

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 information
79 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 (Figure
82 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 assessing
89 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 popula-
109 tion 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, $\text{Var}(f_{t+1}|f_t) = \frac{f_t}{\tilde{N}_e(t)} \cdot \tilde{N}_e(t) = N_e(t)\tau(t)$ where

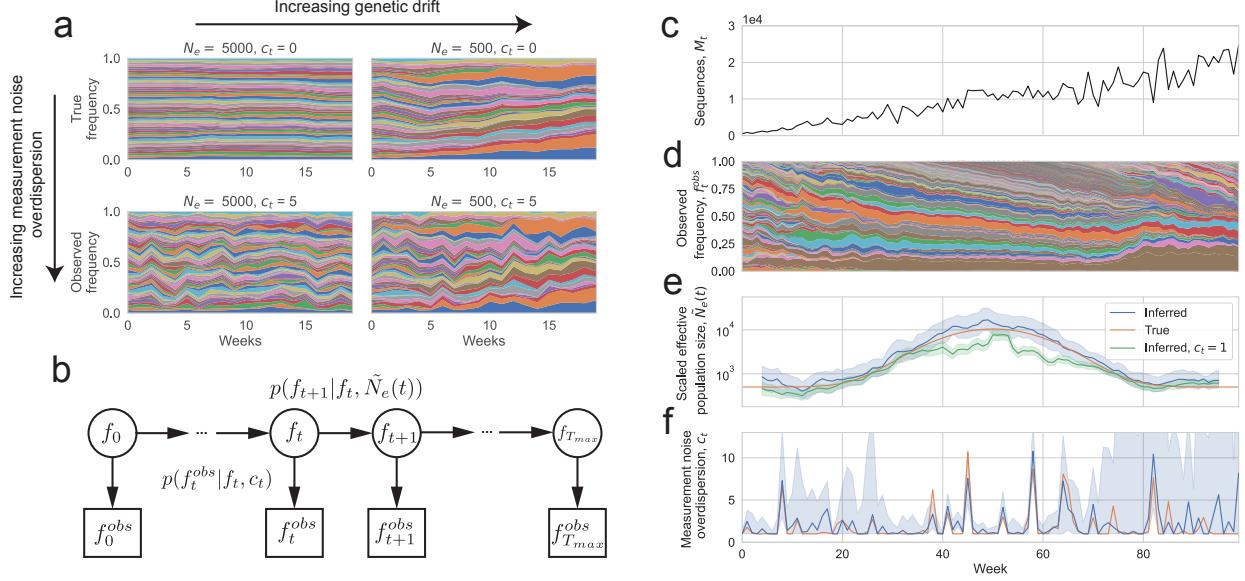


Figure 1: A Hidden Markov Model with continuous hidden and observed states (a Kalman filter) for inferring genetic drift and measurement noise from lineage frequency time series. (a) Illustration of how genetic drift and measurement noise affect the observed frequency time series. Muller plot of lineage 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 is
 126 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-

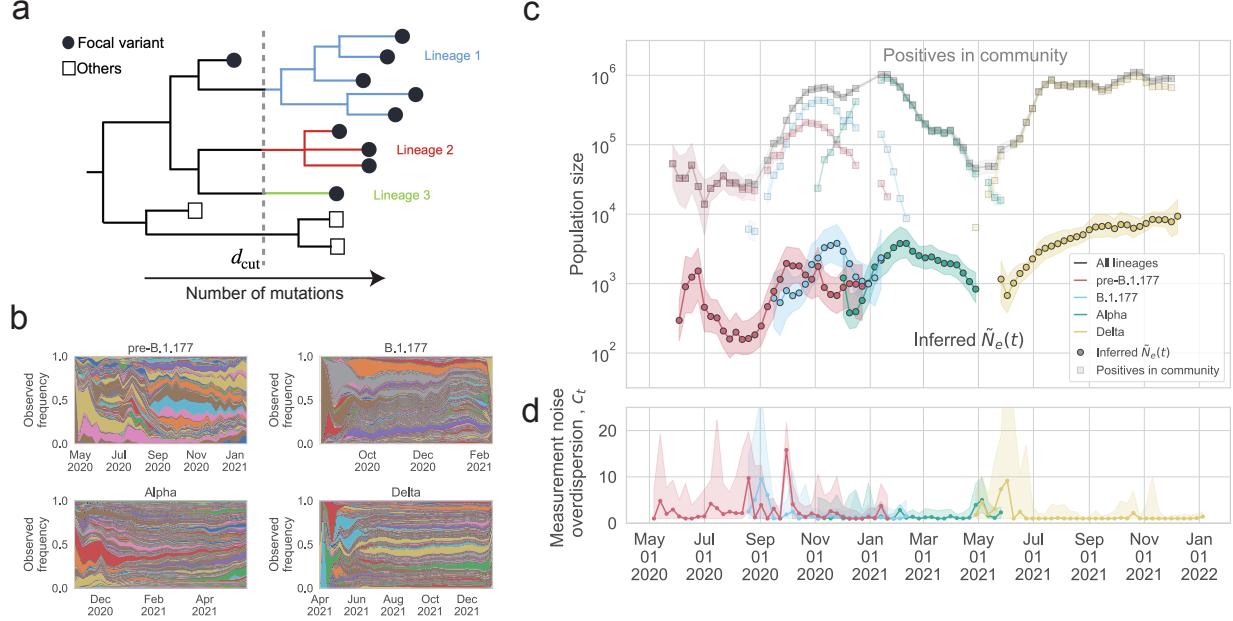


Figure 2: The inferred effective population size and overdispersion of measurement noise in England compared with the number of positive individuals. (a) Schematic of lineage construction for B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta from the COG-UK phylogenetic tree. The filled circles represent the sequences of a focal variant sampled in England, while the unfilled squares represent other 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 pango 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.

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

The inferred scaled effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e = N_e\tau$, effective population size times generation time, where the generation time is the time between infections in infector-infectee pairs) is shown in Figure 2c. The 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

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

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

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

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

225 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
 226 590 (Figures 3c and S16), suggesting high levels of genetic drift in England across time. We find similar
 227 results when using an SEIR rather than an SIR model which additionally includes an exposed class and
 228 may be more realistic (Methods, Supplementary information, and Figure S17). The ratio of $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$ to the
 229 inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ was similar across variants and across time, except that for Alpha the ratio initially peaked
 230 and then decreased over time.

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

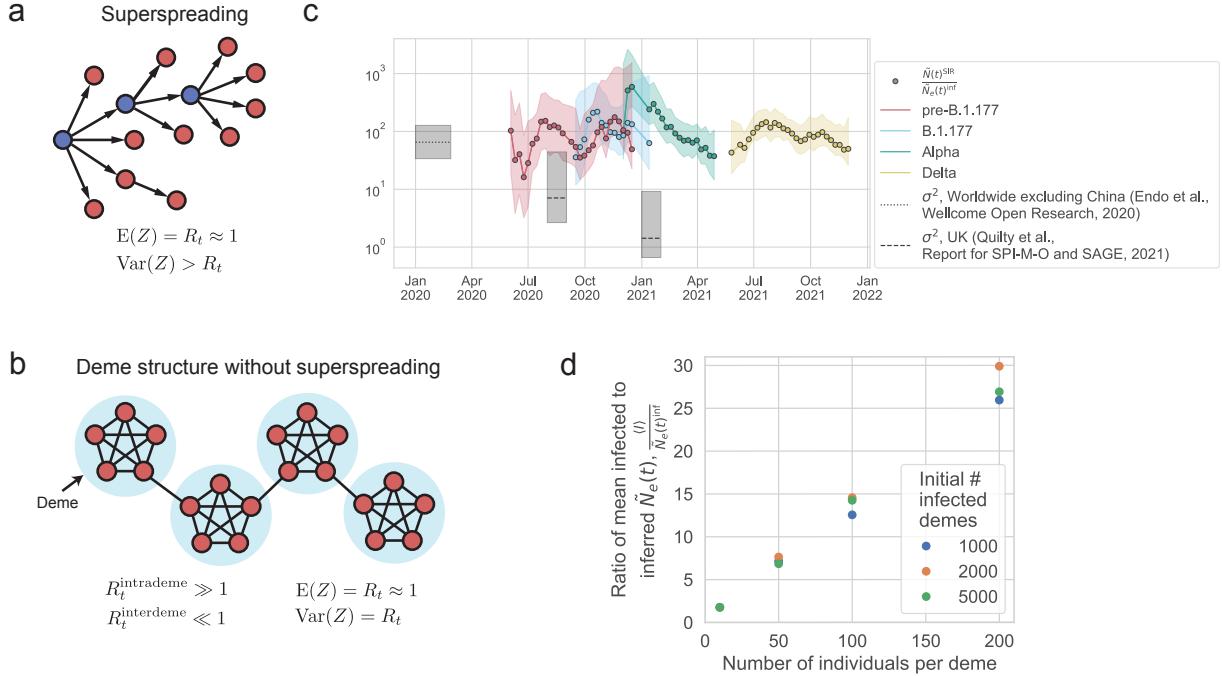


Figure 3: Potential mechanisms that can generate a low effective population size. (a) Superspreading, where the distribution of the number of secondary cases (Z) from a single infected individual is broadly distributed (variance greater than mean). The superspreading individuals are indicated in blue. (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.

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

242 not change the result that the inferred effective population size is one to two orders of magnitudes lower than
243 the SIR or SEIR model effective population size.

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

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

262 Discussion

263 Here, we systematically studied the strength of genetic drift of SARS-CoV-2 in England across time and
264 spatial scales. To do this, we developed and validated a method for jointly inferring time-varying genetic drift
265 and overdispersed measurement noise using lineage frequency time series data (Figure 1), allowing these two
266 effects to be disentangled, which overcomes a major challenge in the ability to infer the strength of genetic
267 drift from time-series data. Additionally, this method makes use of all sequencing data, overcoming the
268 need to subsample data, which is a challenge with current phylogenetic methods. We find that the effective
269 population size of SARS-CoV-2 in England was lower than that of an SIR null model true population size
270 (using the observed number of positives) by a time-dependent factor ranging from 20 to 590 (Figure 3c),
271 suggesting that there were higher levels of genetic drift than expected from uniform transmission. We also
272 find evidence for spatial structure in the transmission dynamics during the B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta waves,
273 as the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ was substantially lower in regions compared to that of all England (Figure S1). These
274 findings are consistent with other studies that have found spatial structure in transmission of B.1.177 [47],
275 Alpha [48], and Delta [49].

276 Accurately estimating the strength of genetic drift allows us to better understand disease spread and ex-
277 tinction, as well as to better parameterize evolutionary models and understand how mutations will establish
278 in the population. We note that while the establishment probability is dependent on the effective population
279 size, the fixation probability will additionally depend on clonal interference. We observed that with a few
280 exceptions, the amount by which genetic drift was elevated compared to the number of positives did not
281 change substantially over time or across variants outside the range of the error bars (Figure 3c), despite
282 changes in lockdowns and restrictions (which we may expect to decrease behavior that leads to superspread-
283 ing). This may be due to not having enough statistical power due to the dataset size. On the other hand,
284 we note that restrictions affect the mobility network structure in a complex way, decreasing some types of
285 mobility while increasing others [50], so lockdowns and restrictions may not affect the effective population
286 size in a predictable way. One exception was that Alpha had significantly higher genetic drift compared to
287 Delta and the strength of genetic drift in Alpha first peaked then slowly decreased over time. This may be
288 either due to differences in the properties of the virus or differences in host behavior. For instance, it may
289 suggest that the stochasticity in the transmission of Alpha sharply increased then slowly decreased over time.
290 Alternatively, this may be driven by Alpha's expanding geographic range combined with reimported cases
291 of Alpha into the UK (observed from February 2021 onwards), which could both also decrease the effective
292 population size [51].

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

306 We find that constant selection is unlikely to explain our results, as excluding potentially non-neutral
307 lineages does not significantly change the inferred effective population size. Additionally, background selec-
308 tion is unlikely to explain our results as the empirically estimated distribution of deleterious fitness effects
309 for SARS-CoV-2 decreased the effective population size by at most a factor of 2.

310 In summary, we find that the strength of genetic drift in SARS-CoV-2 transmission in England is sub-
311 stantially higher than expected based on the number of positive individuals.

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

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

319 Infected individuals that cause an exceptional numbers of secondary cases (superspreaders) are one reason
320 for an increased level of allele frequency fluctuations. The expected decrease in effective population size is
321 given by the per-generation variance in secondary cases, which is sensitive to superspreaders broadening the
322 tail of the offspring distribution. Direct measurements of the offspring distribution through contact tracing
323 yield variances substantially smaller than our inferred reduction in effective population size [52, 53, 54, 55]
324 (Table S1). This could indicate that the tail of the offspring distribution is not well measured by contact
325 tracing efforts or that other factors are at play that could decrease the effective population size.

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

331 Consider a model in which individuals within a deme are very well-connected to one another (i.e. house-
332 holds or friend groups, also known as “communities” in network science [56]), but there are few connections
333 between demes (Figure 3b). It is possible for deme structure to occur without superspreading. Because
334 individuals are very well-connected within a deme, once the pathogen spreads to a susceptible deme, it will
335 spread rapidly in a deme until all individuals are infected (a jackpot event). In this way, deme structure can
336 lower the effective population size by lowering the effective number of stochastic transmissions events. For
337 instance, in the example in Figure 3b, there are 20 individuals, but only 3 potential stochastic transmissions
338 events. Deme structure may also arise from correlations in the number of secondary infections over a series
339 of hosts (i.e. a series of high numbers of secondary infections in a transmission chain, or conversely low
340 numbers of secondary infections in a transmission chain) [57]. This may arise, for instance, if individuals in
341 a transmission chain have similar behavior, due to geographical proximity, or similar value systems on risk
342 aversion. A recent study has found that individuals infected by superspreading tend to be superspreaders
343 themselves more often than expected by chance [58], which would be consistent with this phenomenon.

344 To check our intuition that deme structure can decrease the effective population size and increase genetic

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

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

In reality, both superspreading and host structure are likely at play. Additionally, they could interact with each other. For instance, there could be superspreading within a deme. Future work can try to tease apart the contribution of these two mechanisms, which for instance may be possible with better transmission network data, building on previous work on transmission networks [59], or with time-resolved contact tracing data [20]. This will be important because the relative contributions of the two mechanisms of superspreading and host population structure to genetic drift can affect the establishment of new variants in the population in different ways [3]. If our interpretation is correct that deme structure and jackpot events strongly affect the effective population size, then managing superspreading events will be important to decrease the strength of genetic drift; nonpharmaceutical interventions should try to reduce these types of events.

Limitations of the study and opportunities for future directions

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

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

Empirically measured SARS-CoV-2 offspring distributions that take into account superspreaders (see references in Table S1) have been described by a negative binomial distribution, which has a finite mean and variance and thus can be described by the Wright-Fisher model. We focused on standing variation that existed at a particular depth in the phylogenetic tree and ignored de novo mutations subsequently arising during the time series. However, we don't think this should substantially affect our results because

397 introducing mutations in the form of new lineages with a small rate in the simulations did not have a large
398 effect on the method performance (Figure 1e). While within-host dynamics may in principle impact the
399 lineage frequency trajectories, this effect is likely small for our analysis because we focus on acute infections
400 (infections in the community rather than in hospitals and nursing homes). Acute infections of SARS-CoV-2
401 are thought to generate little within-host diversity that is passed on due to the short infection duration
402 and small bottleneck size between hosts [60, 61]; while new mutations arising within acute hosts have been
403 observed to be transmitted, these events are rare [60].

