

Evolutionary parsimony: an equilibrium refinement that sharply constrains the space of outcomes in games with multiple equilibria

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Abstract

Evolutionary game theory loses much of its predictive power in games with multiple equilibria. For such games, this paper introduces a simple and general refinement principle, grounded in evolutionary dynamics, that sharply narrows the set of possible outcomes. Rather than designing strategies from scratch, evolution shapes them gradually through the accumulation of adaptive mutations, the vast majority of which have small effects. This process can be approximated heuristically by assuming that smaller-effect mutations always occur first, ignoring the unlikely possibility that larger-effect mutations appear earlier. This approximation leads to a principle of adaptive parsimony: at each step, evolution always follows the simplest possible path. As a result, most theoretically possible equilibria are actually unreachable, as they would require a transition where a large-effect mutation fixes despite a simpler alternative being available. What remains is a small subset of equilibria that seem intuitively reasonable from a biological perspective: those that (i) preserve ecological symmetry, (ii) do not rely on non-credible threats, and (iii) avoid the bizarre behavioral patterns predicted by the folk theorem in repeated games.

1 Introduction

The success of evolutionary game theory, alongside behavioral ecology, lies in its ability to impose strict constraints on what evolution can and cannot produce. The stringent conditions required for a strategy to be evolutionarily stable enable precise insights into a wide range of behaviors, from sexual selection to parent-offspring conflict and kin altruism (1–3).

Yet, in certain areas of behavior, this predictive power is weaker, as multiple evolutionarily stable or neutrally stable strategies coexist, making it impossible to single out a clear evolutionary outcome. In such cases, evolutionary game theory loses the precision it offers in other contexts, predicting a broad range of possible equilibria without providing a straightforward way to choose between them.

This is particularly evident in reciprocal cooperation, where a wide range of strategies—some highly counterintuitive and involving intricate behavioral patterns—can be equilibria as long as they elicit favorable responses from others, a result central to the theory of repeated games and known as the "folk theorem" (4–8).

And this problem is not unique to repeated games. In bargaining games, for instance, where players negotiate how to divide a resource, a single unique equilibrium is rare. Instead, multiple equilibria often arise, with each side's strategy co-adapted to the other (9–12).

To address this issue, game theorists have long worked to narrow down the set of plausible equilibria, developing a range of refinement concepts (13, 14). Within this broader effort, some researchers have specifically explored why certain equilibria might be favored over others in an evolutionary context, identifying two main mechanisms. The first is group selection, which is thought to favor socially efficient equilibria (15–18). The second involves selection pressure from rare mutants, captured by the second ESS condition or the concept of robustness to indirect invasion, whose effects depend on the specific model (19–24).

However, these mechanisms have two shortcomings. First, they rely on forces that are generally considered weak in evolutionary terms. While they may influence allelic frequencies under restrictive conditions, these forces are typically overshadowed by other selective pressures (25–27). Second, they act ex post, focusing on competition between equilibria after they have emerged, leaving unanswered the question of which equilibria are more likely to arise in the first place.

This paper takes a different approach. Rather than focusing on weak forces acting through ex post competition, it aims to understand how evolutionary dynamics narrow the range of equilibria ex ante, with some more likely to be reached than others.

While a rich body of literature explicitly models evolutionary dynamics in repeated games (28–31), it has yet to yield a simple, overarching theory. Instead, each case appears unique, with factors like the choice of mutation matrix playing a decisive role (32, 33).

Such an overarching theory already exists for the evolution of *quantitative* traits: the theory of adaptive dynamics (34–38). It provides broad insights into evolutionary processes

40 based on two central assumptions: adaptive mutations are rare and have small effects.
41 These assumptions enable two approximations that make evolutionary modeling tractable.
42 First, the rarity of adaptive mutations allows them to be treated as occurring sequentially,
43 with each mutation either fixing or being lost before the next one appears. This allows
44 to approximate evolution as a 'trait substitution sequence.' Second, the small effect of
45 these mutations allows the adaptation process to be approximated as continuous, with each
46 mutation producing an infinitesimally small change.

47 This paper seeks to extend these assumptions to games with a discrete strategy space,
48 such as repeated games. The challenge is that the assumption of small mutation effects
49 cannot be directly applied, as it would require setting an arbitrary upper limit on mutation
50 size. To address this, I propose a gradual interpretation of the assumption: instead of
51 imposing a fixed limit on mutation size, it simply posits that while any mutation is possible,
52 smaller-effect mutations occur more frequently than larger ones. This assumption is strongly
53 supported by both theoretical models of adaptation (39–41) and empirical evidence on the
54 distribution of beneficial mutation effects (42–44), both of which show that small-effect
55 mutations are more frequent than large-effect ones.

56 This extension allows for a different type of approximation suited to discrete models. At
57 each step in the trait substitution sequence, when multiple substitution events are theoret-
58 ically possible—because several mutant strategies offer an advantage over the resident—it
59 can be approximated that the mutation with the smallest effect will always arise first. Con-
60 sequently, at each step, evolution consistently favors the transition that requires the fewest
61 mutational changes. In other words, while the small mutation effects assumption for quan-
62 titative traits allows adaptation to be approximated as a gradual process, its extension to
63 discrete traits allows adaptation to be approximated as proceeding in the 'most gradual way
64 possible.'

65 This approximation narrows the range of possible evolutionary dynamics, providing
66 heuristic insights into which equilibria are most likely to arise from a given initial state.
67 Its main effect is to act as an evolutionary Occam's razor: when multiple evolutionary tran-
68 sitions are possible, the simplest one always occurs. Larger evolutionary changes can happen
69 only if subsequent mutations provide an advantage after the simplest mutant has already
70 established itself. For this reason, I refer to the dynamics and equilibria resulting from this
71 approximation as evolutionarily parsimonious.

72 The multiplicity of equilibria arises from the social nature of selection: the payoff of
73 an action depends on how others respond, and their payoff, in turn, depends on further
74 reactions. In some games, this circularity weakens the connection between selection and
75 environmental constraints, leaving room for arbitrariness in adaptive behavior. Any behav-
76 ioral pattern, however complex, can become an equilibrium as long as it elicits favorable
77 responses from others.

78 The main effect of evolutionary parsimony is to prevent the evolution of such complex
79 patterns. Since they have no intrinsic advantage, their only benefit being to match similar

80 patterns in others, evolutionary transitions, under the parsimony approximation, will never
81 produce them. Instead, evolution will always favor simpler mutations that are equally
82 advantageous but free of arbitrary complexity.

83 As a result, parsimonious equilibria make up only a tiny fraction of Nash equilibria,
84 and they are defined by a simplicity that naturally aligns with what seems reasonable and
85 intuitive to a biologist. (1) By default, parsimonious equilibria preserve ecological symmetry,
86 meaning that individuals with identical action sets and payoff functions adopt the same
87 behaviors at equilibrium. (2) Parsimonious equilibria rule out non-credible threats. And
88 (3) parsimonious equilibria are free from the bizarre behavioral patterns that make up the
89 vast diversity of equilibria in repeated games.

90 **2 Evolutionarily parsimonious equilibria**

91 Consider a game defined by a finite set of n players, a tree representing the sequence of
92 decisions, a set of terminal nodes with associated payoffs for each player, and a partition
93 of the non-terminal nodes into $n + 1$ subsets—one for each player and one for “Nature’s
94 moves”, representing events beyond the players’ control. A player’s strategy is defined by a
95 mapping from the set of their nodes to the set of available behavioral policies.

96 Following the standard assumption of vanishingly rare mutations, the evolution of strate-
97 gies in this game is approximated as a trait substitution sequence. Each substitution in-
98 volves a mutant emerging within a resident population, surviving initial stochastic phases,
99 and ultimately becoming fixed. At each step, multiple substitutions are possible, as several
100 mutations may have a non-zero probability of fixation. Evolution is thus a stochastic process
101 with multiple possible realizations.

102 To simplify the analyses, two further assumptions are made. First, the mutation graph
103 is assumed complete, meaning any strategy can potentially arise as a mutation from any
104 other. Second, an infinite population is assumed, allowing only substitutions to strictly
105 advantageous strategies, as mutants with neutral or deleterious effects have zero fixation
106 probability.

107 A final assumption is made for biological realism. The effect of selection from rare
108 mutants is neglected, meaning only mutants strictly favored over the resident can invade,
109 while those neutral against the resident but favored when competing against other mutants
110 cannot. The rationale is that mutants strictly neutral against the resident represent a
111 degenerate case unlikely to occur in biological systems. Selection driven by rare mutants is
112 therefore largely a theoretical artifact, often leading to unrealistic scenarios, particularly in
113 repeated games. However, in the Supporting Information (SI) F, I show that the concept
114 of parsimony remains applicable without this assumption, yielding nearly identical results.

115 Under these assumptions, the evolutionary transition from strategy S_1 to strategy S_2 is
116 said to be *feasible* if and only if $P(S_2, S_1) > P(S_1, S_1)$, where $P(X, Y)$ denotes the payoff
117 for an individual using strategy X when interacting with an individual using Y . This means

118 that S_2 must perform strictly better in interactions with S_1 .

119 At each step of the stochastic trait substitution sequence, multiple transitions may be
 120 feasible, but most will not be parsimonious (see fig. 1 for a visual illustration). Formally,
 121 for each pair of strategies S_1 and S_2 , a positive function $d(S_1, S_2)$ is defined to represent
 122 the mutational distance from S_1 to S_2 : the greater this distance, the lower the probability
 123 that random biochemical events will transform a genotype coding for S_1 into one coding
 124 for S_2 . In the applications discussed in this paper, mutational distances will be measured
 125 using finite automata (see SI A for details). However, any measure of distance can be used
 126 in principle.

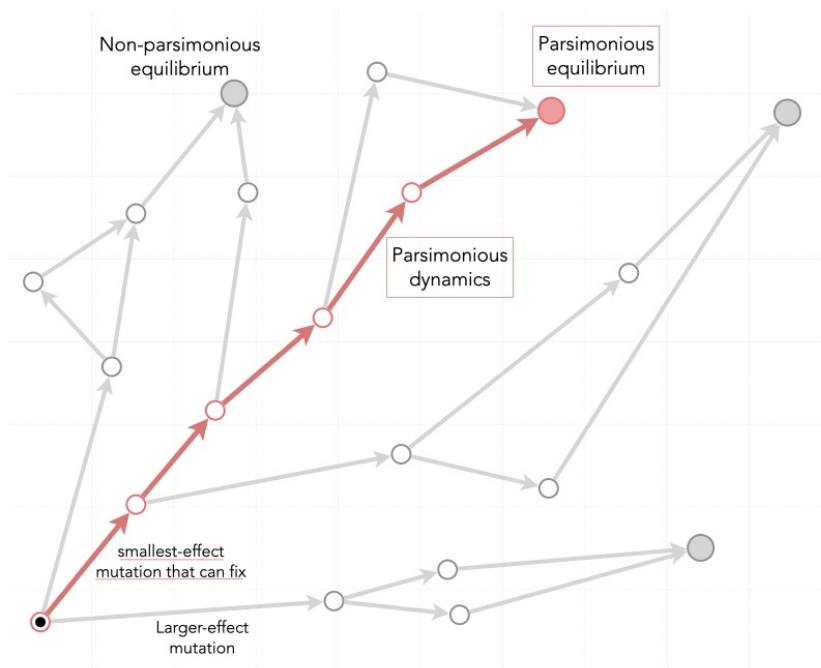


Figure 1: **Parsimonious vs non-parsimonious dynamics and resulting equilibria in strategy space.** Evolutionary trajectories are shown from an ancestral strategy (circle with central dot). Parsimonious path (red) and non-parsimonious paths (grey) lead to different equilibrium outcomes (filled circles).

127 The evolutionary transition from strategy S_1 to strategy S_2 is then said to be *parsimo-*
 128 *nious* iff (i) $P(S_2, S_1) > P(S_1, S_1)$ (i.e., the transition is feasible), and (ii) the following
 129 condition is met:

$$\forall S_3 \neq S_2 \text{ with } P(S_3, S_1) > P(S_1, S_1), d(S_3, S_1) \geq d(S_2, S_1) \quad (1)$$

130

131 In other words, S_2 is the closest strategy that can successfully invade S_1 (see fig. 1).

132 A strategy S^* is then defined as an *evolutionarily parsimonious equilibrium* from an
133 ancestral strategy S_0 if and only if the two following conditions hold:

134 1. There exists at least one trait substitution sequence from S_0 to S^* that includes only
135 parsimonious transitions.

136 2. $\forall S \neq S^* P(S, S^*) < P(S^*, S^*)$, i.e., S^* is an equilibrium.

137 The parsimonious approximation assumes that evolution can reach only parsimonious
138 equilibria and never non-parsimonious ones. While this is a potentially strong approxima-
139 tion, we will now see that it offers significant heuristic value in practice, in games with
140 multiple equilibria.

141 **3 Parsimony narrows the range of evolutionary equilib-** 142 **ria**

143 The constraints imposed by parsimony on evolutionary equilibria follow a simple logic. Here,
144 I outline this logic in broad terms before turning to a formal analysis in three specific cases.

145 Arbitrary behavioral patterns, characteristic of games with many equilibria, always in-
146 volve strategies that adjust behavior based on cues entirely unrelated to payoffs. In repeated
147 games, for instance, this includes strategies that adjust their behavior depending on the
148 round number.

149 To implement such strategies, individuals must be able to recognize and respond to these
150 arbitrary cues, which is not a given. Doing so requires underlying biological mechanisms.
151 As a result, evolving a response to arbitrary cues is likely to come with a 'cost' in terms
152 of mutational distance. Starting from a hard-wired ancestral strategy that cannot respond
153 to a given cue, the mutational step required to evolve a conditional response is larger than
154 that needed to evolve another hard-wired strategy.

