

*Artificial Life* Manuscript Submission

## Evolved Open-Endedness in Cultural Evolution: A New Dimension in Open-Ended Evolution Research

James M. Borg <sup>1</sup> (@JamesMBorg), Andrew Buskell <sup>2</sup>, (@AndrewBuskell), Rohan Kapitany <sup>3,4</sup>, (@culturaldiscord), Simon T. Powers <sup>5</sup> (@simon\_t\_powers), Eva Reindl <sup>6,7</sup>, (@Miss\_Daffodil), Claudio Tennie <sup>8</sup>, (@CTennie)

**Corresponding:** James M. Borg (j.borg@aston.ac.uk)

1. School of Informatics and Digital Engineering, Aston University, UK
2. School of Public Policy, Georgia Institute of Technology, USA
3. School of Psychology, Keele University, UK
4. School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford, UK
5. School of Computing, Edinburgh Napier University, UK
6. Department of Anthropology, Durham University, UK
7. School of Psychology and Neuroscience, University of St Andrews, UK
8. Department of Early Prehistory and Quaternary Ecology, University of Tübingen, Germany

**Abstract.** The goal of Artificial Life research, as articulated by Chris Langton, is “to contribute to theoretical biology by locating life-as-we-know-it within the larger picture of life-as-it-could-be” (1989, p. 1). The study and pursuit of open-ended evolution in artificial evolutionary systems exemplify this goal. However, open-ended evolution research is hampered by two fundamental issues: the struggle to replicate open-endedness in an artificial evolutionary system, and the fact that we only have one system (genetic evolution) from which to draw inspiration. We argue that cultural evolution should be seen not only as another real-world example of an open-ended evolutionary system, but that the unique qualities seen in cultural evolution provide us with a new perspective from which we can assess the fundamental properties of, and ask new questions about, open-ended evolutionary systems, especially in regard to evolved open-endedness and transitions from bounded to unbounded evolution. Here we provide an overview of culture as an evolutionary system, highlight the interesting case of human cultural evolution as an open-ended evolutionary system, and contextualise cultural evolution by developing a new framework of (evolved) open-ended evolution. We go on to provide a set of new questions that can be asked once we consider cultural evolution within the framework of open-ended evolution, and introduce new insights that we may be able to gain about evolved open-endedness as a result of asking these questions.

**Keywords:** Cultural Evolution, Open-Ended Evolution, Evolved Open-Endedness, Zone of Latent Solutions, Cumulative Culture

# 1 Introduction

Genetic evolution appears to be open-ended. Taking advantage of environmental regularities, gene expression and regulation can generate a potentially infinite number of traits and trait variations. Such evolutionary open-endedness has been characterized by a constellation of overlapping features, yet can generally be understood as the ability of an evolutionary system to produce a continuous stream of novel units (T. Taylor et al., 2016). For those trying to create and understand open-ended evolutionary systems the goal is to understand the underlying principles and dynamics of evolutionary systems in general. Such understanding is based upon knowledge of the best explored and understood open-ended evolutionary system: genetic evolution. But it also can, and should, draw upon the development of artificial evolutionary systems that explore the principles of life-as-it-could-be (Langton, 1989). Such artificial evolutionary systems depart from the particular implementation and substrate features of Darwinian genetic evolution while still meeting the general requirements of an evolving system. The interaction between the two can be consilient. Darwinian genetic evolution provides a source of valuable ideas and inspiration as well as justification for the designs of artificial systems. Despite this positive interplay, having only one concrete instance of an open-ended system is a problem. Such sparse epistemological situations can limit abilities to discern alternate possibilities, detect generalizable features, and develop robust theories and models.

It is increasingly being recognised, however, that there is another evolutionary system from which one can find inspiration: cultural evolution (Bedau, 2013, 2019; Bedau et al., 2019; Borg & Powers, 2021; Marriott et al., 2018). Minimally characterized, culture is information transmitted through mechanisms of social learning (Boyd & Richerson, 1985; Cultural Evolution Society, 2021; Whiten et al., 2022). And while this minimal characterization leaves out many distinctive features of human and non-human cultural groups (for instance, that different species differ in the types of information they can transmit) (Whiten et al., 2022),

27 and leaves open precisely how ‘social learning’ should be construed (Lewens, 2015), its  
28 abstractness makes it exceptionally useful for designing models of cultural change and  
29 describing general evolutionary dynamics. On this characterization, cultural evolution is  
30 the change in frequency – or, of special interest here – the form of cultural information  
31 over time, where these changes are at least in part influenced by social learning (Neadle  
32 et al., 2017). Although cultural evolution is often described as being analogous to genetic  
33 evolution (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981), there are clear differences in the way culture  
34 is inherited: 1. while genetic evolution relies on typically two (sometimes one) parent(s),  
35 there are potentially unlimited numbers of cultural “parents”; 2. while genetic transmission  
36 is almost exclusively transmitted vertically from parent to child, cultural transmission can  
37 involve substantial amounts of horizontal or oblique transmission; 3. while genetic changes  
38 generally occur between generations, cultural change generally occurs within generations  
39 (Mesoudi, 2011; Mesoudi et al., 2006). While these features distinguish cultural from ge-  
40 netic change, these do not imply that cultural inheritance is in any sense less (or not)  
41 “evolutionary” – only that its dynamics frequently differ.

