolution. However,
25 we don't yet have an understanding of how genetic drift changes over time or across locations. Furthermore,
26 noise that results from data collection can potentially confound estimates of genetic drift. To address this
27 challenge, we develop and validate a method to jointly infer genetic drift and measurement noise from time-
28 series lineage frequency data. Our method is highly scalable to increasingly large genomic datasets, which
29 overcomes a limitation in commonly used phylogenetic methods. We apply this method to over 490,000
30 SARS-CoV-2 genomic sequences from England collected between March 2020 and December 2021 by the
31 COVID-19 Genomics UK (COG-UK) consortium and separately infer the strength of genetic drift for pre-
32 B.1.177, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta. We find that even after correcting for measurement noise, the strength
33 of genetic drift is consistently, throughout time, higher than that expected from the observed number of
34 COVID-19 positive individuals in England by 1 to 3 orders of magnitude, which cannot be explained by
35 literature values of superspreading. Our estimates of genetic drift will be informative for parameterizing
36 evolutionary models and studying potential mechanisms for increased drift.

37 Author Summary

38 The transmission of pathogens like SARS-CoV-2 is strongly affected by chance effects in the contact process
39 between infected and susceptible individuals, collectively referred to as random genetic drift. We have an
40 incomplete understanding of how genetic drift changes across time and locations. To address this gap, we
41 developed a computational method that infers the strength of genetic drift from time series genomic data that
42 corrects for non-biological noise and is computationally scalable to the large numbers of sequences available
43 for SARS-CoV-2, overcoming a major challenge of existing methods. Using this method, we quantified the
44 strength of genetic drift for SARS-CoV-2 transmission in England throughout time and across locations.
45 These estimates constrain potential mechanisms and help parameterize models of SARS-CoV-2 evolution.
46 More generally, the computational scalability of our method will become more important as increasingly
47 large genomic datasets become more common.

48 Introduction

49 Random genetic drift is the change in the composition of a population over time due to the randomness
50 of birth and death processes. In pathogen transmission, births occur as a result of transmission of the
51 pathogen between hosts and deaths occur as a result of infected host recovery or death. The strength of
52 genetic drift in pathogen transmission is determined by the disease prevalence, the disease epidemiology
53 parameters [1], the variance in offspring number (the number of secondary infections that result from an
54 infected individual) [2], as well as host contact patterns [3]. Many diseases have been found to exhibit high
55 levels of genetic drift, such as SARS, MERS, tuberculosis, and measles [2, 4, 5]. The strength of genetic
56 drift affects how the disease spreads through the population [2, 3, 6] how new variants emerge [7, 8, 9, 10,
57 11], and the effectiveness of interventions [12], making it an important quantity to accurately estimate for
58 understanding disease epidemiology, evolution, and control.

59 The effective population size is often used to quantify the strength of genetic drift; it is the population size
60 in an idealized Wright-Fisher model (with discrete non-overlapping generations, a constant population size,
61 and offspring determined by sampling with replacement from the previous generation) that would reproduce
62 the observed dynamics [13]. In a neutral population, if the effective population size is lower than the true
63 population size, it is an indication that there are additional sources of stochasticity beyond random sampling
64 with replacement; thus, a lower effective population size indicates a higher level of genetic drift.

65 Transmission of SARS-CoV-2 has been shown to exhibit high levels of superspreading (high variance in
66 offspring number) [14, 15, 16] and high levels of genetic drift (low effective population sizes) [17, 18, 19] (see
67 also Supplementary table S1). However, studies have focused on particular times and locations, and we lack
68 systematic studies over time and space (see Ref. [20] for a recent first study that uses contact tracing data

69 to infer changes in SARS-CoV-2 superspreading over time in Hong Kong). Performing a systematic study
70 may be most feasible with a large-scale surveillance dataset, such as that from the COVID-19 Genomics UK
71 (COG-UK) consortium, which has sequenced almost 3 million cases of SARS-CoV-2 in both surveillance and
72 non-surveillance capacities as of October 5, 2022. We focus specifically on this dataset, and specifically on
73 England, due to its consistently large number of sequenced SARS-CoV-2 cases since early in the pandemic.

74 A challenge to performing a systematic study of the strength of genetic drift for SARS-CoV-2 and other
75 pathogens is how to handle measurement noise, or noise from the data collection process [21]. Measurement
76 noise can arise from a variety of factors, including variability in the testing rate across time, geographic
77 locations, demographic groups, and symptom status, and biases in contact tracing. Methods exist to infer
78 measurement noise from time-series lineage or allele frequencies [22, 23, 24] (see the Supplementary informa-
79 tion for a summary of other methods used for inferring genetic drift and additional references). Intuitively,
80 in time-series frequency data, genetic drift leads to frequency fluctuations whose magnitudes scale with time,
81 whereas measurement noise leads to frequency fluctuations whose magnitudes do not scale with time (Fig-
82 ure 1a). Thus, this system has been mapped onto a Hidden Markov Model (HMM) where the processes of
83 genetic drift and measurement noise determine the transition and emission probabilities, respectively [25, 26].
84 Methods often assume uniform sampling of infected individuals from the population [27, 22, 23], but this
85 assumption does not usually hold outside of surveillance studies. A recent study accounted for overdispersed
86 sampling of sequences in the inference of fitness coefficients of SARS-CoV-2 variants, but assumes constant
87 overdispersion over time [28]; in reality, the observation process may change over time due to changes in
88 testing intensity between locations and subpopulations. Thus, to achieve the goal of systematically assess-
89 ing the strength of genetic drift over time and space, there is a need to develop methods that account
90 for time-varying overdispersed measurement noise to more accurately capture the noise generated from the
91 observation process.

92 In this study, we develop a method to jointly infer genetic drift and measurement noise that allows
93 measurement noise to be overdispersed (rather than uniform) and for the strength of overdispersion to vary
94 over time (rather than stay constant). This method makes use of all sequencing data, which is difficult
95 to do with existing phylogenetic methods. By fitting this model to observed lineage frequency trajectories
96 from simulations, we show that the effective population size and the strength of measurement noise can
97 be accurately determined in most situations, even when both quantities are varying over time. We then
98 apply our validated method to estimate the strengths of genetic drift and measurement noise for SARS-
99 CoV-2 in England across time (from March 2020 until December 2021) and space using over 490,000 SARS-
100 CoV-2 genomic sequences from COG-UK. We find high levels of genetic drift for SARS-CoV-2 consistently
101 throughout time that cannot be explained by literature values of superspreading. We discuss how community
102 structure in the host contact network may partially explain these results. Additionally, we observe that
103 sampling of infected individuals from the population is mostly uniform for this dataset, and we also find
104 evidence of spatial structure in the transmission dynamics of B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta.

105 Results

106 Scalable method for jointly inferring genetic drift and measurement noise from 107 time-series lineage frequency data

108 We first summarize the statistical inference method that we developed to infer time-varying effective popu-
109 lation sizes from neutral lineage frequency time series that are affected by overdispersed measurement noise
110 (more variable than uniform sampling). We explain the method more extensively in the Methods. We infer
111 the effective population size that a well-mixed population would have to have to generate the magnitude of
112 the fluctuations that are observed, which is the classical definition of effective population size [13]. Briefly,
113 we use a Hidden Markov Model (HMM) with continuous hidden and observed states (a Kalman filter), where
114 the hidden states are the true frequencies (f_t , where t is time), and the observed states are the observed
115 frequencies (f_t^{obs}) (Figure 1b) (see Methods).

116 The transition probability between hidden states of the HMM is set by genetic drift, where the mean
117 true frequency is the true frequency at the previous time $E(f_{t+1}|f_t) = f_t$, and when the frequencies are
118 rare the variance in frequency is proportional to the mean, $\text{Var}(f_{t+1}|f_t) = \frac{f_t}{N_e(t)}$. $\tilde{N}_e(t) = N_e(t)\tau(t)$ where

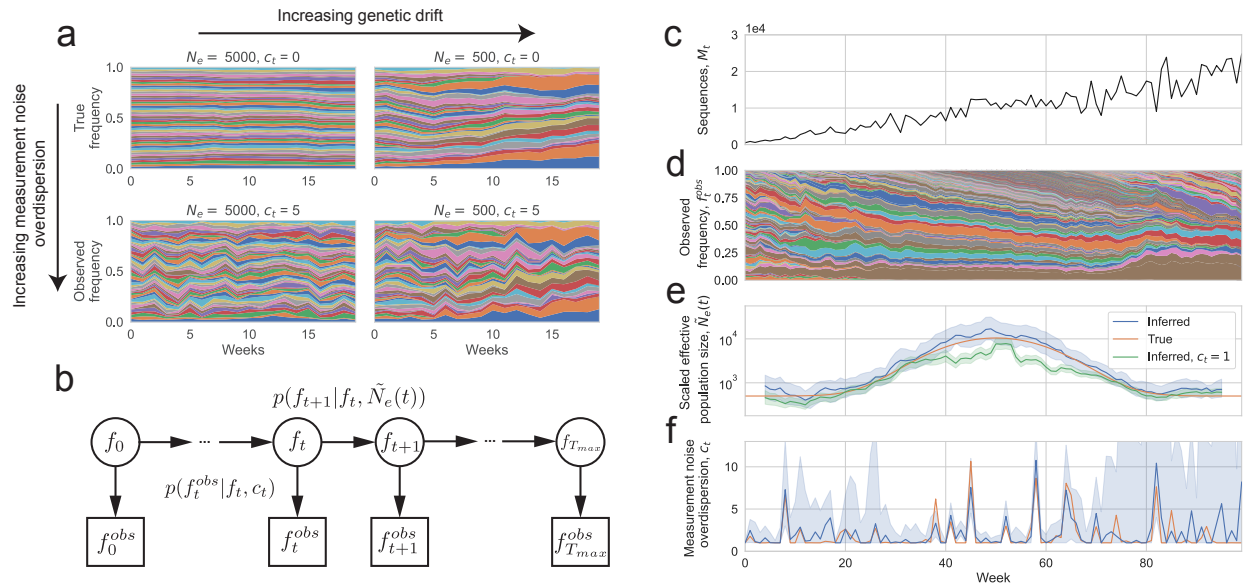


Figure 1: A Hidden Markov Model with continuous hidden and observed states (a Kalman filter) for inferring genetic drift and measurement noise from lineage frequency time series. (a) Illustration of how genetic drift and measurement noise affect the observed frequency time series. Muller plot of lineage frequencies from Wright-Fisher simulations with effective population size 500 and 5000, with and without measurement noise. In simulations with measurement noise, 100 sequences were sampled per week with the measurement noise overdispersion parameter $c_t = 5$ (parameter defined in text). All simulations were initialized with 50 lineages at equal frequency. A lower effective population size leads to larger frequency fluctuations whose variances add over time, whereas measurement noise leads to increased frequency fluctuations whose variances do not add over time. (b) Schematic of Hidden Markov Model describing frequency trajectories. f_t is the true frequency at time t (hidden states) and f_t^{obs} is the observed frequency at time t (observed states). The inferred parameters are $\tilde{N}_e(t) \equiv N_e(t)\tau(t)$, the effective population size scaled by the generation time, and c_t , the overdispersion in measurement noise ($c_t = 1$ corresponds to uniform sampling of sequences from the population). (c-f) Validation of method using Wright-Fisher simulations of frequency trajectories with time-varying effective population size and measurement noise. (c) Simulated number of sequences. (d) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (e) Inferred scaled effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) on simulated data compared to true values. (f) Inferred measurement noise (c_t) on simulated data compared to true values. In (e) the shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using the posterior, and in (f) the shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using bootstrapping (see Methods).

119 $N_e(t)$ is the effective population size and $\tau(t)$ is the generation time, and both quantities can vary over time;
 120 however, we are only able to infer the compound parameter $N_e(t)\tau(t)$.

121 The emission probability between hidden and observed states of the HMM is set by measurement noise,
 122 where the mean observed frequency is the true frequency $E(f_t^{obs}|f_t) = f_t$ and when the frequencies are rare
 123 the variance in the observed frequency is proportional to the mean, $\text{Var}(f_t^{obs}|f_t) = c_t \frac{f_t}{M_t}$. M_t is the number
 124 of sequences at time t . c_t is the variance over the mean of the observed number of positive cases of each
 125 lineage at time t given the true number of cases of each lineage at time t (see Materials and Methods). c_t
 126 is expected to equal one if a random subsample of cases are sequenced, so that the observed number of cases
 127 of each lineage is approximately given by a Poisson distribution with the mean being the true number of
 128 cases of that lineage. In our analyses, we constrain $c_t \geq 1$ because realistically there must be at least Poisson
 129 sampling of cases for sequencing. Note that the constraint of $c_t \geq 1$ is still applicable when the number of
 130 sequenced cases is large as the variance already accounts for the number of sequences in the denominator.
 131 Our model assumes that the number of individuals and frequency of a lineage is high enough such that the
 132 central limit theorem applies (at least about 20 counts or frequency of 0.01); to meet this condition, we

133 created “coarse-grained lineages” where we randomly and exclusively grouped lineages together such that
134 the sum of their abundances and frequencies was above this threshold (see Methods). Note that there are
135 still sufficiently many coarse-grained lineages defined in the simulations and empirical analyses such that the
136 assumption of the coarse-grained lineages being rare is true (needed for the defined transition and emission
137 probabilities).

138 Using the transition and emission probability distributions (see Methods) and the HMM structure, we
139 determine the likelihood function (Equation 13 in Methods) describing the probability of observing a par-
140 ticular set of lineage frequency time-series data given the unknown parameters, namely the scaled effective
141 population size across time $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and the strength of measurement noise across time c_t . We then maximize
142 the likelihood over the parameters to determine the most likely parameters that describe the data. Because
143 we are relying on a time-series signature in the data for the inference, we need to use a sufficiently large
144 number of timesteps of data; on the other hand, the longer the time series, the more parameters would need
145 to be inferred (since both $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t are allowed to change over time). To balance these two factors, we
146 assumed that the effective population size stays constant over a time period of 9 weeks (a form of “regular-
147 ization”). We then shift this window of 9 weeks across time to determine how $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ changes over time (see
148 Methods), but this effectively averages the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ over time. c_t is still allowed to vary weekly.

149 To validate our model, we ran Wright-Fisher simulations with time-varying effective population size and
150 time-varying measurement noise (Figure 1c-f). Because a substantial number of lineages would go extinct
151 over the simulation timescale of 100 weeks, we introduced new lineages with a small rate (a rate of 0.01
152 per week per individual of starting a new lineage) to prevent the number of lineages from becoming too
153 low. We then did inference on the simulated time-series frequency trajectories (Figure 1d). The inferred
154 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t closely follow the true values (Figure 1e-f), and the 95% confidence intervals (see Methods
155 for how they are calculated) include the true value in a median (across timepoints) of 95% of simulation
156 realizations (Figure S5). The error in c_t is higher when the variance contributed to the frequency trajectories
157 by measurement noise is lower than that of genetic drift, which occurs when the effective population size
158 is low or number of sequences is high (more clearly seen in Figure S6, where the effective population size
159 is held constant). However, the error on $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ seems to be unchanged or even slightly decrease when the
160 error on c_t is increased because the contribution to the variance due to genetic drift is higher. We also
161 observe that the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is smoothed over time due to the assumption of constant $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ over 9 weeks
162 (Figure S7); this is a potential drawback when there are sharp changes in the effective population size over
163 time. Importantly, we observed that the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ will be underestimated if sampling is assumed to be
164 uniform when it is actually overdispersed (Figure 1e). This is because variance in the frequency trajectories
165 due to measurement noise is incorrectly being attributed to genetic drift. The underestimation is strongest
166 when the variance contributed due to measurement noise is high, either due to high measurement noise
167 overdispersion, a low number of sampled sequences, or a high effective population size. In this situation,
168 joint inference of measurement noise and $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ from the data is necessary for accurate inference of $\tilde{N}_e(t)$.

169 In summary, we developed a method to infer the strength of genetic drift and measurement noise from
170 lineage frequency time series data and validated the accuracy of the method with simulations. This method
171 has the potential to scale well with large amounts of genomic data as it only relies on lineage frequency time
172 series data.

173 Inference of genetic drift in SARS-CoV-2 transmission in England

174 We next applied this method to study the effective population size and strength of measurement noise for
175 SARS-CoV-2 in England, where hundreds of thousands of SARS-CoV-2 genomes have been sequenced. Be-
176 cause our method assumes that lineages are neutral with respect to one another (no selection), we performed
177 separate analyses on groups of lineages that have been shown to exhibit fitness differences or deterministic
178 changes in frequency: lineages pre-B.1.177, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta [28, 17, 32, 33]. We checked that
179 the assumption of neutrality within each of these groups does not significantly affect our results, and this is
180 described below.

181 To obtain lineage frequency time series data for SARS-CoV-2 in England, we downloaded genomic meta-
182 data from the COVID-19 Genomics UK Consortium (COG-UK) [34] (Figure 2b) and the associated phy-
183 logenetic trees that were created at different points in time. To minimize potential bias, we used only
184 surveillance data (labeled as “pillar 2”). For sequences pre-B.1.177, we used the pangolin lineages assign-

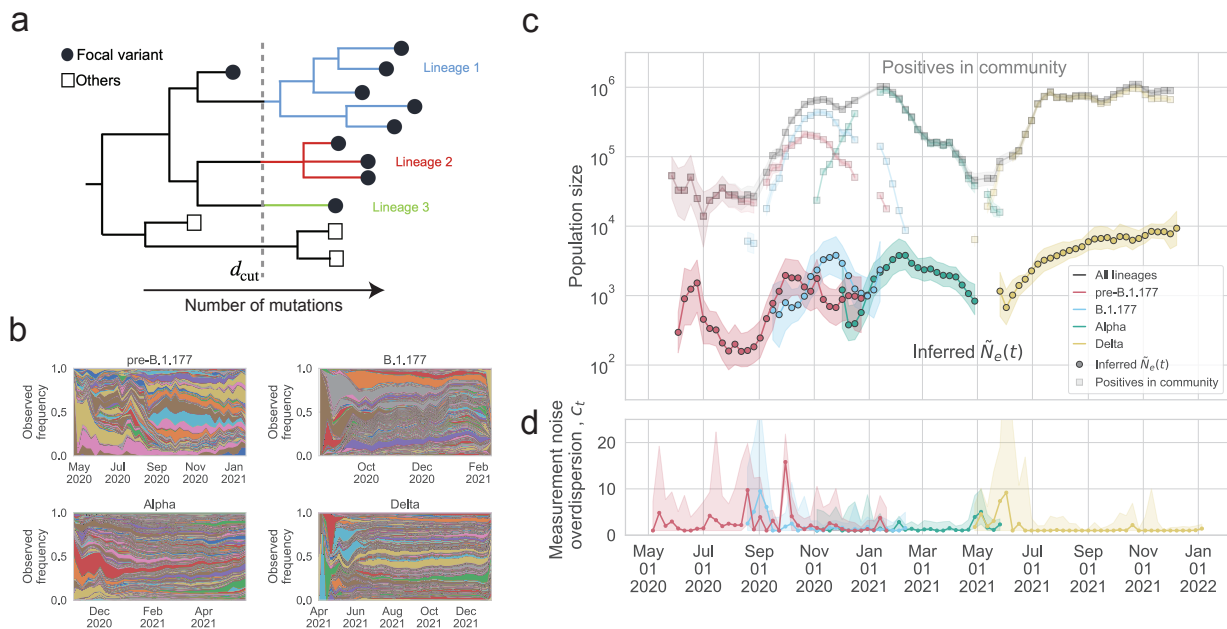


Figure 2: The inferred effective population size and overdispersion of measurement noise in England compared with the number of positive individuals. (a) Schematic of lineage construction for B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta from the COG-UK phylogenetic tree. The filled circles represent the sequences of a focal variant sampled in England, while the unfilled squares represent other sequences, which are of other variants or sampled in other countries. The phylogenetic tree is cut at a certain depth $d = d_{cut}$, and each branch cut by the line $d = d_{cut}$ defines a lineage. Lineages pre-B.1.1.7 are defined using the pangolin nomenclature [29, 30]. (b) Muller plot of lineage frequency time series for lineages pre-B.1.177, of B.1.177, of Alpha, of Delta. (c) Inferred scaled effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t) \equiv N_e(t)\tau(t)$) for pre-B.1.177 sequences, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta, compared to the estimated number of people testing positive for SARS-CoV-2 in England at the community level, as measured by the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31], for all lineages and by variant or group of lineages. To simplify the plot, only data where the number of positive individuals for a given variant or group of lineages was higher than 10^3 in a week are shown. The inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is considerably lower than the number of positive individuals for all times and for all variants or group of lineages. (d) Inferred measurement noise overdispersion (c_t) for pre-B.1.177 sequences, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta.

185 ments from COG-UK [29, 30]. However, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta were subdivided into only one or a few
 186 pangolin lineages, since a new lineage is defined by sufficiently many mutations and evidence of geographic
 187 importation. However, for our purposes we only need resolution of neutral lineages within a variant. Thus,
 188 we created additional neutral lineages by cutting the phylogenetic tree at a particular depth and grouping
 189 sequences downstream of the branch together into a lineage (see Figure 2a and Methods). Note that as a
 190 result, the “lineages” that we define here are not necessarily the same as the lineages defined by the Pango
 191 nomenclature. The trees were created by COG-UK and most sequenced samples were included in the trees
 192 (Figure S8). However, in some instances downsampling was necessary when the number of sequences was
 193 very large. In these situations, any downsampling (performed by COG-UK) was done by trying to preserve
 194 genetic diversity. Most sequences in the tree were assigned to lineages (see Methods), and we corrected for
 195 the fraction of sequences that were not assigned to lineages in our inference of $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ (see Methods). This
 196 yielded 486 lineages for pre-B.1.177, 4083 lineages for B.1.177, 6225 lineages for Alpha, 24867 lineages for
 197 Delta.

198 The inferred scaled effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e = N_e\tau$, effective population size times generation time,
 199 where the generation time is the time between infections in infector-infectee pairs) is shown in Figure 2c. The
 200 generation time is around 4-6 days (0.6-0.9 weeks) depending on the variant [35, 36], but we leave the results

201 in terms of the scaled effective population size (rather than effective population size) because the generation
202 time may change over time [35], has a high standard deviation [35], and is close to one week so is expected to
203 not drastically change the result; additionally, as we show below, the null model estimate that we compare
204 to is also multiplied by the generation time, which cancels when we look at the ratio (described below). The
205 scaled inferred effective population size was lower than the number of positive individuals in the community
206 (estimated by surveillance testing from the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31] and see Methods) by a factor
207 of 20 to 1060 at different points in time. The most notable differences between the changes over time in the
208 number of positives in the community and that of the scaled effective population size were: the inferred scaled
209 effective population size of lineages pre-B.1.177 peaked slightly before the number of pre-B.1.177 positives
210 peaked, the inferred scaled effective population size of Alpha decreased slower than the number of positives
211 decreased after January 2021, and the shoulder for the inferred scaled effective population size of Delta
212 occurred earlier than in the number of positives. We checked that the inferred scaled effective population
213 size is not sensitive to the depth at which the trees are cut to create lineages (Figure S9, S10, S11), the
214 threshold counts for creating coarse-grained lineages (Figure S12), or the number of weeks in the moving
215 time window (Figure S13). Additionally, we checked that the gaussian form of the transition and emission
216 probabilities in the HMM are a good fit to the data (Figure S14).

217 The inferred measurement noise for each group of lineages is shown in Figure 2d. The inferred measure-
218 ment noise overdispersion was mostly indistinguishable from 1 (uniform sampling), but at times was above 1
219 (sampling that is more variable than uniform sampling). There were also at times differences in the strength
220 of measurement noise between variants when they overlapped in time. In particular, measurement noise for
221 lineages pre-B.1.177 peaked in October 2020 despite measurement noise being low for B.1.177 at that time.