155 The parsimony approximation therefore imposes a constraint on the evolution of such
156 conditional dispositions. They can only evolve if they provide a benefit unattainable through
157 simpler strategies closer to the ancestral form.

158 Because arbitrary conditional dispositions never provide such a benefit, they are sys-
159 tematically excluded under parsimony. If a resident population lacks such a disposition and
160 could, in theory, be invaded by a mutant strategy that possesses it, there is always a simpler
161 mutant—without the arbitrary conditionality—that can invade instead. As a result, the set
162 of equilibria that evolution can genuinely reach in practice is only a small fraction of the
163 full range of theoretically possible equilibria (see fig. 2 for a schematic representation).

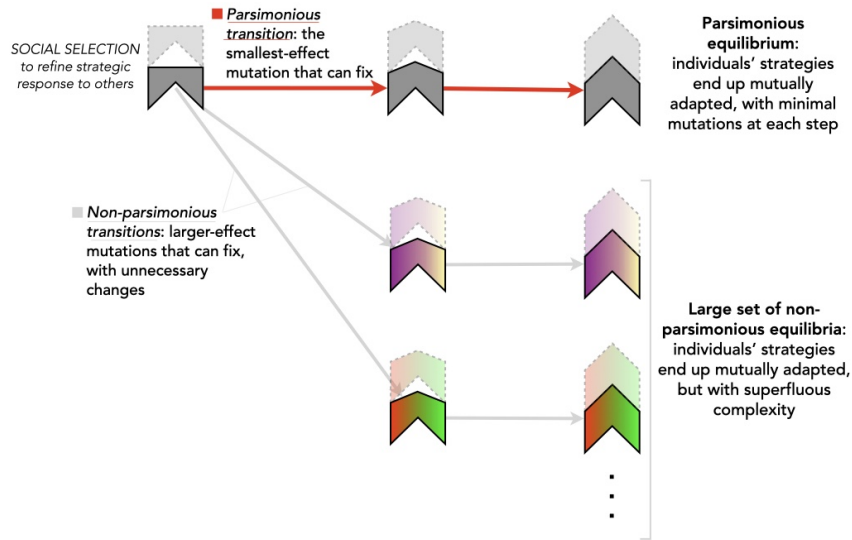


Figure 2: **Schematic representation of how parsimony narrows the range of evolutionary equilibria.** Starting from an ancestral strategy where individuals respond poorly to one another, selection favors refinements that improve strategic response to others. The smallest such change is shown here as a shift in shape. A wide range of other evolutionary transitions are also possible, where strategic coordination is achieved not only through the minimal change in shape, but also through superfluous conditional dispositions (represented by matching colors), but these alternatives are not parsimonious. As a result, the range of parsimonious equilibria is only a small fraction of the full range of theoretically possible equilibria.

164 To illustrate how this constraint shapes evolutionary outcomes, I now examine three
 165 specific consequences.

166 3.1 By default, evolution preserves ecological symmetry

167 In many games, the concepts of Nash equilibrium and Evolutionarily Stable Strategy permit
 168 a wide range of arbitrarily asymmetric equilibria. Even when individuals are fully symmetri-
 169 cal in ecologically relevant terms—sharing the same set of feasible actions and payoffs—they
 170 can use any perceptible asymmetry in their environment, even if it is entirely unrelated to
 171 payoffs, to condition their strategies and adopt asymmetric behaviors at equilibrium (45).

172 From a biological perspective, this is counterintuitive. It is hard to see why individu-
 173 als would complicate their behavior by conditioning their actions on arbitrary symmetry-
 174 breaking cues merely because others do the same.

175 The principle of parsimony reflects this biological intuition. In any symmetric game with
 176 n players, if the ancestral strategy is fully symmetric—meaning players do not condition

177 their actions on arbitrary cues—then all parsimonious equilibria are symmetric.

178 The reasoning is simple (see SI B for details). An asymmetric strategy relies on the
179 evolution of a conditional capacity, allowing behavior to vary based on an arbitrary environ-
180 mental cue that serves as a symmetry breaker. Such asymmetry comes at a cost in terms of
181 mutational distance. For an asymmetric strategy to evolve parsimoniously, the advantage
182 it provides would need to be unattainable by any simple symmetric strategy. Yet, by defini-
183 tion, against a symmetric resident, behaving asymmetrically offers no inherent benefit. Any
184 advantage an asymmetric mutant gains in one state can be achieved just as effectively by
185 applying the same action across all states, since the symmetric resident treats all states iden-
186 tically. As a result, under the parsimony approximation, a symmetric mutant will always
187 invade before an asymmetric one, preventing any evolutionary symmetry breaking.

188 Evolution can nevertheless produce asymmetries, but only under two conditions. First,
189 there must be a slight initial ecological asymmetry—whether in payoffs, the action set, or
190 the behavior of the ancestral strategy. Second, exaggerating this initial asymmetry must
191 provide an immediate advantage to individuals.

192 This can be formalized with a simple scenario where two individuals compete over an
193 indivisible resource, modeled as a hawk-dove game (45; see SI B for details). Each individual
194 chooses whether to compete for the resource or abstain entirely, with a cost incurred if both
195 choose to compete. Now, suppose a slight initial ecological asymmetry exists—for instance,
196 the cost of conflict is slightly lower for one player, with the difference linked to a perceptible
197 environmental feature.

198 Consider an ancestral symmetric resident strategy that plays Hawk with a fixed proba-
199 bility $p \in [0, 1]$, regardless of the player’s side. Under parsimonious dynamics, this symmetry
200 is initially preserved, and the population converges toward a strategy where Hawk is played
201 with a probability $\hat{p} \equiv \frac{T-R}{T+S-P-R}$ in both states. Once this threshold value is reached,
202 however, all symmetric strategies become strictly neutral, leaving only asymmetric mutants
203 with the potential to gain a selective advantage.

204 At this point, if one state reduces the cost of conflict, playing Hawk more frequently in
205 that state becomes advantageous, driving selection to further reduce Hawk play in the other
206 state. This amplification continues until it results in a fully asymmetric equilibrium where
207 only one individual claims the resource. Hence, the final asymmetry far exceeds the initial
208 asymmetry.

209 By contrast, in a different game where asymmetry is not needed for coordination (see
210 SI C), selection does not amplify the initial perturbation, leaving the final equilibrium
211 asymmetry no greater than the slight perturbation introduced initially.

212 This shows that quasi-conventional symmetry breaking can evolve, as long proposed in
213 evolutionary game theory (46), but only under specific conditions. First, asymmetry cannot
214 arise arbitrarily; there must be an initial difference in payoffs or strategies to break symmetry
215 in the first place. Second, evolution will only amplify a small initial asymmetry if it provides
216 coordination benefits that cannot be achieved through symmetry, such as reducing conflict,

217 enabling division of labor, or supporting niche differentiation.

218 **3.2 Evolution does not lead to strategies entailing non-credible** 219 **threat**

220 One of the most notorious flaws of the Nash equilibrium concept, and its evolutionary coun-
221 terpart, the neutrally stable strategy (as the ESS concept does not apply in this situation),
222 is their inability to exclude non-credible threats. The mere possibility of threatening others
223 with punishment can allow an individual to extract benefits in equilibrium, even when it is
224 clear they have no incentive to follow through on the threat (11, 47).

225 From a biological perspective, this is paradoxical. Evolution shapes mechanisms accord-
226 ing to the benefits they provide. If an action offers no advantage and only incurs costs, the
227 disposition to perform it should not be produced by selection, regardless of whether it might
228 serve as a threat.

229 To address this apparent paradox, evolutionary game theorists typically turn to the con-
230 cept of subgame perfection from standard game theory (13). A subgame perfect equilibrium
231 is a strategy that is not only the best response to itself, as in a Nash equilibrium, but also
232 the best response in every possible contingency, including those that should never arise in
233 equilibrium, thereby ruling out non-credible threats.

234 The problem is that translating the concept of subgame perfection into an evolutionary
235 framework is not straightforward. Biological evolution has no reason to shape strategies
236 for hypothetical contingencies that never arise. Consequently, applying subgame perfection
237 to evolutionary settings relies on assumptions that artificially introduce selection pressures
238 along off-equilibrium paths, whether by assuming behavioral errors or invoking selection due
239 to the presence of rare mutants (48–50).

240 The principle of parsimony offers an alternative solution to the same problem—one that
241 is simpler, more biologically grounded, and independent of subgame perfection.

242 This can be formalized using the ultimatum game, in which one player, the proposer,
243 offers a fraction of a resource to another player, the responder, who then chooses whether
244 to accept or reject the offer (51; see SI D for details). The responder can adopt one of three
245 types of strategies: two extreme, hard-wired strategies—accepting all offers or rejecting all
246 offers regardless of their value—and a range of intermediate strategies that are conditional,
247 accepting some offers while rejecting others.

248 Biologically speaking, intermediate strategies are distinct because they require a capacity
249 to evaluate offers and adjust behavior based on their value. This makes it reasonable to
250 assume that the mutational distance between the two extreme strategies is smaller than the
251 distance from either extreme to an intermediate strategy. A mutation from one extreme
252 to the other requires only a change in hard-wired behavior, while a mutation leading to
253 an intermediate strategy requires two changes: the emergence of a new behavior and the
254 additional capacity for conditionality.

255 The capacity for conditionality, however, provides no inherent advantage. A mutant that
256 conditionally accepts some offers and rejects others may be favored in certain situations,
257 but its advantage is always driven by its ability to accept some offers—not by its capacity
258 to reject others. Thus, whenever a conditional acceptor is favored, a simpler mutant that
259 unconditionally accepts all offers, regardless of their value, will always be at least as favored,
260 if not more so. Under the parsimony approximation, this simpler mutant will always invade
261 first, blocking any evolutionary transition toward conditional acceptance.

262 As a result, the only parsimonious equilibrium is one in which the responder accepts every
263 offer, no matter how small. Parsimony eliminates the possibility of non-credible threats.

264 **3.3 Evolution does not generate an extravagant diversity of equi-** 265 **libria in repeated games**

266 In repeated games, the concepts of Nash equilibrium and subgame perfect equilibrium noto-
267 riously allow for a vast array of arbitrarily complex strategies (52). These include individuals
268 cooperating only on specific rounds based on arbitrary patterns, conditioning their cooper-
269 ation on environmental variables unrelated to the game’s payoffs, or engaging in elaborate
270 signaling systems and pre-cooperative behavioral sequences.

271 From a biological perspective, the possibility of individuals relying on such bizarrely
272 complex equilibrium strategies is highly counterintuitive, appearing more like a theoretical
273 artifact than a meaningful prediction. Once again, this intuition is captured by the principle
274 of parsimony.

275 This is formalized here in a game referred to as the “investment game,” introduced
276 in a previous work (53) and designed to capture the ecological conditions underlying the
277 evolution of reciprocal cooperation (54–57 ; see SI E for details; see also SI F.3 for an analysis
278 of the standard repeated prisoner’s dilemma, which yields identical results).

279 The investment game is an asymmetric repeated interaction between two individuals
280 (see fig. 3). One decides whether to invest in their partner, while the other chooses whether
281 to reciprocate at a personal cost. Before the first round, the investor faces uncertainty
282 about the nature of the game. In some cases, investing yields an incidental benefit without
283 requiring the partner to reciprocate—what we refer to here as a byproduct cooperation
284 game (58–61). In others, the benefit arises only if the partner actively reciprocates; in other
285 words, each round is a trust game. Finally, there are cases where the partner cannot offer
286 any mutually beneficial reward at all, a situation we refer to as inefficient cooperation.

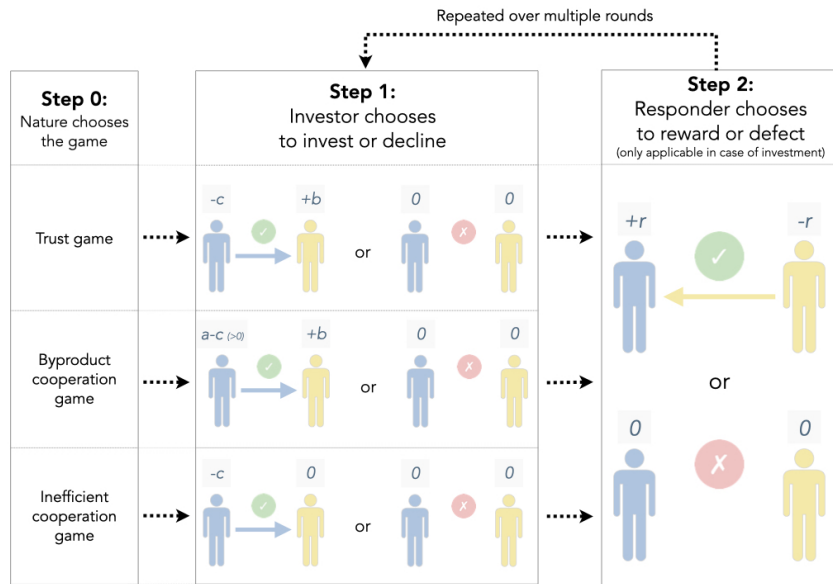


Figure 3: Schematic representation of the investment game.

287 This represents a scenario where conditional investment in cooperation can be advanta-
 288 geous, even in the absence of pre-existing reciprocal mechanisms, effectively bootstrapping
 289 the evolution of reciprocity (53, 54). Investors are initially selected to cooperate at least
 290 once to determine the type of game and to continue cooperating only if it proves beneficial.
 291 This conditional cooperation, in turn, creates selection pressure on their partners to actively
 292 reciprocate when the game is a trust game, ensuring the investor's continued cooperation
 293 in the future.