404 Thus, we think to the best of our knowledge that the low effective population sizes that we observe are
405 due to increased levels of genetic drift at the transmission level, which can be due to a variety of mechanisms,
406 including the two that we highlight above, superspreading and host deme structure. However, future work
407 should explore joint inference of selection, migration, and/or mutation in the model, as is appropriate for
408 the pathogen of interest, building on previous work in this area [62, 63, 26, 64].

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

422 Third, the use of a sliding window of 9 weeks on the lineage frequency data will lead to smoothing of
423 sharp changes in effective population size. In our analysis, shortening the time window did not substantially
424 affect our results. It may be interesting in future work to develop a continuous method that uses a prior to
425 condition on changes in effective population size, similar to those that have been developed for coalescence-
426 based methods [1, 65]. This would allow us to infer continuous changes in effective population size without
427 needing to use a sliding window.

428 Fourth, we have defined lineages by cutting the phylogenetic tree at a particular depth, but errors in
429 the constructed tree may introduce additional fluctuations to the lineage frequencies. This may particularly
430 be a problem for SARS-CoV-2 given the low mutation rate. As one check, we tested that cutting the tree
431 at different depths did not affect the results (Figure S9), suggesting that our results were not sensitive to
432 differences in lineage definitions at those depths. However, lineages defined using the two cut depths may
433 both have errors in the groupings, so to be more robust, future work could systematically investigate the
434 sensitivity of our method to errors in the tree or compare the results using lineage frequencies and allele
435 frequencies (defined using mutations). Additionally, by defining lineages based off of a tree, we are currently
436 limited to datasets with a tree or already defined lineages. By extending the method to allele frequencies
437 defined using mutations, we would be able to apply the method to many more datasets.

438 While we have focused on SARS-CoV-2 in this study, the method developed here can be extended to
439 study genetic drift in other natural populations that are influenced by measurement noise and where genomic
440 frequency data are available, for instance other pathogens, field studies, and ancient DNA [66, 67, 68]. More
441 generally, ongoing methods development that integrates genomics, epidemiological, and other data sources
442 is crucial for being able to harness the large amounts of data that have been generated to better understand
443 and predict evolutionary dynamics.

444 Materials and Methods

445 Data sources and processing

446 We downloaded sequence data from the COVID-19 Genomics UK Consortium (COG-UK) [34]. We only
447 used surveillance data (labeled as “pillar 2”); this dataset is composed of a random sample of the positive
448 cases from the COVID-19 Infection Survey, which is a surveillance study of positive individuals in the
449 community administered by the Office for National Statistics (see below). For lineages that appeared before
450 B.1.177, we downloaded the metadata from the COG-UK Microreact dashboard [69], which included the time
451 and location of sample collection (at the UTLA level), as well as the lineage designation using the Pango
452 nomenclature [29, 30]. For B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta sequences, because the Pango nomenclature classified
453 them into very few lineages, we created our own lineages from the phylogenetic trees (see below). We
454 downloaded the publicly available COG-UK tree on February 22, 2021 for B.1.177; June 20, 2021 for Alpha;
455 and January 25, 2022 for Delta. Additionally sensitively analyses shown in the Supplementary Figures used
456 trees downloaded on June 1, 2021 for Alpha and March 25, 2022 for Delta. The publicly available trees were
457 created by separating sequences into known clades, running fasttree [70] separately for each clade, grafting
458 together the trees of different clades, and then using usher [71] to add missing samples (code available at
459 <https://github.com/virus-evolution/phylopipe>). We also downloaded the COG-UK metadata for all
460 lineages on January 16, 2022, which included the time and location (at the UTLA level) of sample collection.
461 Additional sensitivity analyses shown in the Supplementary Figures used metadata downloaded on March
462 25, 2022. For the data of B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta, the data was deduplicated to remove reinfections in
463 the same individual by the same lineage, but reinfections in the same individual by a different lineage were
464 allowed. This yielded a total of 490,291 sequences.

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

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

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

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

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

501 Creating lineages in B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta

502 For B.1.177, Alpha, and Delta, we divided each of them into neutral lineages based on phylogenetic distance.
 503 Specifically, for B.1.177 and Alpha, we cut a phylogenetic tree (in units of number of mutations from the root
 504 of the tree) at a certain depth, $d = d_{\text{cut}}$. Each of the internal or external branches that are cut by the line
 505 $d = d_{\text{cut}}$ defines a lineage (Figure 2a). The (observed) frequency of a lineage at a given time point in England
 506 was computed by counting the number of England sequences (leaf nodes) belonging to the lineage and by
 507 normalizing it by the total number of sequences in all assigned lineages of the focal variant in England at
 508 that time point. Lineage frequencies at the regional level were similarly computed by counting the number
 509 of sequences separately for each region.

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

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

519 For the results presented in the main text, we used (in units of substitutions per site, with the reference
 520 $d=0$ 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,
 521 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
 522 choice of d_{cut} as well as the choice of the phylogenetic tree data we used (Figure S9, S10, S11).

523 Model for inferring effective population size from lineage frequency time series

524 We use a Hidden Markov Model with continuous hidden and observed states to describe the processes of
 525 genetic drift and sampling of cases for sequencing (a Kalman filter) (Figure 1A). The hidden states describe
 526 the true frequencies of the lineages and the observed states describe the observed frequencies of the lineages
 527 as measured via sequenced cases. We adopt Gaussian approximations for the transmission and emission
 528 probabilities developed in [72] in order to get analytically tractable forms for the likelihood function, which
 529 will greatly speed up our computations.

530 The transition probability between the true frequencies f_t (the hidden states) due to genetic drift when
 531 $\frac{1}{N_e(t)} \ll f \ll 1$ has been shown in [72] to be well-described by the following expression, which we use as our
 532 transition probability,

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

533 $\tilde{N}_e(T) \equiv N_e(t)\tau(t)$ where $N_e(t)$ is the time-dependent effective population size and $\tau(t)$ is the time-dependent
 534 generation time, which is defined as the mean time between two subsequent infections per individual (i.e.
 535 the time between when an individual becomes infected and infects another individual, or the time between
 536 two subsequent infections caused by the same individual). This transition probability gives the correct first
 537 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
 538 is a good approximation when the central limit theorem can be applied, which is the case when $f \gg 0$.
 539 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

540 distribution

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

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

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

543 where M_t is the number of input sequences. Again, this distribution is generically a good description when the
544 number of counts is sufficiently large such that the central limit theorem applies (above approximately 20).
545 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
546 equivalently considering the number of sequences $n_t^{obs} = f_t^{obs}M_t$ and the true number of positive individuals
547 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
548 t . When $c_t = 1$, the emission probability approaches that describing uniform sampling of sequences from
549 the population of positive individuals (i.e. can be described by a Poisson distribution in the limit of a large
550 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
551 minimum amount of measurement noise. When $c_t > 1$, it describes a situation where there is bias (that
552 is uncorrelated in time) in the way that sequences are chosen from the positive population. The case of
553 $0 < c_t < 1$ describes underdispersed measurement noise, or noise that is less random than uniform sampling.
554 The case of $c_t = 0$ describes no measurement noise (for instance, when all cases are sampled for sequencing).
555 These last two situations are unlikely in our data, and thus as we describe below, we constrain $c_t \geq 1$ in the
556 inference procedure. In addition to being a good description of measurement noise, defining the emission
557 probability in the same normal distribution form as the transmission probability allows us to easily derive
558 an analytical likelihood function, described below (Note: see Ref. [26] for a method to derive an analytical
559 likelihood function for arbitrary forms of the transition and emission probabilities).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

560 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
561 lineage. We use a uniform prior on the parameters. The parameters $\theta_{0:T}$ are inferred by maximizing the
562 likelihood (described below).

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

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

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

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

Solving the forward algorithm recursively, we have

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

where

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

$$v_1 = \frac{\frac{1}{\tilde{N}_e(t)} + \frac{c_0}{M_0}}{4} \quad (19)$$

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

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

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

564 Fitting the model to data

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

576 The standard error is given by

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

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

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

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

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

585 Maximum likelihood estimation of the parameters

For each set of coarse-grained lineages, we use the inferred measurement noise values (c_t) and inferred scaled effective population size from above ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) as initial guesses in the maximization of the likelihood function in Equation 13 over the parameters. For the optimization, we use `scipy.optimize.minimize_scalar` with the 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 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 coarse-grained lineage combinations where $\tilde{N}_e(t) < 10^5$ (values above 10^5 likely indicate non-convergence of the optimization, because most values above 10^5 are at 10^{11} , see Figure S27). The reported errors on $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ are the 95% confidence intervals (again taking the median across all coarse-grained lineage combinations where $\tilde{N}_e(t) < 10^5$) which are calculated by using the likelihood ratio to get a p-value [73, 74]. We replace the likelihood with the profile likelihood, which has the nuisance parameters $c_{0:T}$ profiled out:

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

$$p = \int I \left[\frac{\mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})}{\mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}'_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})} > 1 \right] P_{\tilde{N}'_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) d\tilde{N}'_e \quad (29)$$

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

$$P_{\tilde{N}'_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) \propto \mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}'_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs}) p(\tilde{N}_e) \quad (31)$$

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

586 where I is an indicator function that equals one when the argument is true and zero otherwise, $\mathcal{L}_{\tilde{N}_e}(\hat{c}_{0:T} | \vec{\phi}_{0:T}^{obs})$
 587 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
 588 posterior where we have used a uniform prior. We also tried a Jeffreys prior which is used for variance
 589 parameters, but it gave similar results on simulated data because it looked relatively flat over the values of
 590 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ of interest. As the Jeffreys prior was more computationally expensive than the uniform prior and the
 591 two priors gave similar results, we used the uniform prior for the analyses.

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

595 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
 596 and S28).

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

600 Correcting for the number of sequences assigned to lineages

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

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

614 Simulations for validating method

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

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

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

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

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

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

623 Simulations for testing the effect of balancing selection

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

647 Thus by determining the number of transmissions per unit time, f , and the number of infectious individuals,
 648 $N(s)$, in an SEIR model, we can find an expression for $\tilde{N}_e(t)$.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

657 The number of transmissions per unit time is given by

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

672 $\frac{dI}{dt}$ 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}
 673 = 3 days and $\gamma_I^{-1} = 5.5$ days [41, 42]. We checked that varying the value used for γ_I does not substantially
 674 affect the results (Figure S15). The error on E was calculated by taking the minimum and maximum possible
 675 values from the combined error intervals of $I(t + \Delta t)$ and $I(t - \Delta t)$ (note that this does not correspond to
 676 a specific confidence interval size).

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

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

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

690 We calculated the variant-specific effective reproduction number by rescaling the measured effective
 691 reproduction number for the whole population

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

692 where R_0^w is the basic reproduction number of the variant w and f^w is the fraction of the infectious population
 693 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
 694 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. [75]). We
 695 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
 696 frequency due to importations from travel rather than increased transmissibility [47]. Varying the variant
 697 R_0 within the ranges reported in the literature does not substantially affect the results (Figure S31).

698 **Inference of fitness from lineage frequency time series**

699 We sought to infer the fitness effects of individual lineages, so that we could then determine if putatively
700 selected lineages are influencing the estimation of the time-varying effective population sizes. We first used
701 a deterministic method to estimate lineage fitness effects, similar to the method described in [76].

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

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

704 The two sources of noise—genetic drift and measurement noise—both arise from counting processes, so the
705 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
706 in a lineage—especially important to accurately model lineages at low frequencies—we modeled the observed
707 counts at Epiweek t of lineage i , $r_{t,i}$, as a negative binomial random variable,

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

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

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

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

708 Where M_t is the total number of sequences, and ζ_t is a dispersion parameter. We took ζ_t as the total
709 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
710 as previously described (section “Maximum likelihood estimation of the parameters”). The final likelihood
711 for the fitness, s_i , of lineage i is obtained by combining the data from all the relevant the time-points,

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

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

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

713 **Stochastic simulations of SEIR model**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

746 Deme simulations

747 To better understand the effect of host population structure on the effective population size, we simulated
748 a simple situation where there are “demes”, or groups, of individuals with very high rates of transmission
749 between individuals in that deme, but the rate of transmission between individuals from different demes
750 is very low. In a given simulation, all demes have the same number of individuals (10, 50, 100, or 200).
751 The total number of demes is chosen to be very high (5.6×10^6). Initially, a certain number of demes
752 (100, 1000, 2000, or 5000) are each seeded by a single infectious individual infected by a randomly chosen
753 lineage (200 different lineages). We simulated deterministic SEIR dynamics within demes with $R_0 = 10$,
754 $\gamma_E = (2.5 \text{ days})^{-1}$, $\gamma_I = (6.5 \text{ days})^{-1}$. We simulated Poisson transmission dynamics between demes. In
755 order to calibrate the overall population dynamics to be roughly in equilibrium (the number of infectious
756 individuals is not deterministically growing or shrinking), we draw the number of between-deme infections
757 caused by a given deme from a Poisson distribution with mean 1. The time of the between-deme infection
758 event is randomly chosen, weighted by the number of infected individuals within a deme at a given time. The
759 number of infectious individuals in each lineage is recorded every 1 week, and the frequency of the lineage
760 is calculated by dividing by the total number of infectious individuals from all lineages in that week. The
761 lineage frequency data from a period of 9 weeks starting in week 42 is used for the inference of effective
762 population size. In this time period, only a small number of demes have been infected such that the total
763 number of demes did not matter. The effective population size inference is performed as above except in the
764 absence of measurement noise, so there is no emission step in the HMM.

765 Data and code availability

766 Data and code to reproduce the analyses in this manuscript are available at https://github.com/qinqin-yu/sars-cov-2_genetic_drift.

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1011 Supplementary Information

1012 Summary of existing methods for inferring the strength of genetic drift

1013 There are currently four main types of methods for estimating the strength of genetic drift in pathogen
1014 transmission, which we summarize here for giving context to this study.

- 1015 1. **Contact tracing** can directly measure superspreading by following the close contacts of infected
1016 individuals to measure the distribution of the number of secondary cases (the offspring number distri-
1017 bution) [2]. However, some secondary cases may be missed which can lead to measurement bias [20].
1018 Additionally, it is challenging to trace multiple generations of transmission, so we miss important
1019 information on host contact network structure.
- 1020 2. Another type of method fits disease prevalence over time to **branching process models** [44]. These
1021 models assume a particular distribution for the offspring number distribution (often a negative binomial
1022 distribution) and estimate the combination of parameters of the offspring number distribution along
1023 with growth rate that best fit the observed disease prevalence. External information about the growth
1024 rate can be used to constrain the parameters of the offspring number distribution.
- 1025 3. **Phylogenetics** methods arrange genomics sequences into a tree based on genomic distance and either
1026 measure the distribution of lineage sizes (number of sequences in different parts of the tree) [19] or fit
1027 the rate at which branches in the tree coalescence to determine the effective population size [27, 77, 1,
1028 78]. The effective population size is the population size that would reproduce the observed population
1029 dynamics under the idealized conditions of Wright-Fisher dynamics (discrete non-overlapping genera-
1030 tions, a constant population size, and offspring determined by sampling with replacement from the
1031 previous generation). In neutral populations, a lower effective population size indicates a higher level
1032 of genetic drift.
- 1033 4. **Time series frequency methods** make use of a signature that genetic drift leaves in time series data,
1034 which is that it causes fluctuations in the lineage abundances. Higher amounts of genetic drift (lower
1035 effective population size) lead to larger fluctuations, and the magnitude of the fluctuations can be fit
1036 to determine the effective population size [79, 24] (Figure 1a). Time series methods have also been
1037 used extensively in population genetics [22, 80, 62, 23, 26, 25] and to estimate within-host effective
1038 population size [81] and between-host transmission bottleneck sizes [82].