222 To better interpret the observed levels of genetic drift, we compared the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to that of an SIR
223 null model, which includes a susceptible, infectious, and recovered class. The $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for an SIR model was
224 derived in Ref. [37, 38, 39] and is given by

$$\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t) = \frac{I(t)}{2R_t\gamma_I} \quad (1)$$

225 where $I(t)$ is number of infectious individuals, R_t is the effective reproduction number, and γ_I is the rate at
226 which infectious individuals recover. For the number of infectious individuals, we used the number of positive
227 individuals estimated from the UK Office for National Statistics' COVID-19 Infection Survey [31], which is
228 a household surveillance study that reports positive PCR tests, regardless of symptom status. We used the
229 measured effective reproduction number in England reported by the UK Health Security Agency [40]. We
230 used $\gamma_I^{-1} = 5.5$ days [41, 42], and our results are robust to varying γ_I within a realistic range of values
231 (Figure S15). We found that $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ is very similar to the number of positives because the effective
232 reproduction number in England was very close to 1 across time and γ_I is also very close to 1 in units of
233 weeks⁻¹. To calculate $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ for each variant or group of lineages, we rescaled the population-level $I(t)$ and
234 R_t based on the fraction of each variant in the population and the relative differences in reproduction numbers
235 between variants (see Methods). We then calculated the scaled true population size, $\tilde{N}(t) \equiv N(t)\tau(t)$, for
236 the SIR model by multiplying by the variance in offspring number, σ^2 , for the SIR model [43]

$$\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t) = \tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)\{\sigma^2\}^{\text{SIR}} \quad (2)$$

$$\{\sigma^2\}^{\text{SIR}} = 2. \quad (3)$$

237 Overall, the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is lower than $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ by a time-dependent factor that varies between 20 and
238 590 (Figures 3c and S16), suggesting high levels of genetic drift in England across time. We find similar
239 results when using an SEIR rather than an SIR model which additionally includes an exposed class and
240 may be more realistic (Methods, Supplementary information, and Figure S17). The ratio of $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ to the
241 inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ was similar across variants and across time, except that for Alpha the ratio initially peaked
242 and then decreased over time.

243 Because non-neutral lineages could potentially bias the inferred effective population size to be lower in a
244 model that assumes all lineages are neutral, we checked the assumption that lineages are neutral with respect
245 to one another within a group or variant (pre-B.1.177, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta) by detecting deterministic
246 changes in lineage frequency. We used a conservative, deterministic method that ignores genetic drift, which

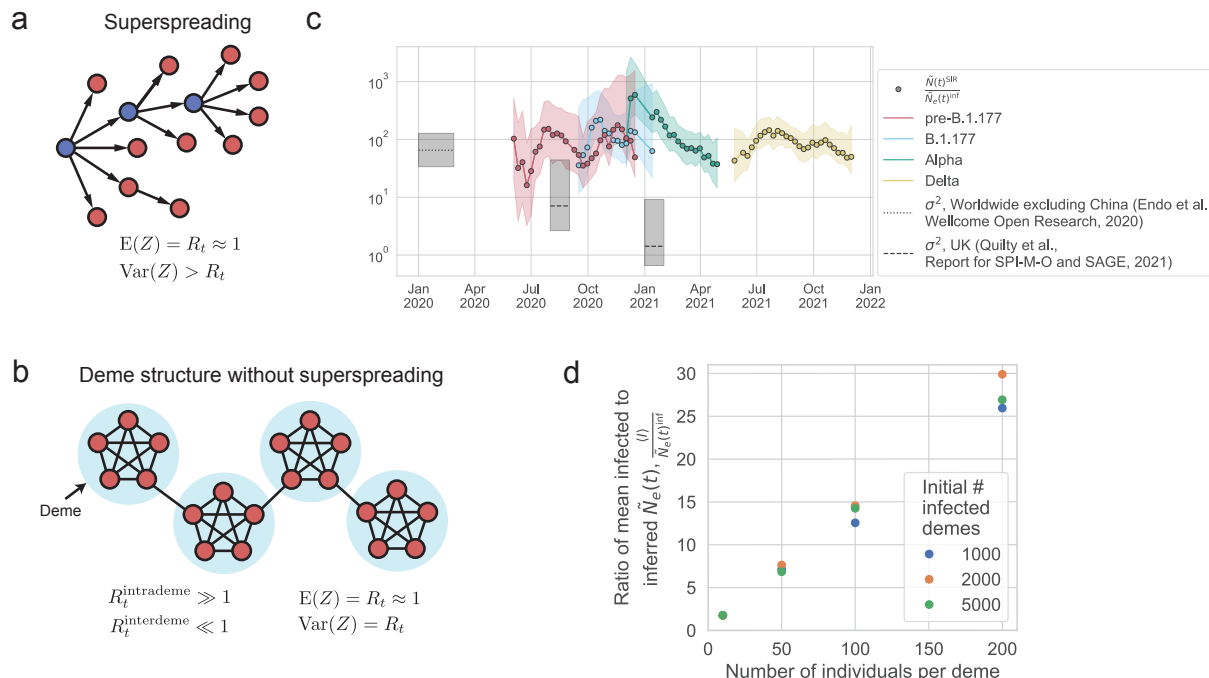


Figure 3: Potential mechanisms that can generate a low effective population size. (a) Superspreading, where the distribution of the number of secondary cases (Z) from a single infected individual is broadly distributed (variance greater than mean). The superspreading individuals are indicated in blue. (b) Deme structure without superspreading, due to heterogeneity in the host network structure, where the distribution of the number of secondary cases is not broadly distributed (variance approximately equal to mean). (c) The ratio between the $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ (the scaled population size calculated from an SIR model using the number of observed positive individuals and the observed effective reproduction number) and the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for each variant. Only data where the error in the SIR model $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ is less than 3 times the value are shown, because larger error bars make it challenging to interpret the results. The inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is lower than the $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ (which assumes well-mixed dynamics and no superspreading) by a factor of 16 to 589, indicating high levels of genetic drift. The variance in offspring number from the literature [44, 45] does not entirely explain the discrepancy between the true and effective population sizes. (d) Simulations of deme structure without superspreading can generate high levels of genetic drift via jackpot events. SEIR dynamics are simulated within demes (with $R_t = 10$, i.e. deterministic transmission) and Poisson transmission is simulated between demes ($R_t \ll 1$, i.e. stochastic transmission) such that the population $R_t \sim 1$ (see Methods). Simulation parameters are: mean transition rate from exposed to infected $\gamma_E = (2.5 \text{ days})^{-1}$, mean transition rate from infected to recovered $\gamma_I = (6.5 \text{ days})^{-1}$, total number of demes $D_{\text{total}} = 5.6 \times 10^5$. The ratio between the number of infected individuals and the inferred effective population size is found to scale linearly with the deme size and not with the number of infected demes. This scaling results because of jackpot events where a lineage that happens to infect a susceptible deme grows rapidly until all susceptible individuals in the deme are infected.

247 is expected to overestimate the number of non-neutral lineages. We found that 50% of lineages had absolute
 248 fitness above 0.09 (above the 50th percentile) and 10% of lineages had absolute fitness above 0.27 (above the
 249 90th percentile). Very likely, some of these lineages are detected as having non-zero fitness simply because
 250 the model does not correctly account for strong genetic drift which would also lead to changes in lineage
 251 frequency. Excluding non-neutral lineages with absolute fitness values above the 50th ($|s| > 0.09$), 75th
 252 ($|s| > 0.16$), and 90th ($|s| > 0.27$) percentiles, leads to only slight changes in the inferred effective population
 253 size (Figure S18). This result shows that conservatively excluding lineages that could be non-neutral does

254 not change the result that the inferred effective population size is one to two order of magnitudes lower than
255 the SIR or SEIR model effective population size.

256 We also tested whether background selection (selection against deleterious mutants) in SARS-CoV-2
257 could be responsible for a substantial fraction of the reduction in effective population size. We simulated the
258 lineage frequency dynamics using the empirically estimated distribution of deleterious fitness effects from
259 Ref. [46] (Figure S19 and Methods) and found that the inferred effective population size is consistent with
260 the true effective population size to within the error bars (Figure S20) and lower than the inferred effective
261 population size in a simulation with only neutral mutations (Figure S21) by no more than a factor of 2
262 (Figure S22). Analytical estimates for the expected decrease in effective population size due to the empirical
263 distribution of deleterious fitness effects also predict at most a factor of at most 2 decrease in effective
264 population size that is not sufficient to explain the two orders of magnitude lower effective population size
265 that we observe compared to the expectation (Supplementary Information).

266 We also probed the spatial structure of transmission by inferring the scaled effective population size
267 separately for each region within England. We find that the scaled effective population size in the regions of
268 England is substantially smaller than that in England as a whole for B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta (Figure S1),
269 suggesting that the transmission was not well-mixed at that time. Additionally, the discrepancy between
270 the inferred regional scaled effective population size and the observed number of positive individuals in a
271 region was comparable to that seen in England as a whole (Figure S3), which is consistent with spatially
272 segregated dynamics with similar levels of genetic drift in each region. We further describe these results in
273 the Supplementary Information.

274 Discussion

275 Here, we systematically studied the strength of genetic drift of SARS-CoV-2 in England across time and
276 spatial scales. To do this, we developed and validated a method for jointly inferring time-varying genetic drift
277 and overdispersed measurement noise using lineage frequency time series data (Figure 1), allowing these two
278 effects to be disentangled, which overcomes a major challenge in the ability to infer the strength of genetic
279 drift from time-series data. Additionally, this method makes use of all sequencing data, overcoming the
280 need to subsample data, which is a challenge with current phylogenetic methods. Our approach was able to
281 reproduce the expected decrease in effective population size during the decline of pre-B.1.177, B.1.177, and
282 Alpha, as well as the increase in effective population size during the emergence of B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta
283 (Figure 2c). We did not have enough sequences during the time when Delta was going extinct to infer the
284 effective population size during that time period.

285 We find that the effective population size of SARS-CoV-2 in England was lower than that of an SIR null
286 model true population size (using the observed number of positives) by a time-dependent factor ranging from
287 20 to 590 (Figure 3c), suggesting that there were higher levels of genetic drift than expected from uniform
288 transmission. We also find evidence for spatial structure in the transmission dynamics during the B.1.177,
289 Alpha, and Delta waves, as the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ was substantially lower in regions compared to that of all
290 England (Figure S1). These findings are consistent with other studies that have found spatial structure in
291 transmission of B.1.177 [47], Alpha [48], and Delta [49].

292 We observed that with a few exceptions, the amount by which genetic drift was elevated compared to the
293 number of positives did not change substantially over time or across variants outside the range of the error
294 bars (Figure 3c), despite changes in lockdowns and restrictions (which we may expect to decrease behavior
295 that leads to superspreading). This may be due to not having enough statistical power due to the dataset
296 size. On the other hand, we note that restrictions affect the mobility network structure in a complex way,
297 decreasing some types of mobility while increasing others [50], so lockdowns and restrictions may not affect
298 the effective population size in a predictable way. One exception was that Alpha had significantly higher
299 genetic drift compared to Delta and the strength of genetic drift in Alpha first peaked then slowly decreased
300 over time. This may be either due to differences in the properties of the virus or differences in host behavior.
301 For instance, it may suggest that the stochasticity in the transmission of Alpha sharply increased then slowly
302 decreased over time. Alternatively, this may be driven by Alpha's expanding geographic range combined
303 with reimported cases of Alpha into the UK (observed from February 2021 onwards), which could both also
304 decrease the effective population size [51].

305 It is important to distinguish measurement noise from genetic drift as measurement noise is a function of
306 the observation process and will not affect disease spread, extinction, and establishment of new mutations.
307 We observe that measurement noise of SARS-CoV-2 is mostly indistinguishable from uniform sampling, but
308 data from some variants at some times do exhibit more elevated measurement noise than uniform sampling.
309 Thus, we expect that assuming uniform sampling, as many methods do, or constant overdispersion will lead
310 to accurate estimates for this dataset [27, 22, 23, 28]. The number of SARS-CoV-2 sequences from England
311 is extremely high and sampling biases are expected to be low, because of efforts to reduce sampling biases by
312 sampling somewhat uniformly from the population through the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31] (from which
313 a subset of positives are sequenced and included in the COG-UK surveillance sequencing data that we use).
314 On the other hand, other countries may have higher sampling biases, so jointly estimating measurement
315 noise and genetic drift may be more crucial in those settings. It may also be interesting to use this method
316 to test whether genomics data taken from wastewater has lower levels of measurement noise as compared to
317 sequenced cases.

318 We find that constant selection is unlikely to explain our results, as liberally excluding potentially non-
319 neutral lineages does not significantly change the inferred effective population size. Our method is not able
320 to precisely pinpoint how many lineages are under selection, but it appears that there is relatively little
321 within-variant selection in the time period we investigated, and our method is robust to slight deviations
322 from neutrality. Additionally, background selection is unlikely to explain our results as the empirically
323 estimated distribution of deleterious fitness effects for SARS-CoV-2 decreased the effective population size
324 by at most a factor of 2 from that of the completely neutral scenario.

325 Accurately estimating the strength of genetic drift allows us to better understand disease spread and
326 extinction, as well as to better parameterize evolutionary models and understand how mutations will establish
327 in the population. The establishment probability is the probability that a new mutation will rise to a
328 high enough frequency to escape stochastic extinction. For weakly beneficial mutations, the establishment
329 probability is linearly related to the effective population size [52]. For strongly beneficial mutations, the
330 impact of the effective population size on the establishment probability is quantitatively less straightforward
331 and depends on the host network structure [3]. In the absence of clonal interference, the fixation probability,
332 or the probability that the mutation will fix in a population, is the same as the establishment probability;
333 if there is clonal interference, the fixation probability will depend on additional factors like the mutation
334 rate [53, 54]. The low effective population sizes that we observe suggest low establishment probabilities;
335 the probability that any newly arisen beneficial mutant rises to a significant frequency will be small. More
336 generally, our results give an order of magnitude estimate for the effective population sizes that can be used
337 to more accurately parameterize evolutionary models for SARS-CoV-2 as well as an approach to infer the
338 effective population size in more specific contexts.

339 **Potential mechanisms that can contribute to the high levels of genetic drift**

340 Two potential mechanisms that can contribute to the observed high levels of genetic drift are: (1) variability
341 at the individual level through superspreading (Figure 3a), and (2) host population structure (Figure 3b).
342 We investigate each of these mechanisms in turn and compare it to our results. While in reality, both
343 mechanisms (and others not explored here) are likely at play, it is challenging to tease them apart given our
344 limited data. Therefore, in order to gain intuition about how each of these phenomena drives the strength
345 of genetic drift in this system, we consider each in turn.

346 Infected individuals that cause an exceptional numbers of secondary cases (superspreaders) are one reason
347 for an increased level of allele frequency fluctuations. The expected decrease in effective population size is
348 given by the per-generation variance in secondary cases, which is sensitive to superspreaders broadening the
349 tail of the offspring distribution. Direct measurements of the offspring distribution through contact tracing
350 yield variances substantially smaller than our inferred reduction in effective population size [55, 56, 57, 58]
351 (Table S1). This could indicate that the tail of the offspring distribution is not well measured by contact
352 tracing efforts or that other factors are at play that could decrease the effective population size.

353 Primary factors that could further increase fluctuations are selection and spatial structure. While both
354 positive and background selection have some effect, we estimate their contribution to not exceed a factor
355 of 2 (see above and Supplementary information). We now show that, by contrast, a pronounced host deme
356 structure can easily decrease the effective population size by orders of magnitude, even without individual

357 super spreaders.

358 Consider a model in which individuals within a deme are very well-connected to one another (i.e. house-
359 holds or friend groups, also known as “communities” in network science [59]), but there are few connections
360 between demes (Figure 3b). It is possible for deme structure to occur without superspreading. Because
361 individuals are very well-connected within a deme, once the pathogen spreads to a susceptible deme, it will
362 spread rapidly in a deme until all individuals are infected (a jackpot event). In this way, deme structure can
363 lower the effective population size by lowering the effective number of stochastic transmissions events. For
364 instance, in the example in Figure 3b, there are 20 individuals, but only 3 potential stochastic transmissions
365 events. Deme structure may also arise from correlations in the number of secondary infections over a series
366 of hosts (i.e. a series of high numbers of secondary infections in a transmission chain, or conversely low
367 numbers of secondary infections in a transmission chain) [60]. This may arise, for instance, if individuals in
368 a transmission chain have similar behavior, due to geographical proximity, or similar value systems on risk
369 aversion. A recent study has found that individuals infected by superspreading tend to be superspreaders
370 themselves more often than expected by chance [61], which would be consistent with this phenomenon.

371 To check our intuition that deme structure can decrease the effective population size and increase genetic
372 drift, we ran simulations of a simplified deme model (see Methods): all demes have the same number of
373 individuals, and there is a sufficiently large enough number of demes that the total number of demes does
374 not matter. Initially a certain number of demes are infected, and transmission occurs such that the overall
375 effective reproduction number in the population is around 1. From our simulations, we find that when the
376 number of individuals in a deme increases, the ratio between the number of infected individuals and the
377 inferred effective population size increases (Figure 3d); in other words, the more individuals there are in a
378 deme, the higher the level of genetic drift we observe compared what is expected from the number of infected
379 individuals. This is because while the number of infected individuals increases when the deme size increases
380 (Figure S24a), the inferred effective population size (and thus the level of stochasticity) stays the same as a
381 function of deme size (it is more dependent on the number of infected demes) (Figure S24b). However, the
382 exact ratio of the number of infected individuals to the inferred effective size depends on the parameters of
383 the model.

384 Studies that inferred the overdispersion parameter for the offspring number distribution using modeling
385 rather than direct contact tracing and found a high variance in offspring number (see Table S1; for example,
386 Ref. [44]) may actually be consistent with our results as the high variance may be partly due to superspreading
387 events from, for example, host deme structure.

388 In reality, both superspreading and host structure are likely at play. Additionally, they could interact
389 with each other. For instance, there could be superspreading within a deme. Future work can try to tease
390 apart the contribution of these two mechanisms, which for instance may be possible with better transmission
391 network data, building on previous work on transmission networks [62], or with time-resolved contact tracing
392 data [20]. This will be important because the relative contributions of the two mechanisms of superspreading
393 and host population structure to genetic drift can affect the establishment of new variants in the population
394 in different ways [3]. If our interpretation is correct that deme structure and jackpot events strongly affect
395 the effective population size, then managing superspreading events will be important to decrease the strength
396 of genetic drift; nonpharmaceutical interventions should try to reduce these types of events.

397 **Limitations of the study and opportunities for future directions**

398 First, the quantity of effective population size is a summary statistic that is influenced by many factors,
399 making its interpretation challenging. The effective population size describes the population size under a
400 well-mixed Wright-Fisher model, whereas in reality, this assumption is broken by selection, migration, host
401 structure, broad offspring number distributions, mutation, within-host evolution, and many other evolution-
402 ary and demographic processes. While many of these processes jointly contribute to the strength of genetic
403 drift at the transmission level (broad offspring number distributions, host structure), which is what we are
404 interested in inferring in this study, some other processes may confound the inference of genetic drift at the
405 transmission level (selection, migration, within-host evolution, etc). While it would have been computationally
406 intractable to jointly infer all possible processes, we addressed the processes that we thought were most
407 likely to affect the effective population size in this system besides genetic drift at the transmission level.

408 We checked that constant selection could not lower the effective population size as much as we observed.

409 We did not test for more complex forms of selection, such as fluctuating selection, because including more
410 complex forms of selection quickly increases the number of parameters in the model such that it becomes
411 intractable. However, we note that fluctuating selection that occurs on a fast enough time scale will act effec-
412 tively like genetic drift in increasing stochasticity in transmission. We ignored importation of SARS-CoV-2
413 into England and exportation of SARS-CoV-2 out of England. Migration can substantially change frequen-
414 cies that are locally rare, but we expect importations to only weakly influence the frequency fluctuations of
415 abundant variants, on which we have focused in this work. Host migration within the population can lead to
416 gene flow; however, this will only affect the effective population size if it results in jackpot events [13]. Our
417 model of host deme structure does indeed incorporate gene flow within the population with jackpot events,
418 and we find that this type of host deme structure can substantially decrease the effective population size.

419 Empirically measured SARS-CoV-2 offspring distributions that take into account superspreaders (see
420 references in Table S1) have been described by a negative binomial distribution, which has a finite mean
421 and variance and thus can be described by the Wright-Fisher model. We focused on standing variation
422 that existed at a particular depth in the phylogenetic tree and ignored de novo mutations subsequently
423 arising during the time series. However, we don't think this should substantially affect our results because
424 introducing mutations in the form of new lineages with a small rate in the simulations did not have a large
425 effect on the method performance (Figure 1e). While within-host dynamics may in principle impact the
426 lineage frequency trajectories, this effect is likely small for our analysis because we focus on acute infections
427 (infections in the community rather than in hospitals and nursing homes). Acute infections of SARS-CoV-2
428 are thought to generate little within-host diversity that is passed on due to the short infection duration
429 and small bottleneck size between hosts [63, 64]; while new mutations arising within acute hosts have been
430 observed to be transmitted, these events are rare [63].

431 Thus, we think to the best of our knowledge that the low effective population sizes that we observe are
432 due to increased levels of genetic drift at the transmission level, which can be due to a variety of mechanisms,
433 including the two that we highlight above, superspreading and host deme structure. However, future work
434 should explore joint inference of selection, migration, and/or mutation in the model, as is appropriate for
435 the pathogen of interest, building on previous work in this area [65, 66, 26, 67].

436 Second, there may be biases in the way that data are collected that are not captured in our model. While
437 our method does account for sampling biases that are uncorrelated in time, sampling biases that remain over
438 time cannot be identified as such (i.e. if one geographical region was dominated by a particular lineage and it
439 consistently had higher sequencing rates compared to another geographical region), and this can potentially
440 bias the inferred effective population size; although, this is also a problem in phylogenetic methods. One
441 approach to this problem that was utilized by some early methods during the pandemic is to develop sample
442 weights based on geography, time, and number of reported cases. Future work should study the effect of
443 different sampling intensities between regions on uncorrelated and correlated sampling noise. Additionally,
444 we assume that the measurement noise overdispersion is identical for all lineages within a variant; in reality,
445 there may be differences in sampling between lineages. However, we do not expect this to have a large effect
446 on our results as we observed that measurement noise overdispersion was close to 1 for most timepoints in
447 this dataset. Future work can test the effect of lineage-specific measurement noise overdispersion on overall
448 method performance across different datasets.

449 Third, the use of a sliding window of 9 weeks on the lineage frequency data will lead to smoothing of
450 sharp changes in effective population size. In our analysis, shortening the time window did not substantially
451 affect our results. It may be interesting in future work to develop a continuous method that uses a prior to
452 condition on changes in effective population size, similar to those that have been developed for coalescence-
453 based methods [1, 68]. This would allow us to infer continuous changes in effective population size without
454 needing to use a sliding window.

455 Fourth, we have defined lineages by cutting the phylogenetic tree at a particular depth; we chose this
456 approach because a tree available for these sequences from COG-UK and we wanted to be somewhat consis-
457 tent with the existing pango nomenclature for SARS-CoV-2 lineages, which were defined using a tree. One
458 concern is that errors in the constructed tree may introduce additional fluctuations to the lineage frequencies.
459 This may particularly be a problem for SARS-CoV-2 given the low mutation rate. As one check, we tested
460 that cutting the tree at different depths did not affect the results (Figure S9), suggesting that our results
461 were not sensitive to differences in lineage definitions at those depths. However, lineages defined using the
462 two cut depths may both have errors in the groupings, so to be more robust, future work could systematically

463 investigate the sensitivity of our method to errors in the tree or compare the results using lineage frequencies
464 and allele frequencies (defined using mutations). Recent advances have made building trees for large datasets
465 more tractable [69], but we can potentially increase the scalability of our approach even further by making
466 the method tree-free. For example, one idea is to cluster the sequences based on a distance metric and
467 use cluster frequencies over time or another idea is to use allele frequencies (the frequencies of individual
468 mutations). Future work should evaluate the feasibility and accuracy of using these different approaches to
469 process the data for inferring the effective population size.

470 While we have focused on SARS-CoV-2 in this study, our simulations point to the generalizability of our
471 approach, and the method developed here can be extended to study genetic drift in other natural populations
472 that are influenced by measurement noise and where genomic frequency data are available. We think that
473 this approach would be best suited for large datasets with a long period of sampling, and for pathogens this
474 includes HIV, Ebola, and potentially seasonal influenza. It may also be interesting to adapt this approach to
475 study data from field studies and ancient DNA [70, 71, 72]. More generally, ongoing methods development
476 that integrates genomics, epidemiological, and other data sources is crucial for being able to harness the
477 large amounts of data that have been generated to better understand and predict evolutionary dynamics.