294 Like all repeated games, the investment game allows for a wide range of Nash equilibria.
 295 In all cases, players cooperate fully in byproduct games and never cooperate when cooper-
 296 ation would be wasteful. However, a broad spectrum of outcomes arises in trust games. At
 297 one extreme, reciprocity is entirely absent, and cooperation never occurs in trust games. At
 298 the other, reciprocal rewards are consistently provided, resulting in full cooperation in trust
 299 games. Between these extremes lies a vast array of intermediate strategies, where reciprocal
 300 rewards are given only in certain rounds of trust games, following arbitrary patterns, with
 301 investors adjusting their investments accordingly.

302 Yet, starting from a non-cooperative ancestral state, the constraint of parsimony elim-
 303 inates all intermediate strategies, leaving only the two extreme equilibria as possible out-
 304 comes. First, intermediate strategies require the ability to condition behavior not only
 305 on receiving a reward but also on the round number. This makes them mutationally fur-
 306 ther from the non-cooperative ancestor than strategies that condition cooperation solely
 307 on receiving a reward. Second, while intermediate strategies can invade a non-cooperative

308 resident, a simpler strategy—one that ignores the round number—can always invade just
309 as effectively. Under the parsimony approximation, this simpler strategy, being closer in
310 mutational distance to the ancestral state, will always invade first, blocking the evolution
311 of intermediate strategies.

312 Thus, if reciprocal cooperation does evolve, it will not rely on arbitrary conditionality.
313 Individuals will adjust their cooperation based on cues that carry real meaning—those that
314 provide genuine information about the payoffs of cooperation. They will cooperate when
315 it leads to a mutually beneficial outcome and refrain from cooperating when it would be
316 ineffective. Contrary to the predictions of the folk theorem, they will never follow conditional
317 rules that tie cooperation to meaningless cues with no connection to mutual benefits.

318 That said, reciprocal cooperation may not always evolve—selection for cooperation in
319 byproduct games does not necessarily bootstrap cooperation in trust games (53). Whether it
320 does depends on finer factors related to the availability of mutations. Unlike the hypothesis
321 that arbitrarily complex conditional strategies are less likely to appear than simpler ones,
322 which follows from well-grounded principles of parsimony, these considerations are far more
323 tenuous, making it impossible to formulate general hypotheses. As a result, whether a
324 particular form of reciprocal cooperation evolves through the bootstrapping of a particular
325 form of byproduct cooperation will depend on the specific details of each case (53).

326 4 Discussion

327 The wide diversity of equilibria found in many games, especially repeated games, which
328 undermines the predictive power of evolutionary game theory (4-8), stems from a common
329 feature to all these games: the payoff of any given action depends largely on how others
330 respond to it. As a result, almost any arbitrarily complex behavioral pattern can become
331 an equilibrium, provided it elicits favorable responses from others.

332 In this article, I have argued that, within this extravagant diversity, only a small subset
333 of equilibria can actually be reached through the process of biological evolution, and that
334 this subset can be identified using a simple criterion, which I have formalized and called
335 evolutionary parsimony.

336 An engineer can design a decision-making device from scratch, no matter how complex,
337 and is therefore genuinely confronted with the full diversity of possible equilibria. Evolution,
338 however, does not build decision-making device from scratch. Instead, it constructs them
339 gradually, through the accumulation of small-effect mutations, each advantageous at the
340 time it arises (62).

341 Such a gradual process can create remarkably complex and sophisticated traits, but only
342 when they offer individuals a direct advantage in interacting with their environment. It
343 cannot create arbitrarily complex traits whose only benefit comes from matching equally
344 arbitrary complexities in others.

345 As a result, evolution can reach only a tiny fraction of the vast range of possible equilib-

346 ria—those free of arbitrarily complex patterns, and therefore precisely the ones that seem
347 reasonable and intuitive to a biologist. In repeated cooperation, for instance, these are the
348 strategies where individuals cooperate when it is mutually beneficial and ignore arbitrary
349 behaviors unrelated to payoffs.

350 While much of the literature has focused on how evolution might eliminate, *ex post*,
351 the bizarre equilibria predicted by game theory—relying on weak forces like group selection
352 (15–18) or selection by rare mutants (19–24), evolutionary parsimony suggests a simpler
353 point: these equilibria never arise in the first place.

354 This analysis relies on an approximation of the evolutionary process. It assumes that
355 when multiple evolutionary transitions are possible, the most likely one always occurs. In
356 reality, however, the most likely transition is just that—more likely, but not certain. Strictly
357 speaking, evolutionary parsimony should therefore be a quantitative concept rather than the
358 all-or-nothing principle I have presented here.

359 Even so, this approximation is useful. It makes parsimony easy to apply, which is what
360 gives it its practical heuristic value. Most importantly, it works well in practice because it
361 is designed to rule out profoundly unreasonable equilibria, characterized by a qualitatively
362 higher level of complexity, whose emergence through mutation is not just slightly less likely
363 but extremely improbable. Put simply, it tells us: *a complex strategy is unlikely to evolve*
364 *as a byproduct of selection for a simple one*. And that alone is enough to clarify which
365 equilibria evolution is likely to reach.

366 I now conclude with a discussion of two standard equilibrium refinements from game the-
367 ory, which share some similarities with the concept of parsimony but also have fundamental
368 differences.

369 First, a class of game-theoretic approaches refines equilibria by taking into account the
370 cost of complexity (20, 63–67). Similar to parsimony, the idea is that a strategy’s complex-
371 ity—particularly its conditional dispositions—must be outweighed by some benefits for the
372 strategy to be an equilibrium.

373 The key difference is that this refinement only eliminates traits that are superfluous
374 *in equilibrium*. In contrast, evolutionary parsimony constrains the *transitions* leading to
375 complex traits. Even if a complex behavioral disposition—such as the ability to respond
376 conditionally to a cue—could become strictly necessary once established as an equilibrium,
377 its emergence would still require a non-parsimonious transition at some stage, making that
378 equilibrium unreachable. This is why only parsimony can so drastically limit the diversity
379 of equilibria in repeated games.

380 Second, another refinement from game theory, called subgame perfection, refines equi-
381 libria by requiring a strategy to be optimal in every possible contingency, even those that
382 never occur in equilibrium (13). Like parsimony, subgame perfection is concerned with some
383 form of optimality beyond the equilibrium path. As a result, in cases such as non-credible
384 threats, both refinements yield the same outcome. From the perspective of subgame perfec-
385 tion, carrying out a non-credible threat is suboptimal. From the perspective of parsimony,

386 evolution cannot even shape the ability to make such threats in the first place.

387 But the concepts of parsimony and perfection are also profoundly different. Perfection
388 implies that a strategy responds optimally in all possible histories, assuming that the contin-
389 uation game is played with a partner who plays the equilibrium strategy itself. In contrast,
390 parsimony implies that the mechanisms involved in a strategy gave an advantage in inter-
391 actions with individuals playing *other* strategies encountered on the path to equilibrium.
392 This has two consequences.

393 First, parsimonious equilibria are often imperfect, since parsimony does not imply that
394 a strategy responds optimally to *all* possible game histories. This makes sense for a concept
395 that seeks to reflect the consequences of biological evolution. Any action taken in a history
396 that has never occurred over the course of evolution is neutral and has no reason to be
397 optimized by selection. That is, the concept of parsimony recognizes that evolution can
398 lead to mismatches when organisms are placed in non-ecological situations.

399 Second, in repeated games, parsimony is even incompatible with perfection (see SI ??).
400 To achieve subgame perfection in repeated games, game theorists have introduced strategies
401 known as Grim strategies, which punish themselves if they deviate (52). Even if one can
402 appreciate the theoretical purpose of this trick, it is hard for a biologist not to find it
403 absurd. And once again, this intuition is well captured by the principle of parsimony.
404 While self-punishing strategies can be equilibria, the ability to self-punish never provides
405 a selective advantage to a mutant in any situation. As a result, such mechanisms cannot
406 evolve parsimoniously from an ancestral strategy that lacks them.

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639 Supporting Information

640 A Measuring mutational distance with finite automata

641 Here I seek a formal approach to obtaining a proxy for the mutational distance between
642 two strategies. No approach is perfect, since the true mutational distance is a biochemical
643 variable that cannot be measured from a simple model.

644 To this aim, I first characterize each strategy as a finite-state machine (see figures [SI.1](#),
645 [SI.2](#), [SI.3](#), [SI.4](#), and [SI.5](#)). For the sake of conceptual clarity (and without losing generality),
646 I always consider an initial state before the start of the game, called the initialization state,
647 which is present in all games and all strategies.

648 To measure the distance between two strategies, I then have to solve an alignment
649 problem. To do this, I try all possible alignments between the two strategies and define the
650 distance between them as the smallest distance found in all these trials, i.e. with the best
651 possible alignment. More precisely, I proceed as follows:

652 Let there be two strategies S_1 and S_2 with k_1 and k_2 states respectively (with $k_2 \leq k_1$),
653 and let there be an alignment \mathcal{A} defined as a bijective mapping from the set of states of S_1
654 to the image of that set in the states of S_2 (i.e. each state of S_1 has one and only one image
655 in S_2), subject only to the constraint that the image of the initialization state of S_1 must
656 be the initialization state of S_2 .

657 States in S_2 that are the image of a state in S_1 under alignment \mathcal{A} are called homologous
658 states according to \mathcal{A} , and transitions between two homologous states are called homologous

659 transitions. States in S_2 that are not the image of any state in S_1 are called non-homologous
660 states according to \mathcal{A} .

661 I then measure the following 4 quantities with this alignment:

- 662 • Δ_B : number of homologous states where S_2 behaves differently from S_1 .
- 663 • Δ_T : number of homologous transitions with differing occurrence conditions between
664 the two strategies.
- 665 • Δ_E : number of non-homologous states in S_2 ($k_2 - k_1$).
- 666 • Δ_N : number of transitions originating from non-homologous states in S_2 .

667 The distance between S_1 and S_2 according to \mathcal{A} is given by $d_{\mathcal{A}}(S_1, S_2) = \Delta_B + \Delta_T +$
668 $\Delta_E + \Delta_N$. The distance between S_1 and S_2 is then obtained by minimizing $d_{\mathcal{A}}$ over all
669 possible alignments, i.e., $d(S_1, S_2) = \min_{\mathcal{A}} d_{\mathcal{A}}(S_1, S_2)$. Figures [SI.1](#), [SI.2](#), [SI.3](#), [SI.4](#), and [SI.5](#)
670 show examples of this approach.

671 **A.1 Mutational distance is not the same as mathematical similarity**

672 Many models in evolutionary game theory (e.g., Nowak and Sigmund (68), Lehmann and
673 Keller (69)) implicitly adopt a different approach to measuring the distance between strate-
674 gies.

675 They measure distances based on the implicit assumption that there is a direct cor-
676 respondence between the formal mathematical description of strategies and the biological
677 machinery that implements them, even though these are two entirely different things.

678 This can be illustrated with two examples.

679 In the ultimatum game, responder strategies are mathematically described as a demand
680 level $q \in [0, 1]$. From a mathematical perspective, the two extreme strategies—one that
681 accepts any offer ($q = 0$) and one that rejects all offers ($q = 1$)—are therefore closer to
682 intermediate strategies, which accept some offers but reject others ($0 < q < 1$), than they
683 are to each other.

684 In contrast, when distances are measured using finite-state automata (see fig. [SI.3](#)), the
685 two extreme strategies are represented by single-state automata, as they either accept or
686 reject all offers unconditionally. Intermediate strategies, on the other hand, require two
687 states, as they must condition their action on the offer they receive. As a result, the
688 distance between the two extreme responder strategies is smaller than the distance between
689 an extreme strategy and any intermediate strategy.

690 The same discrepancy between mathematical descriptions and finite automata is also
691 observed in the repeated prisoner’s dilemma with memory 1. In this game, strategies can be
692 mathematically represented as a pair of actions (X, Y) , where X denotes the action taken
693 after the partner cooperates, and Y denotes the action taken after the partner defects. Pure
694 defection corresponds to (D, D) , pure cooperation to (C, C) , and tit-for-tat is represented

695 as the intermediate pair (C, D) . Thus, from a mathematical perspective, Tit-for-tat appears
696 to be an intermediate strategy between AllD and AllC.

697 In contrast, when distances are measured using finite-state automata, the opposite holds:
698 tit-for-tat is farther from full defection than full cooperation is, as it introduces both an
699 additional state with a new action and a new conditional transition between states (see fig.
700 [SI.5](#) for an illustration with the strategy Grim instead of tit-for-tat).

701 These two examples, the ultimatum game and the repeated prisoner’s dilemma, illustrate
702 the difference between the mathematical description of strategies and the characterization
703 of a biological machine capable of implementing them. Modelers often make the implicit
704 assumption that the mathematical representation of strategies should serve as a guide for
705 determining their mutational distances. However, this is a mistake—one with significant
706 consequences ([32, 33](#)).

707 From a biological mechanism perspective, accepting all offers or cooperating uncondi-
708 tionally simply requires a mechanism to acquire any available resource, or a constitutive
709 mechanism that expresses cooperation at all times. Conversely, rejecting all offers or always
710 defecting reflects a complete lack of interest in any resource, or in cooperation altogether.

711 In contrast, ”intermediate” strategies are conditional strategies that require the ability to
712 evaluate others’ actions or offers and adjust responses accordingly. This demands an evolved
713 mechanism specifically dedicated to executing such conditional behavior. The purpose of
714 measuring distances based on finite-state automata is to reflect this notion.