1039 Comparison to SEIR null model

1040 In the main text, we compared the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to an SIR model. However, there are likely more complex
1041 epidemiological dynamics describing SARS-CoV-2. Here we check the results for an SEIR model which
1042 includes a susceptible, exposed, infectious, and recovered class. The SEIR model is a good representation of
1043 the epidemiology of SARS-CoV-2 when PCR test positivity is closely associated with an infected host being
1044 infectious; the literature suggests that this is a good assumption for SARS-CoV-2 [16], but we also test this
1045 assumption below. The exposed class thus represents individuals before they are infectious and test positive.
1046 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for an SEIR model in equilibrium (number of infectious individuals is constant over time) is given by
1047 (see Methods for derivation):

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

1048 where $E(t)$ is the number of exposed individuals, $I(t)$ is the number of infectious individuals, R_t is the
1049 effective reproduction number, and γ_I is the rate at which infectious individuals stop being infectious.
1050 While this equation is derived under equilibrium conditions, we show using simulations that this equation
1051 accurately estimates $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ in non-equilibrium conditions after the peak of the pandemic (Figure S32); before
1052 the pandemic peak, this equation overestimates $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ but by less than one order of magnitude. Additionally,
1053 we show that calculating the $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ using the equation for an SIR model (Equation 1) when the dynamics are
1054 actually described by an SEIR model provides a lower bound on the actual $\tilde{N}_e(t)$. Thus, if the true dynamics

1055 of SARS-CoV-2 in England are actually SEIR dynamics, then the inference results shown in Figure 3c using
 1056 the SIR model should be an underestimate of the level of genetic drift; thus our main result that the literature
 1057 values of superspreading do not sufficiently explain our results should still hold.

1058 In reality, it may also be the case that some people test positive in a PCR test before they become
 1059 infectious. To test the impact of this possibility on our results, in our simulations we recorded both exposed
 1060 and infectious individuals as testing positive. We then calculated the SEIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ numerically as
 1061 described in “Calculating the effective population size for an SIR or SEIR model” assuming that $I(t)$ includes
 1062 both infectious and exposed individuals (Figure S33). We find that the numerical solutions give slightly higher
 1063 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ as compared with the true analytical solutions; however, the numerical solutions to the SEIR and SIR
 1064 models bound the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$. Thus we also expect that our main result that the literature values of
 1065 superspreading do not sufficiently explain our results should still hold in this scenario.

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

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

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

1066 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
 1067 2000 (Figure S17), suggesting high levels of genetic drift in England across time, which is consistent with
 1068 what we find with an SIR model (Figures 2 and S16). Also similarly to in the case with an SIR model, the
 1069 ratio of $\tilde{N}^{\text{SEIR}}(t)$ to the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ for Alpha decreased over time, suggesting that the stochasticity in
 1070 the transmission of Alpha decreased over time.

1071 The effect of background selection on effective population size

1072 We estimated the magnitude by which we expect the effective population size to be decreased due to back-
 1073 ground selection given the empirically estimated distribution of fitness effects using both simulations (de-
 1074 scribed in the main text) and analytical theory (described here). Most studies on background selection
 1075 consider strongly deleterious mutations with a single negative fitness value and assume that deleterious mu-
 1076 tants quickly die out so that multiple mutations do not occur in the same background [83]. However, in this
 1077 case we need to consider a distribution of fitness effects and the possibility of mutants with different fitnesses
 1078 existing simultaneously. As such, we used Equation 8 derived from Ref. [84] for the effective population size
 1079 in the presence of deleterious mutations with a distribution of fitness effects, assuming a constant mutation
 1080 rate and no recombination

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

1081 where μ is the deleterious mutation rate per generation per genome, $\rho(s)$ is the deleterious distribution
 1082 of fitness effects (i.e. the fitness effect is $-s$), t is time in generations into the past, and N is the census
 1083 population size. Assuming no recombination is a conservative assumption, as recombination mitigates the
 1084 effects of background selection [83].

1085 Using the empirically estimated distribution of fitness effects from Ref. [46] (which are consistent with
 1086 experimental measurements, see Refs. [85, 86, 87, 88]) and the clock rate of 31 substitutions per year
 1087 (Nextstrain SARS-CoV-2 GISAID build on August 7, 2023), a generation time of 5.1 days [35], and a
 1088 population size of 10^4 (order of magnitude of true population size), we estimate that the effective population

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

Application to COG-UK data by regions in England



Figure S1: Inferred effective population size 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).

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

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

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

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

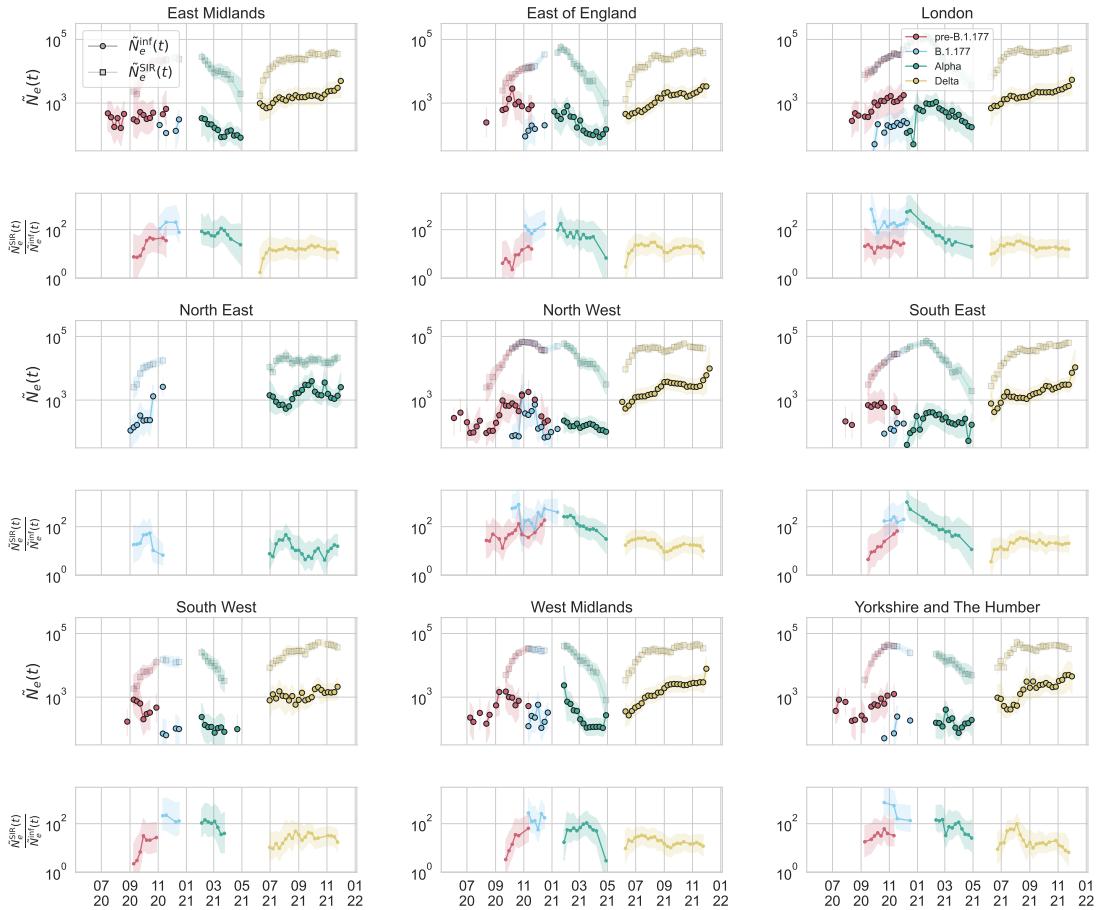


Figure S2: Inferred scaled effective population size by region in England, compared to that of an SIR model as calculated using the observed number of positives at the community level in that region reported by the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31] and the observed effective reproduction number in that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

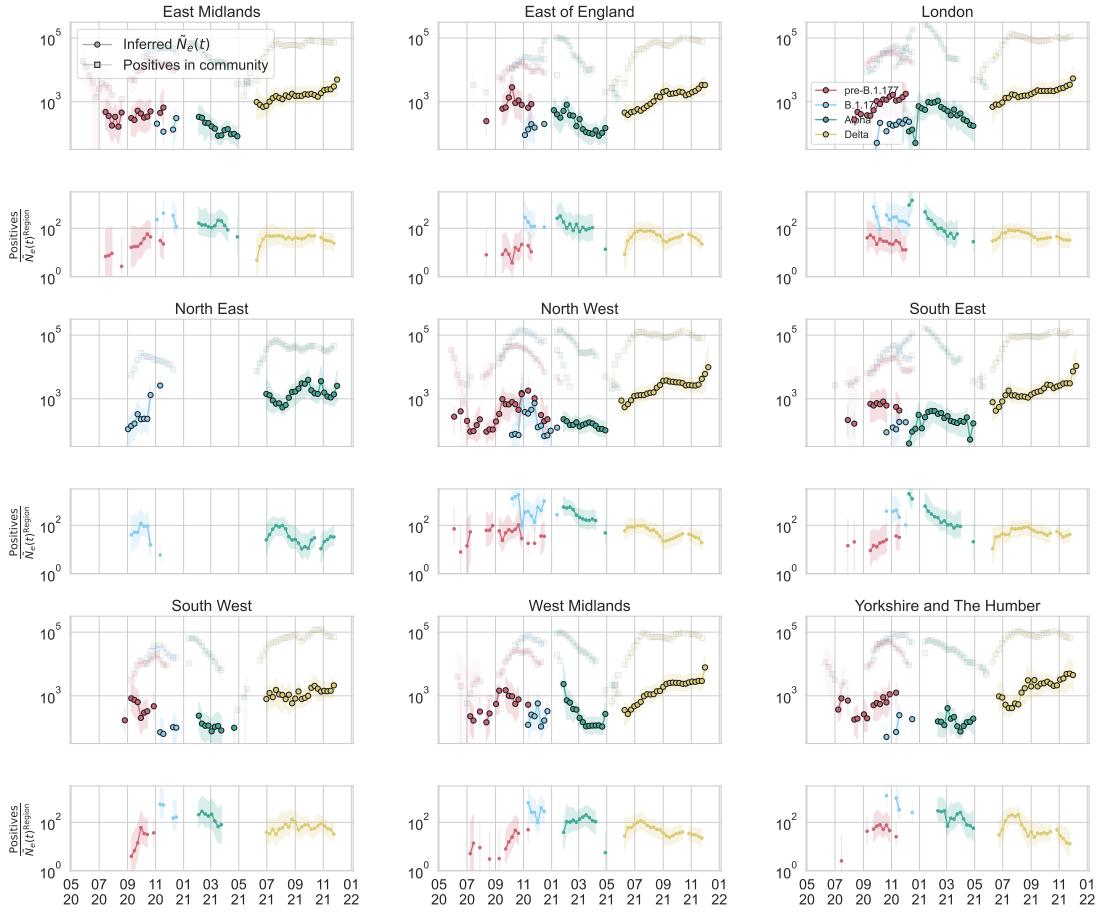


Figure S3: Inferred scaled effective population size by region in England, compared to number of positives at the community level in that region reported by the COVID-19 Infection Survey [31].

1116 Similarly to in England as a whole, the inferred measurement noise in each region was mostly indistin-
 1117 guishable from uniform sampling except for in a few timepoints (Figure S4).

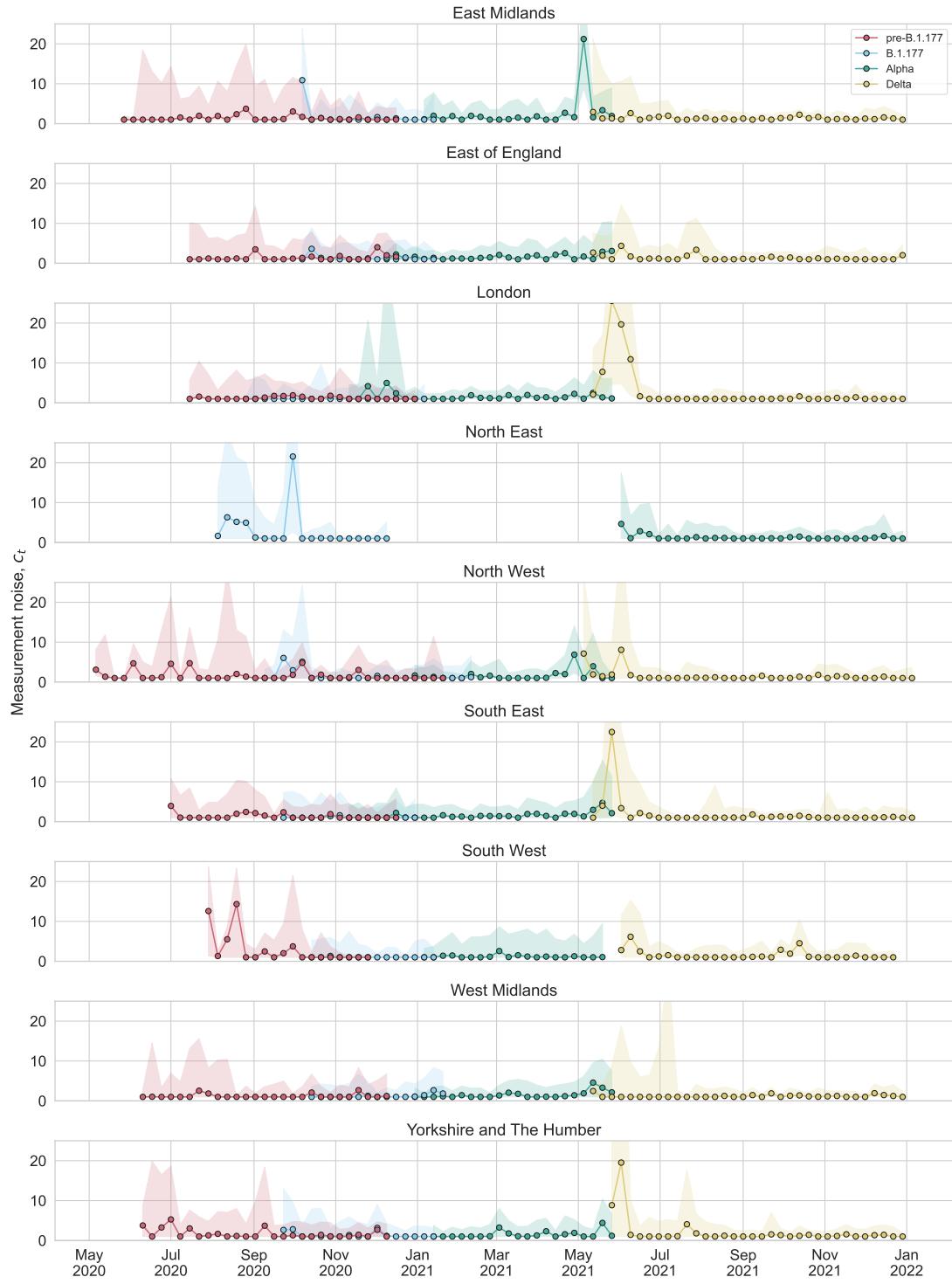


Figure S4: Inferred measurement noise by region in England.

¹¹¹⁸ Additional supplementary tables and figures

Date	Location	Method	$\langle Z \rangle$	$\text{Var}(Z)$	k	Reference
February 23 to April 22 2020	Israel	Phylogenetics	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)	[89]
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)	[90]
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)	[91]
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)	[52]
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 (,)	[53]
January 16 to April 3 2020	Human (China)	Contact tracing	0.4 (0.35, 0.47)	0.93 (0.66, 1.43)	0.3 (0.23, 0.39)	[54]
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)	[55]

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.