478 Materials and Methods

479 Data sources and processing

480 We downloaded sequence data from the COVID-19 Genomics UK Consortium (COG-UK) [34]. We only
481 used surveillance data (labeled as “pillar 2”); this dataset is composed of a random sample of the positive
482 cases from the COVID-19 Infection Survey, which is a surveillance study of positive individuals in the
483 community administered by the Office for National Statistics (see below). For lineages that appeared before
484 B.1.177, we downloaded the metadata from the COG-UK Microreact dashboard [73], which included the time
485 and location of sample collection (at the UTLA level), as well as the lineage designation using the Pango
486 nomenclature [29, 30]. For B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta sequences, because the Pango nomenclature classified
487 them into very few lineages, we created our own lineages from the phylogenetic trees (see below). We
488 downloaded the publicly available COG-UK tree on February 22, 2021 for B.1.177; June 20, 2021 for Alpha;
489 and January 25, 2022 for Delta. Additionally sensitivity analyses shown in the Supplementary Figures used
490 trees downloaded on June 1, 2021 for Alpha and March 25, 2022 for Delta. The publicly available trees were
491 created by separating sequences into known clades, running fasttree [74] separately for each clade, grafting
492 together the trees of different clades, and then using usher [69] to add missing samples (code available at
493 <https://github.com/virus-evolution/phylopipe>). We also downloaded the COG-UK metadata for all
494 lineages on January 16, 2022, which included the time and location (at the UTLA level) of sample collection.
495 Additional sensitivity analyses shown in the Supplementary Figures used metadata downloaded on March
496 25, 2022. For the data of B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta, the data was deduplicated to remove reinfections in
497 the same individual by the same lineage, but reinfections in the same individual by a different lineage were
498 allowed. This yielded a total of 490,291 sequences.

499 The lineage frequency time-series is calculated separately for each variant or group of lineages (pre-
500 B.1.177, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta). First, the sequence metadata are aggregated by epidemiological week
501 (Epiweek) to average out measurement noise that may arise due to variations in reporting within a week.
502 Then, the lineage frequency is calculated by dividing the number of sequences from that lineage in the
503 respective tree by the total number of sequences of that variant (or group of lineages) that were assigned to
504 any lineage in the respective tree.

505 Because our model describes birth-death processes when the central limit theorem can be applied, we
506 need the lineage frequencies to be sufficiently high. Thus, we randomly combine rare lineages into “coarse-
507 grained lineages” that are above a threshold number of counts and threshold frequency in the first and last
508 timepoint of each trajectory. The motivation of having a cutoff for both counts and frequency is to account
509 for the fact that the total number of counts (number of sequences) varies over time. For the threshold,
510 we chose 20 counts and frequency of 0.01. The motivation for combining lineages together randomly was
511 to further remove any potential effects due to selection. We also tested that creating lineages by cutting
512 the tree closer to the root of the tree did not substantially affect the results (Figure S9, S10); this shows
513 that grouping lineages together based on genetic similarity would not have had a substantial affect on our
514 results. Sensitivity analyses showed that the choice of the coarse-grained lineage count threshold does not
515 substantially affect the results (Figure S12). Coarse-grained lineages are non-overlapping (i.e. each sequence
516 belongs to exactly one coarse-grained lineage).

517 The estimated number of people testing positive for COVID-19 in England and each region of England
518 was downloaded from the UK Office for National Statistics’ COVID-19 Infection Survey [31]. The COVID-19
519 Infection Survey includes households that are semi-randomly chosen, and individuals are tested regardless
520 of whether they are reporting symptoms. Infections reported in hospitals, care homes, and other communal
521 establishments are excluded. Thus the dataset provides a representative number of positive individuals in
522 the community setting. The reported date of positive cases is the date that the sample was taken. The error
523 on the number of positive individuals from April 17, 2020 to July 5, 2020 is reported as the 95% confidence
524 interval, and after July 5, 2020 is reported as the 95% credible interval. The regional data reported the
525 positivity rate over two week intervals. To get the number of positives, we multiplied by the number of
526 individuals in the community setting in the region (excluding hospitals, care homes, and other communal
527 establishments). As the data was reported over two week intervals, we obtained the number of positives for
528 each week using linear interpolation.

529 The observed effective reproduction numbers for England and each region of England were downloaded

530 from the UK Health Security Agency [40]. Only times where the certainty criteria are met and the inference
531 is not based on fewer days or lower quality data are kept. The error on the effective reproduction number is
532 reported as the 90% confidence interval. Although not reported in the dataset, we choose the point estimate
533 of the effective reproduction number to be the midpoint between the upper and lower bounds of the 90%
534 confidence interval.

535 **Creating lineages in B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta**

536 For B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta, we divided each of them into neutral lineages based on phylogenetic distance.
537 Specifically, for B.1.177 and Alpha, we cut a phylogenetic tree (in units of number of mutations from the root
538 of the tree) at a certain depth, $d = d_{\text{cut}}$. Each of the internal or external branches that are cut by the line
539 $d = d_{\text{cut}}$ defines a lineage (Figure 2a). The (observed) frequency of a lineage at a given time point in England
540 was computed by counting the number of England sequences (leaf nodes) belonging to the lineage and by
541 normalizing it by the total number of sequences in all assigned lineages of the focal variant in England at
542 that time point. Lineage frequencies at the regional level were similarly computed by counting the number
543 of sequences separately for each region.

544 The choice of d_{cut} is arbitrary to some extent. Because we wanted a sufficiently high resolution of lineages
545 from the early phase of spreading of a variant and because the evolutionary distance correlates with the actual
546 sample date (Figure S25), for each focal variant, we chose the depth d_{cut} that roughly corresponds to the
547 time point when it began to spread over England.

548 For the Delta variant, the sequences form two distinct groups along the depth direction, as seen from the
549 last panel of Figure S25. Therefore, to divide the Delta variant into lineages with small frequencies, we cut
550 the phylogenetic tree at two depths sequentially; we first cut the tree at $d_{\text{cut}}^{(1)}$, which resulted in lineages with
551 small frequencies plus a lineage with $\mathcal{O}(1)$ frequency. Then, to divide the latter lineage further, we took the
552 subtree associated with this lineage and cut the subtree at $d_{\text{cut}}^{(2)}$.

553 For the results presented in the main text, we used (in units of substitutions per site, with the reference
554 $d=0$ being the most recent common ancestor) $d_{\text{cut}} = 2.323 \cdot 10^{-2}$ for B.1.177, $d_{\text{cut}} = 2.054 \cdot 10^{-3}$ for Alpha,
555 and $d_{\text{cut}}^{(1)} = 1.687 \cdot 10^{-3}$ and $d_{\text{cut}}^{(2)} = 1.954 \cdot 10^{-3}$ for Delta. We confirmed that our results are robust to the
556 choice of d_{cut} as well as the choice of the phylogenetic tree data we used (Figure S9, S10, S11).

557 **Model for inferring effective population size from lineage frequency time series**

558 We use a Hidden Markov Model with continuous hidden and observed states to describe the processes of
559 genetic drift and sampling of cases for sequencing (a Kalman filter) (Figure 1A). The hidden states describe
560 the true frequencies of the lineages and the observed states describe the observed frequencies of the lineages
561 as measured via sequenced cases. We adopt Gaussian approximations for the transmission and emission
562 probabilities developed in [75] in order to get analytically tractable forms for the likelihood function, which
563 will greatly speed up our computations.

564 The transition probability between the true frequencies f_t (the hidden states) due to genetic drift when
565 $\frac{1}{N_e(t)} \ll f \ll 1$ has been shown in [75] to be well-described by the following expression, which we use as our
566 transition probability,

$$p(f_{t+1}|f_t, \tilde{N}_e(t)) = \frac{1}{2} \sqrt{\frac{2f_t^{1/2}}{\pi f_{t+1}^{3/2} (\tilde{N}_e(t))^{-1}}} \exp\left(-\frac{2(\sqrt{f_{t+1}} - \sqrt{f_t})^2}{(\tilde{N}_e(t))^{-1}}\right). \quad (4)$$

567 $\tilde{N}_e(T) \equiv N_e(t)\tau(t)$ where $N_e(t)$ is the time-dependent effective population size and $\tau(t)$ is the time-dependent
568 generation time, which is defined as the mean time between two subsequent infections per individual (i.e.
569 the time between when an individual becomes infected and infects another individual, or the time between
570 two subsequent infections caused by the same individual). This transition probability gives the correct first
571 and second moments describing genetic drift when $f \ll 1$, $E(f_{t+1}|f_t) = f_t$ and $\text{Var}(f_{t+1}|f_t) = \frac{f_t}{\tilde{N}_e(t)}$, and
572 is a good approximation when the central limit theorem can be applied, which is the case when $f \gg 0$.
573 By assuming that $f_{t+1} \approx f_t$, and defining $\phi_t \equiv \sqrt{f_t}$, Equation 4 can be approximated as a simple normal

574 distribution

$$p(\phi_{t+1}|\phi_t, \tilde{N}_e(t)) = \mathcal{N}\left(\phi_t, \frac{1}{4\tilde{N}_e(t)}\right). \quad (5)$$

575 We describe the emission probability from the true frequency f_t to the observed frequency f_t^{obs} (the
576 observed states), defining $\phi_t^{obs} \equiv \sqrt{f_t^{obs}}$, as

$$p(\phi_t^{obs}|\phi_t, c_t) = \mathcal{N}\left(\phi_t, \frac{c_t}{4M_t}\right) \quad (6)$$

577 where M_t is the number of input sequences. Again, this distribution is generically a good description when the
578 number of counts is sufficiently large such that the central limit theorem applies (above approximately 20).
579 The first and second moments of this emission probability are $E(f_t^{obs}|f_t) = f_t$ and $\text{Var}(f_t^{obs}|f_t) = \frac{c_t}{M_t}f_t$, or
580 equivalently considering the number of sequences $n_t^{obs} = f_t^{obs}M_t$ and the true number of positive individuals
581 n_t , $E(n_t^{obs}|n_t) = n_t$ and $\text{Var}(n_t^{obs}|n_t) = c_t n_t$. Thus, c_t describes the strength of measurement noise at time
582 t . When $c_t = 1$, the emission probability approaches that describing uniform sampling of sequences from
583 the population of positive individuals (i.e. can be described by a Poisson distribution in the limit of a large
584 number of sequences), namely $\text{Var}(n_t^{obs}|n_t) = n_t$ or equivalently $\text{Var}(f_t^{obs}|f_t) = \frac{f_t}{M_t}$. This is the realistic
585 minimum amount of measurement noise. When $c_t > 1$, it describes a situation where there is bias (that
586 is uncorrelated in time) in the way that sequences are chosen from the positive population. The case of
587 $0 < c_t < 1$ describes underdispersed measurement noise, or noise that is less random than uniform sampling.
588 The case of $c_t = 0$ describes no measurement noise (for instance, when all cases are sampled for sequencing).
589 These last two situations are unlikely in our data, and thus as we describe below, we constrain $c_t \geq 1$ in the
590 inference procedure. In addition to being a good description of measurement noise, defining the emission
591 probability in the same normal distribution form as the transmission probability allows us to easily derive
592 an analytical likelihood function, described below (Note: see Ref. [26] for a method to derive an analytical
593 likelihood function for arbitrary forms of the transition and emission probabilities).

594 We derive the likelihood function (up to a constant) for the Hidden Markov Model using the forward
595 algorithm, although it can alternatively be derived by marginalizing over all hidden states. We assume an
596 (improper) uniform prior on ϕ_0 (i.e. no information about the initial true frequency of the lineage).

$$p(\phi_0, \phi_0^{obs}, \theta_0) = p(\phi_0^{obs}|\phi_0, c_0)p(\phi_0) \quad (7)$$

$$p(\phi_0) \propto 1 \quad (8)$$

$$p(\phi_t, \phi_{0:t}^{obs}, \theta_{0:t}) = p(\phi_t^{obs}|\phi_t, c_t) \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} p(\phi_t|\phi_{t-1}, \tilde{N}_e(t))p(\phi_{t-1}, \phi_{0:t-1}^{obs}, \theta_{0:t-1})d\phi_{t-1}, \quad 0 < t \leq T \quad (9)$$

$$p(\phi_{0:T}^{obs}, \theta_{0:T}) = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} p(\phi_T, \phi_{0:T}^{obs}, \theta_{0:T})d\phi_T \quad (10)$$

$$\mathcal{L}(\vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}|\theta_{0:T}) = \prod_{\alpha} p(\{\phi_{0:T}^{obs}\}_{\alpha}, \theta_{0:T})p(\theta_{0:T}) \quad (11)$$

$$p(\theta_{0:T}) \propto 1 \quad (12)$$

$$\mathcal{L}(\vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}|\theta_{0:T}) = \prod_{\alpha} p(\{\phi_{0:T}^{obs}\}_{\alpha}, \theta_{0:T}) \quad (13)$$

597 where $\phi_{0:t}^{obs} \equiv \{\phi_0^{obs}, \dots, \phi_t^{obs}\}$, $\theta_{0:t} \equiv \{\tilde{N}_e(0), \dots, \tilde{N}_e(t), c_0, \dots, c_t\}$, and the subscript α indicates a particular
598 lineage. We use a uniform prior on the parameters. The parameters $\theta_{0:T}$ are inferred by maximizing the
599 likelihood (described below).

600 The forward algorithm has an analytical form for the simple case of Gaussian transition and emission
601 probabilities. We use the identity for the product of two normal distributions $N(x, \mu, v)$, where μ is the
602 mean and v is the variance:

$$N(x, \mu_1, v_1)N(x, \mu_2, v_2) = N(\mu_1, \mu_2, v_1 + v_2)N(x, \mu_{12}, v_{12}) \quad (14)$$

$$\mu_{12}(\mu_1, \mu_2, v_1, v_2) = \frac{\mu_1 v_2 + \mu_2 v_1}{v_1 + v_2} \quad (15)$$

$$v_{12}(v_1, v_2) = \frac{1}{\frac{1}{v_1} + \frac{1}{v_2}}. \quad (16)$$

603 Solving the forward algorithm recursively, we have

$$p(\phi_{0:T}^{obs}, \theta_{0:T}) = \prod_{i=1}^T N(\phi_i^{obs}, \mu_i, \frac{c_i}{4M_i} + v_i) \quad (17)$$

604 where

$$\mu_1 = \phi_0^{obs} \quad (18)$$

$$v_1 = \frac{1}{\tilde{N}_e(t)} + \frac{c_0}{M_0} \quad (19)$$

$$\mu_{i+1} = \mu_{12}(\mu_i, \phi_i^{obs}, v_i, \frac{c_i}{4M_i}) \quad (20)$$

$$v_{i+1} = v_{12}(\frac{c_i}{4M_i}, v_i) + \frac{1}{4\tilde{N}_e(t)}. \quad (21)$$

605 Equation 17 can be substituted into Equation 13 to obtain the full analytical likelihood function.

606 Fitting the model to data

607 We split the time series data into overlapping periods of 9 Epiweeks, over which the effective population
 608 size is assumed to be constant. We first use the moments of the probability distributions combined with
 609 least squares minimization to get an initial guess for the parameters. Then, we perform maximum likelihood
 610 estimation using the full likelihood function. To capture uncertainties that arise from the formation of
 611 coarse-grained lineages from lineages, we create coarse-grained lineages randomly 100 times (except where
 612 indicated otherwise). We infer the strength of measurement noise and the effective population size for each
 613 coarse-grained lineage combination (described below).

614 Determining the initial guess for the parameters using method of moments approach

615 Combining the transition and emission probabilities, and marginalizing over the hidden states we have

$$p(f_j^{obs} | f_i^{obs}) \propto \sqrt{\frac{1}{(f_j^{obs})^{3/2}}} \exp\left(-\frac{2(\sqrt{f_j^{obs}} - \sqrt{f_i^{obs}})^2}{4\kappa_{i,j}}\right) \quad (22)$$

$$p(\phi_j^{obs} | \phi_i^{obs}) = \mathcal{N}(\phi_i^{obs}, \kappa_{i,j}) \quad (23)$$

$$\kappa_{i,j} \equiv \frac{c_i}{4M_i} + \frac{c_j}{4M_j} + \frac{(j-i)}{4\tilde{N}_e(t)}. \quad (24)$$

616 The first two terms of $\kappa_{i,j}$ are the contribution to the variance from measurement noise at times i and j , and
 617 the third term is the contribution to the variance from genetic drift.

618 We calculate the maximum likelihood estimate of $\kappa_{i,j}$, $\hat{\kappa}_{i,j}$, which is simply the mean squared displacement

$$\hat{\kappa}_{i,j} = \langle (\phi_j^{obs} - \phi_i^{obs})^2 \rangle. \quad (25)$$

619 The standard error is given by

$$\Delta \hat{\kappa}_{i,j} = \sqrt{\frac{\langle [(\phi_j^{obs} - \phi_i^{obs})^2 - \hat{\kappa}_{i,j}]^2 \rangle}{Z}} \quad (26)$$

620 where Z is the number of coarse-grained lineages.

621 By looking across all pairs of timepoints i and j , we get a system of linear equations in $\kappa_{i,j}$ that depend
 622 on the parameters c_t and $\tilde{N}_e(t)$. To determine the most likely values of the parameters, we minimize

$$\ln \sum_{i,j} \frac{(\hat{\kappa}_{i,j} - \kappa_{i,j})^2}{\Delta \hat{\kappa}_{i,j}} \quad (27)$$

623 using `scipy.optimize.minimize` with the L-BFGS-B method and the bounds $1 \leq c_t \leq 100$ and $1 \leq \tilde{N}_e(t) \leq 10^7$.
 624 While underdispersed measurement noise ($c_t < 1$) is in principle possible, we constrain $c_t \geq 1$ because
 625 realistically, the lowest amount of measurement noise will be from uniform sampling of sequences. An
 626 example of inferred parameters using the methods of moments approach on simulated data is shown in
 627 Figure S26.

628 Maximum likelihood estimation of the parameters

629 For each set of coarse-grained lineages, we use the inferred measurement noise values (c_t) and inferred scaled
 630 effective population size from above ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) as initial guesses in the maximization of the likelihood function
 631 in Equation 13 over the parameters. For the optimization, we use `scipy.optimize.minimize_scalar` with the
 632 Bounded method and the bounds $1 \leq c_t \leq 100$ and $1 \leq \tilde{N}_e(t) \leq 10^{11}$. The time t in the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is
 633 taken to be the midpoint of the 9 Epiweek period. The reported $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is the median inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ across all
 634 coarse-grained lineage combinations where $\tilde{N}_e(t) < 10^5$ (values above 10^5 likely indicate non-convergence of
 635 the optimization, because most values above 10^5 are at 10^{11} , see Figure S27). The reported errors on $\tilde{N}_e(t)$
 636 are the 95% confidence intervals (again taking the median across all coarse-grained lineage combinations
 637 where $\tilde{N}_e(t) < 10^5$) which are calculated by using the likelihood ratio to get a p-value [76, 77]. We replace
 638 the likelihood with the profile likelihood, which has the nuisance parameters $c_{0:T}$ profiled out:

$$p > 0.05 \quad (28)$$

$$p = \int I \left[\frac{\mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})}{\mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})} > 1 \right] P_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) d\tilde{N}_e \quad (29)$$

$$\hat{c}_{0:T} = \arg \max_{c_{0:T}} \mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(c_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) \quad (30)$$

$$P_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) \propto \mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) p(\tilde{N}_e) \quad (31)$$

$$p(\tilde{N}_e) \propto 1 \quad (32)$$

639 where I is an indicator function that equals one when the argument is true and zero otherwise, $\mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})$
 640 is the profile likelihood with the nuisance parameters (in this case) $c_{0:T}$ profiled out, $P_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})$ is the
 641 posterior where we have used a uniform prior. We also tried a Jeffreys prior which is used for variance
 642 parameters, but it gave similar results on simulated data because it looked relatively flat over the values of
 643 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ of interest. As the Jeffreys prior was more computationally expensive than the uniform prior and the
 644 two priors gave similar results, we used the uniform prior for the analyses.

645 The reported values of c_t are the median across all coarse-grained lineage combinations and across all time
 646 series segments where the timepoint appears. The reported errors on c_t are the 95% confidence intervals as
 647 calculated by the middle 95% of values across coarse-grained lineage combinations and time series segments.

648 We checked that if we allow $c_t \geq 0$, the results are similar to if we constrain $c_t \geq 1$ (compare Figure 2
 649 and S28).

650 An example of inferred parameters on simulated data using the maximum likelihood estimation approach,
 651 compared to the initial guesses of the parameters from the methods of moments approach, is shown in
 652 Figure S26.

653 Correcting for the number of sequences assigned to lineages

654 Because some sequences occur before the cut point in the tree that is used for creating lineages, they are
 655 not included in any lineages. As a result, the number of sequences assigned to lineages is lower than the
 656 number of sequences in the tree (Figure S29). This will bias the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to be lower than in reality
 657 when the omitted sequences are from a particular part of the tree even when the dynamics are neutral (i.e.
 658 a certain part of the population is being left out of the analysis). To correct for the bias in inferred effective

659 population size that results from leaving out sequences from parts of the tree, we divide the inferred effective
660 population size by the fraction of sequences in the tree that are assigned to a lineage. We note that while
661 the number of sequences in the tree is less than the total number of sampled sequences, the sequences in the
662 tree were chosen to be a representative fraction of the total sampled sequences. Thus, we do not need to
663 additionally correct for the downsampling of sequences that were included in the tree. To test that randomly
664 subsampling sequences for the analysis does not affect the results, we randomly subsampled half of the Delta
665 sequences, and reran the analyses; the inferred effective population size was very similar to that from the
666 full number of sequences (Figure S30).

667 Simulations for validating method

668 For the model validation, we perform simulations of the lineage trajectories using a discrete Wright-Fisher
669 model. 500 lineages are seeded initially, and the initial frequency of lineages is taken to be the same across all
670 lineages. In each subsequent Epiweek, the true number of counts for a lineage is drawn from a multinomial
671 distribution where the probabilities of different outcomes are the true frequencies of the lineages in the
672 previous Epiweek and the number of experiments is the effective population size. The true frequency is
673 calculated by dividing the true number of counts by N . The observed counts are drawn from a negative
674 binomial distribution,

$$p(n_t^{obs}|f_t) = NB(r, q) \equiv \binom{n_t^{obs} + r - 1}{r - 1} q^r (1 - q)^{n_t^{obs}} \quad (33)$$

$$r = \frac{f_t M_t}{c_t - 1} \quad (34)$$

$$q = \frac{1}{c_t} \quad (35)$$

675 which has the same mean and variance as the emission probability in Equation 6. The total number of
676 observed sequences in each timepoint is calculated empirically after the simulation is completed, as it may
677 not be exactly M_t . The simulation is run for 10 weeks of “burn-in” time before recording to allow for
678 equilibration. Coarse-grained lineages are created in the same way as described above.

679 For long time series simulations, some lineages will go extinct due to genetic drift, making it challenging
680 to have sufficient data for the analysis. To be able to have a high enough number of lineages for the entire
681 time series, we introduce mutations that lead to the formation of a new lineage with a small rate $\mu = 0.01$
682 per generation per individual.

683 Simulations for testing the effect of balancing selection

684 For the simulations that test for the effect of balancing selection, the simulations described above were
685 modified as follows. Initially, each individual has a fitness drawn from the empirical distribution of deleterious
686 fitness effects. Additionally, each individual forms a single lineage. To model selection, the probability of
687 being drawn in the multinomial distribution is weighted by e^s , where s is the fitness coefficient. Mutations
688 occur on the background of each individual in each generation with probability 0.01 and the mutants have
689 a fitness that is the sum of that of the parent and a newly drawn fitness from the distribution of deleterious
690 fitness effects. The burn-in period ends when the number of lineages reaches the threshold of 100 lineages, and
691 recording begins. No new lineages are created in the simulation, so lineages are defined as the descendants
692 of the individuals that are initially in the simulation.

693 Calculating the effective population size for an SIR or SEIR model

694 The effective population size times the generation time in an SIR model is given by Refs. [43, 37]

$$\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t) \equiv N_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)\tau(t) = \frac{I(t)}{2R_t\gamma_I}. \quad (36)$$

695 The variance in offspring number for an SIR model is approximately 2.

696 For an SEIR model, we calculated $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ following the framework from Ref. [38]. Using this framework,
 697 we were only able to consider a situation where the epidemic is in equilibrium. We test how well this
 698 approximates the situation out of equilibrium using simulations (see Supplementary Information).

699 We first considered how the mean number of lineages, A , changes going backwards in time, s , which is
 700 given by

$$\frac{dA}{ds} = -fp_c \quad (37)$$

701 where f is the number of transmissions per unit time and p_c is the probability that a transmission results
 702 in a coalescence being observed in our sample. p_c is given by the number of ways of choosing two lineages
 703 divided by the number of ways of choosing two infectious individuals

$$p_c = \frac{\binom{A(s)}{2}}{\binom{N(s)}{2}} \lim_{N(s) \rightarrow \infty} = \binom{A(s)}{2} \frac{2}{N(s)^2}. \quad (38)$$

704 where the limit assumes that the number of infectious individuals, $N(s)$, is large. In the Kingman coalescent
 705 we also have

$$\frac{dA}{ds} = -\binom{A(s)}{2} \frac{1}{\tilde{N}_e(t)}. \quad (39)$$

706 Combining Equations 37, 38, and 39, we have

$$\tilde{N}_e(t) = \frac{N(s)^2}{2f}. \quad (40)$$

707 Thus by determining the number of transmissions per unit time, f , and the number of infectious individuals,
 708 $N(s)$, in an SEIR model, we can find an expression for $\tilde{N}_e(t)$.