715 B Hawk-dove game

716 Consider a resource conflict game in which individuals compete for access to an indivisible
717 resource, modeled using the classic hawk-dove framework. In this game, players invest in
718 competition by choosing probabilities of escalating a conflict: they escalate (i.e., play Hawk)
719 with a certain probability p and refuse to escalate (i.e., play Dove) with the complementary
720 probability $1 - p$. The payoffs for this interaction are outlined in Table [SI.1](#). Players are
721 also pre-assigned to distinct states by a move of Nature, and each strategy is therefore
722 represented as a pair (p_A, p_B) , where $p_i \in [0, 1]$ denotes the probability of playing Hawk in
723 state i .

	Hawk	Dove
Hawk	P	T
Dove	S	R

Table SI.1: **Payoff matrix of the hawk-dove game.** Parameters must respect $T > R > S > P$

724 **B.1 Mutational distances**

725 As described in section A of this Supporting Information, finite-state automata are used
 726 to measure the distance between strategies (fig. SI.1). Two types of strategies are dis-
 727 tinguished: symmetric strategies, which do not differentiate between states A and B and
 728 thus are, effectively, characterized by a single state automaton, and asymmetric strategies,
 729 which distinguish between A and B , and therefore have two states, potentially with different
 730 probabilities, p_A and p_B , of escalating in each.

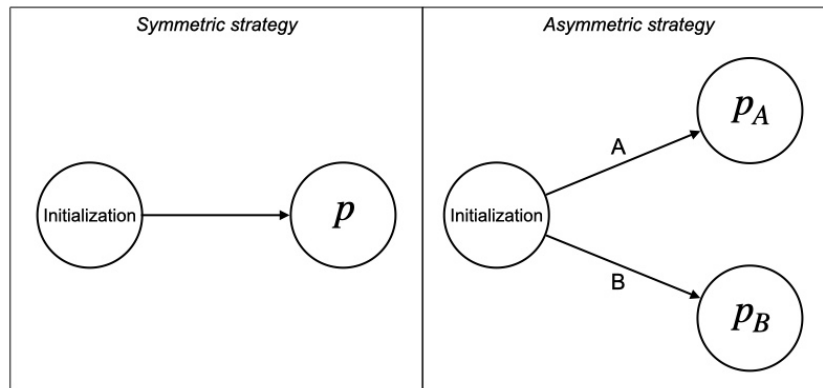


Figure SI.1: **Strategies in the hawk-dove game represented as finite automata.** The distance between two different symmetric strategies is 1. The distance between a symmetric and an asymmetric strategy is either 2 or 3, depending on whether the asymmetric strategy matches the symmetric in one of the two states or differs in both.

731 What matters for analyzing parsimonious dynamics are relative distances. Here, we see
 732 that the distance between a symmetric strategy, which expresses the same probability of
 733 escalating in both states, and an asymmetric strategy, which conditions its probability of es-
 734 calating on the state, is always greater than the distance between two symmetric strategies.
 735 This reflects the idea that exhibiting asymmetric behavior in response to an arbitrary envi-
 736 ronmental feature does not occur spontaneously; it requires a biological mechanism capable
 737 of detecting and responding to the symmetry-breaking feature. Incorporating such a mech-
 738 anism into a biological system demands a greater mutational change than any transition
 739 confined to symmetric strategies.

740 Consider an ancestral resident strategy S that plays Hawk with a fixed probability
 741 $p \in [0, 1]$, independent of the state. Define a threshold value $\hat{p} \equiv \frac{T-R}{T+S-P-R}$. If the resident
 742 strategy is any $p \neq \hat{p}$, then any symmetric mutant strategy that plays Hawk with a prob-
 743 ability p' closer to \hat{p} will be favored by selection. Asymmetric mutants—those employing
 744 different strategies depending on the state—may also be favored, but they are mutationally
 745 more distant from the resident strategy. As a result, under the constraint of parsimony,

746 evolution will always preserve symmetry, leading to convergence toward the threshold value
747 \hat{p} .

748 **B.2 Effects of ecological perturbations**

749 Suppose now that a very small asymmetry exists between the two states. We illustrate this
750 by assuming a slight asymmetry in the cost of conflict: players in state A receive a payoff
751 of $P + \epsilon$, while players in state B receive $P - \epsilon$, instead of P , with $\epsilon \approx 0$.

752 Until the threshold value \hat{p} is reached, this perturbation remains negligible, but this
753 changes once \hat{p} is attained. Against a symmetric resident strategy playing \hat{p} in both states,
754 all symmetric mutants—those adopting the same p' in both states—are strictly neutral
755 and therefore unable to invade. In contrast, asymmetric mutants that adjust their behavior
756 based on the state can be favored. Specifically, a mutant that plays Hawk with a probability
757 $\hat{p} + \delta$ in state A and $\hat{p} - \delta$ in state B gains a net advantage given by $\frac{T-R}{T+S-P-R}\epsilon\delta$. Thus,
758 asymmetric mutants are favored as long as δ and ϵ have the same sign. If state A provides
759 some protection against the costs of conflict ($\epsilon > 0$), it becomes advantageous to play Hawk
760 more frequently in this state. Crucially, these asymmetric mutants are the closest possible
761 mutants able to invade, as the ability to condition behavior on the state is essential for
762 securing an advantage in this scenario. Thus, the emergence of asymmetry here is consistent
763 with parsimony.

764 Once symmetry breaking occurs and an asymmetric strategy becomes fixed, evolution
765 amplifies the initial asymmetry. The resulting equilibrium is a fully state-dependent strat-
766 egy, with players specializing their behavior based on their state. Starting from a state-
767 independent ancestor (p, p) , evolution converges to one of two state-dependent equilibria:
768 $(1, 0)$ or $(0, 1)$, depending on the sign of the small perturbation ϵ . These outcomes corre-
769 spond to the Bourgeois strategy in evolutionary biology MaynardSmith1976 and the concept
770 of correlated equilibrium in game theory Aumann1974, AumannCorrelated1998.

771 The emergence of such conventions is parsimonious because even an infinitesimal quasi-
772 arbitrary asymmetry can drive the evolution of genuinely state-dependent behavior. In other
773 words, natural selection inherently favors conditioning actions on state, even in the absence
774 of others doing so initially.

775 **C Divide-the-dollar game under simplified assumptions**

776 Here, we aim to consider a situation where, unlike the hawk-dove game, asymmetry is not
777 needed to resolve a coordination problem. Our goal is to illustrate as clearly as possible
778 what happens in such a case.

779 To illustrate this, we consider a divide-the-dollar game. In this game, two individuals
780 claim a fraction $q \in [0, 1]$ of a resource. If the combined claims do not exceed 1, both
781 individuals receive exactly what they demand. However, if the total demand surpasses 1,

782 neither individual receives anything, reflecting a sharp cost of competition.

783 For simplicity, we make two assumptions that streamline the analysis of evolutionary
784 dynamics. First, we assume that the ancestral state always involves individuals making
785 a demand $q_0 < 0.5$. Second, we assume that mutations affecting demand have only very
786 small effects, in line with the standard assumptions of adaptive dynamics for a quantitative
787 trait. We disregard the possibility of large-effect mutations. This latter assumption prevents
788 equilibrium polymorphisms, which would complicate the analysis (70).

789 Like in the hawk-dove case above, at the start of the game, an arbitrary asymmetry is
790 introduced through a move by Nature, assigning one individual to state A and the other
791 to state B . The index $i \in \{A, B\}$ is used to denote these two states, and a strategy is
792 represented as a pair (q_A, q_B) , where q_A and q_B denote the demands made in states A and
793 B respectively.

794 As long as the symmetry-breaking event is physically detectable by the players—even
795 if it is entirely unrelated to their payoffs or competitive abilities—the game allows for an
796 infinite range of asymmetric equilibria.

797 Any strategy profile where the player in state A demands q_A and the player in state
798 B demands $q_B = 1 - q_A$ constitutes a strict Nash equilibrium and an evolutionarily stable
799 strategy. In a population where all individuals adopt this strategy, any mutant deviating
800 from it is strictly selected against.

801 However, the principle of parsimony eliminates all these asymmetric equilibria, even in
802 the presence of asymmetric perturbations, leaving only a single symmetric equilibrium.

803 C.1 Mutational distances

804 Like in the hawk-dove game above (section B), finite-state automata are used to measure the
805 distance between strategies (fig. SI.2). Two types of strategies are distinguished: symmetric
806 strategies, which do not differentiate between states A and B and thus are, effectively,
807 characterized by a single state automaton, and asymmetric strategies, which distinguish
808 between A and B , and therefore have two states, potentially with different demands, q_A and
809 q_B , in each. Like in the hawk-dove game, the distance between a symmetric strategy, which
810 expresses the same demand in both states, and an asymmetric strategy, which conditions its
811 demand on the state, is always greater than the distance between two symmetric strategies.

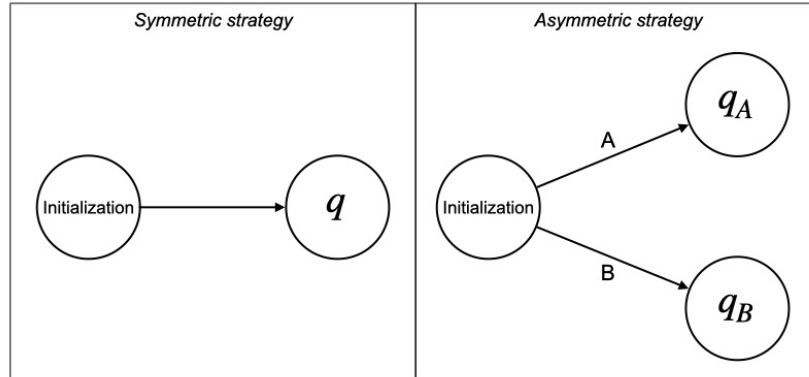


Figure SI.2: **Strategies in the divide-the-dollar game represented as finite automata.** The distance between two different symmetric strategies is 1. The distance between a symmetric and an asymmetric strategy is either 2 or 3, depending on whether the asymmetric strategy matches the symmetric in one of the two states or differs in both.

812 For any situation where the resident makes a demand $q < 0.5$, symmetric small-effect
 813 mutants that demand slightly more than the resident are always favored by selection. As
 814 a result, the evolutionary dynamics gradually push the population toward $q = 0.5$, which
 815 forms an equilibrium.

816 But starting from the same symmetric resident strategy with demand $q < 0.5$, selection
 817 also favors asymmetric mutants. For instance, selection would favor a mutant that demands
 818 a slightly higher q'_A than the resident when in state A while matching the resident's demand
 819 in state B . This asymmetry can then be further reinforced by selection.

820 For any asymmetric resident making two distinct demands, q_A and q_B , as long as $q_A < 1$
 821 and $q_B < 1 - q_A$, selection favors all small-effect mutants that demand strictly more than
 822 the resident in at least one state (while demanding at least as much in the other). That is,
 823 once symmetry is broken, evolutionary dynamics can act independently on the two states.
 824 Evolutionary dynamics can thus lead to any asymmetric equilibrium strategy characterized
 825 by $q_B = 1 - q_A$. This results in a large set of possible asymmetric equilibria, where both
 826 sides make complementary demands.

827 But the parsimony approximation eliminates all these asymmetric equilibria. Starting
 828 from a symmetric ancestral state with demand $q < 0.5$, an asymmetric mutant may be
 829 favored by selection. However, a symmetric mutant will always exist that is also favored
 830 by selection—and it is mutationally closer to the resident. As a result, the evolutionary
 831 transition from symmetry to asymmetry is not parsimonious. Thus, under the assumption
 832 of small mutational steps, the only parsimonious equilibrium from an ancestral state with
 833 demand $q < 0.5$ is the one where both players claim half of the resource.

834 C.2 Effects of ecological perturbations

835 Suppose now that a slight perturbation generates an initial asymmetry between the two
836 states. Here, a payoff asymmetry would obviously have no effect and is therefore not con-
837 sidered. Instead, we introduce an involuntary asymmetric perturbation in the demands of
838 the two players. We consider an ancestral situation where both players have a genetically
839 encoded target demand $q < 0.5$, but with slight unintended noise in their actual demands.
840 Specifically, we assume that for any target demand q in each state, a player in state A always
841 demands $q + \epsilon$, while a player in state B always demands $q - \epsilon$, where ϵ is infinitesimally
842 small ($\epsilon \approx 0$).

843 In this case, unlike the hawk-dove game above, deliberately adopting an asymmetric
844 strategy offers no inherent advantage. Asymmetry does not solve a coordination problem
845 that symmetry could not already resolve. Consequently, if evolution proceeds exclusively
846 through parsimonious transitions, no symmetry breaking will occur in players' strategies.
847 Any population starting with a symmetric demand will converge to the unique symmetric
848 equilibrium, where the target demand is $q^* = 0.5$ in both states. In this equilibrium,
849 individuals in state A demand $0.5 + \epsilon$, while those in state B demand $0.5 - \epsilon$. The equilibrium
850 level of asymmetry thus precisely reflects the initial infinitesimal perturbation and is not
851 amplified.

852 D Non-credible threats, illustration with the ultima- 853 tum game

854 In the ultimatum game, an individual called the proposer unilaterally decides how to divide a
855 resource, leaving the other participant, the responder, with no choice but to accept the offer
856 or refuse it. If the responder rejects the offer, the entire interaction is canceled, resulting in
857 no gain for either party. Since this form of punishment offers no benefit to the responder,
858 it constitutes a non-credible threat.

859 In this game, a strategy profile is represented as a pair (p, q) , where p denotes the offer
860 made by the proposer, and q represents the minimum offer required by the responder, below
861 which the interaction is rejected. Hence, any strategy profile with $q > 0$ constitutes a non-
862 credible threat, as it implies that the responder rejects certain offers without deriving any
863 benefit from this refusal.