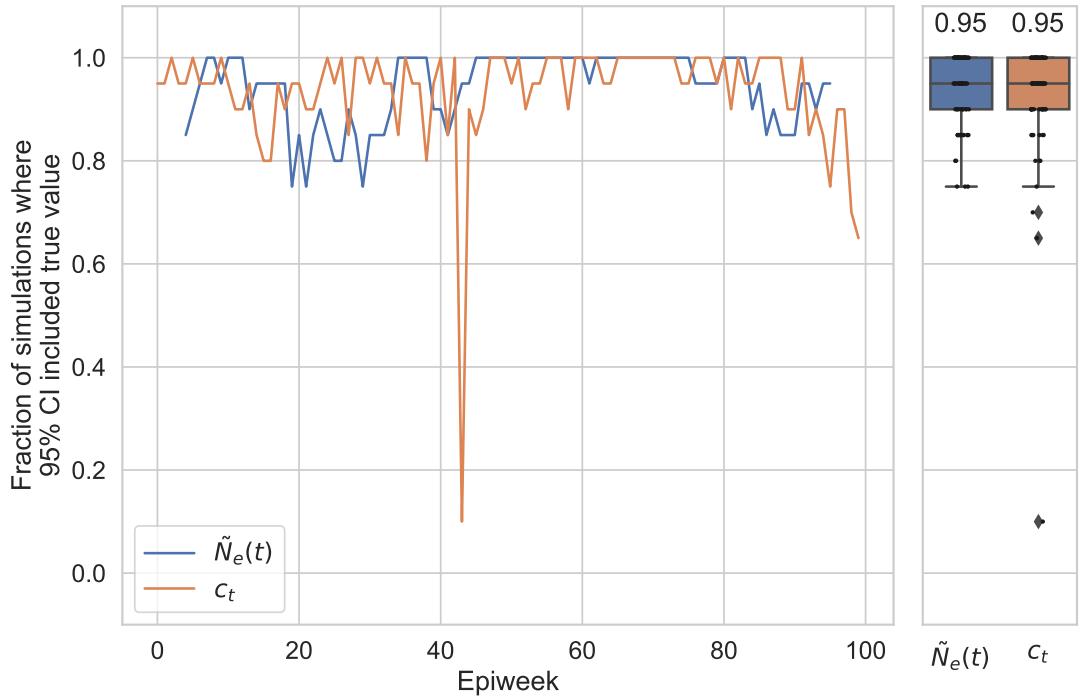


Figure S5: The fraction of simulations (20 total) where the inferred 95% confidence interval for $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ or c included the true value (left) by timepoint and (right) for all timepoints. (Right) Boxes indicate the quartiles and the line inside the box (and number above) indicates the median. 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.

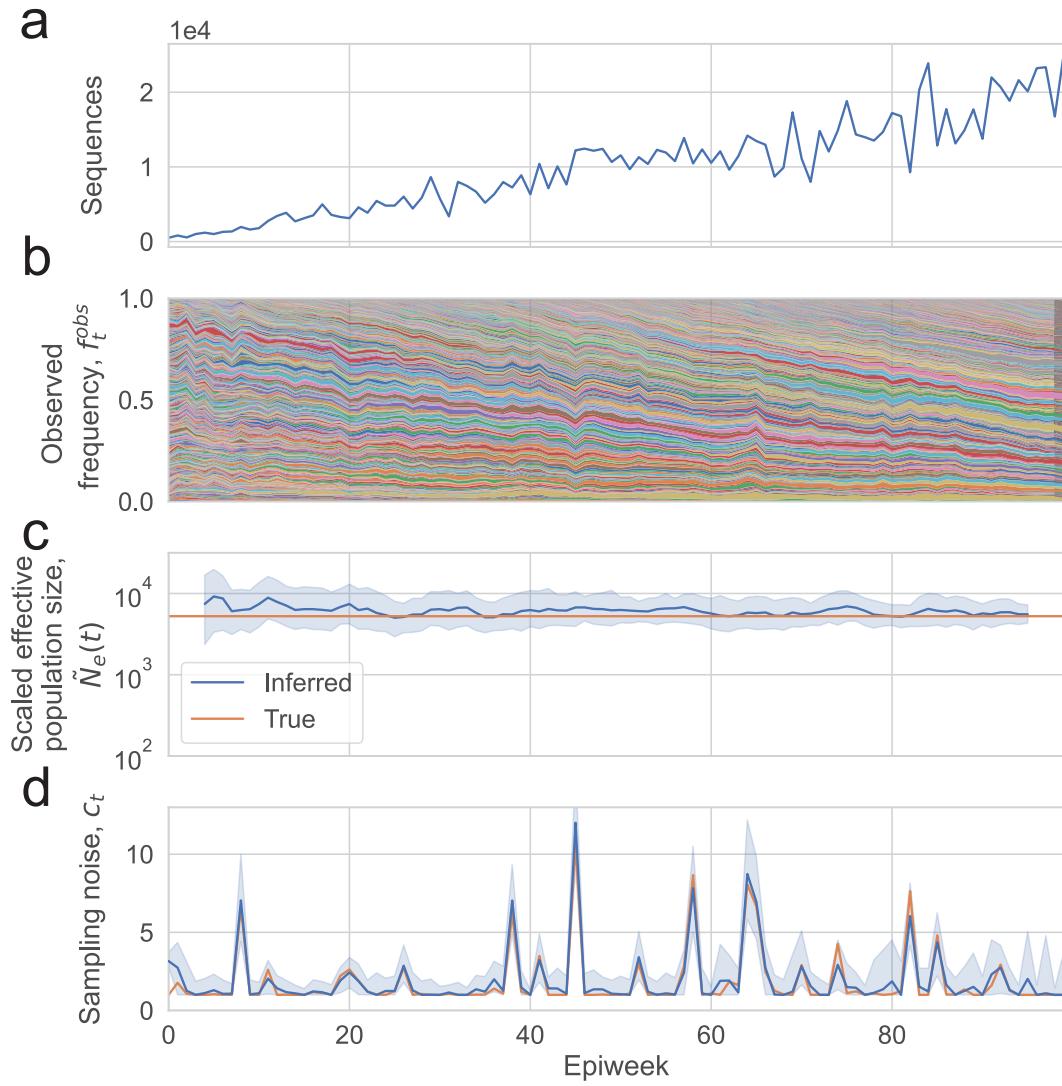


Figure S6: Wright-Fisher simulations where $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ is constant over time, and the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t . (a) Number of sequences sampled. (b) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (c) Inferred effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) on simulated data compared to true values. (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).

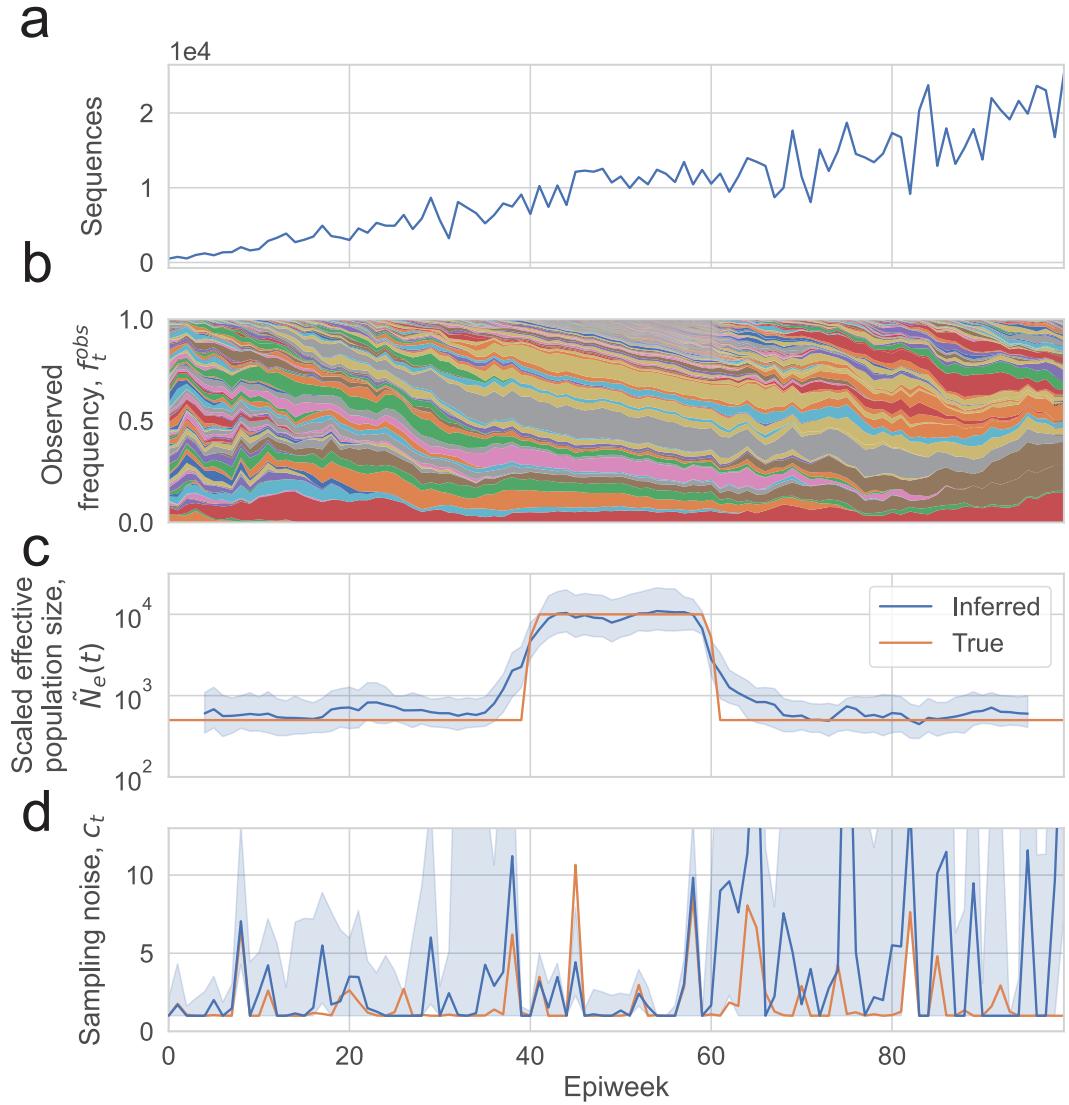


Figure S7: Wright-Fisher simulations where $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ changes over time according to a rectangular function, and the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t . (a) Number of sequences sampled. (b) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (c) Inferred effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) on simulated 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).

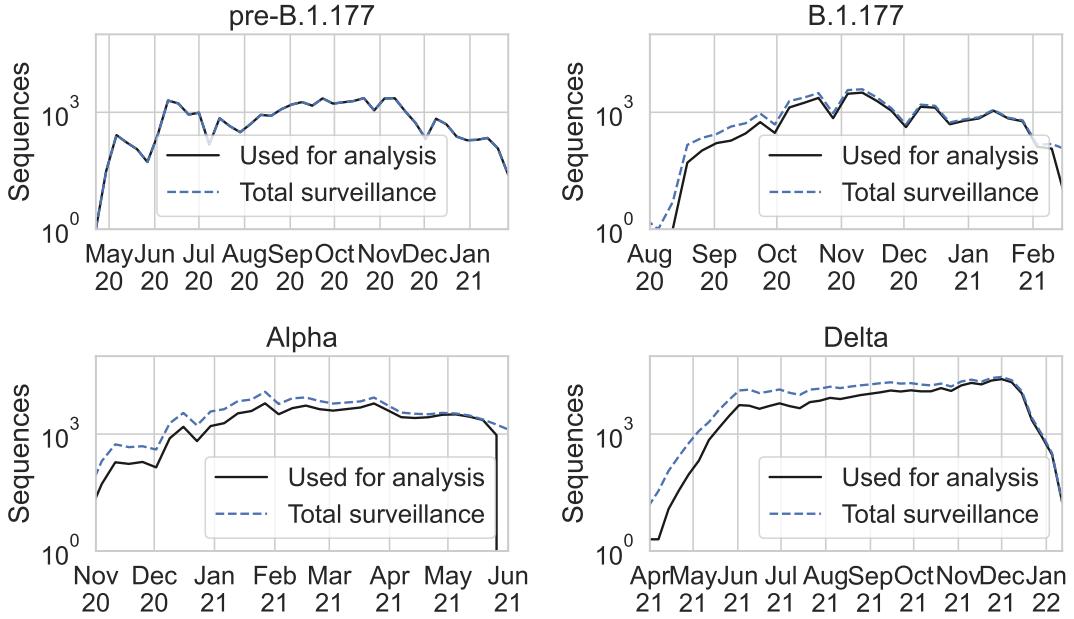


Figure S8: Total number of surveillance sequences of each variant in the metadata from COG-UK downloaded on January 16, 2022 and the number of sequences used in the analysis for each variant or group of lineages (determined by the number of sequences included in the tree, and the number of sequences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

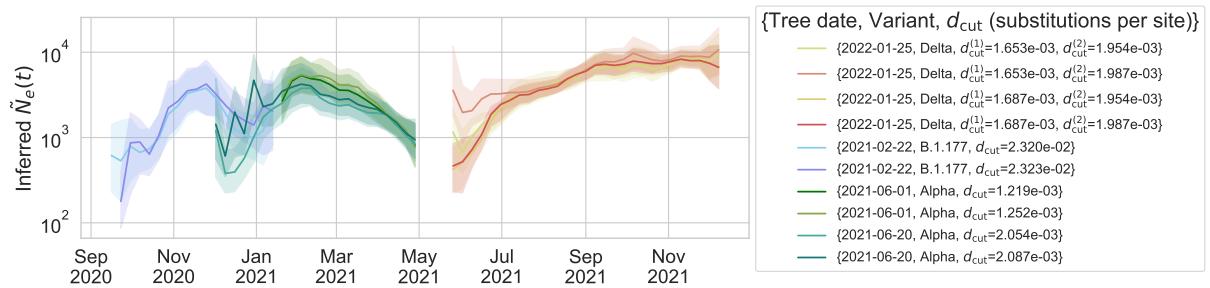


Figure S9: Varying the date of the tree downloaded from COG-UK and the depth at which the tree is cut for creating lineages (d_{cut} , which is defined as the number of mutations from the root of the tree, see Methods) does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size. The tree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