709 These quantities can be derived from the equations describing the number of susceptible (S), exposed
 710 (E), infectious (I), and recovered (R) individuals in an SEIR model

$$\frac{dS}{dt} = -\beta I \frac{S}{N_H} \quad (41)$$

$$\frac{dE}{dt} = \frac{\beta IS}{N_H} - \gamma_E E - \delta_E E \quad (42)$$

$$\frac{dI}{dt} = \gamma_E E - \gamma_I I - \delta_I I \quad (43)$$

$$\frac{dR}{dt} = \gamma_I I \quad (44)$$

711 where β is the number of transmissions per infectious individual per unit time (the number of contacts
 712 made by an infectious individual per unit time multiplied by the probability that a contact results in a
 713 transmission), N_H is the total population size ($N_H = S + E + I + R$), γ_E is the rate that an exposed
 714 individual becomes infectious, δ_E is the rate of death for an exposed individual, γ_I is the rate than an
 715 infectious individual recovers, and δ_I is the rate of death for an infectious individual.

716 The number of infectious individuals in a generation, $N(s)$, is given by the instantaneous number of infec-
 717 tious individuals plus the number of exposed individuals that will become infectious in that generation [43].

718 Thus,

$$N(s) = \frac{\gamma_E}{\gamma_E + \delta_E} E + I. \quad (45)$$

719 The number of transmissions per unit time is given by

$$f = \beta I \frac{S}{N_H}. \quad (46)$$

720 We rewrite f in terms of the effective reproduction number (for which data are available) which is given by
 721 the number of transmissions per unit time (f) divided by the number of recoveries and deaths per unit time

$$R_t = \frac{f}{(\gamma_I + \delta_I)I + \delta_E E}. \quad (47)$$

722 Putting everything together, we have that $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for an SEIR model in equilibrium is given by

$$\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SEIR,eq}}(t) = \frac{\left[\left(\frac{\gamma_E}{\gamma_E + \gamma_I}\right)E + I\right]^2}{2R_t[(\gamma_I + \delta_I)I + \delta_E E]}. \quad (48)$$

723 For SARS-CoV-2, the death rates are much lower than the rate at which exposed individuals become in-
 724 fectious and the rate at which infectious individuals recover ($\delta_E, \delta_I \ll \gamma_E, \gamma_I$). In this limit, Equation 48
 725 simplifies to

$$\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SEIR,eq}}(t) = \frac{(E + I)^2}{2R_t\gamma_I I}. \quad (49)$$

726 To calculate the \tilde{N}_e for an SIR or SEIR model, we use the estimated number of positives from the
 727 COVID-19 Infection Survey for $I(t)$. This number is an estimate of the number of positive individuals in
 728 the community as measured by surveillance and includes both symptomatic and asymptomatic individuals.
 729 While the estimated number of positives does not include cases from hospitals, care homes, and other com-
 730 munal establishments, community cases likely contribute the most to transmission. We used the measured
 731 effective reproduction number from the UK Health Security Agency for R_t .

732 To calculate the number of exposed individuals for the SEIR model, we solved for E in Equation 43
 733 (taking $\delta_E \ll \gamma_E$)

$$E = \frac{1}{\gamma_E} \left(\frac{dI}{dt} + \gamma_I I \right). \quad (50)$$

734 $\frac{dI}{dt}$ was calculated numerically as $\frac{I(t+\Delta t) - I(t-\Delta t)}{2\Delta t}$ where $\Delta t = 1$ week. The parameter values used were γ_E^{-1}
 735 = 3 days and $\gamma_I^{-1} = 5.5$ days [41, 42]. We checked that varying the value used for γ_I does not substantially
 736 affect the results (Figure S15). The error on E was calculated by taking the minimum and maximum possible
 737 values from the combined error intervals of $I(t + \Delta t)$ and $I(t - \Delta t)$ (note that this does not correspond to
 738 a specific confidence interval size).

739 The error on $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for the SIR or SEIR model was calculated similarly by taking the minimum and
 740 maximum possible values from the combined error intervals of E , I , and R_t . Only time points where the
 741 error interval of $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ was less than 3 times the point estimate were kept.

742 Calculating the effective population size for an SIR or SEIR model by variant

743 To calculate the effective population size for an SIR or SEIR model by variant, we needed to determine
 744 the variant-specific: number of infectious individuals $I(t)$, number of exposed individuals $E(t)$, effective
 745 reproduction number R_t , and rate than an infectious individual recovers γ_I . We assumed that γ_I is constant
 746 between variants. We calculated the number of infectious individuals $I(t)$ by multiplying the total number
 747 of positives by the fraction of each variant in the reported sequences. This should be a good representation
 748 of the fraction of the variant in the population as the sequences are a random sample of cases detected
 749 via surveillance. We calculated the number of variant-specific exposed individuals $E(t)$ in the same way as
 750 described above using the variant-specific number of infectious individuals. We assumed that the rate an
 751 exposed individual becomes infectious γ_E is constant between variants.

752 We calculated the variant-specific effective reproduction number by rescaling the measured effective
 753 reproduction number for the whole population

$$R_t^v = R_t \frac{R_0^v}{\sum_w R_0^w f^w} \quad (51)$$

754 where R_0^w is the basic reproduction number of the variant w and f^w is the fraction of the infectious population
 755 with variant w . The values of R_0 when rescaled to $R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}$ that are used for the data presented in the
 756 main text are $\frac{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = \frac{R_0^{\text{B.1.117}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1$, $\frac{R_0^{\text{Alpha}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1.7$ (Ref. [17]), $\frac{R_0^{\text{Delta}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1.97$ (Ref. [78]). We
 757 assumed the same R_0 for pre-B.1.177 and B.1.177 since the B.1.177 variant was shown to have increased in
 758 frequency due to importations from travel rather than increased transmissibility [47]. Varying the variant
 759 R_0 within the ranges reported in the literature does not substantially affect the results (Figure S31).

760 Inference of fitness from lineage frequency time series

761 We sought to infer the fitness effects of individual lineages, so that we could then determine if putatively
762 selected lineages are influencing the estimation of the time-varying effective population sizes. We first used
763 a deterministic method to estimate lineage fitness effects, similar to the method described in [79].

764 On average, when the frequency of lineage i is sufficiently small $f_{t,i} \ll 1$, the frequency dynamics will
765 exponentially grow/decay according to the lineage fitness effect, s_i ,

$$\langle f_{t,i} \rangle = f_{0,i} e^{s_i t}$$

766 The two sources of noise—genetic drift and measurement noise—both arise from counting processes, so the
767 combined noise will follow $\text{var}(f_{t,i}) \propto \langle f_{t,i} \rangle$. To account for the inherent discreteness of the number of cases
768 in a lineage—especially important to accurately model lineages at low frequencies—we modeled the observed
769 counts at Epiweek t of lineage i , $r_{t,i}$, as a negative binomial random variable,

$$r_{t,i} | s_i, f_{0,i} \sim \text{NB}(\mu_{t,i}, \zeta_t) \quad (52)$$

$$\langle r_{t,i} \rangle = \mu_{t,i} \quad (53)$$

$$\text{var}(r_{t,i}) = \zeta_t \langle r_{t,i} \rangle \quad (54)$$

$$\mu_{t,i} = M_t f_{0,i} e^{s_i t} \quad (55)$$

770 Where M_t is the total number of sequences, and ζ_t is a dispersion parameter. We took ζ_t as the total
771 marginal variance at a given time-point, i.e. $\zeta_t = c_t + M_t/N_e(t)$, where we computed estimates of c_t and N_e
772 as previously described (section “Maximum likelihood estimation of the parameters”). The final likelihood
773 for the fitness, s_i , of lineage i is obtained by combining the data from all the relevant the time-points,

$$P(\mathbf{r}_i | s_i, f_{0,i}) = \prod_t \frac{\Gamma(r_{t,i} + \frac{\mu_{t,i}}{\zeta_t - 1})}{\Gamma(\frac{\mu_{t,i}}{\zeta_t - 1}) \Gamma(r_{t,i} + 1)} \frac{(\zeta_t - 1)^{r_{t,i}}}{\zeta_t^{r_{t,i} + \frac{\mu_{t,i}}{\zeta_t - 1}}} \quad (56)$$

774 The point estimate of the lineage fitness, \hat{s}_i , is then numerically computed as the maximum likelihood,

$$\hat{s}_i = \underset{s_i}{\text{argmax}} \log P(\mathbf{r}_i | s_i, f_{0,i}). \quad (57)$$

775 Stochastic simulations of SEIR model

776 The stochastic simulations of an SEIR model were performed using a Gillespie simulation with 4 states:
777 susceptible, exposed, infectious, and recovered, where the number of individuals in each state are denoted
778 by $S(t)$, $E(t)$, $I(t)$, and $R(t)$ respectively. There are 3 types of events that lead to the following changes in
779 the number of individuals in each state

- 780 1. Infection of an susceptible individual with probability $\frac{\beta I(t) S(t)}{N(t)}$

$$S(t) = S(t) - 1 \quad (58)$$

$$E(t) = E(t) + 1 \quad (59)$$

- 781 2. Transition of an exposed individual to being infectious with probability $\gamma_E E(t)$

$$E(t) = E(t) - 1 \quad (60)$$

$$I(t) = I(t) + 1 \quad (61)$$

- 782 3. Recovery of an infectious individual with probability $\gamma_I I(t)$

$$I(t) = I(t) - 1 \quad (62)$$

$$R(t) = R(t) + 1 \quad (63)$$

783 where $\beta \equiv R_0\gamma_I$, R_0 is the basic reproduction number, γ_E is the rate that exposed individuals become
784 infectious, and γ_I is the rate that infectious individuals recover. As in the rest of this work, we assume that
785 the birth rate of susceptible individuals, background death rate, and the death rate due to disease are much
786 slower compared to the rates of the above processes and thus can be neglected from the dynamics.

787 The time until the next event is drawn from an exponential distribution with rate given by the inverse
788 of the sum of the above probabilities, and the type of event is randomly drawn weighted by the respective
789 probabilities.

790 Because the time of the events occurs in continuous time, but the inference method of the effective
791 population size works in discrete time, we must convert from continuous to discrete time. To perform this
792 conversion, we calculate the net number of events of each type in each chosen unit of discrete time (1 week)
793 and perform the changes in the number of individuals of each state as described above. Thus, for example, if
794 within the same week an individual becomes exposed and then becomes infectious, it will cause the number
795 of susceptible individuals to decrease by 1, no change in the number of exposed individuals, and the number
796 of infectious individuals to increase by 1.

797 The infected (or infected and exposed) individuals are randomly assigned a lineage at a given time after
798 the start of the epidemic. For our simulations, we chose the lineage labeling time as 75 days or 10.7 weeks
799 since the approximate number of infectious individuals was high enough at that time to generate sufficient
800 diversity in lineages, and we chose the number of different types of lineages as 100. The other parameters that
801 we used for the simulations were $R_0 = 2$, $\gamma_E^{-1} = 3$ days, $\gamma_I^{-1} = 5.5$ days, $N(t) = S(t) + E(t) + I(t) + R(t) = 10^6$.
802 The initial condition of the simulation is $S(t) = N(t) - 1$, $E(t) = 1$, and $I(t) = R(t) = 0$.

803 To test the sensitivity of the results to whether the reported PCR positive individuals are infectious or
804 whether they can also be from the exposed class, we recorded the results in two ways. In the first case, only
805 the infectious individuals we recorded as positive (Figure S32), and in the second case both the exposed and
806 infectious individuals were recorded as positive (Figure S33). Inference of $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ was subsequently done on
807 the lineage frequency trajectories of the recorded positive individuals. The SIR or SEIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ were
808 calculated analytically using the true numbers of infectious and exposed individuals and numerically using
809 the number of positive individuals as described above in “Calculating the effective population size for an
810 SIR or SEIR model”.

811 Deme simulations

812 To better understand the effect of host population structure on the effective population size, we simulated
813 a simple situation where there are “demes”, or groups, of individuals with very high rates of transmission
814 between individuals in that deme, but the rate of transmission between individuals from different demes
815 is very low. In a given simulation, all demes have the same number of individuals (10, 50, 100, or 200).
816 The total number of demes is chosen to be very high (5.6×10^6). Initially, a certain number of demes
817 (100, 1000, 2000, or 5000) are each seeded by a single infectious individual infected by a randomly chosen
818 lineage (200 different lineages). We simulated deterministic SEIR dynamics within demes with $R_0 = 10$,
819 $\gamma_E = (2.5 \text{ days})^{-1}$, $\gamma_I = (6.5 \text{ days})^{-1}$. We simulated Poisson transmission dynamics between demes. In
820 order to calibrate the overall population dynamics to be roughly in equilibrium (the number of infectious
821 individuals is not deterministically growing or shrinking), we draw the number of between-deme infections
822 caused by a given deme from a Poisson distribution with mean 1. The time of the between-deme infection
823 event is randomly chosen, weighted by the number of infected individuals within a deme at a given time. The
824 number of infectious individuals in each lineage is recorded every 1 week, and the frequency of the lineage
825 is calculated by dividing by the total number of infectious individuals from all lineages in that week. The
826 lineage frequency data from a period of 9 weeks starting in week 42 is used for the inference of effective
827 population size. In this time period, only a small number of demes have been infected such that the total
828 number of demes did not matter. The effective population size inference is performed as above except in the
829 absence of measurement noise, so there is no emission step in the HMM.

830 Data and code availability

831 Data and code to reproduce the analyses in this manuscript are available at [https://github.com/qinqin-](https://github.com/qinqin-yu/sars-cov-2_genetic_drift)
832 [yu/sars-cov-2_genetic_drift](https://github.com/qinqin-yu/sars-cov-2_genetic_drift).

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Supplementary Information

Summary of existing methods for inferring the strength of genetic drift

There are currently four main types of methods for estimating the strength of genetic drift in pathogen transmission, which we summarize here for giving context to this study.

- Contact tracing** can directly measure superspreading by following the close contacts of infected individuals to measure the distribution of the number of secondary cases (the offspring number distribution) [2]. However, some secondary cases may be missed which can lead to measurement bias [20]. Additionally, it is challenging to trace multiple generations of transmission, so we miss important information on host contact network structure.
- Another type of method fits disease prevalence over time to **branching process models** [44]. These models assume a particular distribution for the offspring number distribution (often a negative binomial distribution) and estimate the combination of parameters of the offspring number distribution along with growth rate that best fit the observed disease prevalence. External information about the growth rate can be used to constrain the parameters of the offspring number distribution.
- Phylogenetics** methods arrange genomics sequences into a tree based on genomic distance and either measure the distribution of lineage sizes (number of sequences in different parts of the tree) [19] or fit the rate at which branches in the tree coalesce to determine the effective population size [27, 80, 1, 81]. The effective population size is the population size that would reproduce the observed population dynamics under the idealized conditions of Wright-Fisher dynamics (discrete non-overlapping generations, a constant population size, and offspring determined by sampling with replacement from the previous generation). In neutral populations, a lower effective population size indicates a higher level of genetic drift.
- Time series frequency methods** make use of a signature that genetic drift leaves in time series data, which is that it causes fluctuations in the lineage abundances. Higher amounts of genetic drift (lower effective population size) lead to larger fluctuations, and the magnitude of the fluctuations can be fit to determine the effective population size [82, 24] (Figure 1a). Time series methods have also been used extensively in population genetics [22, 83, 65, 23, 26, 25] and to estimate within-host effective population size [84] and between-host transmission bottleneck sizes [85].

Comparison to SEIR null model

In the main text, we compared the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to an SIR model. However, there are likely more complex epidemiological dynamics describing SARS-CoV-2. Here we check the results for an SEIR model which includes a susceptible, exposed, infectious, and recovered class. The SEIR model is a good representation of the epidemiology of SARS-CoV-2 when PCR test positivity is closely associated with an infected host being infectious; the literature suggests that this is a good assumption for SARS-CoV-2 [16], but we also test this assumption below. The exposed class thus represents individuals before they are infectious and test positive. $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for an SEIR model in equilibrium (number of infectious individuals is constant over time) is given by (see Methods for derivation):

$$\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SEIR,eq}}(t) \equiv \{N_e(t)\tau(t)\}^{\text{SEIR,eq}} = \frac{(E(t) + I(t))^2}{2R_t\gamma_I(t)}. \quad (64)$$

where $E(t)$ is the number of exposed individuals, $I(t)$ is the number of infectious individuals, R_t is the effective reproduction number, and γ_I is the rate at which infectious individuals stop being infectious. While this equation is derived under equilibrium conditions, we show using simulations that this equation accurately estimates $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ in non-equilibrium conditions after the peak of the pandemic (Figure S32); before the pandemic peak, this equation overestimates $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ but by less than one order of magnitude. Additionally, we show that calculating the $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ using the equation for an SIR model (Equation 1) when the dynamics are actually described by an SEIR model provides a lower bound on the actual $\tilde{N}_e(t)$. Thus, if the true dynamics

1126 of SARS-CoV-2 in England are actually SEIR dynamics, then the inference results shown in Figure 3c using
1127 the SIR model should be an underestimate of the level of genetic drift; thus our main result that the literature
1128 values of superspreading do not sufficiently explain our results should still hold.

1129 In reality, it may also be the case that some people test positive in a PCR test before they become
1130 infectious. To test the impact of this possibility on our results, in our simulations we recorded both exposed
1131 and infectious individuals as testing positive. We then calculated the SEIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ numerically as
1132 described in “Calculating the effective population size for an SIR or SEIR model” assuming that $I(t)$ includes
1133 both infectious and exposed individuals (Figure S33). We find that the numerical solutions give slightly higher
1134 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ as compared with the true analytical solutions; however, the numerical solutions to the SEIR and SIR
1135 models bound the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$. Thus we also expect that our main result that the literature values of
1136 superspreading do not sufficiently explain our results should still hold in this scenario.

1137 To calculate the SEIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for the actual data, for the number of infectious individuals, we
1138 used the number of positive individuals estimated from the UK Office for National Statistics’ COVID-19
1139 Infection Survey [31], which is a household surveillance study that reports positive PCR tests, regardless
1140 of symptom status. We used the measured effective reproduction number in England reported by the UK
1141 Health Security Agency [40]. We found that $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SEIR}}(t)$ is very similar to the number of positives because the
1142 effective reproduction number in England was very close to 1 across time. To calculate $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SEIR}}(t)$ for each
1143 variant or group of lineages, we rescaled the population-level $I(t)$ and R_t based on the fraction of each variant
1144 in the population and the relative differences in reproduction numbers between variants (see Methods). We
1145 then calculated the scaled true population size, $\tilde{N}(t) \equiv N(t)\tau(t)$, for the SEIR model by multiplying by the
1146 variance in offspring number, σ^2 , for the SEIR model [43]

$$\tilde{N}^{\text{SEIR}}(t) = \tilde{N}_e^{\text{SEIR}}(t)\{\sigma^2\}^{\text{SEIR}} \quad (65)$$

$$\{\sigma^2\}^{\text{SEIR}} = 2. \quad (66)$$

1147 Overall, the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is lower than $\tilde{N}^{\text{SEIR}}(t)$ by a time-dependent factor that varies between 70 and
1148 2000 (Figure S17), suggesting high levels of genetic drift in England across time, which is consistent with
1149 what we find with an SIR model (Figures 2 and S16). Also similarly to in the case with an SIR model, the
1150 ratio of $\tilde{N}^{\text{SEIR}}(t)$ to the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for Alpha decreased over time, suggesting that the stochasticity in
1151 the transmission of Alpha decreased over time.

1152 The effect of background selection on effective population size

1153 We estimated the magnitude by which we expect the effective population size to be decreased due to back-
1154 ground selection given the empirically estimated distribution of fitness effects using both simulations (de-
1155 scribed in the main text) and analytical theory (described here). Most studies on background selection
1156 consider strongly deleterious mutations with a single negative fitness value and assume that deleterious mu-
1157 tants quickly die out so that multiple mutations do not occur in the same background [86]. However, in this
1158 case we need to consider a distribution of fitness effects and the possibility of mutants with different fitnesses
1159 existing simultaneously. As such, we used Equation 8 derived from Ref. [87] for the effective population size
1160 in the presence of deleterious mutations with a distribution of fitness effects, assuming a constant mutation
1161 rate and no recombination

$$N_e \approx N \exp \left[- \int_{\frac{1}{N}}^{\infty} \frac{\mu}{s} (1 - e^{-st})^2 \rho(s) ds \right] \quad (67)$$

1162 where μ is the deleterious mutation rate per generation per genome, $\rho(s)$ is the deleterious distribution
1163 of fitness effects (i.e. the fitness effect is $-s$), t is time in generations into the past, and N is the census
1164 population size. Assuming no recombination is a conservative assumption, as recombination mitigates the
1165 effects of background selection [86].

1166 Using the empirically estimated distribution of fitness effects from Ref. [46] (which are consistent with
1167 experimental measurements, see Refs. [88, 89, 90, 91]) and the clock rate of 31 substitutions per year
1168 (Nextstrain SARS-CoV-2 GISAID build on August 7, 2023), a generation time of 5.1 days [35], and a
1169 population size of 10^4 (order of magnitude of true population size), we estimate that the effective population

1170 size will be decreased by at most a factor of 2 at times far into the past, and less in more recent times
 1171 (see Figure S34). The above formula was derived assuming strong selection ($s \gg \frac{1}{N}$) for the bulk of
 1172 deleterious mutations, which we see from the distribution of fitness effects does hold (Figure S19). Thus,
 1173 while background selection will in general decrease the effective population size, in this system it can only
 1174 explain a small fraction of the observed reduction of two orders of magnitude. This result is consistent with
 1175 what we found in the simulations (Figure S22).

1176 Application to COG-UK data by regions in England

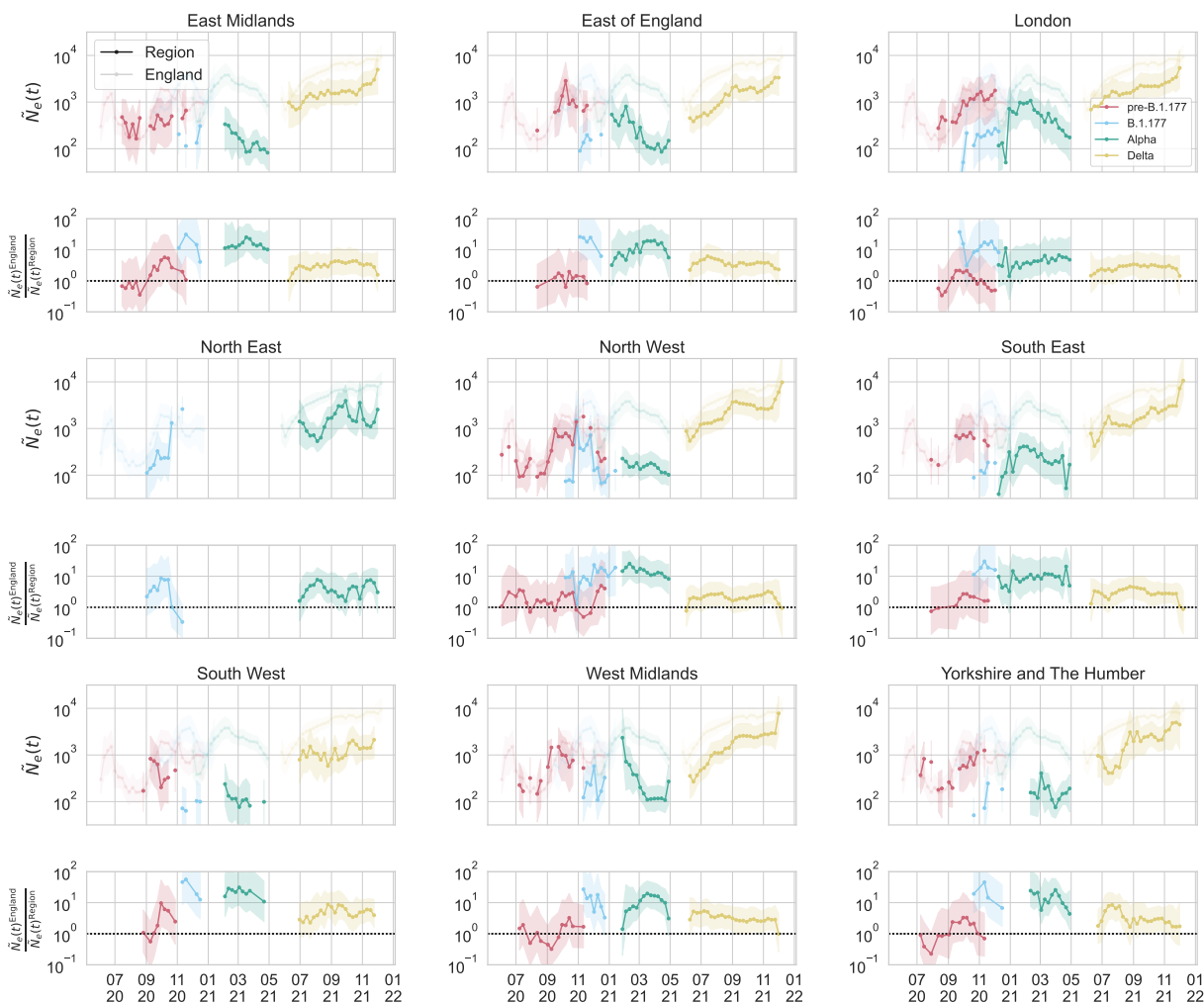


Figure S1: Inferred effective population size $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ in regions of England. (Top panels) Inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ of pre-B.1.177 lineages, B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta for each region of England. The inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for England as a whole is shown for reference. Shaded regions show 95% confidence intervals (see Methods). (Bottom panels) The ratio between the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ of England and that of the region for each variant. A horizontal dashed line indicates a ratio of 1 (i.e. $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is the same in that region of England and England as a whole). Shared regions show the minimum and maximum possible values of the ratio from the combined error intervals of the numerator and denominator (thus, not corresponding to a specific confidence interval range).