864 D.1 An infinite range of equilibria involving non-credible threats

865 The only strategy that should represent a biologically reasonable equilibrium in this game
866 is the profile $(0, 0)$, where the responder accepts any offer, no matter how small, and thus
867 makes no non-credible threats.

868 Yet, all strategy profiles of the form (p, p) , where the proposer makes an offer $p > 0$ and

869 the responder rejects any offer below p , are Nash equilibria and neutrally stable strategies (as
 870 there is no Evolutionarily stable strategy in this game). As long as the proposer consistently
 871 offers p , the responder's non-credible threat to reject offers below p remains neutral, since
 872 it never needs to be enforced. Thus, this constitutes an equilibrium, as neither side has an
 873 incentive to change their strategy.

874 However, among all these equilibria, only the reasonable equilibrium $(0,0)$, where the
 875 responder is willing to accept any offer, is a parsimonious equilibrium.

876 D.2 Mutational distances

877 Finite-state automata are used to measure the distance between responder strategies (fig.
 878 SI.3). Two types of responder strategies are distinguished: (i) Unconditional responders,
 879 who do not adjust their response based on the offer they receive. They either accept or reject
 880 all offers regardless of their value and are thus represented by a single-state automaton. (ii)
 881 Conditional responders, who modify their response depending on the offer. They can either
 882 accept or reject based on its value, requiring a two-state automaton.

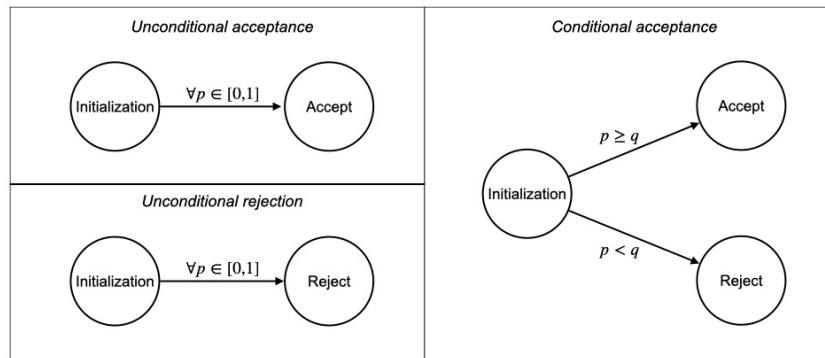


Figure SI.3: **Strategies in the ultimatum game represented as finite automata.** The distance between unconditional acceptance and unconditional rejection is 1. The distance between either unconditional acceptance or unconditional rejection and conditional acceptance is 2.

883 What matters for characterizing parsimonious dynamics are relative distances. Here, the
 884 distance between the two extreme responder strategies—those that either accept or reject
 885 all offers—is smaller than the distance between an extreme strategy and any intermediate
 886 strategy, which accepts some offers while rejecting others.

887 D.3 A single parsimonious equilibrium free of non-credible threats

888 Consider an ancestral strategy profile where the proposer offers any $p_0 > 0$, and the respon-
 889 der is unconditional. If the ancestral responder unconditionally accepts all offers, a mutant

890 who accepts offers only above a threshold $x > 0$ would be at best neutral (if $x < p_0$) or
891 counter-selected (if $x \geq p_0$). Thus, a transition to conditional acceptance is not feasible in
892 this case. If the ancestral responder unconditionally rejects all offers, a conditional mutant
893 responder who accepts only offers above a threshold x could potentially be favored if $x \leq p_0$.
894 However, a non-conditional mutant responder who accepts all offers regardless of their value
895 would be equally favored and is assumed to be mutationally closer to the resident strategy,
896 as it requires no conditional mechanism. Therefore, a transition to conditional acceptance
897 can never occur parsimoniously.

898 Starting from any unconditional ancestral strategy profile where the proposer offers
899 $p_0 > 0$, the only parsimonious equilibrium is one where the proposer offers the minimum
900 possible amount ($p_0 = 0$) and the responder accepts any offer.

901 Note that an unconditional strategy profile where the proposer offers $p_0 = 0$, and the
902 responder either accepts or rejects unconditionally all offers is also a Nash equilibrium.
903 However, this equilibrium cannot be reached from any other starting point.

904 E Investment game

905 The investment game is an asymmetric repeated game played by two individuals, called
906 the Investor and the Responder. The repeated game is preceded by a move by Nature
907 that randomly determines the type of stage game that the two individuals will then play
908 repeatedly.

909 Three types of stage games are possible: (1) The stage game can be a by-product coop-
910 eration game, in which both the responder and the investor automatically benefit from the
911 investment. (2) The stage game can be a trust game, in which the investment has a net cost
912 to the investor, but the responder can reward him afterwards and still make a net profit.
913 (3) The stage game can be an inefficient cooperation game, in which the investment has a
914 net cost to the investor and the responder cannot reward him in a mutually beneficial way.
915 These three games differ in their payoffs, but they are identical in terms of their action sets.

916 Regardless of the game type chosen by Nature, the investor has two possible actions in
917 each round: *Invest* or *Decline*. Then, if the investor chooses to invest in a given round, the
918 responder has two possible actions: *Reward* or *Defect*. If the investor chooses to decline,
919 then the responder has no decision to make.

920 In each round of the game, four outcomes are possible: (1) "Invest-No-Reward," where
921 the investor invests but receives no reward, neither from their partner nor from Nature;
922 (2) "Invest-Natural-Reward," where the investor invests and receives a reward from Nature
923 (applicable only in byproduct games); (3) "Invest-Social-Reward," where the investor invests
924 and is rewarded by their partner; and (4) "Decline," where the investor chooses not to invest
925 in that round.

926 The payoffs of each stage game are as follows:

927 **Trust game:** The cost of investing is c , the benefit of receiving the investment is b , the

928 cost of rewarding is r , and the benefit of receiving the reward is also r (i.e., the reward is a
929 conservative transfer), and we assume that we have the relation $b > r > c > 0$.

930 **By-product game:** The natural reward received after investing is $a > c$, (hence the
931 net benefit is $a - c > 0$) and all other parameters are as in the trust game.

932 **Inefficient cooperation game:** For simplicity and without loss of generality, I assume
933 that the benefit of receiving the investment is 0, and that all other parameters are as in the
934 trust game.

935 The same stage game is assumed to repeat indefinitely, with a constant stopping proba-
936 bility δ between any two rounds. The expected payoff in round $n \geq 0$ is therefore discounted
937 by a factor of $(1 - \delta)^n$. By convention, the first round is designated as $n = 0$. If an individual
938 earns x per round, their total payoff over the entire interaction is given by x/δ .

939 Five additional assumptions are made:

- 940 • Only the responder knows the type of game being played, capturing the essence of
941 why reputation matters: the investor must infer their partner's payoffs by observing
942 their behavior.
- 943 • The investor can distinguish between the two types of rewards they might receive:
944 natural rewards, automatically obtained in the by-product cooperation game, and
945 social rewards, provided by trustworthy partners in the trust game.
- 946 • Both players are aware of the round number, but only starting from the first investment
947 made by the investor; this initial investment triggers the round number counter.
- 948 • Parameters are assumed such that $\frac{b-r}{\delta} > b$. In other words, in the trust game, it is
949 always worthwhile for the responder to reward their partner to continue the interaction
950 and earn $b - r$ in future rounds.
- 951 • Parameters are also assumed to satisfy $\frac{a-c}{\delta} p_b > -c(p_t + p_i)$. This means that, even
952 in the worst-case scenario, it is always beneficial to test the game in the first round to
953 determine whether it is a by-product game, which would allow securing $a - c$ in future
954 rounds.

955 E.1 Definition of strategy profiles

956 We begin by defining three types of strategy profiles that will be central to the reasoning
957 that follows. See figure [SI.4](#) for their representation as finite automata.

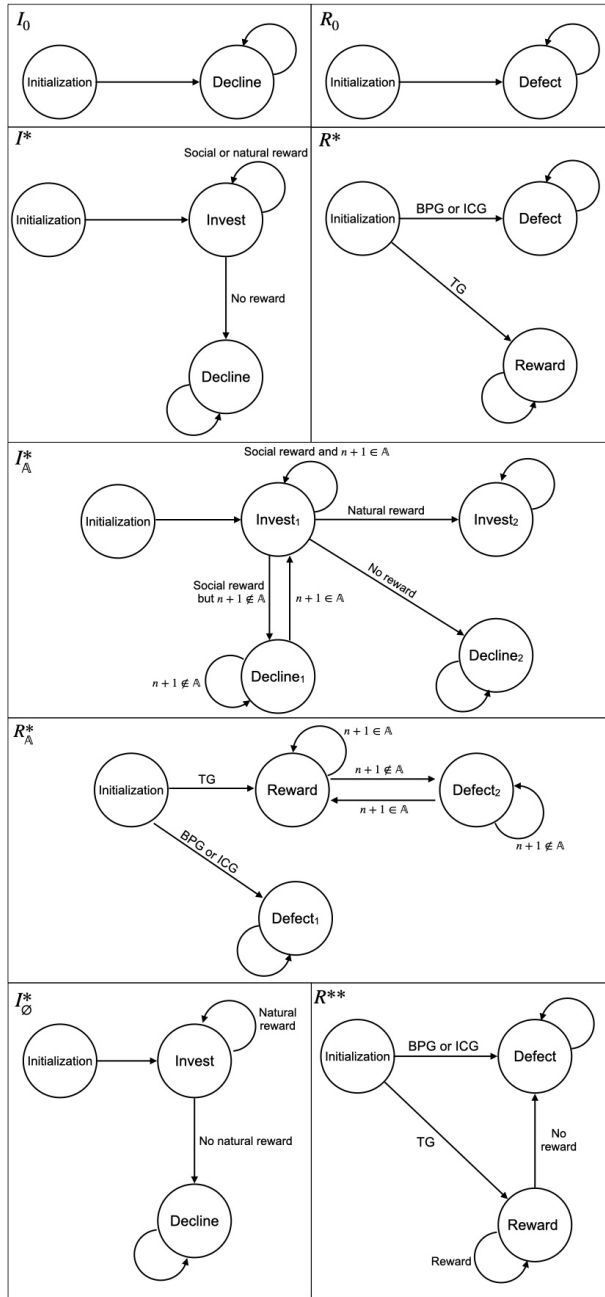


Figure SI.4: **Strategies in the investment game represented as finite automata.** The distances are provided in Tables SI.4 and SI.5 of this supporting information. TG: Trust game; BPG: By-product cooperation game; ICG: Inefficient cooperation game.

958 **E.1.1 Unconditional defection**

959 The profile $S_0 = (I_0, R_0)$ represents pure, unconditional defection. The investor's strategy,
 960 I_0 , consists of playing *Decline* in all situations, while the responder's strategy, R_0 , consists
 961 of playing *Defect* in all situations.

962 **E.1.2 Unconditional cooperation**

963 The profile $\tilde{S} = (\tilde{I}, \tilde{R})$ represents pure, unconditional cooperation. The investor's strategy,
 964 \tilde{I} , consists of playing *Invest* in all situations, while the responder's strategy, \tilde{R} , consists of
 965 playing *Reward* in all situations.

966 **E.1.3 Conditional cooperation**

967 Consider any subset of strictly positive integers $A \subseteq Z^+$, and consider the strategy profile
 968 $S_A^* = (I_A^*, R_A^*)$ defined as follows.

969 Note: for simplicity, this definition does not account for the strategy's response to its
 970 own deviations, as we are not concerned with subgame perfection (see section E.6 for a
 971 discussion on this topic). The full description of the strategy is more precisely captured in
 972 its finite automaton (figure SI.4).

973
 974 **Investor's strategy I_A^* :** - Play *Invest* in any round n iff at least one of the following
 975 conditions is met:

- 976 • $n = 0$ (i.e., this is the first round of the game).
 - 977 • The investment in round 0 resulted in a natural reward.
 - 978 • $n \in A$ and all past investments in rounds $m \in A \cup \emptyset$ resulted in a social reward.
- 979 - Play *Decline* otherwise.

980
 981 **Responder's strategy R_A^* :**

- 982 • Play *Reward* iff current round number $n \in A \cup \emptyset$, and the game is a trust game.
- 983 • Play *Defect* otherwise.

984 Simply put, the investor's strategy, I_A^* , consists of testing the game once to determine
 985 the nature of the rewards received (natural, social, or absent). The investor then continues
 986 to invest in all rounds if a natural reward is received, invests only in rounds belonging to A
 987 if the reward is social, and stops investing entirely if no reward is received. The responder's
 988 strategy, R_A^* , involves actively rewarding investments only if the game is a trust game and
 989 the round number belongs to $A \cup \emptyset$.

990 We will also consider the two extreme profiles within this family, corresponding to $A = \emptyset$
 991 and $A = Z^+$, as they represent important strategies.

992 The profile $S_{Z^+}^*$, which we denote more simply as S^* , represents plain conditional co-
 993 operation. In simple terms, the investor's strategy consists of testing the game once to
 994 determine whether a reward is received. If any reward is given, whether natural or social,
 995 the investor continues to invest in all subsequent rounds. However, if no reward is received,
 996 investment stops permanently. The responder's strategy consists of actively rewarding all
 997 investments if the game is a trust game.

998 The profile S_{\emptyset}^* represents byproduct cooperation. Here, the investor tests the game once
 999 to determine the nature of the rewards. If a natural reward is received, investment continues
 1000 in all rounds; otherwise, investment ceases entirely. The responder never rewards and always
 1001 plays *Defect*.