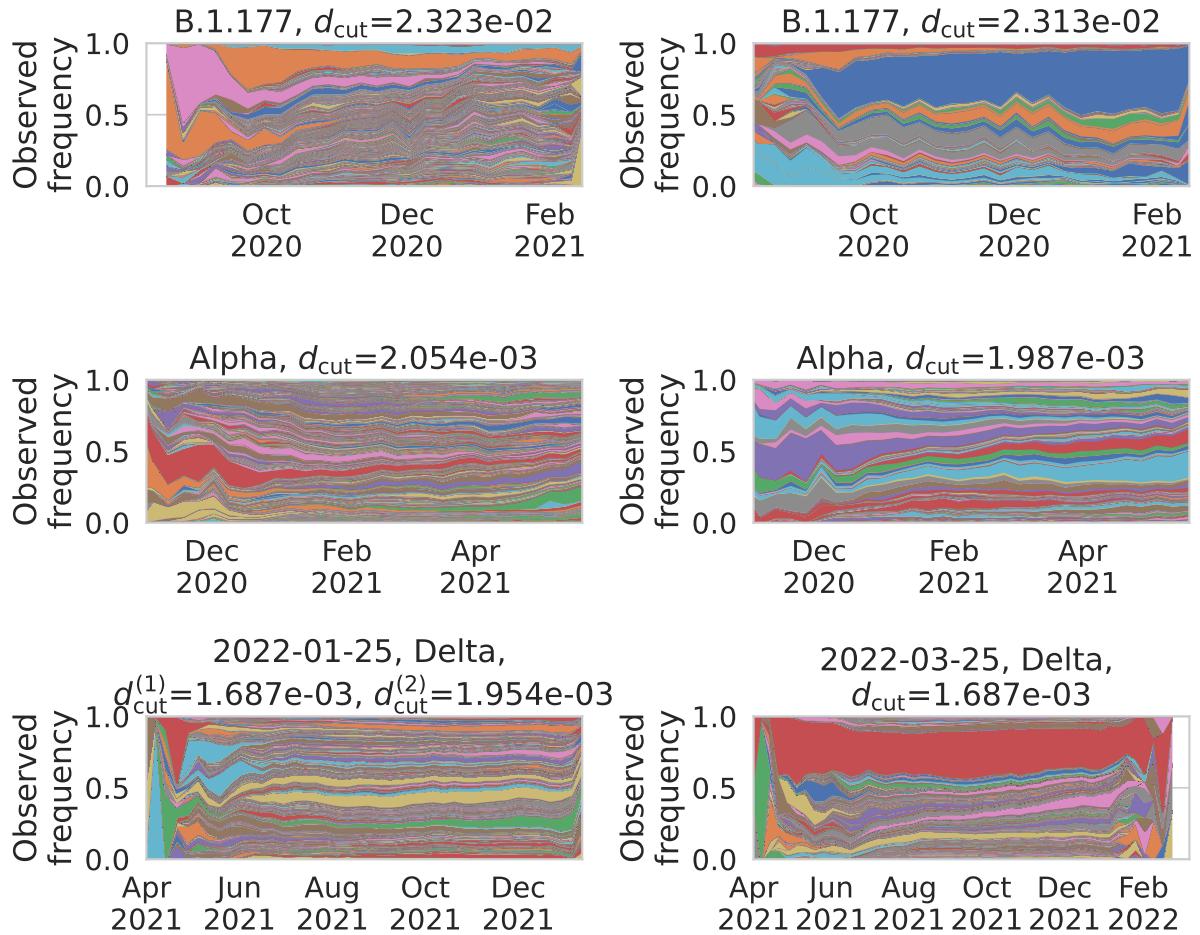
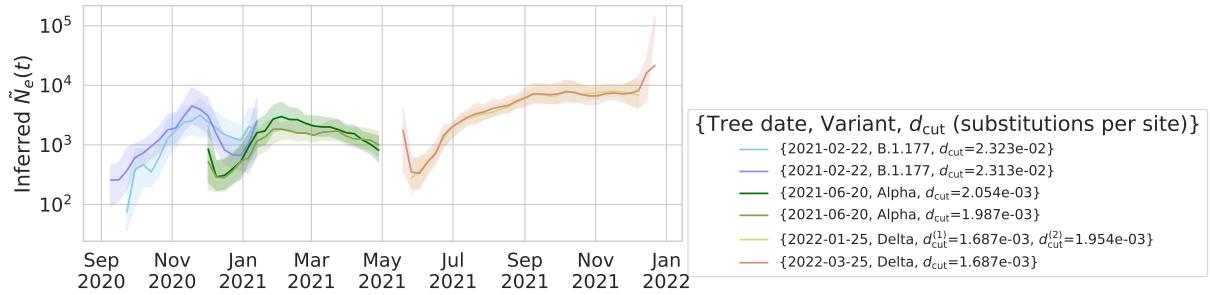


Figure S11: The lineage frequency time series using the tree cut depths shown in Figure S10.

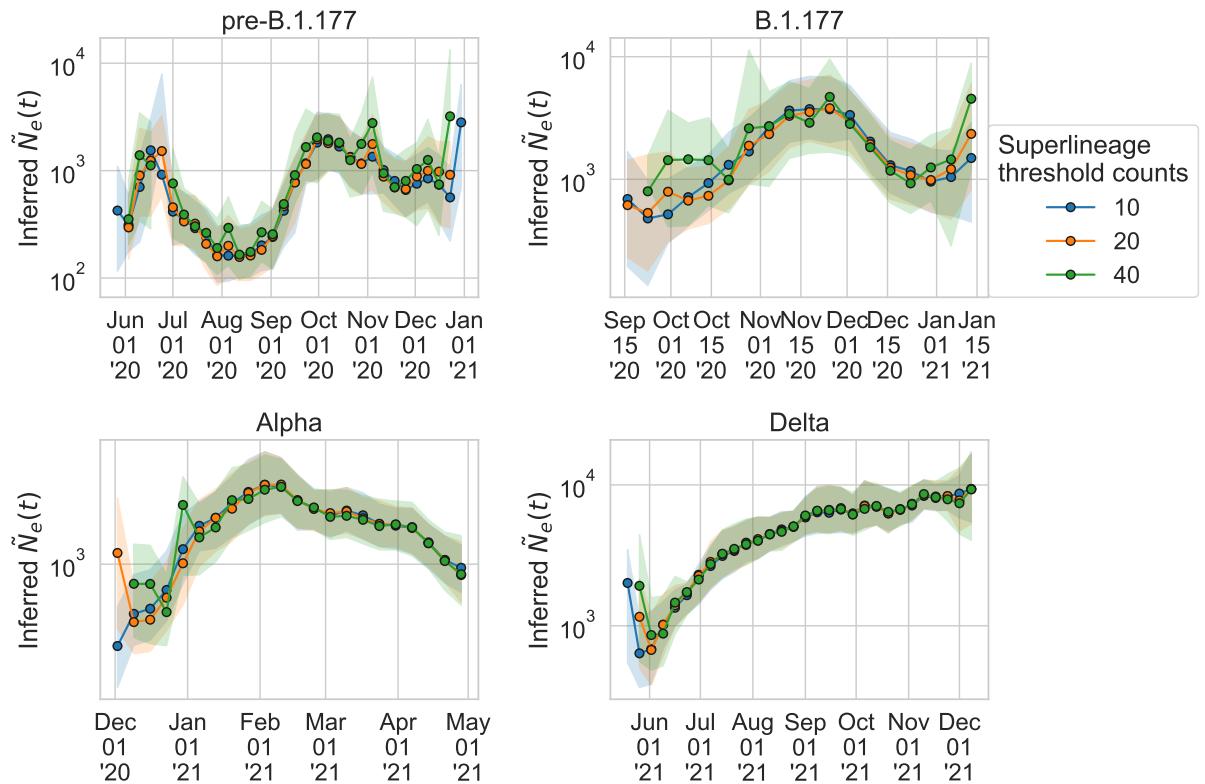


Figure S12: Varying the threshold counts for forming coarse-grained lineages (see Methods) does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size. The coarse-grained lineage threshold counts used in the main text is 20.

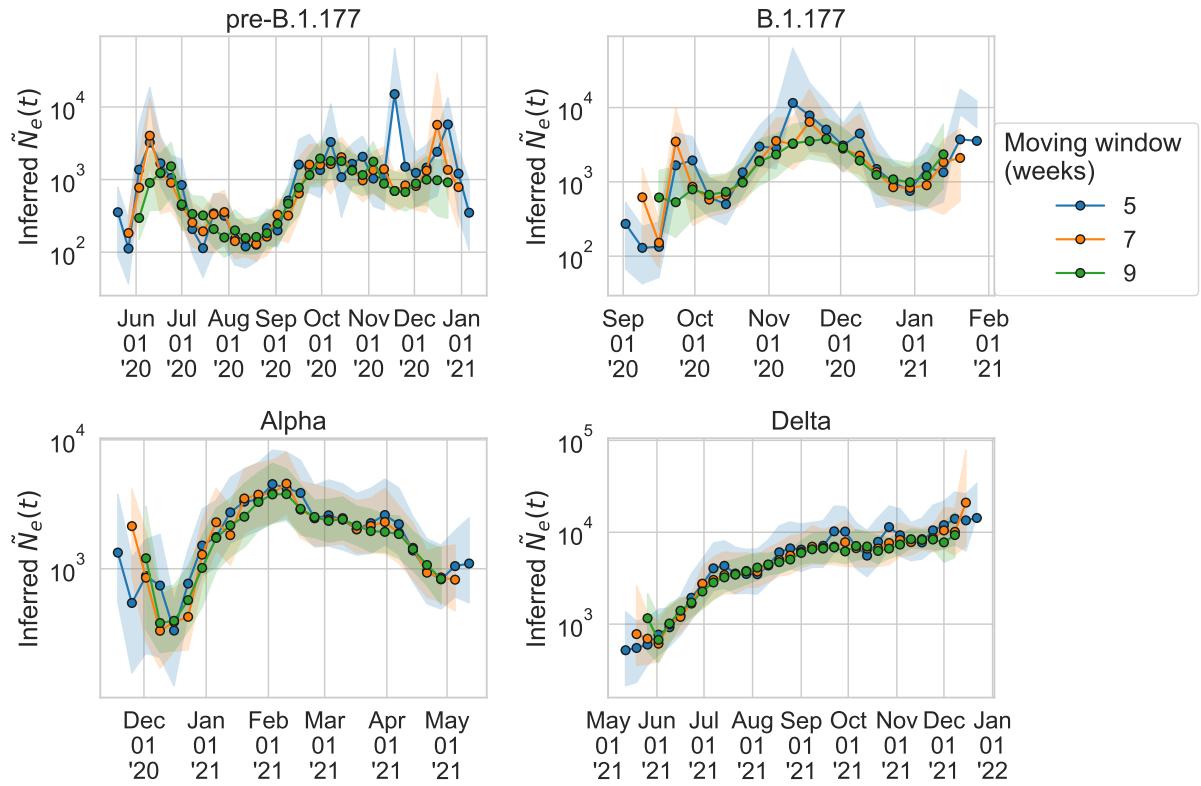


Figure S13: Varying the number of weeks in the moving window does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size. The size of the moving window used in the main text is 9 weeks.

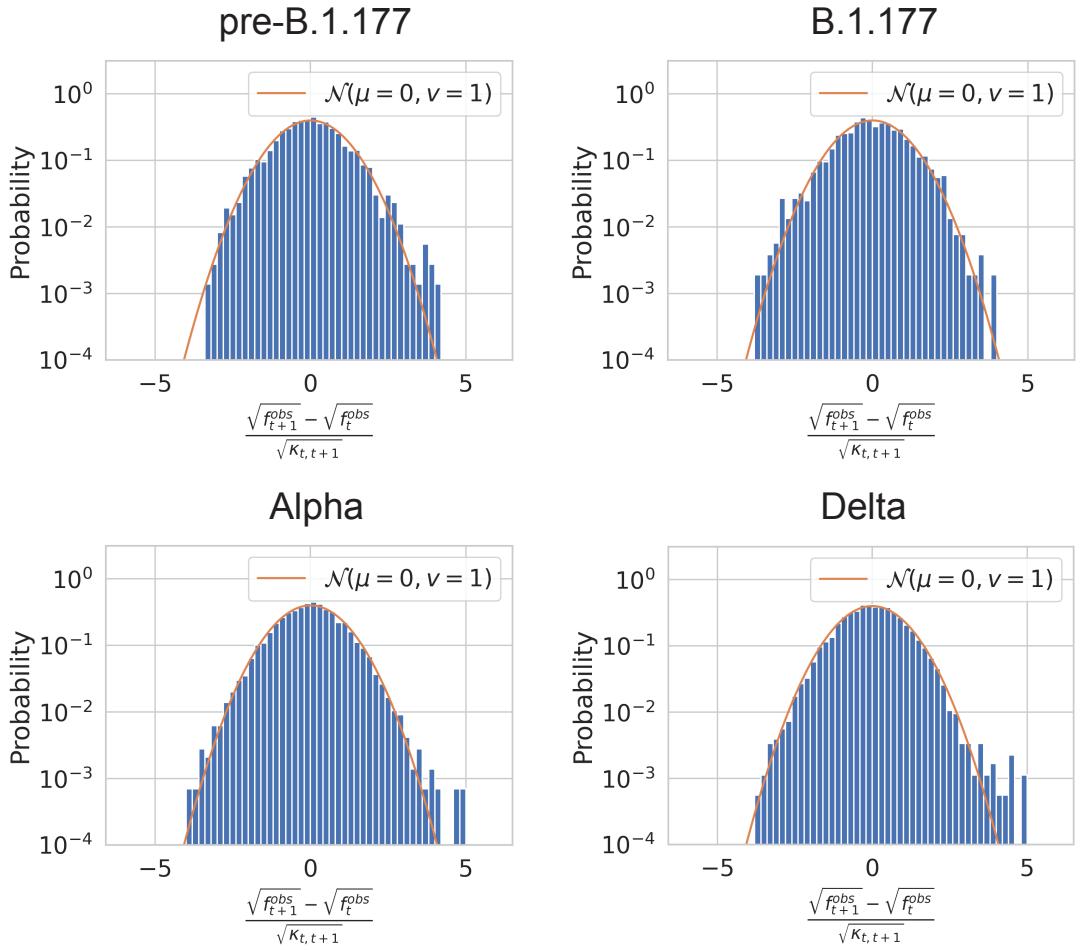


Figure S14: The distribution of square root observed frequency displacements ($\sqrt{f_{t+1}^{obs}} - \sqrt{f_t^{obs}}$) across all time points normalized by the inferred variance due to genetic drift and measurement noise ($\kappa_{t,t+1} = \frac{c_t}{4M_t} + \frac{c_{t+1}}{4M_{t+1}} + \frac{1}{\tilde{N}_e(t)}$,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

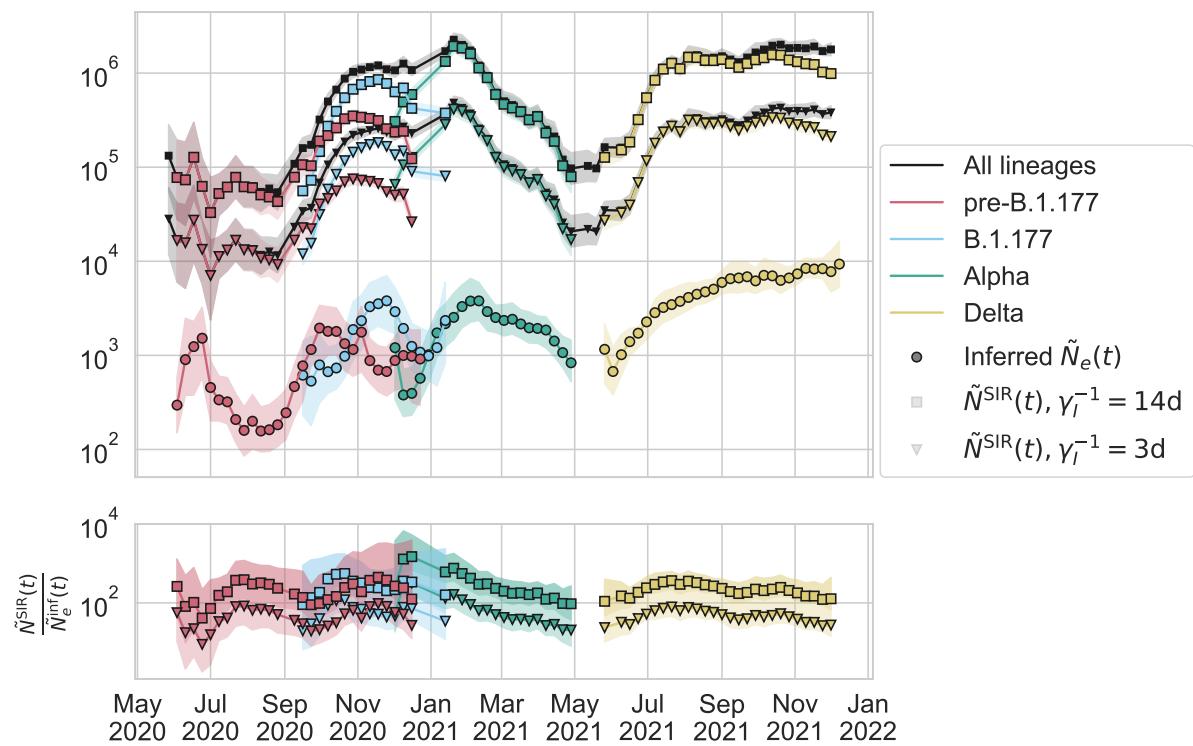


Figure S15: Varying the rate of transitioning from infected to recovered within literature ranges ($\gamma_I = 3$ to 14 days) used for calculation of the SIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ (Methods) does not substantially decrease the observed ratio $\tilde{N}_e^{\text{SIR}}(t)/\tilde{N}_e^{\text{inf}}(t)$.