1177 The inference of effective population size can also reveal information about the well-mixed or spatially-
 1178 structured nature of transmission dynamics within England. This can be done by inferring effective pop-

1179 ulation size at smaller geographical scales within England. If the transmission dynamics were completely
 1180 well-mixed, then we would expect $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to be the same across regions and compared to England. On the
 1181 other hand, if the transmission dynamics were completely spatially segregated (i.e. transmission only occurs
 1182 within the defined geographical areas, but not between them) and the dynamics were the same in each region,
 1183 we would expect that the ratio $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)/\tilde{N}_e^{\text{inf}}(t)$ to be the same across regions.

1184 The geographical areas that we used were the 9 regions of England: East Midlands, East of England,
 1185 London, North East, North West, South East, South West, West Midlands, and Yorkshire and The Humber.
 1186 We looked at sequences from each region, repeating the analysis described above, and inferred the scaled
 1187 effective population size (Figure S1). We observe a lower $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for in the region than in England for Delta
 1188 in all regions, for Alpha in all regions except North East (where there was not enough data), and for B.1.177
 1189 in all regions except North East. For lineages pre-B.1.177, the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is not significantly different
 1190 in the region than in England. These results suggest that the dynamics are not well-mixed during the B.1.177,
 1191 Alpha, and Delta waves.

1192 The calculated SIR model $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ (Figure S2) and the number of positive individuals in each region
 1193 (Figure S3) were 1-2 orders of magnitude higher than the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$, suggesting high levels of genetic
 1194 drift. The ratios of the SIR model $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ and the number of positives to the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ in the regions
 1195 were similar to one another and to that seen in England as a whole, consistent with a scenario where the
 1196 dynamics are spatially-structured and the extent of stochasticity in transmission is similar across regions.

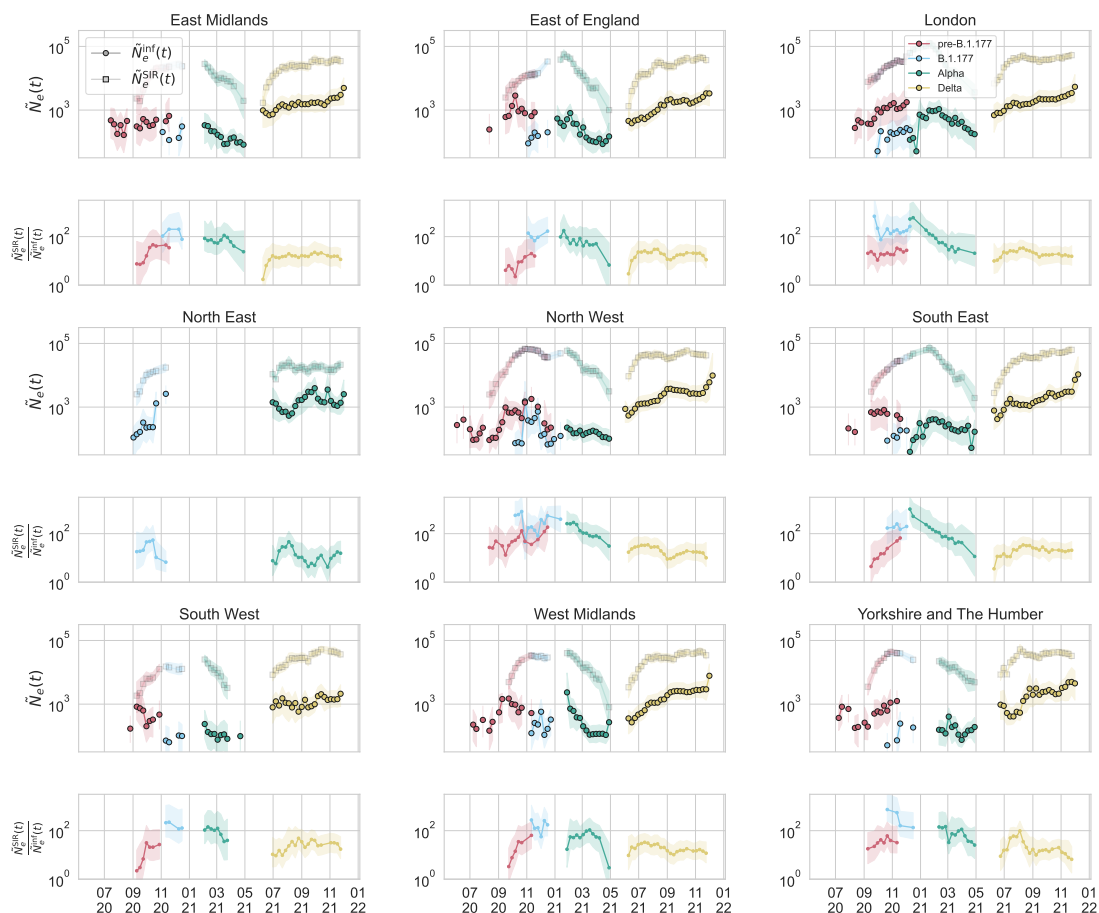


Figure S2: Inferred scaled effective population size by region in England, compared to that of an SIR model as calculated using the observed number of positives at the community level in that region reported by the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31] and the observed effective reproduction number in that region reported by the UK Health Security Agency [40].

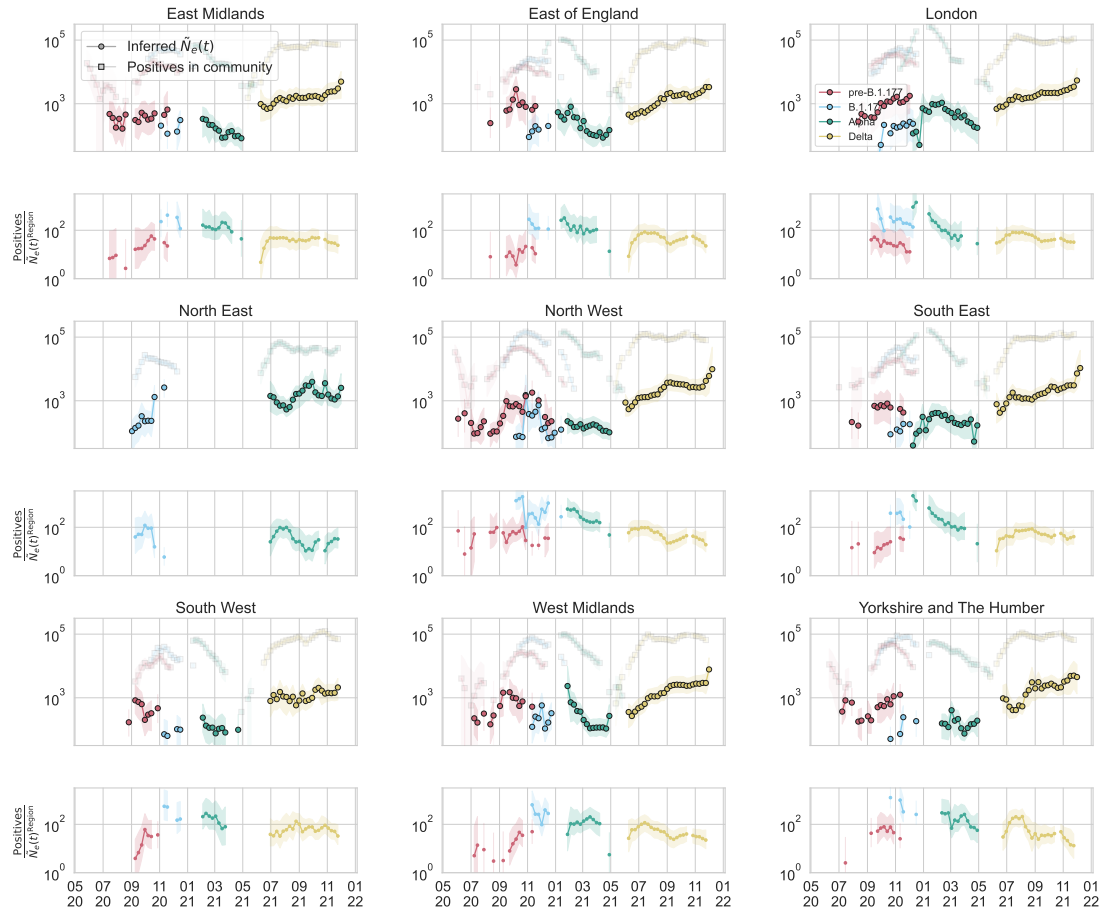


Figure S3: Inferred scaled effective population size by region in England, compared to number of positives at the community level in that region reported by the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31].

1197 Similarly to in England as a whole, the inferred measurement noise in each region was mostly indistin-
 1198 guishable from uniform sampling except for in a few timepoints (Figure S4).

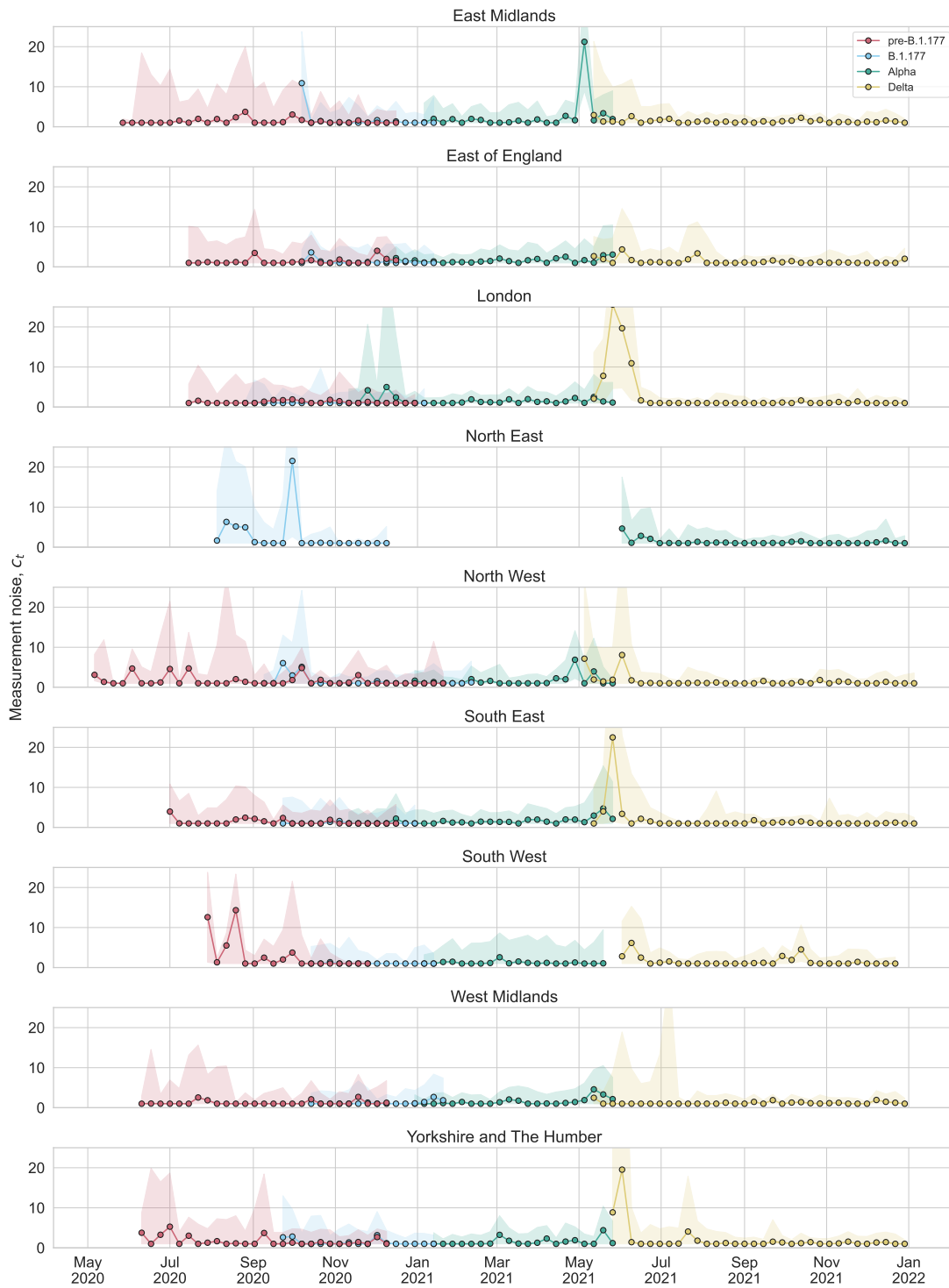


Figure S4: Inferred measurement noise by region in England.

1199 **Additional supplementary tables and figures**

Date	Location	Method	$\langle Z \rangle$	Var(Z)	k	Reference
February 23 to April 22 2020	Israel	Phylodynamics	2.5 (2, 3)	(65, 627.5)	(0.02, 0.1)	[41]
Beginning of pandemic to February 27 2020	Worldwide excluding China	Branching process model of number of imported and local cases	2.5 (,)	65 (33.75, 127.5)	0.1 (0.05, 0.2)	[44]
March 1 to May 3 2020	Georgia (USA)	Spatiotemporal transmission model fit to multiple data sources	2 (0.5, 3.5)	12.26 (0.88, 101.5)	0.39 (0.125, 0.65)	[92]
March 1 to November 1 2020	Denmark	Model fitting the case numbers across multiple regions	1.1 (0.8, 1.4)	12.1 (4.36, 25.9)	0.11 (0.08, 0.18)	[93]
Beginning of pandemic until January 18 2020	China (Wuhan)	Stochastic simulations fit to infected cases	2.2 (1.4, 3.8)	11.16 (1.68, 1035.2)	0.54 (0.014, 6.95)	[94]
August to September 2020	UK	Model using empirical viral load trajectories and contact numbers	1.21 (0.84, 2.51)	7.07 (2.65, 44.51)	0.25 (0.15, 0.39)	[45]
May 15 to August 1 2020	Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh (India)	Contact tracing and incidence	1.25 (1.1, 1.4)	4.31 (3.43, 5.4)	0.51 (0.49, 0.52)	[55]
January to February 2021	UK	Model using empirical viral load trajectories and contact numbers	0.54 (0.4, 1.03)	1.42 (0.66, 9.19)	0.33 (0.13, 0.61)	[45]
January 23 to April 28 2020	Hong Kong	Contact tracing	0.58 (,)	1.36 (,)	0.43 (,)	[56]
January 16 to April 3 2020	Hunan (China)	Contact tracing	0.4 (0.35, 0.47)	0.93 (0.66, 1.43)	0.3 (0.23, 0.39)	[57]
January 14 to February 12 2020	Shenzhen (China)	Contact tracing	0.4 (0.3, 0.5)	0.68 (0.38, 1.21)	0.58 (0.35, 1.18)	[58]

Table S1: Overdispersion values from the literature ordered from highest to lowest variance in offspring number. Any error intervals that are reported are taken from the reference (sometimes defined differently). The estimate taken from Ref. [45] assumes no self-isolation upon symptom onset and no testing; lifting these assumptions leads to similar or lower overdispersion.

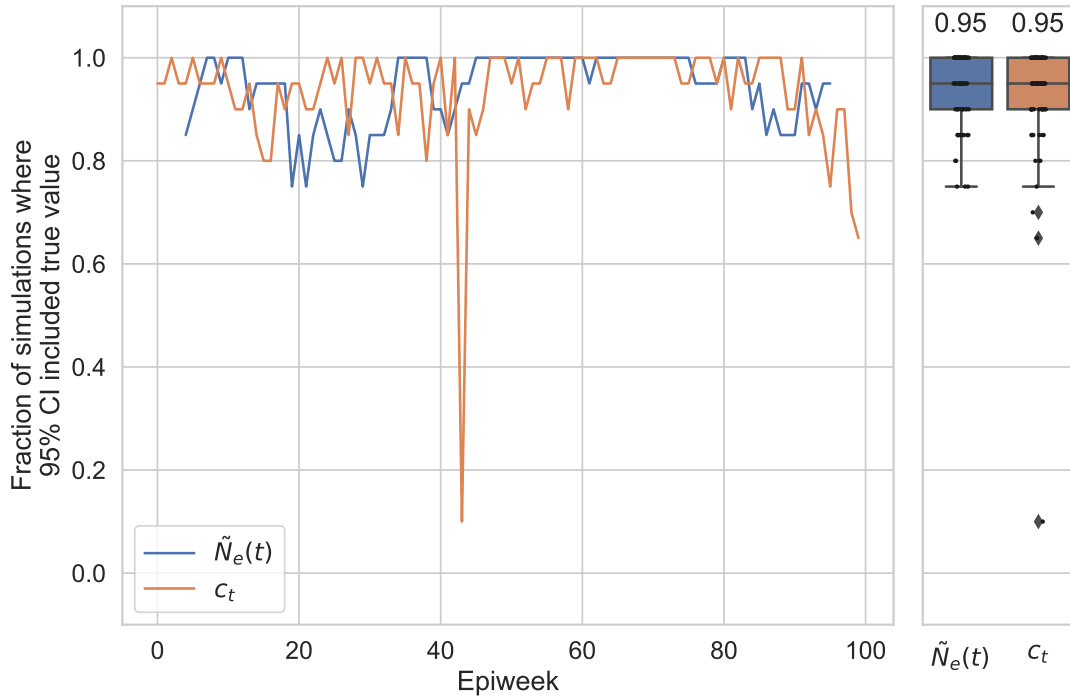


Figure S5: The fraction of simulations (20 total) where the inferred 95% confidence interval for $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ or c included the true value (left) by timepoint and (right) for all timepoints. (Right) Boxes indicate the quartiles and the line inside the box (and number above) indicates the median. Whiskers indicate the extreme values excluding outliers. Simulation parameters are specified in the Methods and Figure 1, which shows a single simulation instance. For the inference, we created coarse-grained lineages randomly 20 times.

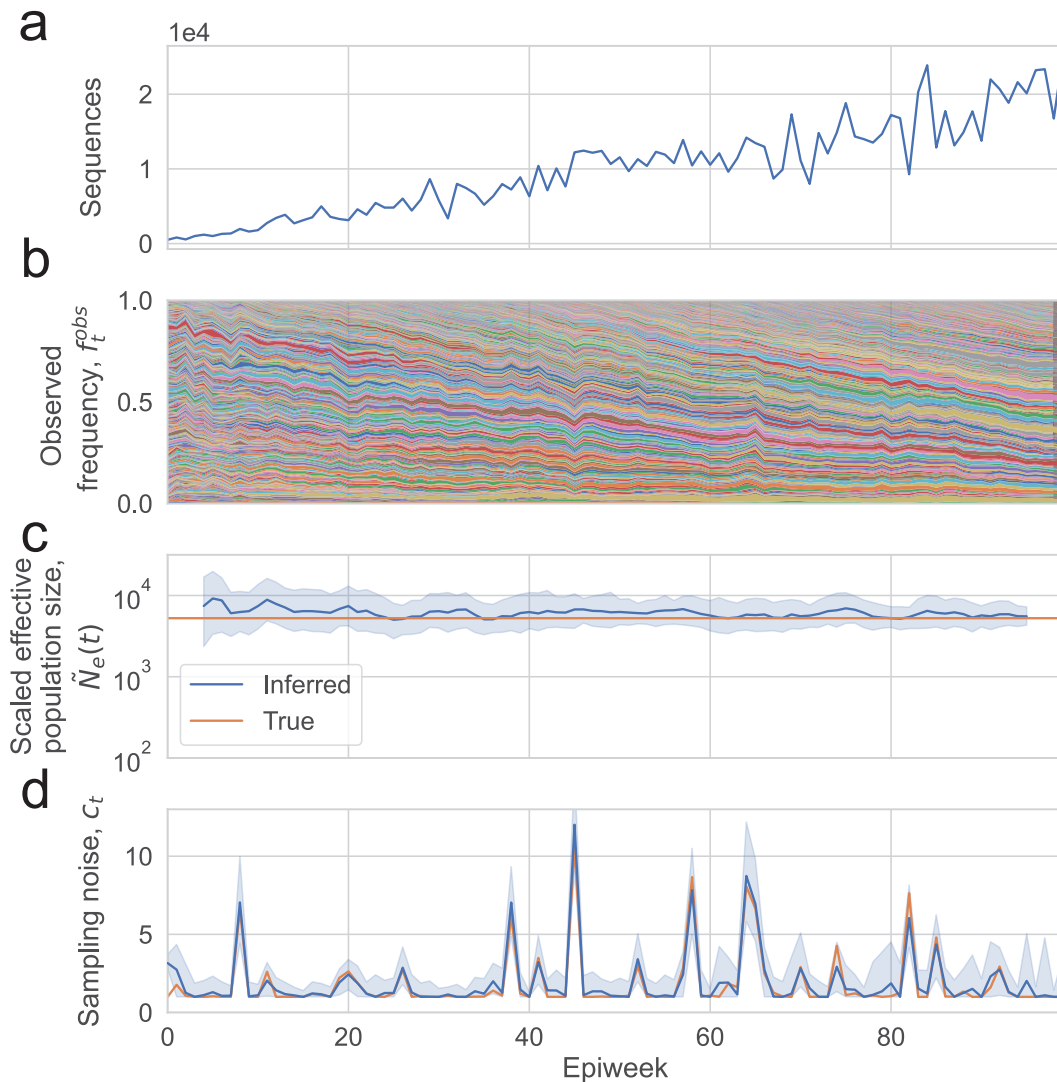


Figure S6: Wright-Fisher simulations where $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is constant over time, and the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t . (a) Number of sequences sampled. (b) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (c) Inferred effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) on simulated data compared to true values. (d) Inferred measurement noise (c_t) on simulated data compared to true values. In (c) the shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using the posterior, and in (d) the shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using bootstrapping (see Methods).