1002 E.2 Payoffs

1003 We define $P(X, Y)$ as the payoff of an individual playing strategy X against a partner playing
 1004 strategy Y . For example, $P(I_1, R_2)$ represents the payoff of an investor using strategy I_1
 1005 against a responder using strategy R_2 , while $P(R_1, I_2)$ represents the payoff of a responder
 1006 using strategy R_1 against an investor using strategy I_2 .

1007 To calculate the payoffs of individuals following a profile S_A^* , we define $\mathbf{1}_A(n)$ as the
 1008 indicator function of A , such that:

$$\mathbf{1}_A(n) \equiv \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } n \in A, \\ 0 & \text{if } n \notin A. \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

1009 The effective density of A after round n is defined as:

$$\rho_A(n) \equiv \sum_{k=n+1}^{+\infty} \mathbf{1}_A(k)(1 - \delta)^{k-n} \quad (3)$$

The payoffs of individuals following the strategy profile S_A^* are therefore as follows:

$$P(I_A^*, R_A^*) = p_t(r - c)(1 + \rho_A(0)) + p_b \frac{(a - c)}{\delta} - p_i c \quad (4)$$

$$P(R_A^*, I_A^*) = p_t(b - r)(1 + \rho_A(0)) + p_b \frac{b}{\delta} \quad (5)$$

1010 Beyond the profile S_A^* , all other useful payoffs are shown in Tables [SI.2](#) and [SI.3](#).

	$R_0 = R_\emptyset^*$	R^*
I_0	0	0
\tilde{I}	$\frac{ap_b - c}{\delta}$	$p_b \frac{a-c}{\delta} + p_t \frac{r-c}{\delta} - p_i \frac{c}{\delta}$
I_\emptyset^*	$p_b \frac{a-c}{\delta} - (p_i + p_t)c$	$p_b \frac{a-c}{\delta} + p_t(r-c) - p_i c$
I^*	$p_b \frac{a-c}{\delta} - (p_i + p_t)c$	$p_b \frac{a-c}{\delta} + p_t \frac{r-c}{\delta} - p_i c$

Table SI.2: **Payoff matrix for the Investor in the investment game.** Each cell shows the Investor's payoff in interactions between a given pair of strategies.

	I_0	I^*
$R_0 = R_\emptyset^*$	0	$p_b \frac{b}{\delta} + p_t b$
\tilde{R}	0	$(p_b + p_t) \frac{b-r}{\delta} - p_i \frac{r}{\delta}$
R^*	0	$p_b \frac{b}{\delta} + p_t \frac{b-r}{\delta}$

Table SI.3: **Payoff matrix for the Responder in the investment game.** Each cell shows the Responder's payoff in interactions between a given pair of strategies.

1011 E.3 An infinite range of equilibria

1012 Consider any subset of natural numbers $A \subset Z^+$, such that:

$$\forall n_0, \rho_A(n) > \frac{r}{b-r} \quad (6)$$

1013 In words, we consider all subsets A whose density is sufficiently high within Z^+ to ensure
1014 that it is always beneficial for a responder to continue the interaction, regardless of the
1015 round they are in. This includes a wide range of subsets of Z^+ with varying densities, from
1016 Z^+ itself, with a density $\rho_{Z^+}(n) = \frac{1-\delta}{\delta}$, down to the lowest possible density, $\frac{r}{b-r}$.

1017 Here, I aim to show that, provided condition 6 is satisfied, any strategy profile $S_A^* =$
1018 (I_A^*, R_A^*) is a Nash equilibrium. To do so, I examine all possible deviations on both sides
1019 that actually occur along the equilibrium path of the strategy and demonstrate that each
1020 of them is strictly disadvantageous. Other deviations, which never occur against a partner
1021 playing S_A^* , are neutral.

1022 **E.3.1 Deviations on the investor's side**

1023 Against a responder playing strategy R_A^* , the investor can find themselves in only five
1024 possible situations. We will examine the effects of deviating in each case.

1025 1. First round ($n = 0$): Nothing has happened yet, so the investor must test the game
1026 immediately; otherwise, they waste time.

1027 2. Any round $n > 1$, where the event "Invest-No-reward" occurred in the first round:
1028 The investor is in an inefficient cooperation game. They should decline; otherwise, they
1029 incur an unnecessary cost.

1030 3. Any round $n > 1$, where the event "Invest-Natural reward" occurred in the first
1031 round: The investor is in a byproduct cooperation game. They should invest; otherwise,
1032 they miss a profitable opportunity.

1033 4. A round $n > 1$ with $n \in A$, where the event "Invest-Social reward" occurred in the
1034 first round: The investor is in a trust game. They should invest; otherwise, they miss a
1035 profitable opportunity.

1036 5. A round $n > 1$ with $n \notin A$, where the event "Invest-Social reward" occurred in the
1037 first round: The investor should decline; otherwise, they incur an unnecessary cost.

1038 All other possible states are not reached at equilibrium against R_A^* . In particular, a
1039 situation where the game is a trust game but the responder has defected once in a round
1040 belonging to A does not occur along the equilibrium path.

1041 We now examine each of the cases above and formally show that no deviation is beneficial:

1042 1. In the first round, the strategy I_A^* prescribes investing to test the game, and the
1043 continuation payoff for the investor is then given by $P(I_A^*, R_A^*)$ in equation 4 above. If the
1044 investor deviates by declining in the first round and then returns to the resident strategy,
1045 the first game test would only begin in the next round, delaying the increment of the round
1046 number as well. Consequently, the continuation payoff remains the same as that of the
1047 resident but shifted one round later, meaning it is discounted by a factor of $1 - \delta < 1$,
1048 making the deviation strictly costly.

1049 2. If the investor received no reward in the first round, then the game is an inefficient
1050 cooperation game. In this case, for all subsequent rounds n , I_A^* prescribes declining, and the
1051 investor's continuation payoff after n is zero. If the investor deviates by investing instead,
1052 their continuation payoff becomes strictly negative ($-c$), making the deviation strictly costly.

1053 3. If the investor received a natural reward in the first round, then the game is a byprod-
1054 uct cooperation game. In this case, for all subsequent rounds n , I_A^* prescribes investing,
1055 and the investor's continuation payoff after n is $\frac{a-c}{\delta}$. If the investor deviates by declining
1056 at round n and then resumes the I_A^* strategy, they forgo one round of gain, resulting in a
1057 continuation payoff of $\frac{a-c}{\delta}(1 - \delta)$, which is strictly lower.

1058 4. If the investor received a social reward in the first round, and the current round is
1059 $n \in A$, the game is a trust game, and the responder will reward this round. If the investor
1060 follows I_A^* and invests, their continuation payoff is $(r - c)(1 + \rho_A(n))$, as they gain $r - c$ now
1061 plus future payoffs. If they deviate by declining, they miss an opportunity to make a gain,

1062 resulting in a continuation payoff of only $(r - c)\rho_A(n)$. The deviation is therefore strictly
 1063 costly.

1064 5. If the investor received a social reward in the first round but the current round is
 1065 $n \notin A$, the game is a trust game, but the responder will not reward this round. If the
 1066 investor follows I_A^* , they must decline, and their continuation payoff is $(r - c)\rho_A(n)$. If they
 1067 deviate by investing, they pay an unnecessary immediate cost, c , while obtaining the same
 1068 continuation payoff afterward. This deviation is thus strictly costly.

1069 **E.3.2 Deviations on the responder's side**

1070 Against an investor playing the strategy I_A^* , the responder faces only three possible situations
 1071 in which they must make a decision.

1072 1. If the game is a by-product cooperation game and the round number is any $n \geq 0$, R_A^*
 1073 prescribes playing *Defect*. Deviating cannot be beneficial because rewarding has no effect
 1074 on the investor's behavior in this case and only incurs a cost.

1075 2. If the game is an inefficient cooperation game and the round number is $n = 0$, R_A^*
 1076 prescribes playing *Defect*. In this case, the responder's continuation payoff is 0, as they
 1077 gain no benefit from investments. If the responder deviates once by rewarding the first
 1078 investment and then returns to R_A^* , they will have incurred a net cost, r .

1079 3. If the game is a trust game and the round number is $n \in A$, R_A^* prescribes playing
 1080 Reward after this investment. The responder's continuation payoff is then $(b - r)(1 + \rho_A(n))$,
 1081 as they receive an immediate benefit of $b - r$ plus their future gains. If instead, the responder
 1082 deviates and plays Defect in this round, they gain an immediate profit by keeping r , but
 1083 this ends the game, leaving them with a continuation payoff of only b . Under assumption 6,
 1084 b is always strictly lower than the resident's continuation payoff, meaning the future value
 1085 of the game is always sufficient to make rewarding worthwhile in every round.

1086 In conclusion, all deviations along the equilibrium path are strictly costly, while other
 1087 deviations occurring off the equilibrium path are neutral. For any set of natural numbers A
 1088 that satisfies condition 6, the strategy profile S_A^* is a Nash equilibrium.

1089 Notably, among many others, this includes the most cooperative profile, $S_{Z^+}^* = S^*$,
 1090 which is also a Nash equilibrium.

1091 **E.3.3 The byproduct cooperation profile, S_\emptyset^* , is also a Nash equilibrium**

1092 The proof is slightly different in the particular case where $A = \emptyset$.

1093 On the investor's side:

1094 In the first round, if the investor plays *Invest* as prescribed by I_\emptyset^* , their expected payoff
 1095 over the entire game is $-c(p_t + p_i) + \frac{a-c}{\delta}pb$, which, by assumption, is strictly greater than
 1096 0. This means the parameters are such that it is always worth testing the game once to
 1097 determine whether it is a by-product game. On the other hand, if the investor deviates in
 1098 this round and instead tests the game for the first time in the next round, they receive an

1099 immediate payoff of 0 and then obtain the same continuation payoff, but discounted by a
1100 factor of $1 - \delta$. Thus, postponing the first investment is strictly costly at all rounds.

1101 In subsequent rounds, if the investor received a natural reward in the first round, I_\emptyset^*
1102 prescribes investing, which yields the continuation payoff $(a - c)/\delta$. If the investor deviates,
1103 they will only postpone this payoff and receive $(a - c)(1 - \delta)/\delta$ instead, which is strictly
1104 lower.

1105 On the other hand, if the investor received no reward in the first round, I_\emptyset^* prescribes
1106 declining, which results in a continuation payoff of 0. If the investor instead chooses to
1107 invest, they incur an immediate cost of $-c$ with no future benefit. Hence, this deviation is
1108 also strictly costly.

1109 On the responder's side, R_\emptyset^* stipulates to defect in all cases and in all rounds. If the
1110 investor plays I_\emptyset^* then regardless of the nature of the game, his behavior is independent of
1111 the responder's actions, so there is never any benefit for the responder to reward him. Hence
1112 any deviation from R_\emptyset^* is strictly costly.

1113 In conclusion, all deviations on the equilibrium path are strictly costly. Other deviations,
1114 occurring out of equilibrium are neutral. The strategy S_\emptyset^* is a Nash equilibrium.

1115 In conclusion, there is a wide variety of strategies that constitute Nash equilibria in
1116 this game, as in all repeated games. But we will now show that the parsimony criterion
1117 eliminates the vast majority of these equilibria. To do so, we will first demonstrate that the
1118 two extreme equilibria—the fully cooperative equilibrium S^* and the by-product cooperation
1119 equilibrium S_\emptyset^* —are parsimonious equilibria from S_0 . Then, we will show that none of the
1120 intermediate Nash equilibria in the family S_A^* , with $A \neq \emptyset$ and AZ^+ , are parsimonious from
1121 S_0 .

1122 A point of terminology: when an evolutionary transition from a strategy profile S to a
1123 strategy profile S' is parsimonious (as defined in section 2), we say that S' is parsimoniously
1124 evolvable in one step from S . And, more generally, if there exists at least one trait substi-
1125 tution sequence from S to S' that consists only of parsimonious transitions, we say that S'
1126 is parsimoniously evolvable (possibly in multiple steps) from S .

1127 **E.4 The two extreme equilibria are evolutionarily parsimonious** 1128 **from the ancestral strategy S_0**

1129 Gist of the proof: S_\emptyset^* and S^* are the closest possible conditional strategy profiles to the
1130 ancestral profile S_0 from a mutational perspective. Since there is a direct selection pressure
1131 favoring conditional investments, these two strategies can invade a non-cooperative resident
1132 population and are thus parsimoniously evolvable from S_0 .

1133 Here is the detailed proof:

1134 **E.4.1 Mutational distances**

1135 Based on cellular automata, as explained in section A, the mutational distances between
 1136 strategies can be calculated and are presented in Tables SI.4 and SI.5.

	I_0	\tilde{I}
I_0	0	1
\tilde{I}	1	0
I_\emptyset^*	4	3
I^*	4	3
I_A^*	9	8

Table SI.4: **Mutational distances in the investment game on the investor's side.**

	$R_0 = R_\emptyset^*$	\tilde{R}
$R_0 = R_\emptyset^*$	0	1
\tilde{R}	1	0
R^*	3	2
R_A^*	8	7

Table SI.5: **Mutational distances in the investment game on the responder's side.**

1137 **E.4.2 The fully cooperative strategy S^* is an evolutionarily parsimonious equilibrium from the ancestral strategy S_0**
 1138

1139 To show that the strategy profile $S^* = (I^*, R^*)$ is parsimoniously evolvable from the an-
 1140 cestral strategy $S_0 = (I_0, R_0)$, I will first show that the strategy (I^*, R_0) is parsimoniously
 1141 evolvable from (I_0, R_0) , and then show that the strategy (I^*, R^*) is parsimoniously evolvable
 1142 from (I^*, R_0) .