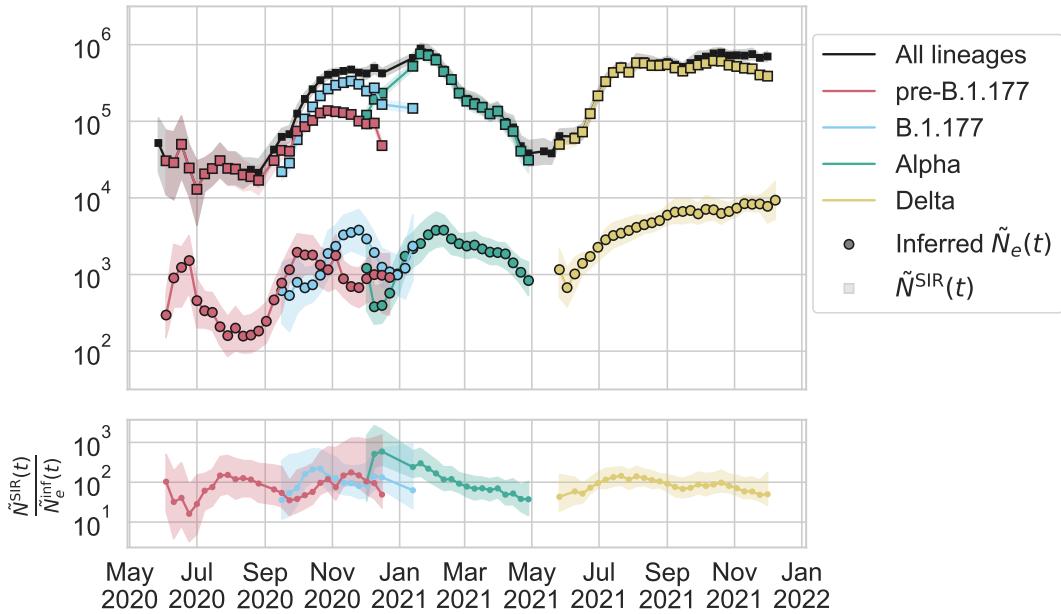


Figure S16: Inferred scaled effective population size compared to the SIR model scaled population size calculated using the observed number of positive individuals in England (see Methods).

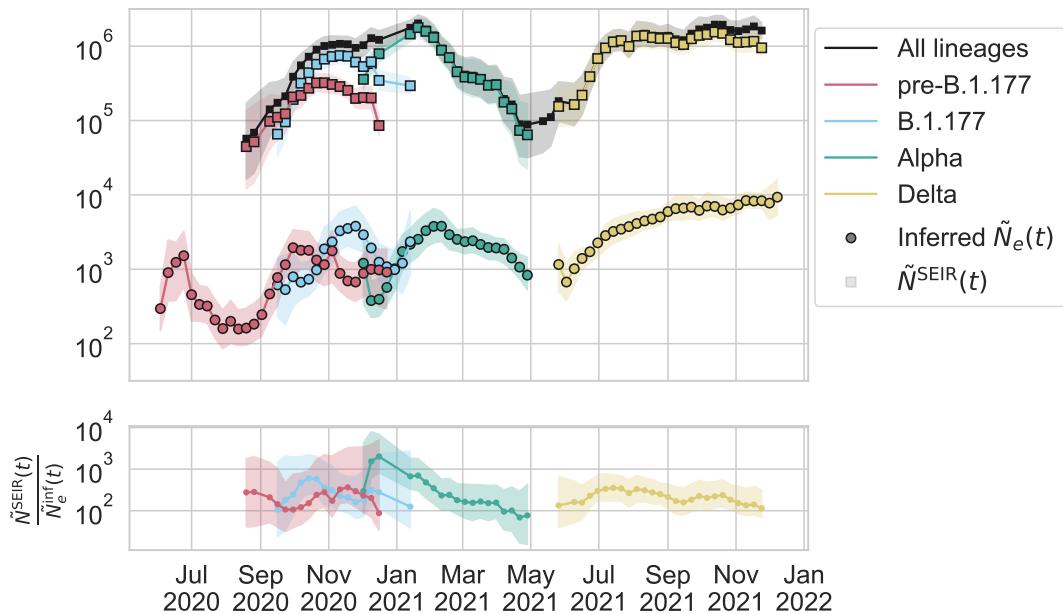


Figure S17: Inferred scaled effective population size compared to the SEIR model scaled population size calculated using the observed number of positive individuals in England (see Methods).

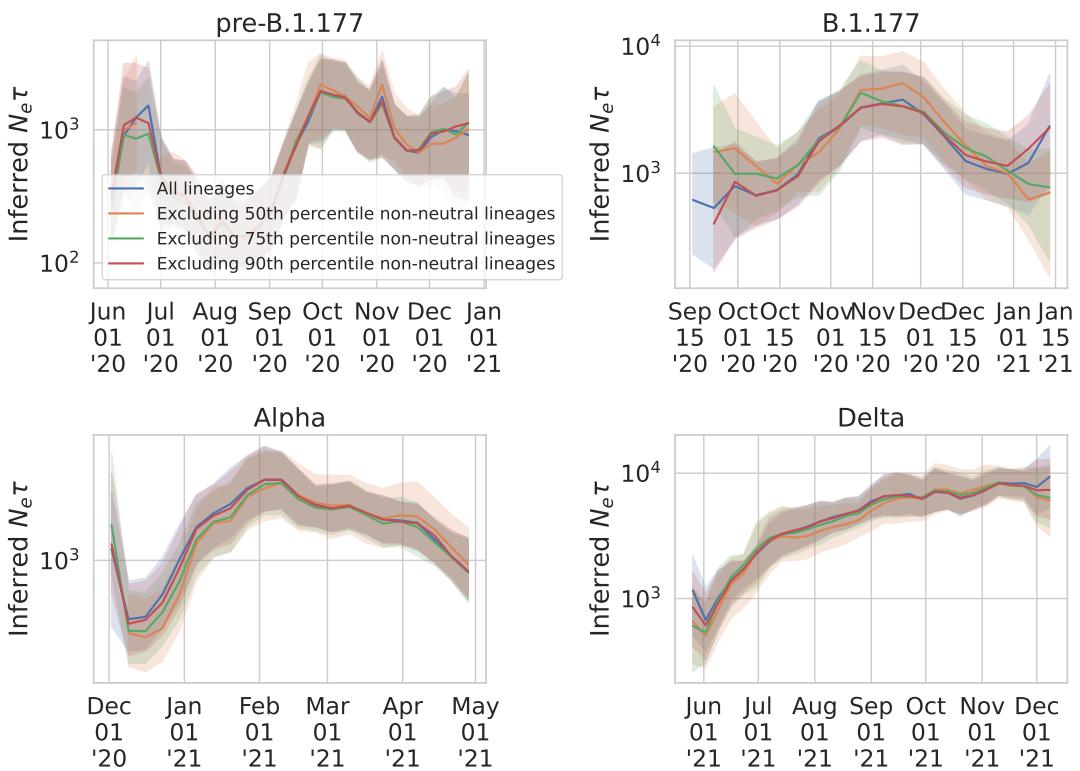


Figure S18: The inferred effective population size when excluding beneficial lineages whose inferred absolute fitness value are above the 50th ($|s| > 0.09$), 75th ($|s| > 0.16$), and 90th ($|s| > 0.27$) percentiles compared to that when all lineages are included.

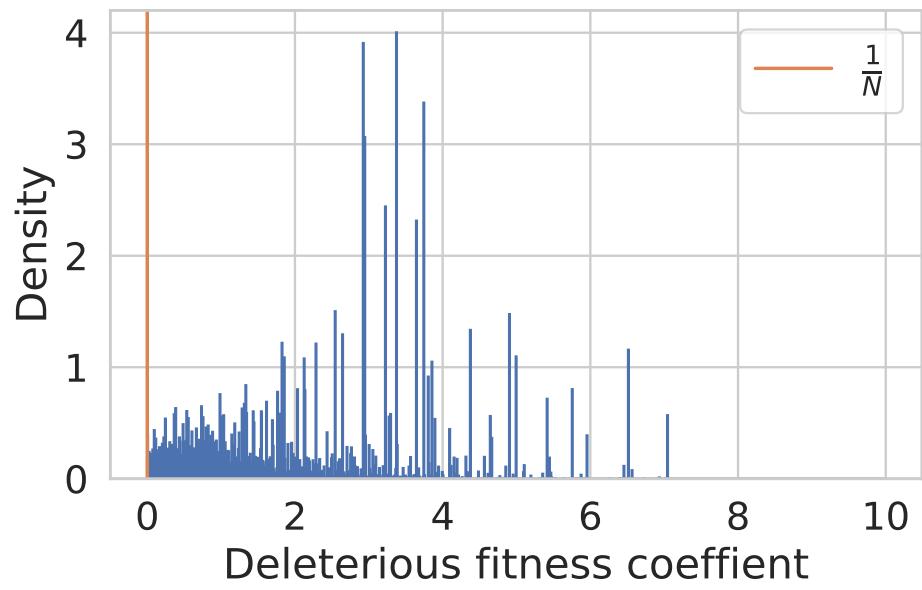


Figure S19: The distribution of deleterious fitness effects from Ref. [46]. The orange vertical line indicates $\frac{1}{N}$, which is the threshold in fitness above which selection dominates over genetic drift. Here, N is set to 10^4 , which is the order of magnitude of the census population size of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

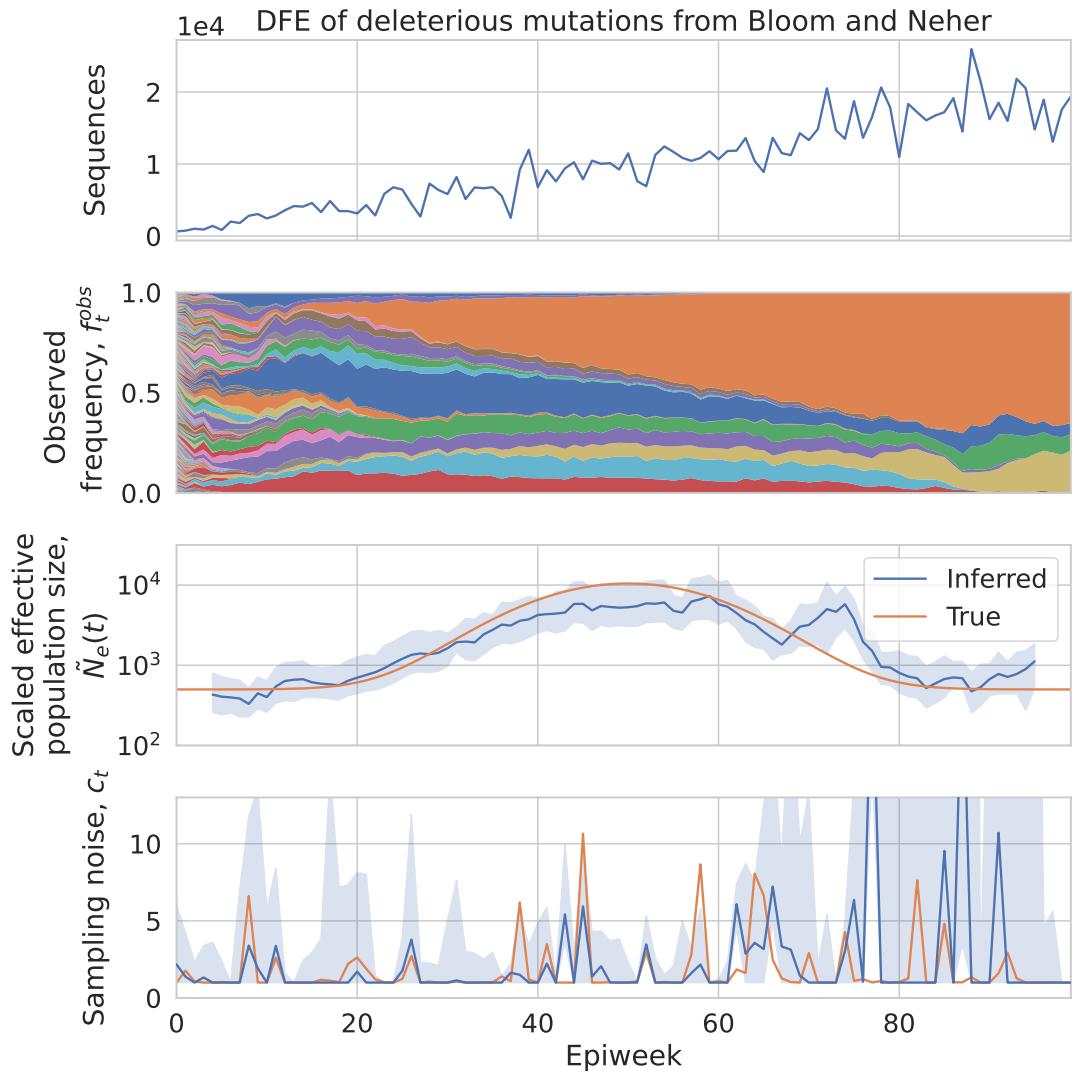


Figure S20: Simulated lineage frequency dynamics where deleterious mutations occur at rate 0.01/genome/generation and the distribution of deleterious fitness effects is taken from the empirically estimated values in Ref. [46]. The inferred effective population size and measurement noise are shown.