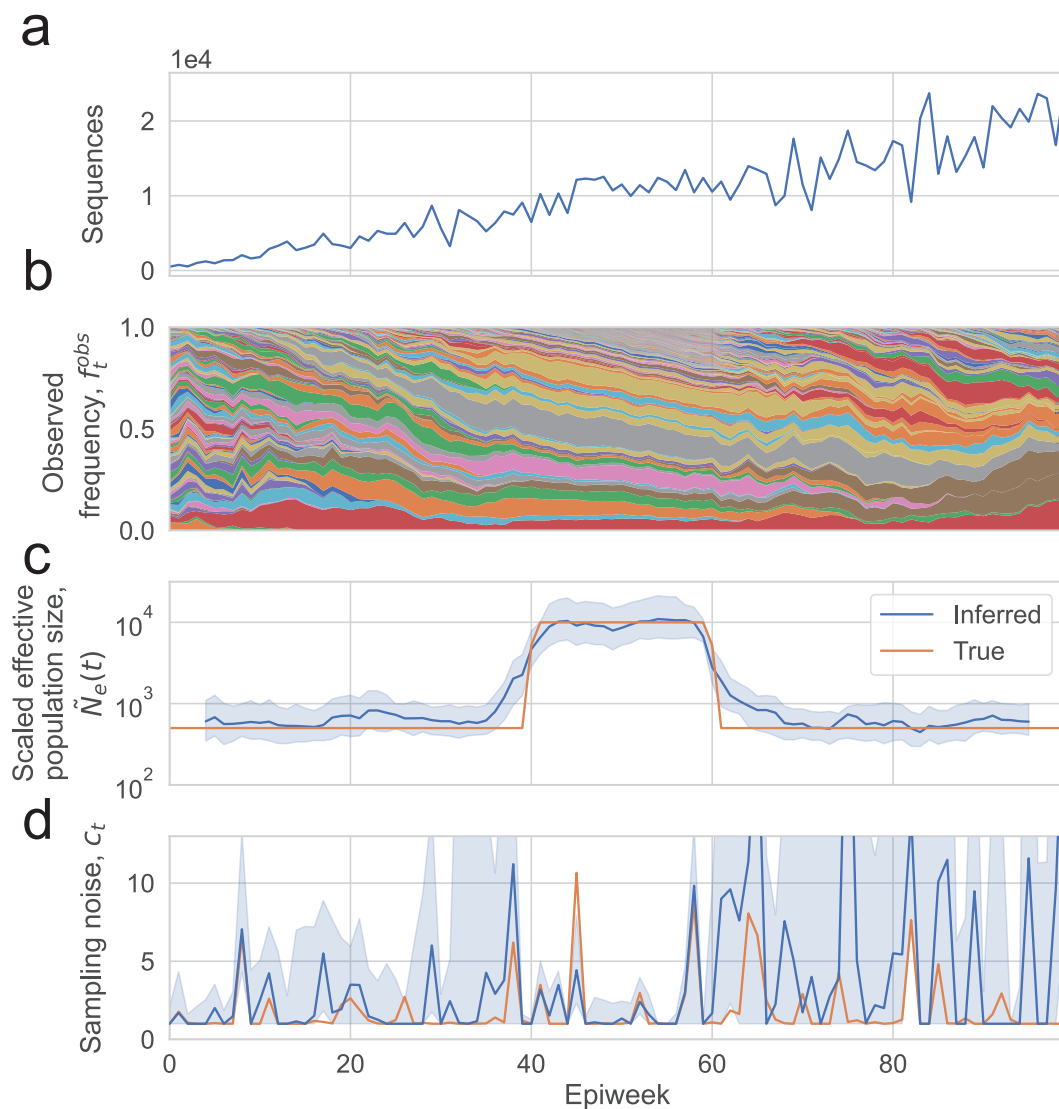


Figure S7: Wright-Fisher simulations where $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ changes over time according to a rectangular function, and the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t . (a) Number of sequences sampled. (b) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (c) Inferred effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) on simulated data compared to true values when c_t is jointly inferred and when c_t is fixed at 1 (uniform sampling). (d) Inferred measurement noise (c_t) on simulated data compared to true values. In (c) the shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using the posterior, and in (d) the shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using bootstrapping (see Methods).

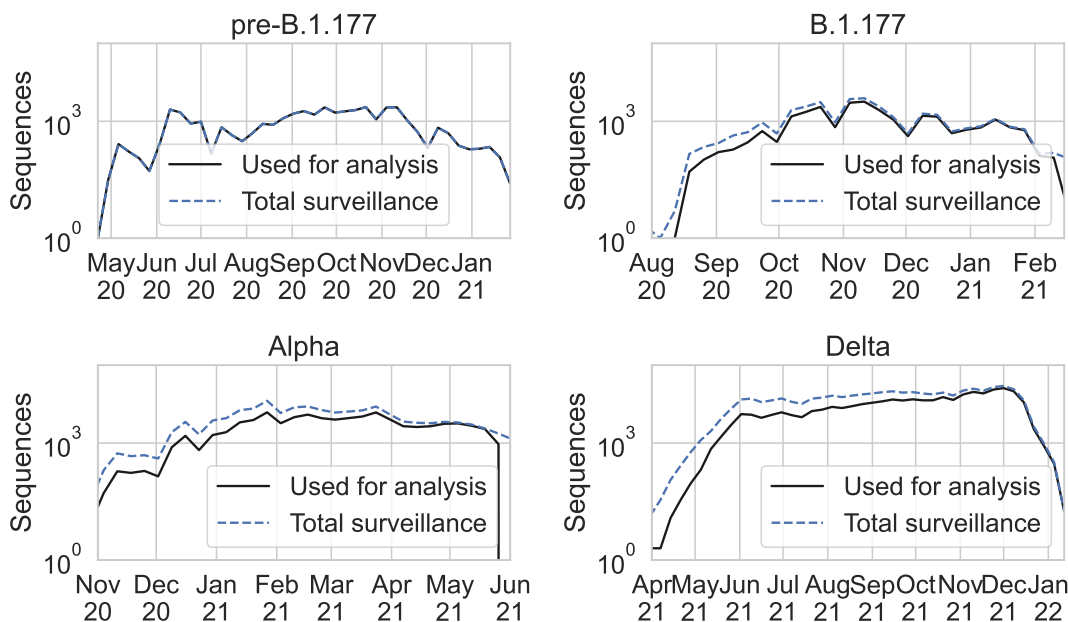


Figure S8: Total number of surveillance sequences of each variant in the metadata from COG-UK downloaded on January 16, 2022 and the number of sequences used in the analysis for each variant or group of lineages (determined by the number of sequences included in the tree, and the number of sequences which could be grouped into sublineages based on the procedure described in the Methods).

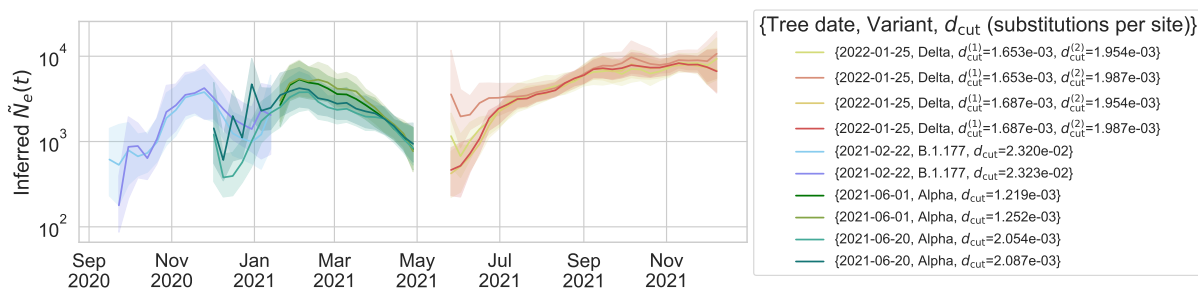


Figure S9: Varying the date of the tree downloaded from COG-UK and the depth at which the tree is cut for creating lineages (d_{cut} , which is defined as the number of mutations from the root of the tree, see Methods) does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size. The tree date and depth used in the main text are $\{2021-02-22, \text{B.1.177}, d_{\text{cut}} = 2.323 \cdot 10^{-2}\}$, $\{2021-06-20, \text{Alpha}, d_{\text{cut}} = 2.054 \cdot 10^{-3}\}$, $\{2022-01-25, \text{Delta}, d_{\text{cut}}^{(1)} = 1.687 \cdot 10^{-3}, d_{\text{cut}}^{(2)} = 1.954 \cdot 10^{-3}\}$. The color of the lines for the parameters that were used in the main text are the same as those shown in Figure 2.

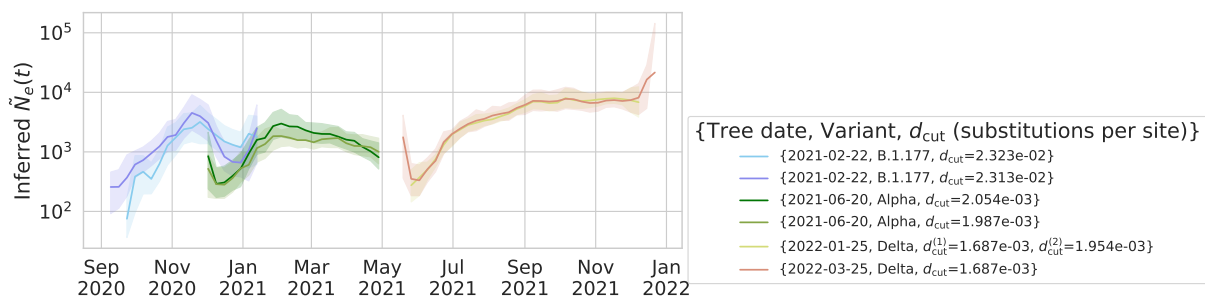


Figure S10: The inferred effective population size when cutting the tree at different depths to test the effect of combining lineages with other more closely related lineages in forming the coarse-grained lineages.

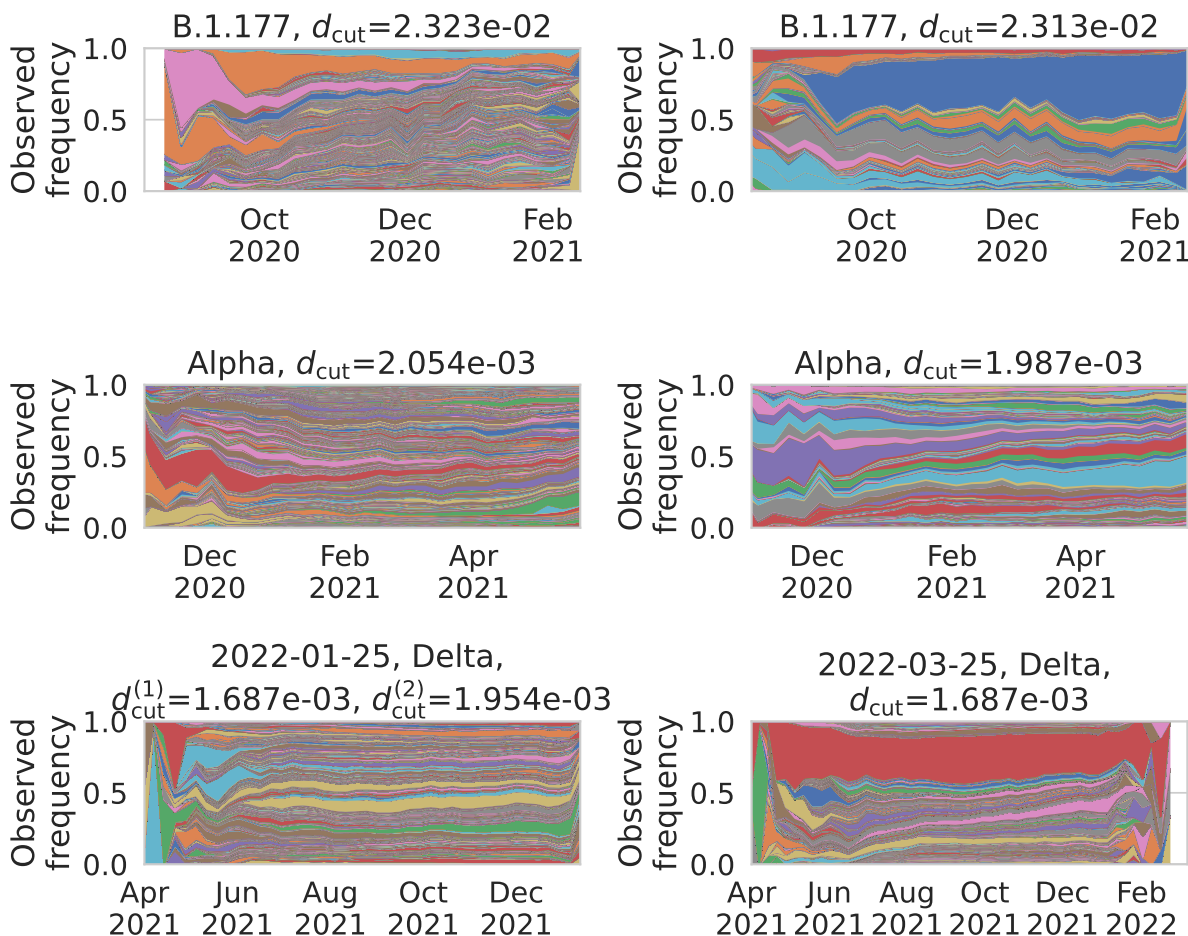


Figure S11: The lineage frequency time series using the tree cut depths shown in Figure S10.

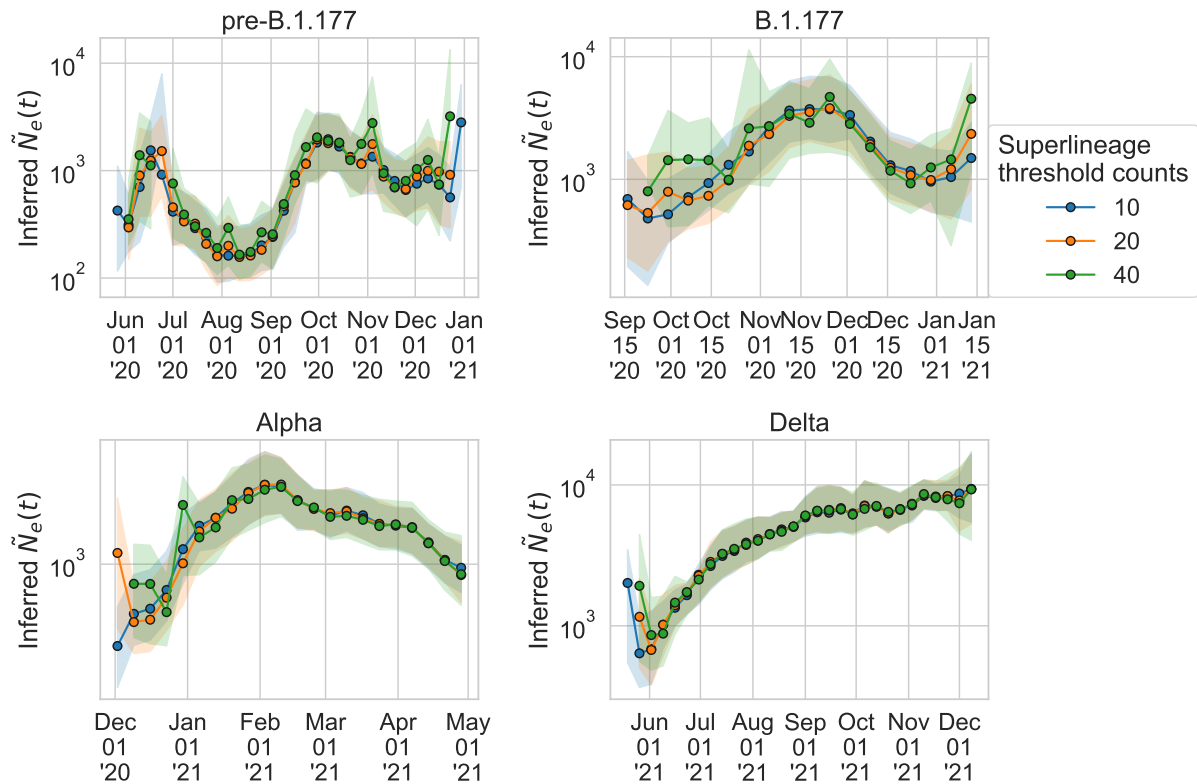


Figure S12: Varying the threshold counts for forming coarse-grained lineages (see Methods) does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size. The coarse-grained lineage threshold counts used in the main text is 20.

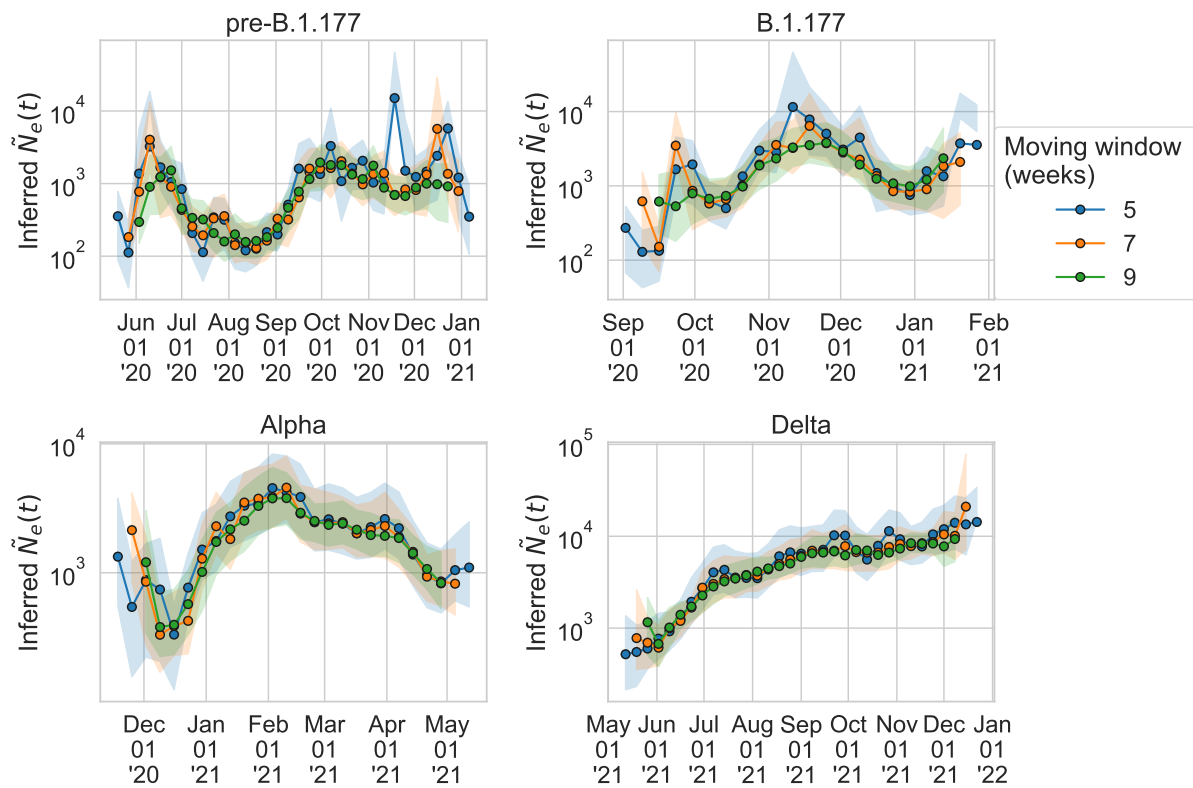


Figure S13: Varying the number of weeks in the moving window does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size. The size of the moving window used in the main text is 9 weeks.

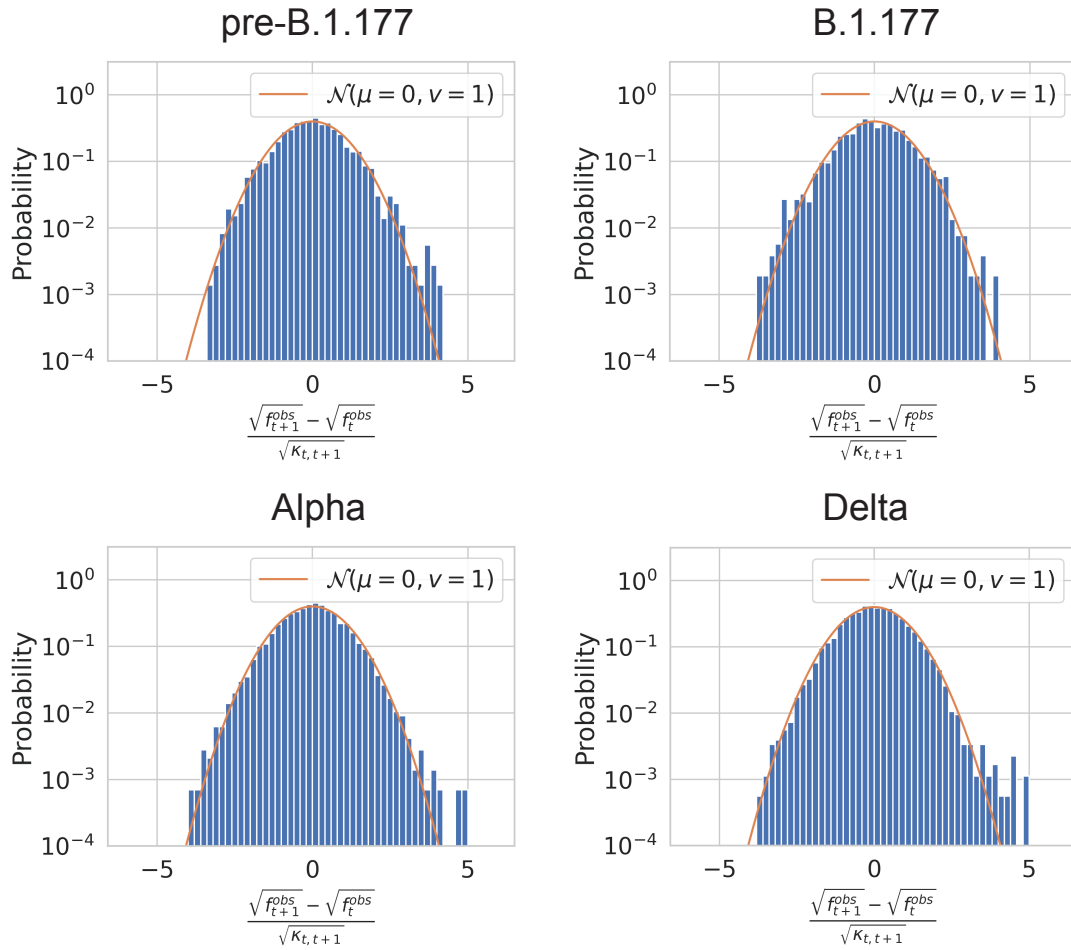


Figure S14: The distribution of square root observed frequency displacements ($\sqrt{f_{t+1}^{obs}} - \sqrt{f_t^{obs}}$) across all time points normalized by the inferred variance due to genetic drift and measurement noise ($\kappa_{t,t+1} = \frac{c_t}{4M_t} + \frac{c_{t+1}}{4M_{t+1}} + \frac{1}{N_e(t)}$, see Equation 24). The orange line is a plot of a normal distribution with mean 0 and variance 1.

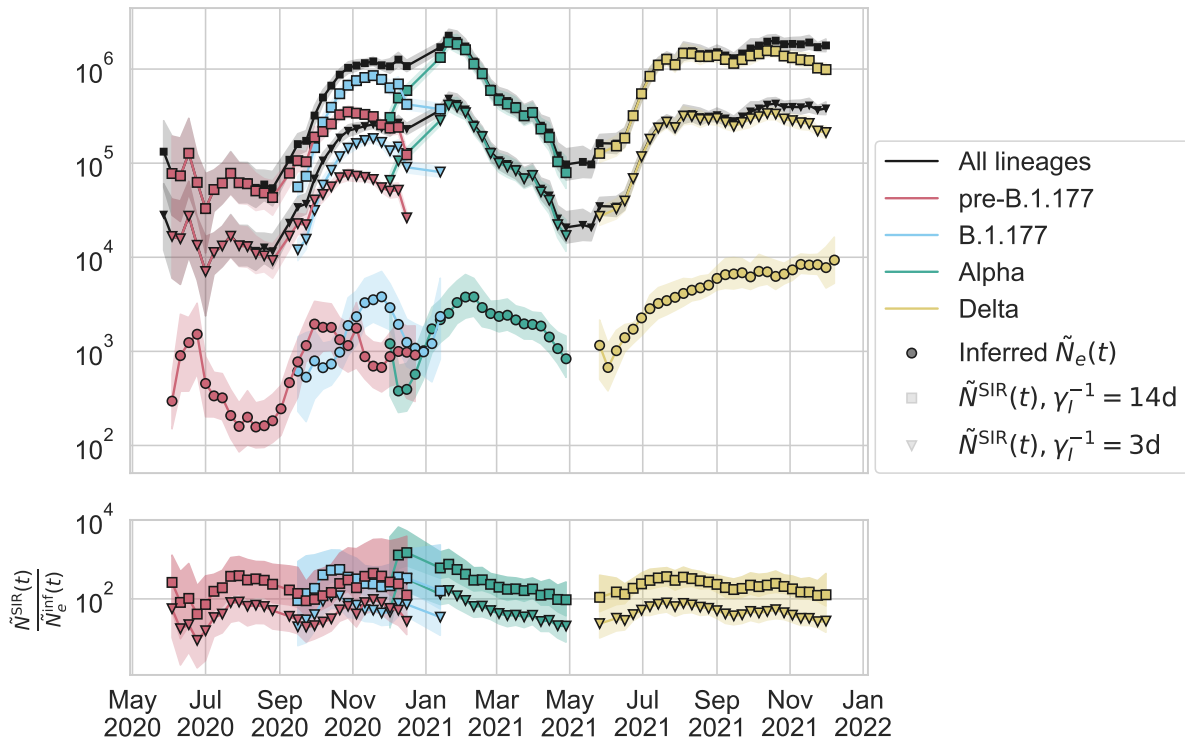


Figure S15: Varying the rate of transitioning from infected to recovered within literature ranges ($\gamma_I = 3$ to 14 days) used for calculation of the SIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ (Methods) does not substantially decrease the observed ratio $\tilde{N}_e^{SIR}(t) / \tilde{N}_e^{inf}(t)$.