1143 Let us start with showing that (I^*, R_0) is parsimoniously evolvable from S_0 .

1144 First, under our assumptions, we always have $P(I^*, R_0) > P(I_0, R_0)$ (see payoff table
 1145 SI.2), meaning that the conditional investment strategy I^* is always strictly better than

1146 the ancestral strategy I_0 in an environment composed of R_0 . This is because the long-term
 1147 benefit of by-product games always outweighs the risk of testing the games once.

1148 However, for I^* to be parsimoniously evolvable from I_0 , it is not enough for it to be
 1149 capable of invasion. There must also be no other strategy strictly closer to I_0 that can
 1150 invade as well. For instance, this could be the case for the unconditional investment strategy
 1151 \tilde{I} , which is strictly closer to I_0 (see distance table [SI.4](#)).

1152 Here, we must distinguish between two cases.

1153 If $p_b a < c$, then $P(\tilde{I}, R_0) < 0$ (see payoff table [SI.2](#)), meaning that the unconditional
 1154 investment strategy \tilde{I} performs worse than I_0 in an environment composed of responders R_0 ,
 1155 who never reward. This is because the cost incurred in non-cooperative games is too high,
 1156 making blind investment unprofitable on average. In this case, I^* is the closest strategy
 1157 to I_0 that can successfully invade (see distance table [SI.4](#)). Therefore, the strategy profile
 1158 (I^*, R_0) is parsimoniously evolvable from (I_0, R_0) in one step.

1159 If $p_b a > c$, on the other hand, then $P(\tilde{I}, R_0) > 0$ (see payoff table [SI.2](#)), meaning that the
 1160 unconditional investment strategy \tilde{I} performs better than I_0 in an environment composed
 1161 of R_0 . This is because the benefit from by-product games is sufficient to compensate for the
 1162 cost. In this case, I^* is not parsimoniously evolvable from I_0 in one step. Instead, \tilde{I} is the
 1163 strategy that is parsimoniously evolvable from I_0 in one step.

1164 However, in this case, I^* is parsimoniously evolvable in two steps. Once \tilde{I} has fixed in the
 1165 population, I^* becomes parsimoniously evolvable. Indeed, we have $P(I^*, R_0) > P(\tilde{I}, R_0)$
 1166 (see payoff table [SI.2](#)), since I^* introduces an adaptive refinement in the investment strategy.
 1167 Moreover, I^* is the closest possible strategy to \tilde{I} that can successfully invade (see distance
 1168 table [SI.4](#)).

1169 Thus, in all cases, the strategy profile (I^*, R_0) is parsimoniously evolvable from the
 1170 ancestral strategy S_0 , either in one step or in two steps.

1171 Let me now show that the fully conditional profile $S^* = (I^*, R^*)$ is parsimoniously
 1172 evolvable from (I^*, R_0) .

1173 First of all, under our assumptions, the parameters are such that we always have
 1174 $P(R^*, I^*) > P(R_0, I^*)$ (see payoff table [SI.3](#)). This means that R^* can always replace
 1175 R_0 in an environment composed of I^* , since it benefits from trust games, whereas R_0 does
 1176 not.

1177 However, we face the same issue as before: for R^* to be parsimoniously evolvable from
 1178 R_0 , it is not enough that it can invade—it must also be the closest strategy to R_0 that
 1179 can do so. Otherwise, a strategy even closer to R_0 might invade first. In this case, the
 1180 unconditional reward strategy \tilde{R} could be such a candidate, as it is strictly closer to R_0 (see
 1181 distance table [SI.5](#)).

1182 Thus, once again, we must distinguish between two cases.

1183 If $r > bp_t(1 - \delta)$, then $P(\tilde{R}, I^*) < P(R_0, I^*)$ (see payoff table [SI.3](#)), meaning that the
 1184 unconditional reward strategy \tilde{R} is not better than R_0 in an environment composed of I^* .
 1185 This is because the cost of rewarding all games indiscriminately is too high compared to

1186 the benefit. In this case, R^* is the closest strategy to R_0 that can successfully invade (see
 1187 distance table SI.5). Therefore, the strategy profile (I^*, R^*) is parsimoniously evolvable
 1188 from (I^*, R_0) in one step.

1189 If $r < bp_t(1 - \delta)$, on the other hand, then $P(\tilde{R}, I^*) > P(R_0, I^*)$ (see payoff table SI.3),
 1190 meaning that the unconditional reward strategy \tilde{R} performs better than R_0 in an environ-
 1191 ment composed of I^* . This is because rewarding all games indiscriminately is worthwhile
 1192 in this case. As a result, it is not R^* but rather \tilde{R} that is parsimoniously evolvable from R_0
 1193 in one step.

1194 However, in this case, R^* is still parsimoniously evolvable in two steps. Once \tilde{R} has
 1195 fixed in the population, R^* becomes parsimoniously evolvable. We always have $P(R^*, I^*) >$
 1196 $P(\tilde{R}, I^*)$ (see payoff table SI.3), since R^* introduces an adaptive refinement in the reward
 1197 strategy. Moreover, R^* is the closest possible strategy to \tilde{R} that can successfully invade (see
 1198 distance table SI.5).

1199 Thus, in all cases, the strategy profile (I^*, R^*) is parsimoniously evolvable from the
 1200 strategy profile (I^*, R_0) , either in one step or in two steps.

1201 We have therefore shown that, under our assumptions, the strategy profile (I^*, R_0) is
 1202 always parsimoniously evolvable from the ancestral strategy S_0 , and that the profile S^* is, in
 1203 turn, parsimoniously evolvable from (I^*, R_0) . As a consequence, the conditional cooperation
 1204 profile S^* is parsimoniously evolvable from the ancestral profile S_0 . Since S^* is also a Nash
 1205 equilibrium, it is an evolutionarily parsimonious equilibrium from S_0 .

1206 **E.4.3 The byproduction cooperative equilibrium S_\emptyset^* is also evolutionarily par-**
 1207 **simonious from S_0**

1208 S_\emptyset^* is the least cooperative equilibrium, supporting cooperation only in by-product games
 1209 and never in trust games.

1210 First, note that the responder's strategy in S_\emptyset^* is exactly the same as in the ancestral
 1211 strategy S_0 , meaning $R_\emptyset^* = R_0$. This strategy simply consists of never actively rewarding
 1212 any partner. Hence, to show that S_\emptyset^* is parsimoniously evolvable from S_0 , we only need to
 1213 show that the strategy I_\emptyset^* is parsimoniously evolvable from I_0 in an environment where the
 1214 responder plays R_0 .

1215 In an environment where the responder plays R_0 , the strategy I_\emptyset^* behaves exactly like
 1216 I^* , and its payoff is therefore identical, i.e., $P(I_\emptyset^*, R_0) = P(I^*, R_0)$ (see payoff table SI.2).
 1217 Furthermore, the distances between I_\emptyset^* and the two other strategies (I_0 and \tilde{I}) are the same
 1218 as the distances between I^* and these two strategies. As a result, the proof given above
 1219 showing that I^* is parsimoniously evolvable from I_0 applies in exactly the same way to I_\emptyset^* .

1220 Hence, like I^* , the strategy I_\emptyset^* is parsimoniously evolvable from I_0 in an environment
 1221 where the responder plays R_0 .

1222 As a result, the strategy profile S_\emptyset^* is parsimoniously evolvable from the ancestral profile
 1223 S_0 . Since S_\emptyset^* is also a Nash equilibrium, it is a parsimonious equilibrium from S_0 .

1224 **E.5 Intermediate equilibria of the family S_A^* are not parsimoniously**
1225 **evolvable from S_0**

1226 We refer to intermediate equilibria as all equilibrium strategies that invest in some rounds
1227 of the trust game but not in all rounds, i.e., strategies belonging to the family S_A^* , where
1228 A is a non-empty subset of Z^+ . We will also refer to these as round number-dependent
1229 strategies.

1230 Additionally, for the investor, we use the term reward-dependent to describe strategies
1231 in which the investor tests the games and continues investing only when they yield a given
1232 reward, either natural or social, or both. Investors in intermediate equilibria are thus both
1233 round-number dependent and reward-dependent. In contrast, the ancestral non-conditional
1234 strategy I_0 is neither round-number dependent nor reward-dependent.

1235 For the responder, we use the term game-dependent to describe strategies in which
1236 the responder rewards some games (typically the trust game) but not all. Responders in
1237 intermediate equilibria are thus both round-number dependent and game-dependent. In
1238 contrast, the ancestral non-conditional strategy R_0 is neither round-number dependent nor
1239 game-dependent.

1240 Here, we will show that a round-number dependent strategy profile can never be evolu-
1241 tionarily parsimonious from a non-conditional ancestral strategy profile.

1242 Here is first an intuitive verbal explanation:

1243 To evolutionarily reach a round-number dependent strategy from an ancestral round-
1244 number independent strategy, there must be a point where round-number dependence ap-
1245 pears on one side (investor or responder), despite being initially absent on the other side.
1246 In either case, in a situation where the other side is not round-number dependent, the very
1247 ability to be dependent on the round number cannot provide a strictly positive advantage.

1248 Mutationally speaking, a round-number independent strategy is always closer to an
1249 ancestral strategy that is itself round-number independent than a round-number dependent
1250 strategy is (see distance table).

1251 Consequently, there is no scenario in which a transition from a round-number indepen-
1252 dent to a round-number dependent strategy is parsimonious.

1253 To be more precise, we will now examine each of the possible scenarios in detail.

1254 To evolutionarily reach a round-number dependent strategy from a round-number in-
1255 dependent ancestral strategy, there are only two possible scenarios. (1) A round-number
1256 dependent strategy on the investor's side invades an environment where the responder is
1257 not round-number dependent. (2) A round-number dependent strategy on the responder's
1258 side invades an environment where the investor is not round-number dependent.

1259 **E.5.1 Round-number dependence on the investor's side first**

1260 Starting from the ancestral strategy $S_0 = (I_0, R_0)$, the only scenario in which round-number
1261 dependence first appears on the investor's side is one where this conditionality successfully

1262 invades in an environment composed of R_0 (i.e., responders who do not reward any game).

1263 To analyze this, we must consider two possible cases:

1264 (i) If $ap_b < c$, then an investor who is not reward-dependent cannot invade. In this case,
1265 the only possible way to reach a round-number dependent strategy is through the invasion
1266 of a strategy I_A^* that is both round-number dependent and reward-dependent.

1267 However, we know that in this situation, an investor who is reward-dependent but not
1268 round-number dependent (i.e., I^* or I_\emptyset^*) can also invade while being strictly closer to the
1269 resident strategy. This means that I_A^* is not parsimoniously evolvable in one step. Fur-
1270 thermore, once I^* or I_\emptyset^* have invaded, any strategy introducing round-number dependence
1271 (whether on the responder or the investor's side) is, at best, strictly neutral.

1272 (ii) If $ap_b > c$, then an investor who is reward-independent but round-number depen-
1273 dent (not shown) would be capable of invading. However, the strategy \tilde{I} , which is both
1274 reward-independent and round-number independent, can also invade while being strictly
1275 closer to the resident strategy (not shown). This means that round-number dependence is
1276 not parsimoniously evolvable in one step. Furthermore, once \tilde{I} has invaded, the reasoning
1277 remains the same. At no point is round-number dependence parsimonious.

1278 E.5.2 Round-number dependence on the responder's side first

1279 Here, the only possible scenario is that the strategy I^* , which invests in all games and all
1280 rounds in a reward-dependent manner, first invades on the investor's side. Once this occurs,
1281 there is selection pressure on the responder to reward at least some rounds of the trust game.
1282 A round-dependent responder R_A^* , who rewards only *certain* rounds of the trust game, is
1283 therefore capable of invading. However, in this situation, a responder R^* who rewards *all*
1284 rounds of the trust game can also invade while being strictly closer to the resident strategy
1285 R_0 (see table SL.5). And once it has invaded, the resulting strategy profile is S^* , which is
1286 an equilibrium. Hence, R_A^* is not parsimoniously evolvable.

1287 In conclusion, when $A \notin \{\emptyset, Z^+\}$, there is no evolutionary path from $S_0 = (I_0, R_0)$ to
1288 $S_A^* = (I_A^*, R_A^*)$ through a sequence of parsimonious adaptive mutations. Hence, S_A^* is not
1289 evolutionarily parsimonious from S_0 .

1290 E.6 Parsimony is incompatible with subgame perfection

1291 The parsimonious cooperative equilibrium profile, S^* , is not subgame perfect. This is due to
1292 the highly punitive nature of the investor strategy I^* . Any instance of a missing reward in a
1293 game leads to the permanent cessation of investment in that game. In an out-of-equilibrium
1294 situation where a responder deviates from R^* by playing *Defect* once in a trust game, the
1295 strategy I^* dictates that the investor should then play *Decline* in all future rounds of the
1296 game. Yet, the best response in this situation would be to continue playing *Invest*, since the
1297 responder will return to the R^* profile and reward all future investments.

1298 A more complex strategy on the responder’s side, R^{**} , would be necessary to obtain a
1299 strategy profile $S^{**} = (I^*, R^{**})$ that is subgame perfect. To achieve this, R^{**} must contain
1300 a self-punishing principle as follows (fig. SI.4):

- 1301 • If the game is a by-product cooperation game or an inefficient cooperation game, play
1302 *Defect*.
- 1303 • If the game is a trust game and the responder itself has always rewarded in the past,
1304 play *Reward*.
- 1305 • If the game is a trust game, but the responder itself has defected at least once in the
1306 past, play *Defect* (self-punishing principle)

1307 However, this subgame perfect profile S^{**} is not parsimonious.

1308 The strategy R^{**} is characterized by its conditional response to both the nature of
1309 the game—it is game-dependent—and its own past behavior—it is also self-dependent. In
1310 contrast, R^* is only game-dependent. Starting from an ancestral strategy that is not self-
1311 dependent, R^{**} is always further away than R^* . For example, starting from R_0 , which
1312 is neither game-dependent nor self-dependent, the framework of finite automata gives a
1313 distance of $d(R^{**}, R_0) = 4$, whereas for R^* , we had $d(R^*, R_0) = 3$.