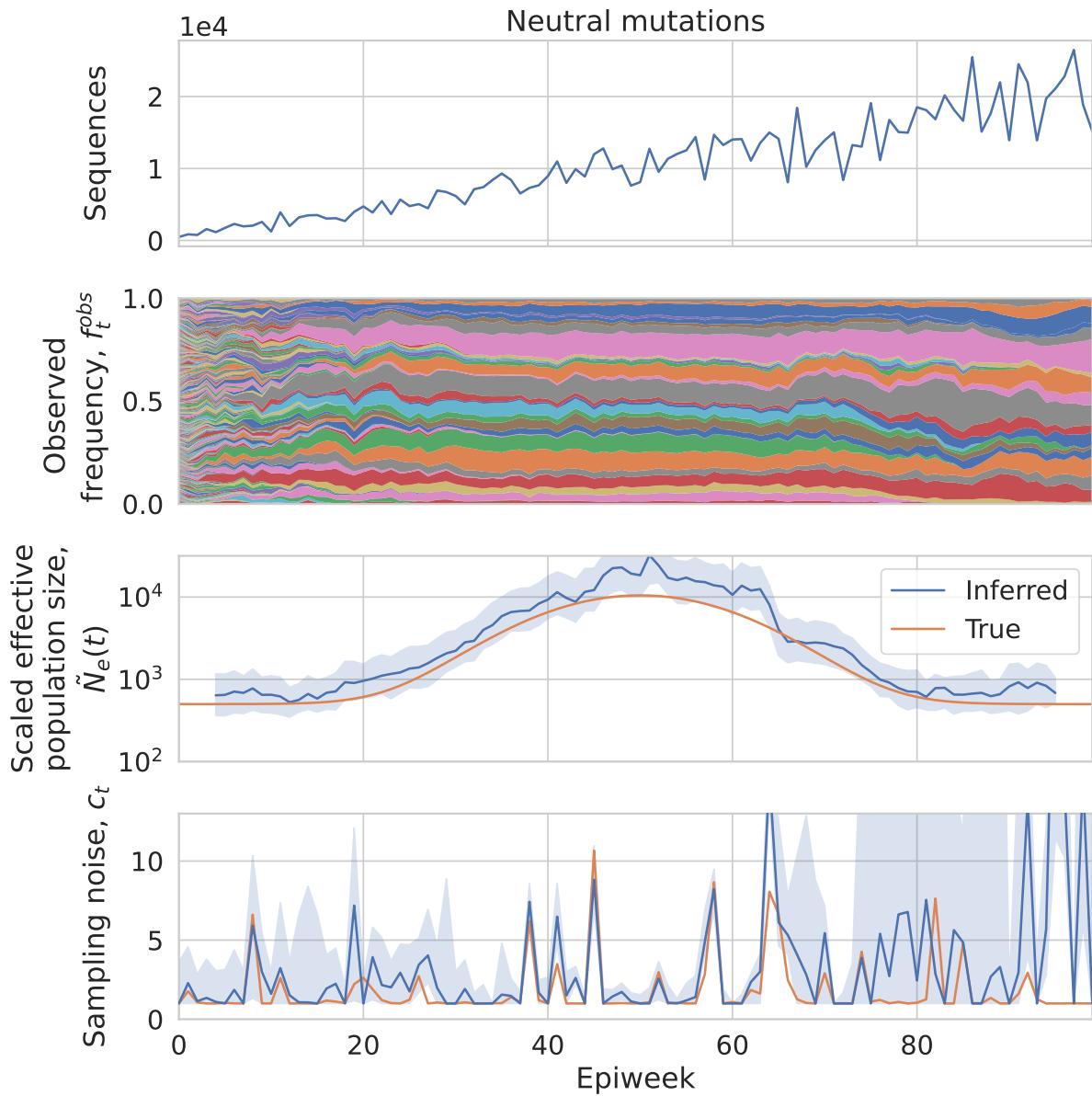


Figure S21: The same simulation as in Figure S20 but as a control, where the fitness of new mutations is always 0. The inferred effective population size and measurement noise are shown.

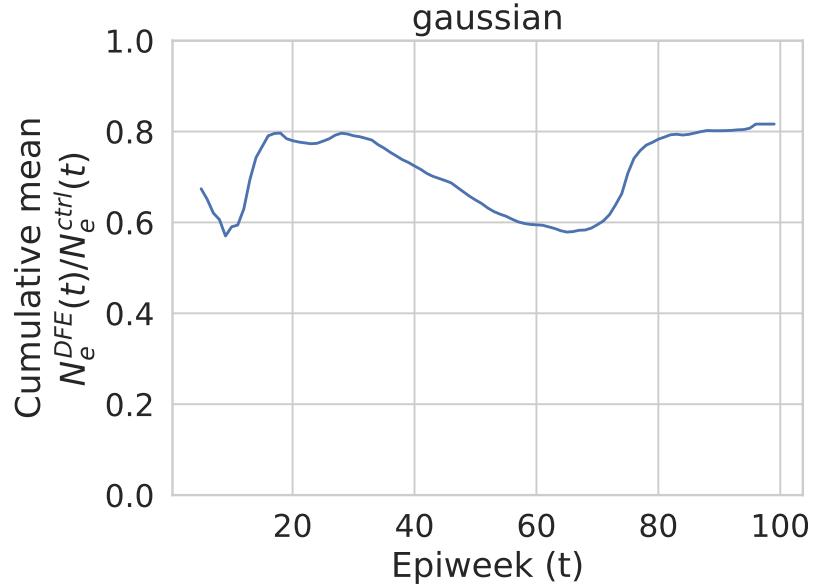


Figure S22: The cumulative mean ratio of the point estimates of the inferred effective population size in the simulations using the empirical distribution of deleterious fitness effects and the neutral simulations.

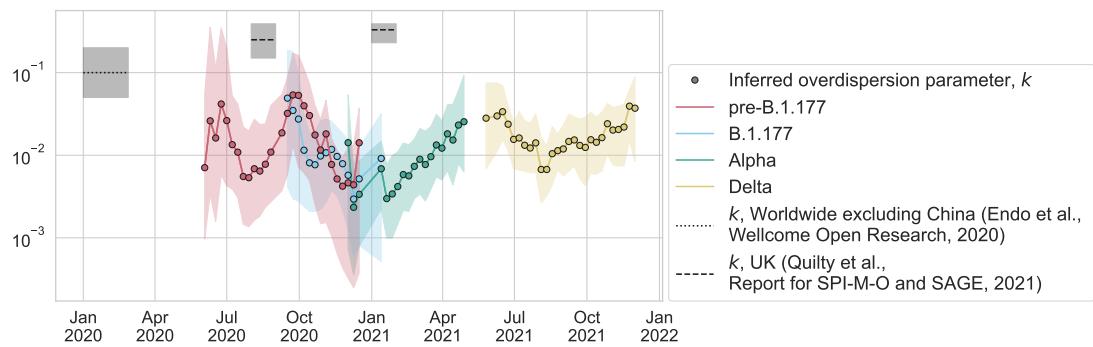


Figure S23: Same as Figure 3c, but plotting the overdispersion parameter, $k = \frac{R_t}{\frac{\sigma^2}{R_t} - 1}$, where R_t is the effective reproduction number and σ^2 is the variance in offspring number. The circles show the inferred overdispersion parameter if we assume there is only superspreading 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.

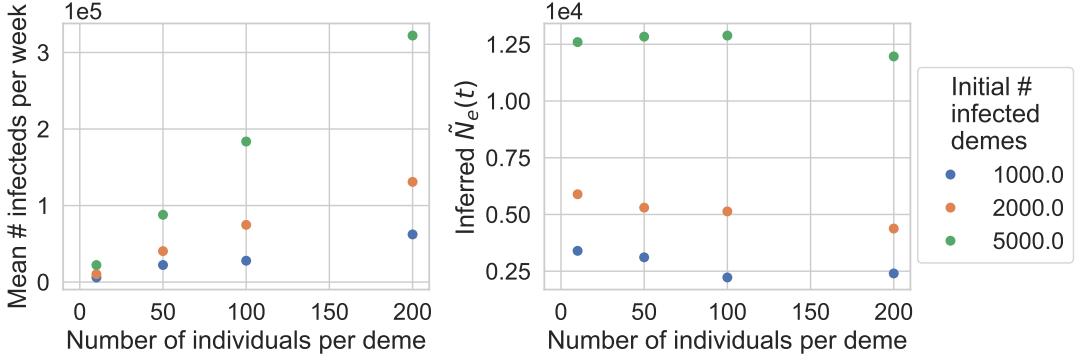


Figure S24: Simulations of deme structure (described in main text and Methods). (a) The mean number of infected individuals per week from Weeks 42 to 50. (b) The inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ using lineage trajectories from Weeks 42 to 50.

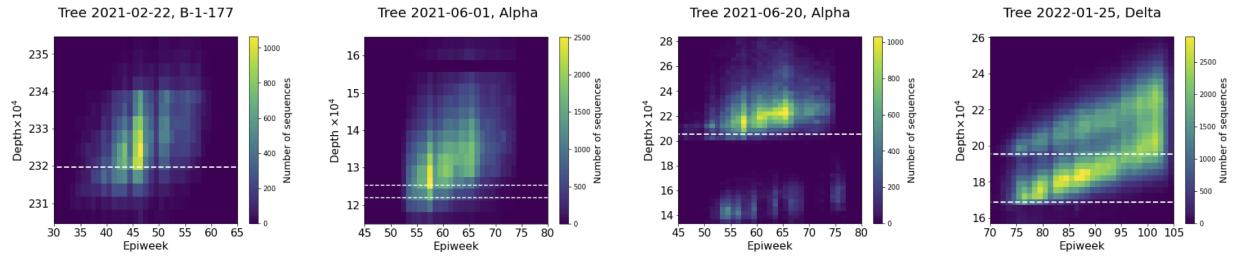


Figure S25: Sample epiweeks versus tree depths. In a phylogenetic tree, the number of sequences (leaf nodes) of a focal variant that fall within specific epiweek and tree depth ranges is counted and summarized as a two-dimensional histogram. The tree depth is the substitution rate measured in units of 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.

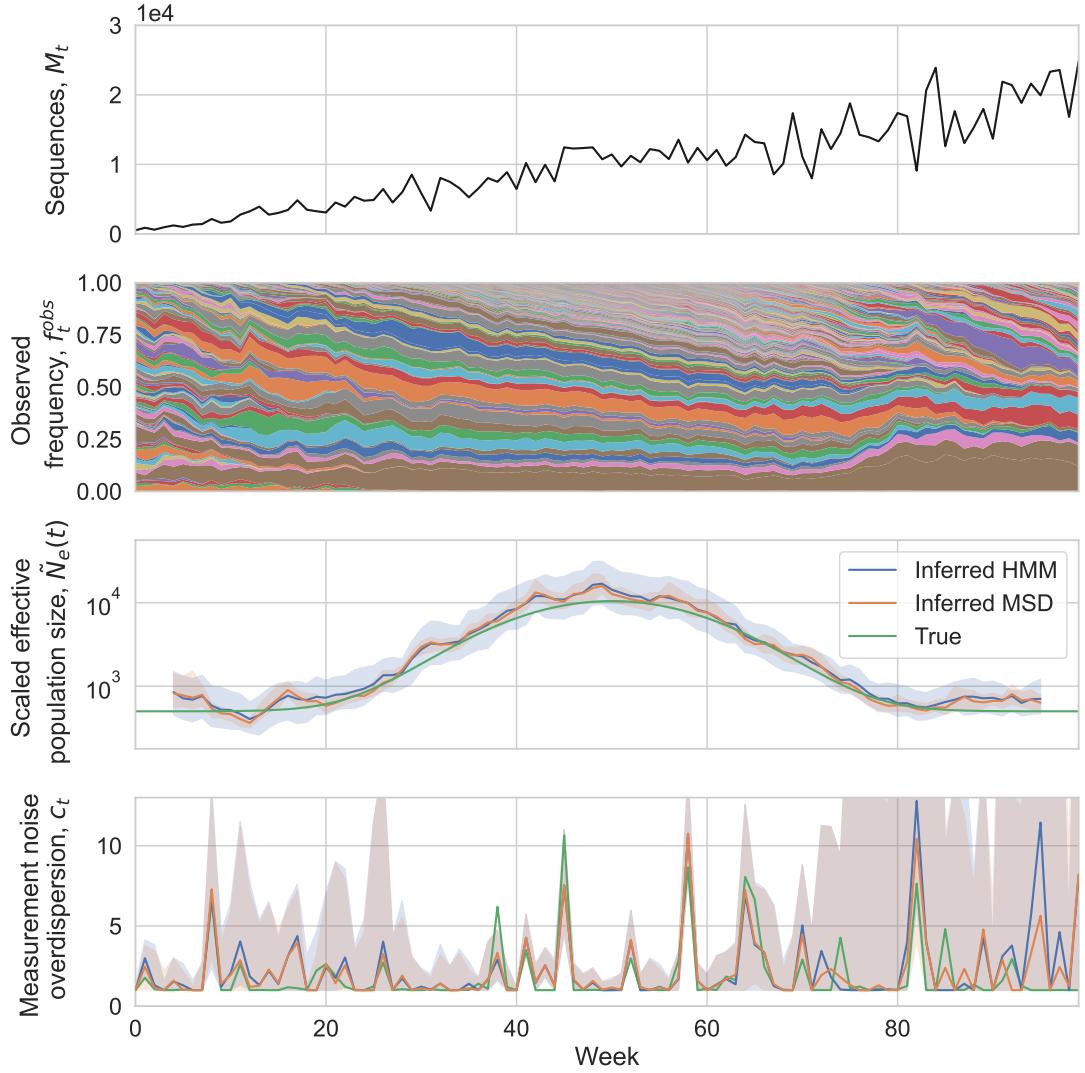


Figure S26: Comparing the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ and c_t in Wright-Fisher simulations using the method of moments and maximum likelihood estimation approaches (see Methods). (a) Number of sequences sampled. (b) Simulated lineage frequency trajectories. (c) Inferred effective population size ($\tilde{N}_e(t)$) 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).

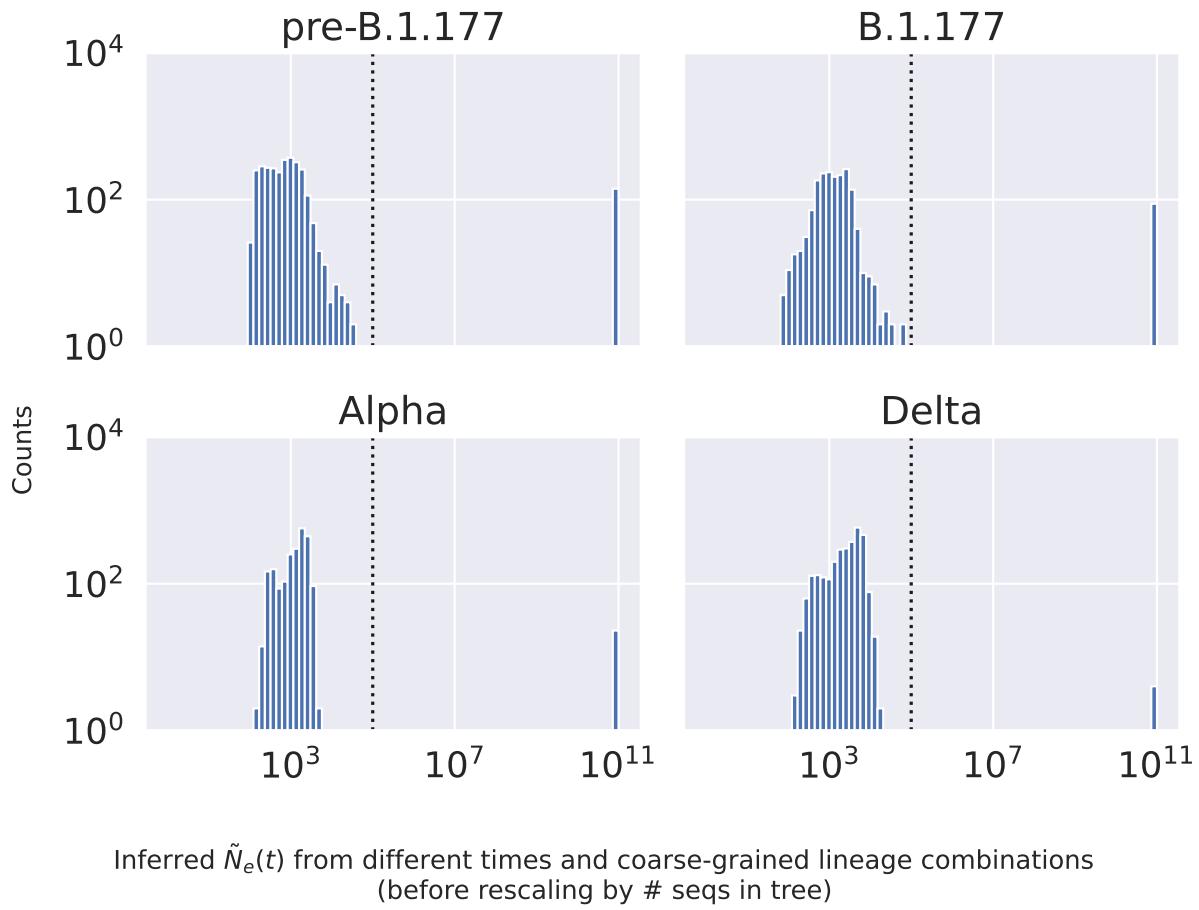


Figure S27: Inferred effective population size from different times and coarse-grained lineage combinations. The vertical dashed line indicates 10^5 which is the value above which results in the text were thrown away due to non-convergence (these only include values at 10^{11}).

