

# One limitation:

Ambiguous evidence.

**Unspecified punishment:** 1,490 codings of 'evidence for'

**Second-party punishment:** 1,189 codings of 'evidence for'

**Third-party punishment:** 4,236 codings of 'evidence for'

Did we miss a lot of 2PP?

Third-party punishment is not confined to “complex” societies: across 60 societies we find substantial ethnographic evidence for 3PP, with weak or inconsistent support for the idea that institutional development is a prerequisite for punitive enforcement.