1314 Yet, self-dependence provides no advantage under any circumstances, even after random
1315 deviations of all sorts. The ability to punish oneself is at best neutral and at worst costly.
1316 As a consequence, in any evolutionary scenario, if a self-dependent strategy is capable of
1317 invading, there always exists a non-self-dependent strategy that can invade as well. There-
1318 fore, a self-dependent strategy can never be evolutionarily parsimonious. Parsimony is thus
1319 incompatible with subgame perfection.

1320 **F Alternative definitions of parsimonious equilibria**

1321 In this section, we adopt a slightly different definition of parsimony, one that accounts for
1322 Maynard Smith’s second condition—the interactions between rare mutants. We then explore
1323 its implications in two games.

1324 Finally, we note that while a broader definition of parsimony is possible, it is likely not
1325 desirable.

1326 **F.1 Parsimony when considering selection from rare mutants**

1327 Consider a game defined by a finite set of n players, a tree representing the sequence of
1328 decisions, a set of terminal nodes with associated payoffs for each player, and a partition
1329 of the non-terminal nodes into $n + 1$ subsets—one for each player and one for “Nature’s
1330 moves”, representing events beyond the players’ control. A player’s strategy is defined by a
1331 mapping from the set of their nodes to the set of available behavioral policies.

1332 Here, we adopt the same three assumptions as in the main text.

1333 First, following the standard assumption of vanishingly rare mutations, the evolution
 1334 of strategies in this game is approximated as a trait substitution sequence. Second, the
 1335 mutation graph is assumed complete, meaning any strategy can potentially arise as a mu-
 1336 tation from any other. Third, an infinite population is assumed, allowing only substitutions
 1337 to strictly advantageous strategies, as mutants with neutral or deleterious effects have zero
 1338 fixation probability.

1339 Under these assumptions, the evolutionary transition from strategy S_1 to strategy S_2 is
 1340 said to be *feasible* if and only if the following condition holds:

$$\begin{cases} P(S_2, S_1) > P(S_1, S_1), \text{ or} \\ P(S_2, S_1) = P(S_1, S_1) \text{ and } P(S_2, S_2) > P(S_1, S_1), \end{cases}$$

1341 This means that S_2 either performs strictly better in interactions with S_1 or is strictly
 1342 neutral in interactions with S_1 but performs strictly better when interacting with another
 1343 S_2 .

1344 For clarity, an indicator variable $\sigma_{S_1 \rightarrow S_2}$ is used in the following, set to 1 if the evolu-
 1345 tionary transition from S_1 to S_2 is feasible, and 0 otherwise.

1346 The evolutionary transition from strategy S_1 to strategy S_2 is then said to be *parsi-*
 1347 *monious* iff (i) $\sigma_{S_1 \rightarrow S_2}$ (i.e., the transition is feasible), and (ii) the following condition is
 1348 met:

$$\forall S_3 \neq S_2 \text{ with } P(S_3, S_1) > P(S_1, S_1), d(S_3, S_1) \geq d(S_2, S_1) \quad (7)$$

1349
 1350 In other words, S_2 is the closest strategy that can successfully invade S_1 .

1351 As in main text, a strategy S^* is then defined as an *evolutionarily parsimonious equilib-*
 1352 *rium* from an ancestral strategy S_0 if and only if the two following conditions hold:

- 1353 1. There exists at least one trait substitution sequence from S_0 to S^* that includes only
 1354 parsimonious transitions.
- 1355 2. $\forall S \neq S^* P(S, S^*) < P(S^*, S^*)$, i.e., S^* is an equilibrium.

1356 In what follows, we apply this alternative definition to two games.

1357 F.2 Hawk-dove game

1358 In this game, interactions between mutants play a particularly significant role. Here, even
 1359 without perturbations, strong asymmetry can emerge because rare asymmetric mutants can
 1360 pay the role of a perturbation.

1361 As in the case described in the main text, evolution first converges toward a symmetric
 1362 strategy, where the resident plays Hawk with the threshold probability \hat{p} in every state. Once

1363 this resident is established, any mutant remains strictly neutral against it. In particular,
1364 a maximally asymmetric mutant following a Bourgeois strategy—always playing Hawk in
1365 state A and always Dove in state B —is also neutral against the resident. However, this
1366 mutant performs strictly better against itself because it avoids all conflict costs. And there
1367 is no symmetric mutant able to achieve the same benefit. Hence the evolutionary transition
1368 towards asymmetry is parsimonious.

1369 Here, asymmetry can emerge without any external perturbation because the rare mutant
1370 itself creates the very perturbation that ultimately gives it an advantage. However, this
1371 emergence of asymmetry is only possible because asymmetry does provide a solution to a
1372 coordination problem that could not be solved with a symmetric strategy.

1373 By contrast, in the divide-the-dollar game, no transition from symmetry to asymmetry is
1374 ever parsimonious, as asymmetry is not needed to resolve a coordination problem. The only
1375 parsimonious equilibrium remains the symmetric one, even under this alternative definition
1376 of parsimony.

1377 **F.3 Repeated prisoner’s dilemma**

1378 In the repeated prisoner’s dilemma, if we adopt the main text definition of parsimony,
1379 where interactions between mutants are neglected, cooperation can never evolve from a
1380 non-cooperative ancestral state. This is because a mutant capable of reciprocal cooperation
1381 gains no advantage against the resident, who never cooperates. Any benefit it derives comes
1382 solely from interactions with other mutants. By neglecting these interactions, we rule out
1383 the evolution of reciprocity.

1384 This is actually a good property of this definition of parsimony. As many have argued
1385 (56, 71–73) and as I have discussed elsewhere (53, 54, 74), the repeated prisoner’s dilemma
1386 is not a satisfying ecological model for the evolution of reciprocal cooperation. In this game,
1387 in the initial absence of reciprocal cooperation, individuals are never really under selection
1388 to cooperate reciprocally. Instead, if reciprocal cooperation does appear suddenly, like a
1389 hopeful monster, then rare mutant-mutant interactions may allow it to spread. But such
1390 an event is highly improbable (33, 74).

1391 For this reason, most empirically minded researchers in the evolution of cooperation
1392 believe that reciprocal cooperation is far more likely to have originated in ecological settings
1393 where individuals faced immediate selection pressure to cooperate conditionally (53–56, 73,
1394 75?). This idea is captured by the investment game.

1395 Still, for the sake of theory, it is worth considering how parsimony applies to the repeated
1396 prisoner’s dilemma.

1397 To this aim, consider three types of strategies (see figure [SI.5](#) for their representation as
1398 finite automata):

- 1399 - AllD, which always defects.
- 1400 - Grim, which cooperates in the first round and continues to do so as long as its partner has always cooperated in the past, but permanently stops

1401 cooperating after a single deviation by its partner. - Grim_A , a broad family of strategies
 1402 that, like Grim, cooperate in the first round and then continue cooperating in every round
 1403 that belongs to an arbitrary subset A of strictly positive integers, defecting in all other
 1404 rounds. However, if the partner defects even once in a round belonging to A , the strategy
 1405 permanently ceases cooperation.

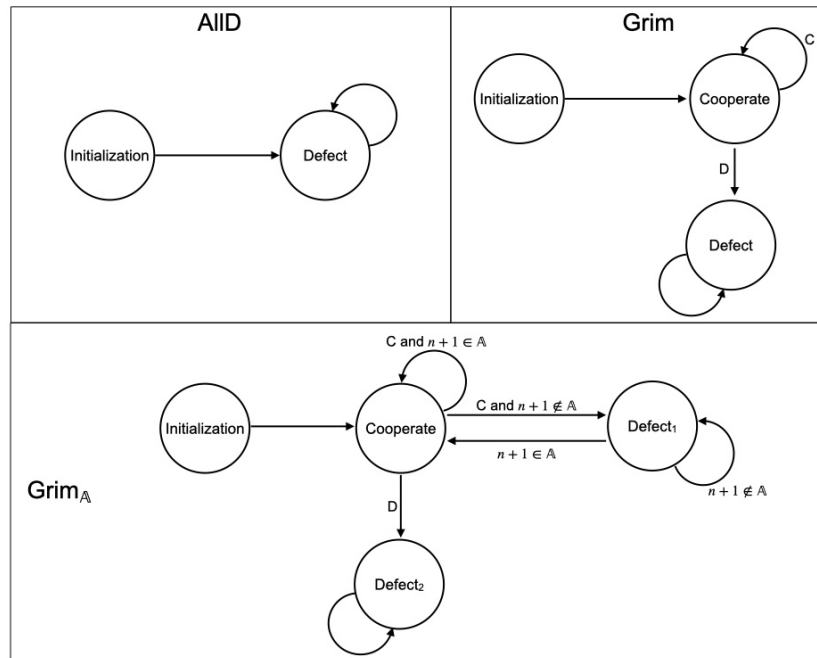


Figure SI.5: **Strategies in the repeated prisoner's dilemma represented as finite automata.** The distance between AllD and Grim is 4. The distance between AllD and Grim_A is 7.

1406 Here, we assume that $P(\text{Grim}, \text{AllD}) = P(\text{Grim}_A, \text{AllD}) = P(\text{AllD}, \text{AllD})$, i.e., we ignore
 1407 the cost of cooperation in the first round against a pure defector. In this case, both types
 1408 of reciprocal strategies, Grim and Grim_A , are neutral against a resident defector. This
 1409 allows any strategy of the Grim family (plain or bizarre) to spread through the effect of
 1410 mutant-mutant interactions, as each gains an advantage when interacting with itself (i.e.,
 1411 $P(\text{Grim}, \text{Grim}) > P(\text{AllD}, \text{Grim})$ and $P(\text{Grim}_A, \text{Grim}_A) > P(\text{AllD}, \text{Grim}_A)$). Thus, from
 1412 AllD, evolution can lead either to plain reciprocity or to any one of the bizarre forms of
 1413 reciprocity that condition behavior on the round number.

1414 But parsimony eliminates all bizarre equilibria, leaving only plain reciprocity. The mu-
 1415 tational distance from AllD to Grim is smaller than from AllD to Grim_A , as the latter
 1416 requires the emergence of two new types of conditionality (conditionality to cooperation
 1417 and conditionality to round number). The parsimony approximation thus assumes that the
 1418 evolutionary transition towards bizarre forms of reciprocity will never occur. As a result,

1419 the only parsimonious equilibrium is plain reciprocity.

1420 **F.4 Parsimony in finite populations: accounting for both occur-** 1421 **rence probability and fixation probability**

1422 In principle, one could consider an even more general definition of parsimony.

1423 For any possible mutation arising from a resident strategy fixed in a population, the
1424 probability of an evolutionary transition to that mutation—known as the probability of
1425 substitution—is the product of two probabilities:

- 1426 (i) the probability that a single mutant carrying this mutation appears in the population,
- 1427 (ii) the probability that the mutation eventually fixes in the population after it has appeared
1428 as a single mutant.

1429 In all previous analyses, the second probability has been neglected. The substitution
1430 probability of a strategy S_1 by a strategy S_2 has been assumed to depend solely on the
1431 probability of a mutant S_2 appearing in a population of S_1 . This simplification follows from
1432 the assumption of deterministic selection, where a mutation fixates with probability 1 if it
1433 is advantageous and 0 otherwise.

1434 However, this is a strong approximation, which in reality holds in no actual population.
1435 Even in very large populations, mutants are initially rare and can be lost due to genetic
1436 drift, and this probability of loss is not the same for all mutants. One may thus describe
1437 what the parsimony approximation would look like in the absence of this assumption.

1438 For any single mutant present in a resident population, one can define its probability
1439 of fixation. These fixation probabilities can be computed under certain population models
1440 and approximations, but what matters here is that they can always be defined.

1441 - If the mutant is strictly superior to the resident, this probability corresponds to the
1442 fixation probability of an advantageous mutation, which depends on the strength of its
1443 selective advantage. - If the mutant is neutral or disadvantageous against the resident but
1444 superior against itself, its fixation probability depends on its ability to cross an invasion
1445 barrier and subsequently fix, which in turn depends on both its costs and benefits. - If the
1446 mutant is strictly disadvantageous both against the resident and against itself, its fixation
1447 probability corresponds to that of a deleterious mutation.

1448 Each possible mutation arising from a resident strategy is thus characterized by a sub-
1449 stitution probability, which is the product of its mutation occurrence probability and its
1450 fixation probability once it has appeared.

1451 Under this perspective, the parsimony approximation would then simply consist in as-
1452 suming that whenever multiple substitutions are possible at a given point in the substitution
1453 sequence, the most probable substitution always occurs.

1454 However, even though such an approach would have the advantage of generality, it
1455 would extend the parsimony approximation into a domain where its legitimacy is weaker,
1456 as it would also consider small quantitative differences in substitution probabilities. In this

1457 case, the approximation would become highly inaccurate and lose its heuristic value.

1458 There would, in fact, be a paradox in constructing a fully detailed, minimally approxi-
1459 mated model of substitution probabilities, only to then make the extremely crude approxi-
1460 mation that assumes the most probable substitution always takes place.

1461 This would misunderstand the role and heuristic value of the parsimony approximation.
1462 Its purpose is to eliminate strategies whose emergence is entirely implausible from a biolog-
1463 ical standpoint—strategies that are so complex that their occurrence probability is orders
1464 of magnitude lower than that of more biologically natural alternatives. In such cases, the
1465 role of fixation probability becomes negligible. This is why, in this article, I have retained
1466 the simplest possible definition of parsimony.