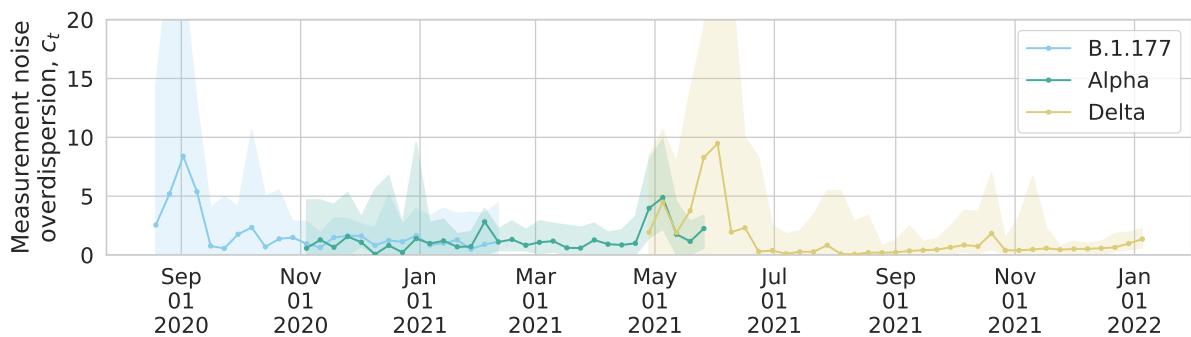


Figure S28: The inferred measurement noise overdispersion parameter for England as a whole when changing the lower bound of the overdispersion parameter from 1 to 0.

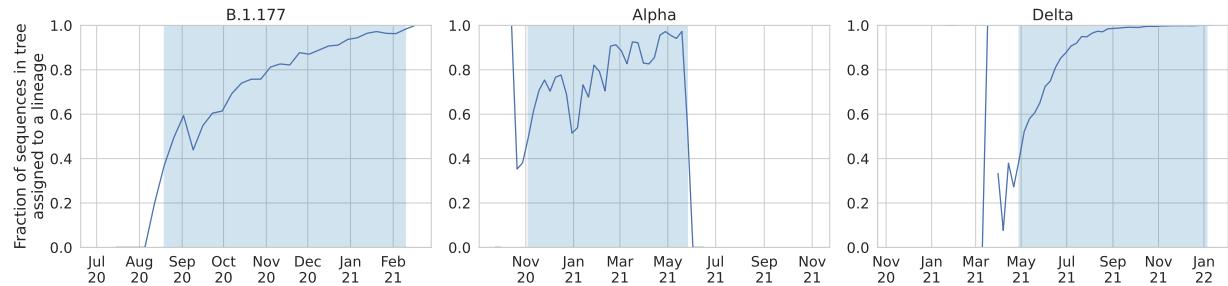


Figure S29: The fraction of sequences in the tree that are assigned to a lineage. The blue shading indicates the period of time in the data that was used for the inference analysis.

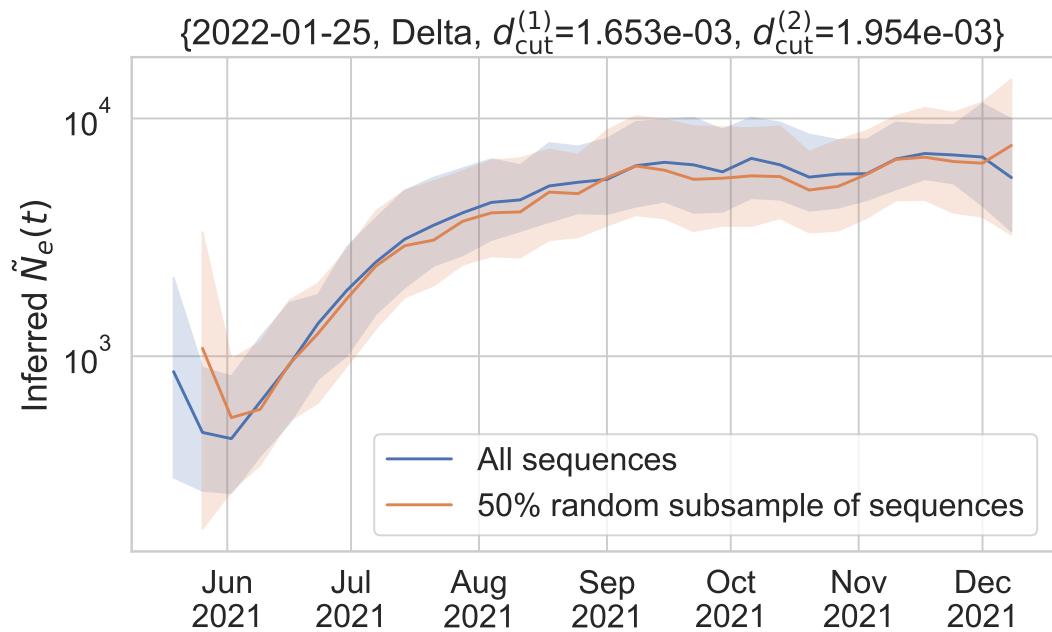


Figure S30: Randomly subsampling half of the Delta sequences used for the analysis does not substantially change the inferred scaled effective population size.

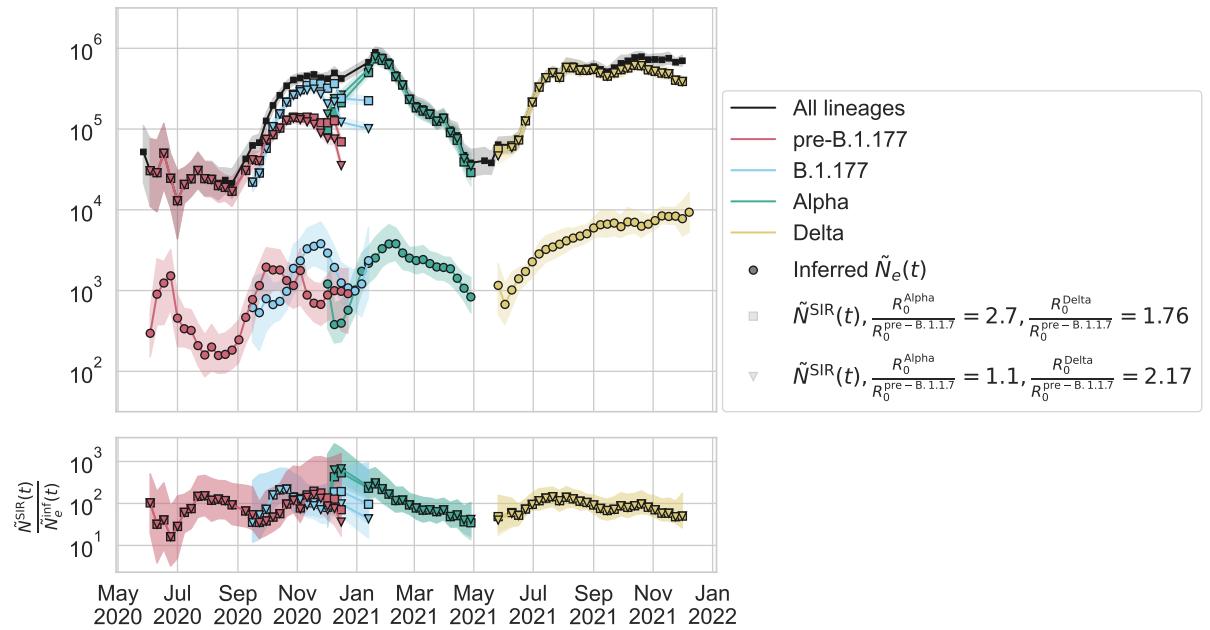


Figure S31: Varying the values of the basic reproduction number within literature ranges ($\frac{R_0^{\text{Alpha}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1.1 - 2.7$ [17], $\frac{R_0^{\text{Delta}}}{R_0^{\text{pre-B.1.177}}} = 1.76 - 2.17$ [75]) used for calculation of the SIR model $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ by variant (Methods) does not substantially affect the calculated $\tilde{N}^{\text{SIR}}(t)$.

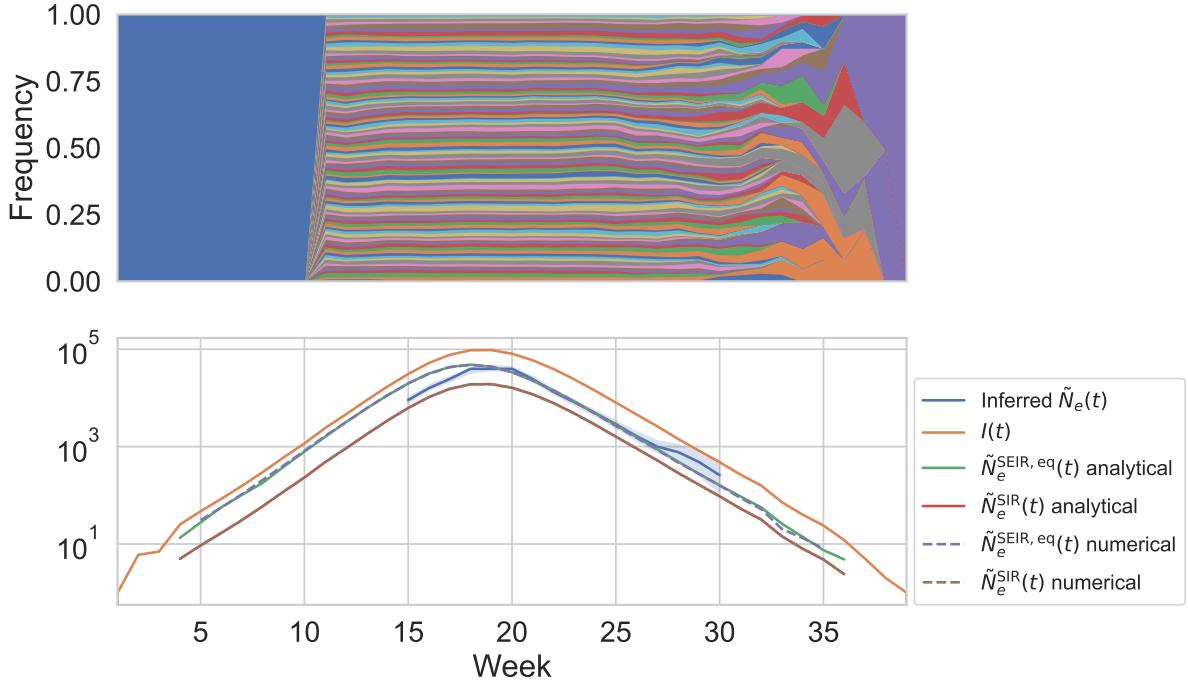


Figure S32: Simulations of stochastic SEIR dynamics without measurement noise, and comparison of the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to Equations 1 and 49 when the reported positive individuals include only the infectious individuals. (Top) Muller plot of simulated infectious individuals' lineage trajectories (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.

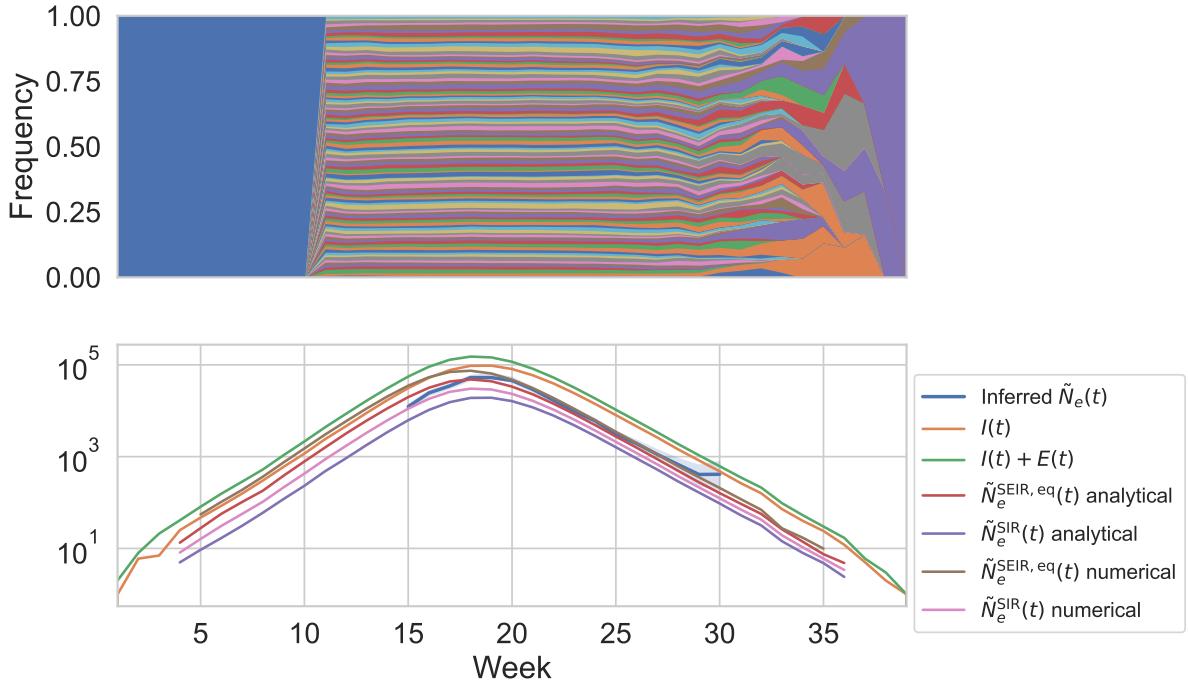


Figure S33: Simulations of stochastic SEIR dynamics without measurement noise, and comparison of the inferred $\tilde{N}_e(t)$ to Equations 1 and 49 when the reported positive individuals include both infectious and exposed individuals. (Top) Muller plot of simulated infectious and exposed individuals' 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 $\tilde{N}_e(t)$.

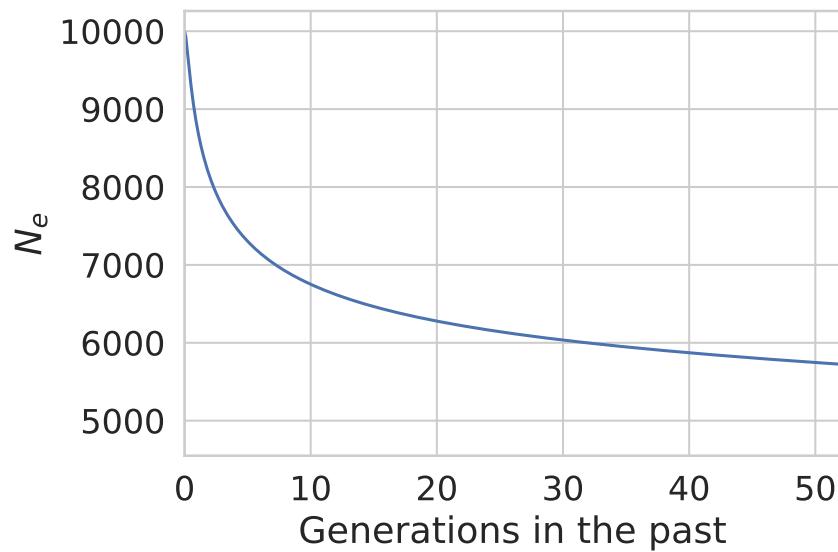


Figure S34: The effect of the empirically estimated distribution of deleterious fitness effects in SARS-CoV-2 [46] on the effective population size using the analytical theory derived in Ref. [84] (Equation 67). In this calculation, the effective population size in the absence of background selection is 10^4 , the clock rate is 31 substitutions per year, and the generation time is 5.1 days.