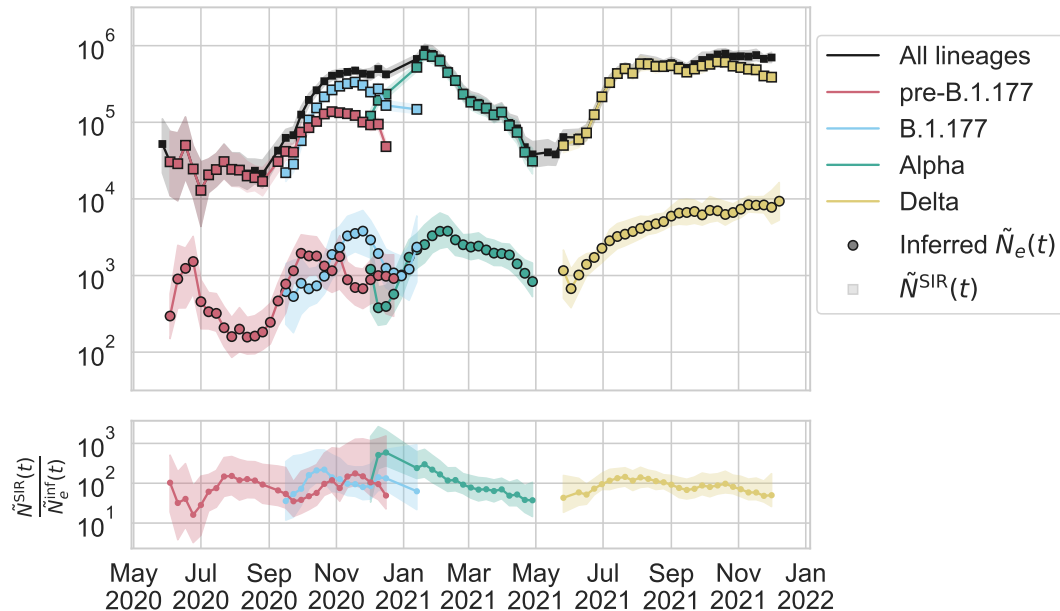


Figure S16: Inferred scaled effective population size compared to the SIR model scaled population size calculated using the observed number of positive individuals in England (see Methods).

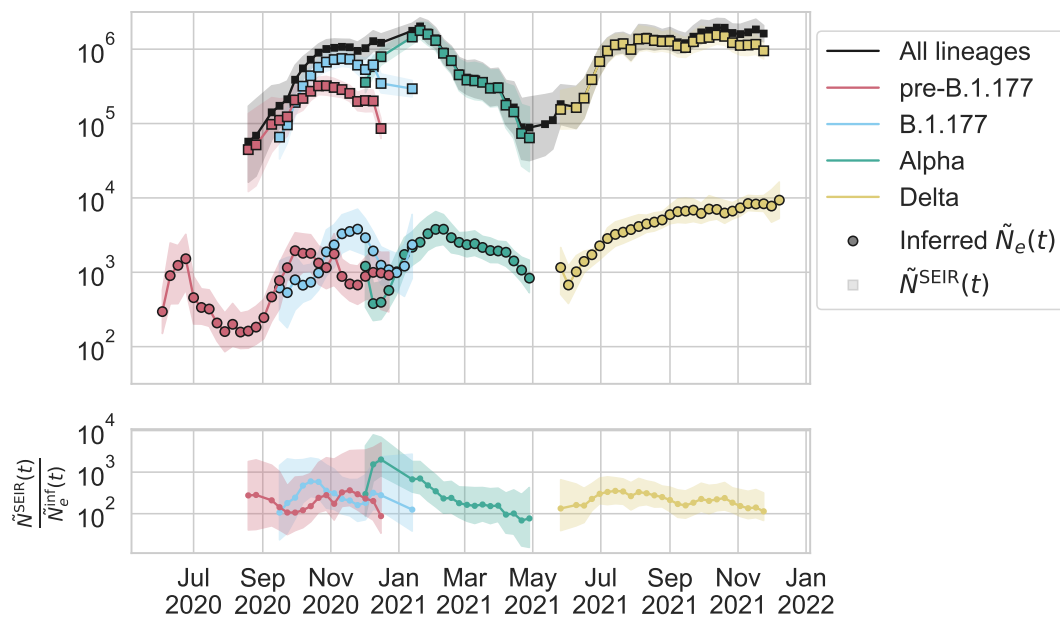


Figure S17: Inferred scaled effective population size compared to the SEIR model scaled population size calculated using the observed number of positive individuals in England (see Methods).

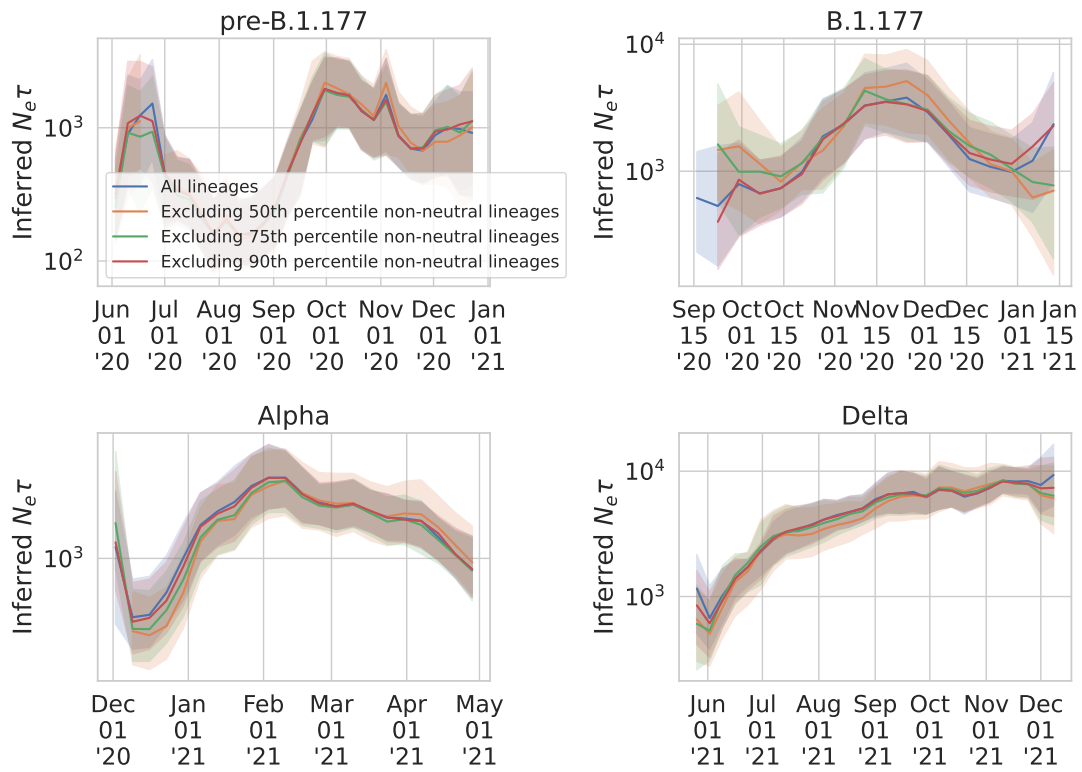


Figure S18: The inferred effective population size when excluding beneficial lineages whose inferred absolute fitness value are above the 50th ($|s| > 0.09$), 75th ($|s| > 0.16$), and 90th ($|s| > 0.27$) percentiles compared to that when all lineages are included.

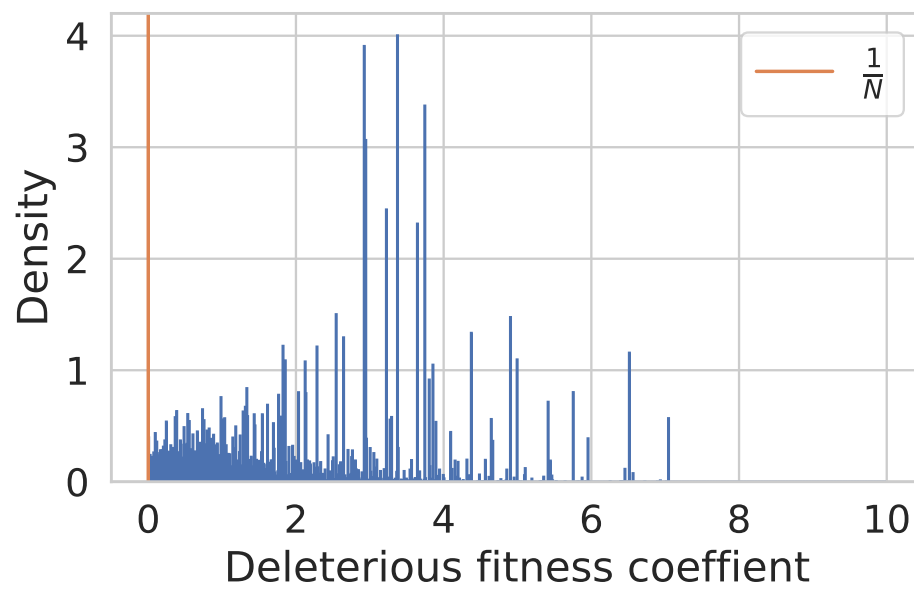


Figure S19: The distribution of deleterious fitness effects from Ref. [46]. The orange vertical line indicates $\frac{1}{N}$, which is the threshold in fitness above which selection dominates over genetic drift. Here, N is set to 10^4 , which is the order of magnitude of the census population size of SARS-CoV-2 in England.

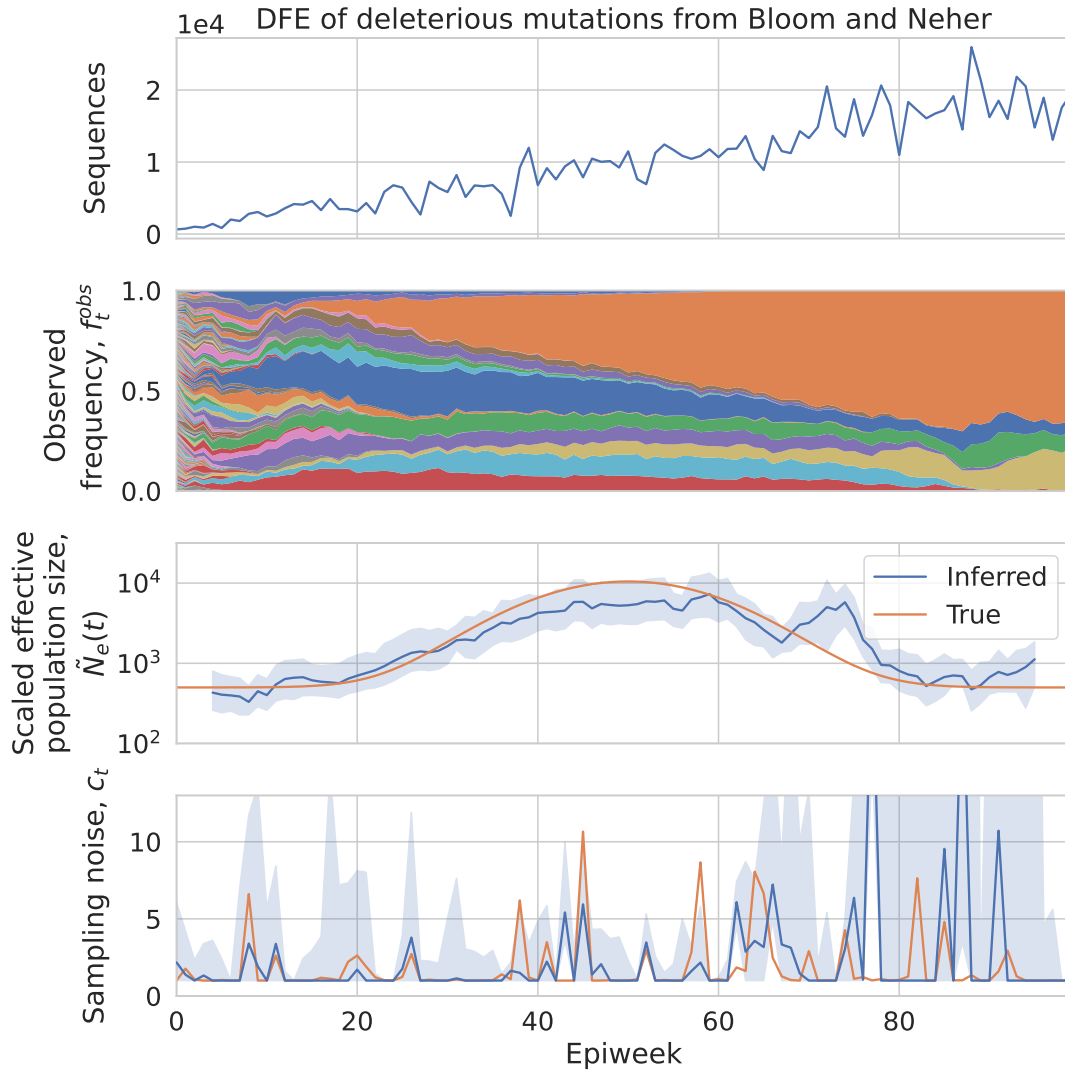


Figure S20: Simulated lineage frequency dynamics where deleterious mutations occur at rate 0.01/genome/generation and the distribution of deleterious fitness effects is taken from the empirically estimated values in Ref. [46]. The inferred effective population size and measurement noise are shown.

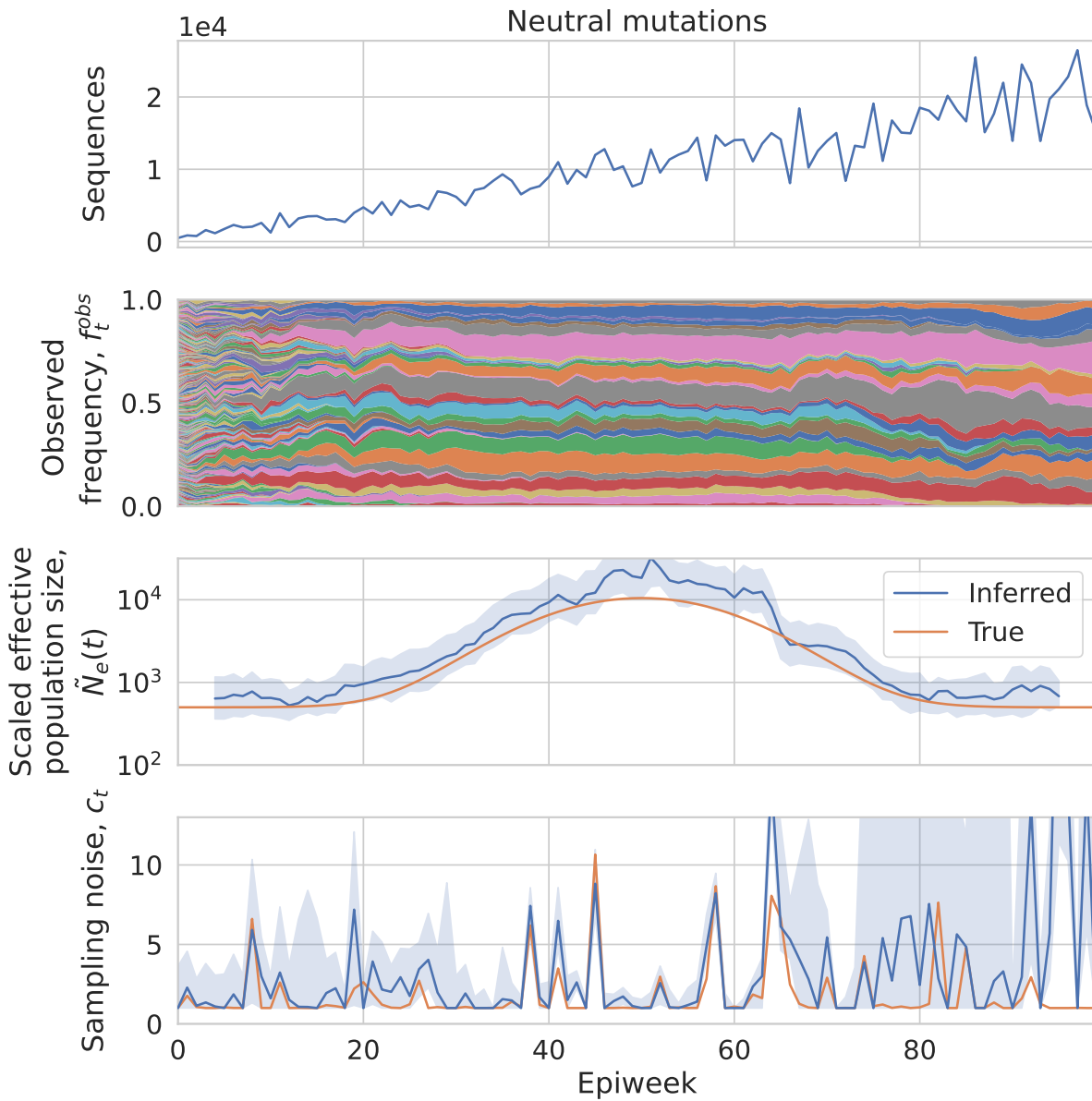


Figure S21: The same simulation as in Figure S20 but as a control, where the fitness of new mutations is always 0. The inferred effective population size and measurement noise are shown.

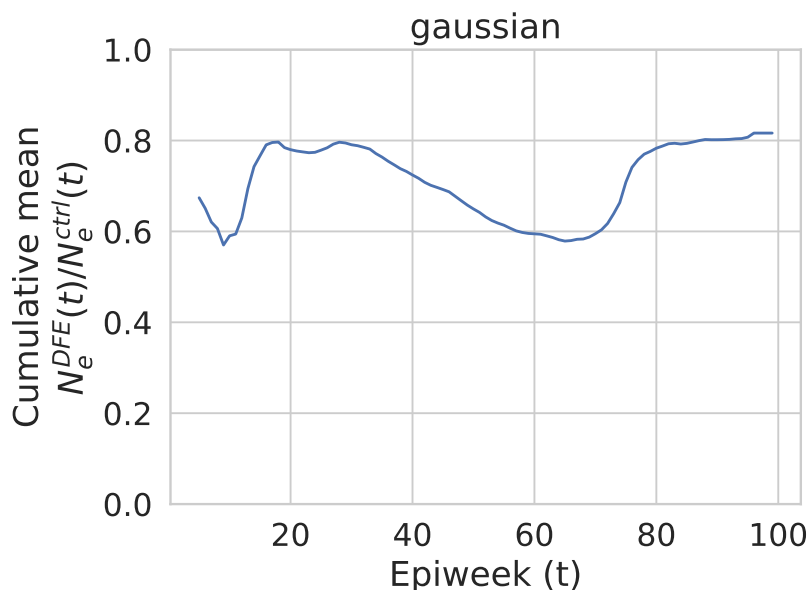


Figure S22: The cumulative mean ratio of the point estimates of the inferred effective population size in the simulations using the empirical distribution of deleterious fitness effects and the neutral simulations.

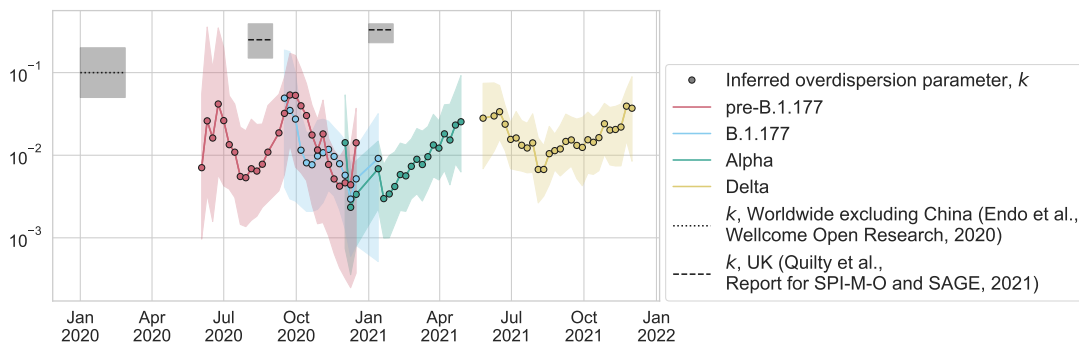


Figure S23: Same as Figure 3c, but plotting the overdispersion parameter, $k = \frac{R_t}{\frac{\sigma^2}{R_t} - 1}$, where R_t is the effective reproduction number and σ^2 is the variance in offspring number. The circles show the inferred overdispersion parameter if we assume there is only superspreading and no deme structure. For the inferred overdispersion parameter, the estimated effective reproduction number in England by variant (see Methods) is used for R_t , and the ratio between the SIR model population size and the inferred effective population size is used for σ^2 . The shaded area for the inferred overdispersion parameter k gives an estimate of the error and is calculated by combining minimum or maximum values of the individual parameters; note that this does not correspond to a particular confidence interval.

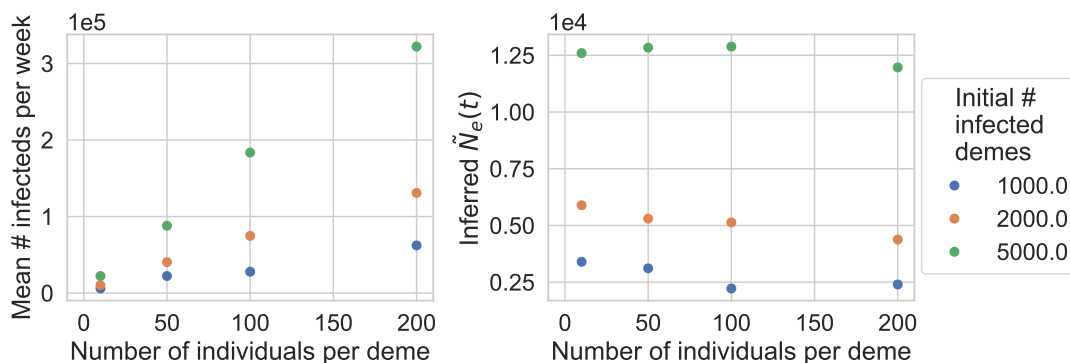


Figure S24: Simulations of deme structure (described in main text and Methods). (a) The mean number of infected individuals per week from Weeks 42 to 50. (b) The inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ using lineage trajectories from Weeks 42 to 50.

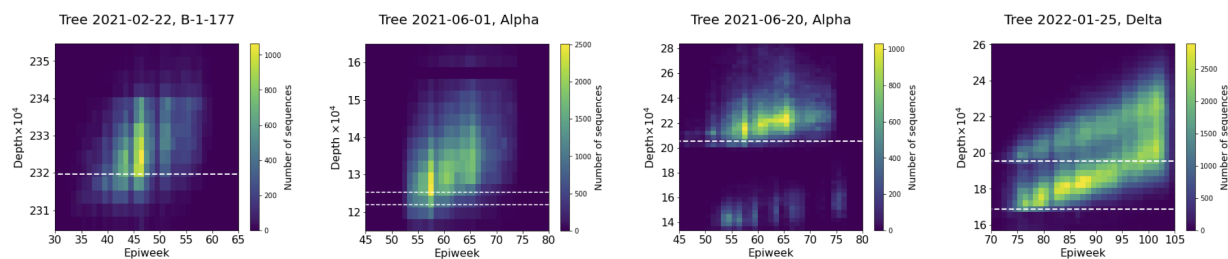


Figure S25: Sample epiweeks versus tree depths. In a phylogenetic tree, the number of sequences (leaf nodes) of a focal variant that fall within specific epiweek and tree depth ranges is counted and summarized as a two-dimensional histogram. The tree depth is the substitution rate measured in units of substitutions per site, with respect to the most recent common ancestor. From left to right, the phylogenetic tree (specified by date created by COG-UK, using the sequences available at the time) and focal variant are {2021-02-22, B-1-177}, {2021-06-01, Alpha}, {2021-06-20, Alpha}, and {2022-01-25, Delta}. Weeks are counted from 2019-12-29. The dashed horizontal lines indicate the values of d_{cut} ($d_{\text{cut}}^{(1)}$ and $d_{\text{cut}}^{(2)}$ for the Delta variant) used for the results presented in the main text, except for the 2021-06-01 Alpha tree, where they indicate the value of d_{cut} tested in the Supplementary Information.

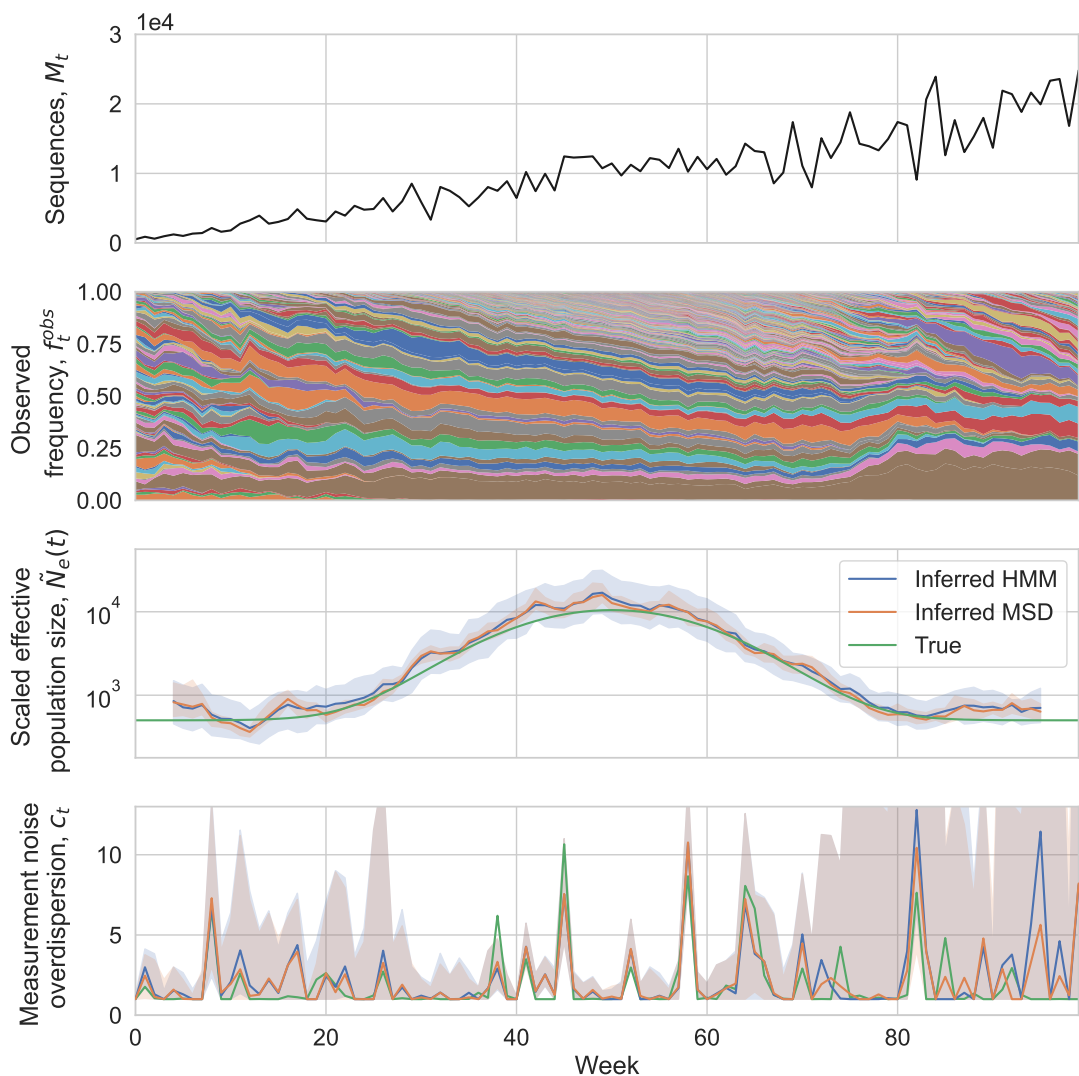
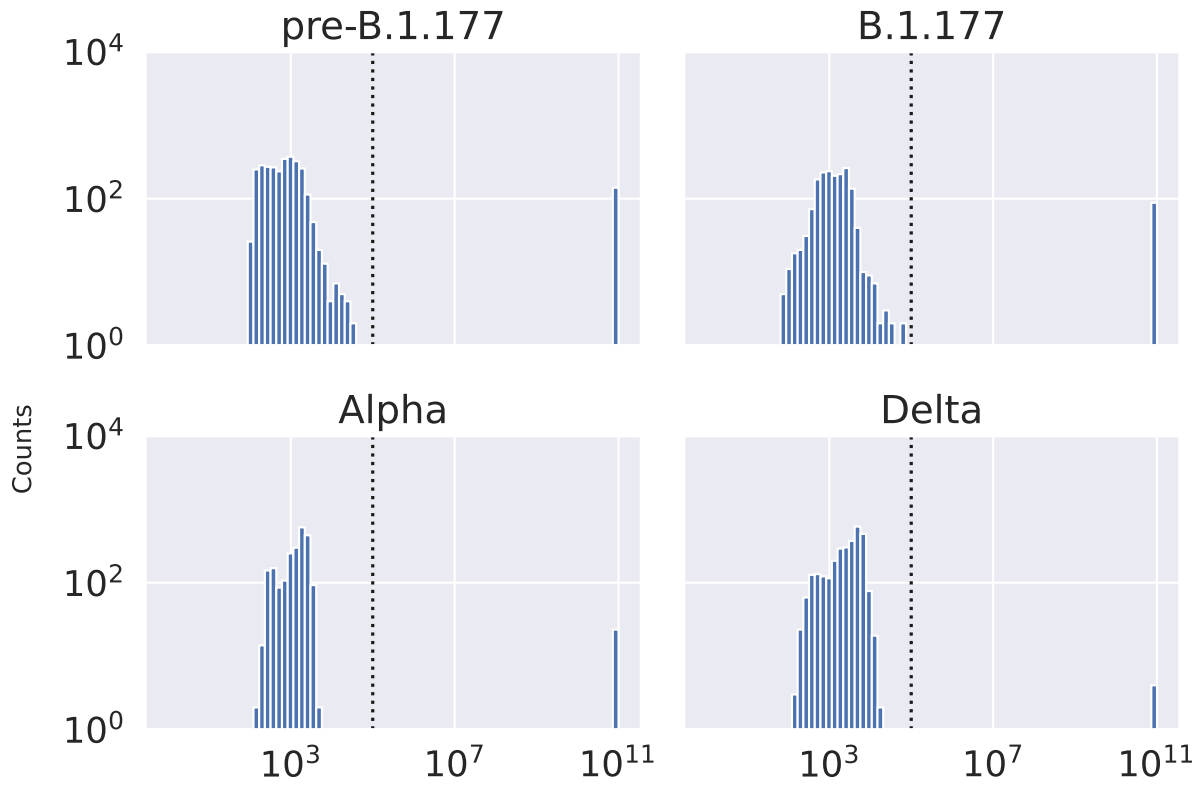


Figure S26: Comparing the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t in Wright-Fisher simulations using the method of moments and maximum likelihood estimation approaches (see Methods). (a) Number of sequences sampled. (b) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (c) Inferred effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) on simulated data using the method of moments (MSD, for mean squared displacement) and maximum likelihood (HMM, for Hidden Markov Model) estimation approaches compared to true values. The shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval of the inferred values. The confidence interval using the method of moments approach was calculated by taking the middle 95% of values when bootstrapping over the coarse-grained lineages. The confidence interval using the maximum likelihood estimation approach was determined using the posterior (see Methods) and takes into account joint errors in c_t and $\tilde{N}_e(t)$. (d) Inferred measurement noise (c_t) on simulated data using the method of moments and maximum likelihood estimation approaches compared to true values. The shaded region shows the 95% confidence interval calculated using bootstrapping (see Methods).



Inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ from different times and coarse-grained lineage combinations
(before rescaling by # seqs in tree)

Figure S27: Inferred effective population size from different times and coarse-grained lineage combinations. The vertical dashed line indicates 10^5 which is the value above which results in the text were thrown away due to non-convergence (these only include values at 10^{11}).

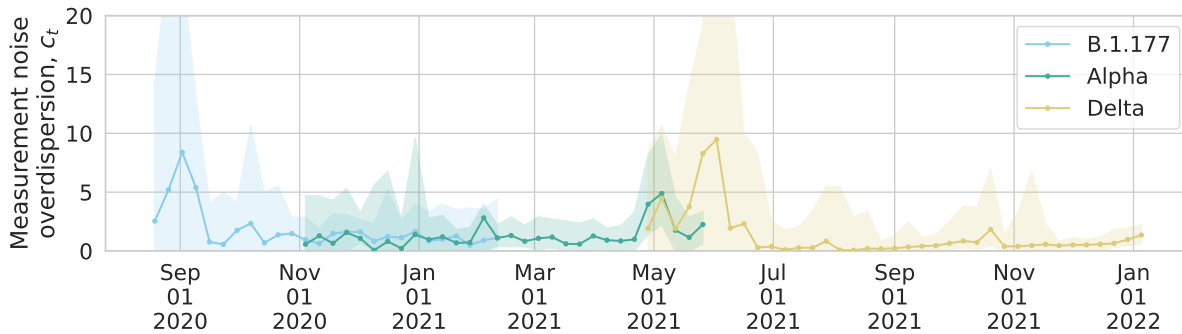


Figure S28: The inferred measurement noise overdispersion parameter for England as a whole when changing the lower bound of the overdispersion parameter from 1 to 0.

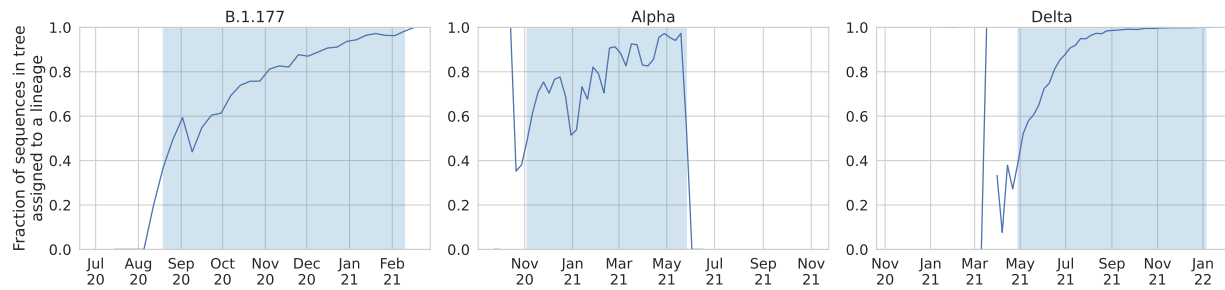


Figure S29: The fraction of sequences in the tree that are assigned to a lineage. The blue shading indicates the period of time in the data that was used for the inference analysis.

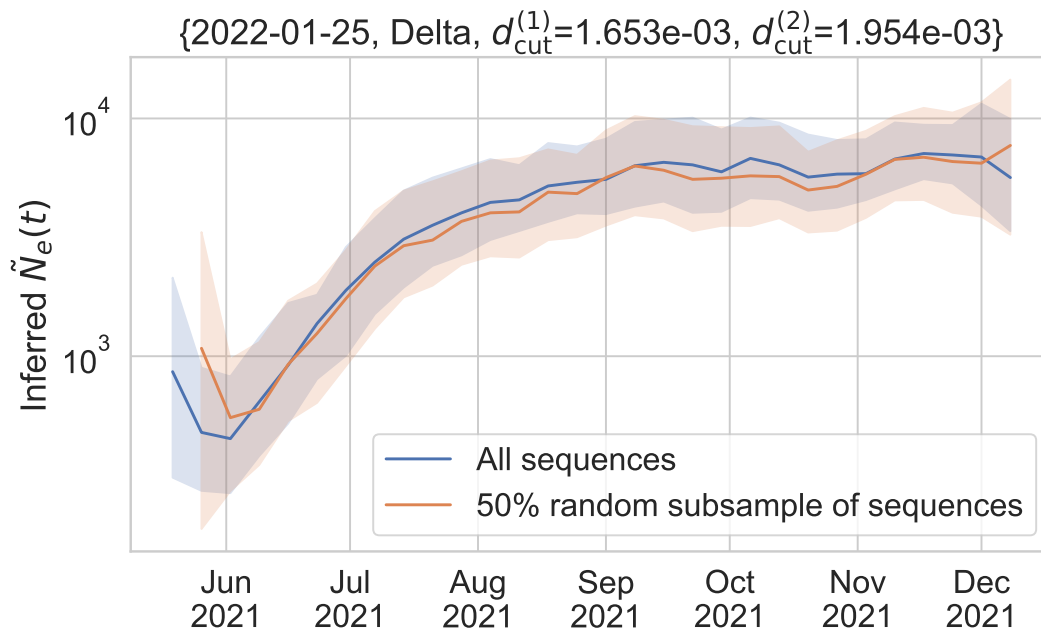


Figure S30: Randomly subsampling half of the Delta sequences used for the analysis does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size.

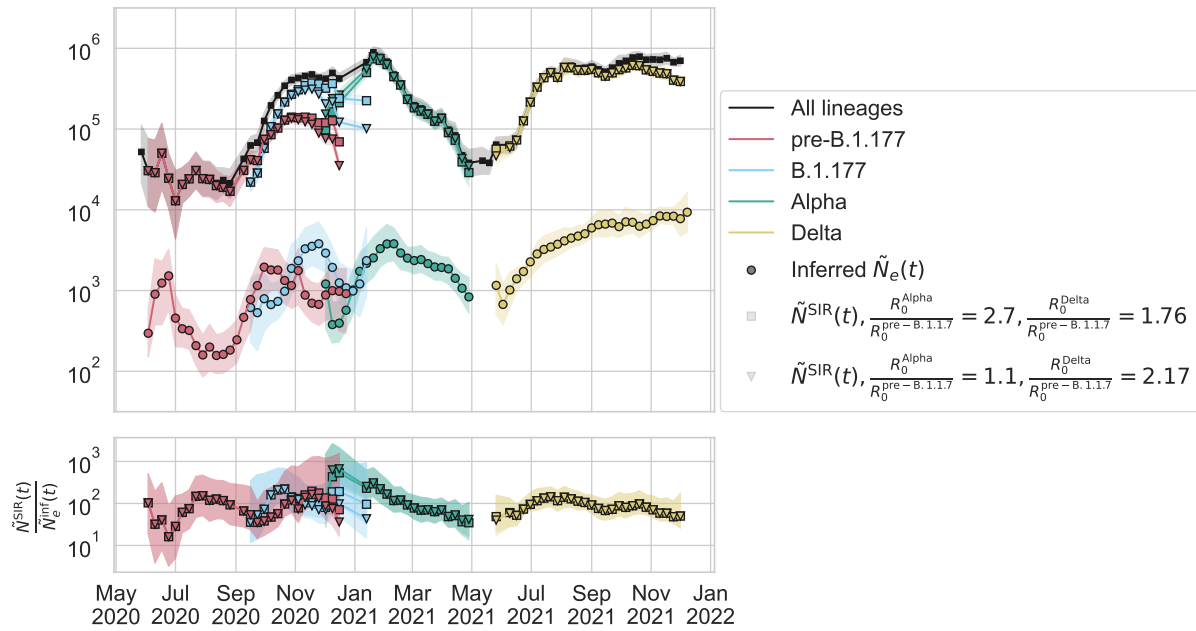


Figure S31: Varying the values of the basic reproduction number within literature ranges ($\frac{R_0^{\text{Alpha}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1.1 - 2.7$ [17], $\frac{R_0^{\text{Delta}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1.76 - 2.17$ [78]) used for calculation of the SIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ by variant (Methods) does not substantially affect the calculated $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)$.

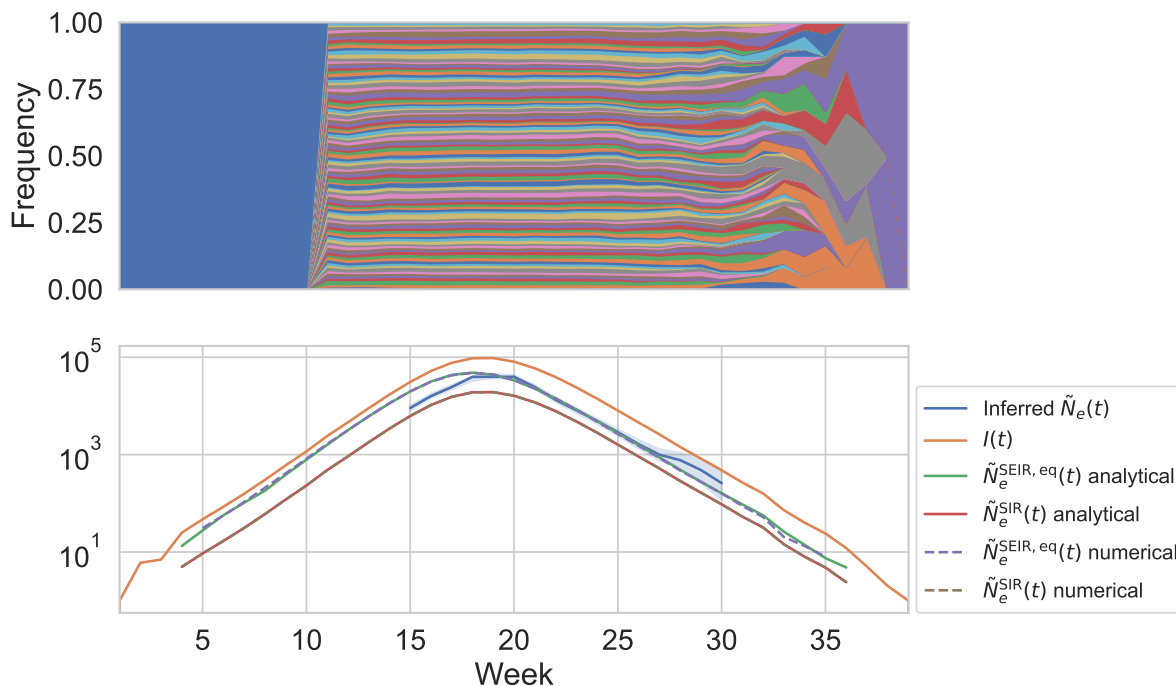


Figure S32: Simulations of stochastic SEIR dynamics without measurement noise, and comparison of the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to Equations 1 and 49 when the reported positive individuals include only the infectious individuals. (Top) Muller plot of simulated infectious individuals' lineage trajectories (simulations described in Methods). Infectious individuals are randomly assigned a lineage in week 11, and individuals that they transmit to are infected with the same lineage. The blue lineage before week 11 indicates the infectious individuals that existed before lineages were assigned. (Bottom) Comparison of the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ using the lineage trajectories shown in the top panel to the number of infectious individuals $I(t)$, Equation 49 (SEIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ at equilibrium), and Equation 1 (SIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$) calculated analytically or numerically as described in the Methods. The numerical solutions give the same results as the analytical solutions.

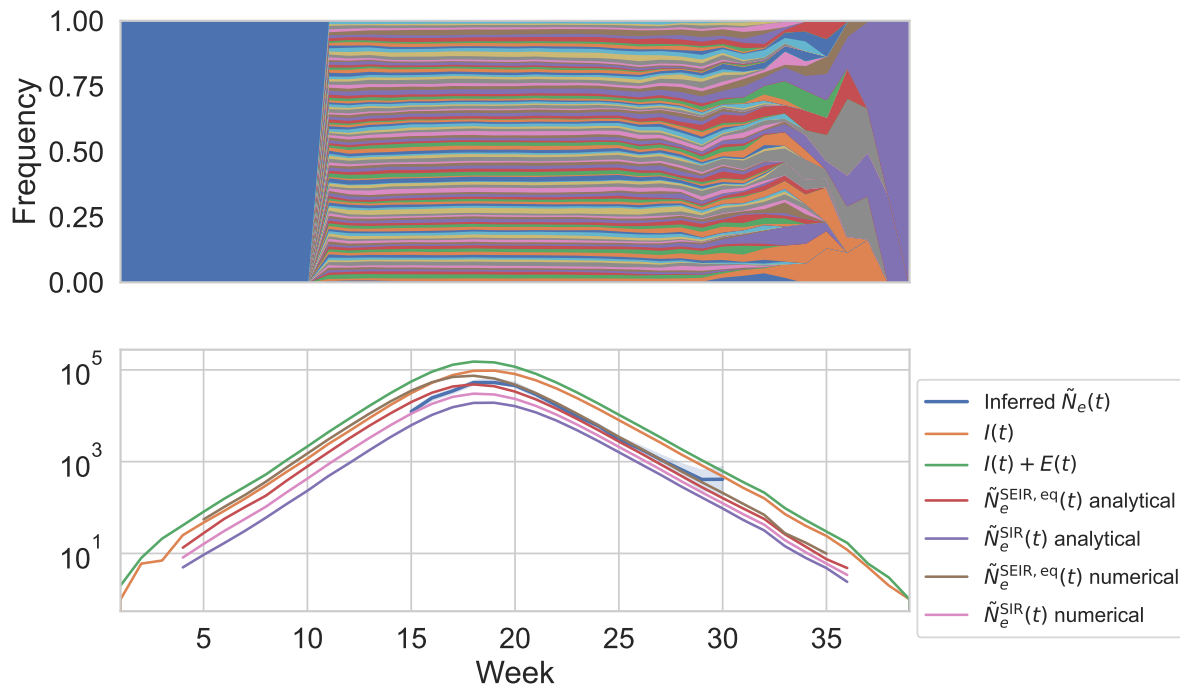


Figure S33: Simulations of stochastic SEIR dynamics without measurement noise, and comparison of the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to Equations 1 and 49 when the reported positive individuals include both infectious and exposed individuals. (Top) Muller plot of simulated infectious and exposed individuals' lineage trajectories (simulations described in Methods). Infectious and exposed individuals are randomly assigned a lineage in week 11, and individuals that they transmit to are infected with the same lineage. The blue lineage before week 11 indicates the infectious and exposed individuals that existed before lineages were assigned. (Bottom) Comparison of the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ using the lineage trajectories shown in the top panel to the number of infectious individuals $I(t)$, the sum of the number of infectious and exposed individuals $I(t) + E(t)$, Equation 49 (SEIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$), and Equation 1 (SIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$) calculated analytically or numerically as described in the Methods. The numerical solutions give slightly higher $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ as compared with the analytical solutions; however, the numerical solutions to the SEIR and SIR models bound the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$.

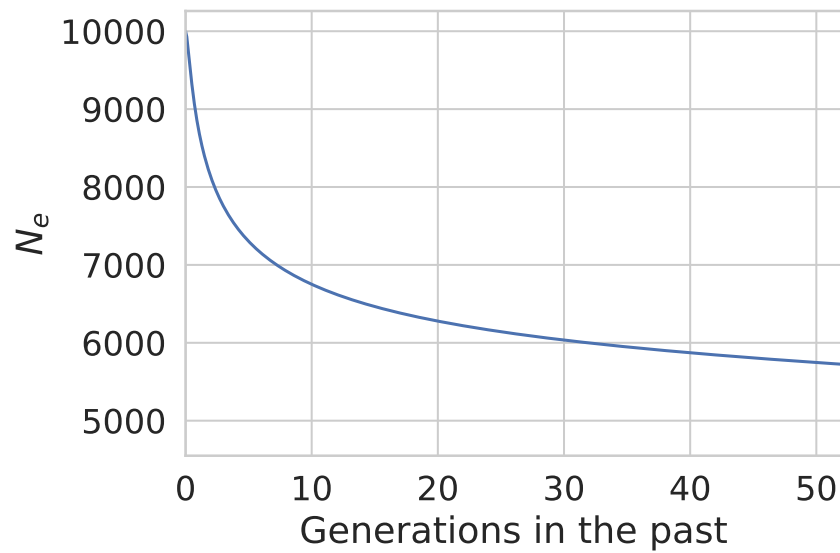


Figure S34: The effect of the empirically estimated distribution of deleterious fitness effects in SARS-CoV-2 [46] on the effective population size using the analytical theory derived in Ref. [87] (Equation 67). In this calculation, the effective population size in the absence of background selection is 10^4 , the clock rate is 31 substitutions per year, and the generation time is 5.1 days.