42 Over the past 40 years there has been increasing recognition that culture and cultural  
43 evolution exist within non-human animal populations (most prominently in birds and mam-  
44 mals) (Whiten, 2019, 2021a, 2021b), and that culture not only exists as a result of genetic  
45 adaptation but also plays an important co-evolutionary role in guiding genetic evolution  
46 (Uchiyama et al., 2021; Whitehead et al., 2019). This co-evolutionary relationship between  
47 genes, culture, and the environment is sometimes known as “triple inheritance” (Laland  
48 et al., 2000). Nonetheless, while many animal species exhibit culture, human cultural evo-  
49 lution appears both quantitatively and qualitatively distinct. Several dividing lines between  
50 human and animal cultures have been proposed, but the most prominent of recent formula-  
51 tions holds that human culture is distinctive in virtue of its cumulative nature – with human  
52 culture accumulating modifications over time, and with these modifications building upon  
53 one another (Tomasello, 1999). However, as more observations of cultural evolution in

54 other species have been made, it has become increasingly apparent that cumulative cul-  
55 tural evolution is actually not unique to human culture (Mesoudi & Thornton, 2018). This  
56 raises the following question: what, if anything, is unique about human cultural evolution?

57 We think issues about the distinctiveness of human culture and the nature of open-ended  
58 evolution are overlapping – and that explorations of the two will be mutually illuminating,  
59 with potential downstream consequences for Artificial Life. Here we situate cultural evo-  
60 lution within a broader framework of open-ended evolution and argue that:

- 61 1. Culture is an evolving system, co-evolving alongside genetic evolution.
- 62 2. That within cultural species there are a range of “types” of cultural evolutionary pat-  
63 terns; cumulative and non-cumulative, tall and wide, unbounded and bounded.
- 64 3. That recognizing these “types” of cultural evolution allows Artificial Life researchers  
65 to better understand evolutionary dynamics and provides new perspectives from  
66 which to explore open-ended evolution.
- 67 4. That only humans demonstrate open-ended cultural evolution and that human cul-  
68 tural evolution has transitioned from a bounded to an unbounded evolutionary system  
69 in recent evolutionary history, thus providing a second instance of “evolved open-  
70 endedness.”
- 71 5. That existing Artificial Life methods can be fruitfully applied to the study of cultural  
72 evolution.

73 To develop these points, we outline a number of core concepts from the wider study of  
74 cultural evolution. We then analyze “open-ended evolution” and explore how such analyses  
75 might improve our understanding of evolutionary dynamics and the emergence of evolved  
76 open-ended evolutionary systems. A table of definitions for the key terms used here can  
77 be found in table 1.

## 78 **2 Cultural Evolution**

79 What is culture and how does it evolve? As suggested above, culture can be minimally  
80 defined as the transmission of information – traits – through mechanisms of social learning  
81 (Boyd & Richerson, 1985). This minimal and abstract characterization of culture permits  
82 “information” and “traits” to be read in an encompassing way to include a wide variety  
83 of techniques, technology, and behavior. Examples of such traits include the extractive  
84 foraging techniques among chimpanzees (Sanz et al., 2010) or methods for lighting a fire  
85 (MacDonald et al., 2021). It may also incorporate behaviors with communicative effects  
86 such as warning calls (Griffin, 2004), bird-song, or language (Janik & Slater, 2000). The  
87 definition also incorporates population-level conventions among conspecifics for greeting  
88 and leave-taking (Baehren, 2022; Duranti, 1997) as well as normative behaviors such as  
89 styles of dress or decoration (Baehren, 2022; Richerson & Henrich, 2009). Again, the key  
90 is that the acquisition of these behavioral traits or beliefs are and must be influenced by  
91 social learning – when they are not, the traits are not cultural.

### 92 **2.1 Does Culture Evolve?**

93 An evolutionary process does not require a *particular* kind of physical instantiation or bio-  
94 logical substrate. While familiar processes of biological evolution are mainly grounded in  
95 the manipulation and modification of genes, cultural evolution (and evolution more gener-  
96 ally) is under no such obligation. Consider Dennett’s 1996 conception of evolution as being  
97 both algorithmic and substrate neutral. Evolution is algorithmic in the sense that if cer-  
98 tain conditions are met, a certain sort of outcome is necessarily produced (Dennett, 1996,  
99 p. 48). Where there is reproduction with variation under selection at a population level, a  
100 certain kind of outcome is produced – in this case, the frequency of adaptive outcomes  
101 is increased in the population over time. In cultural evolution, “adaptive” may refer to the  
102 cultural trait and the success the trait has in spreading from mind to mind (Rosenberg,

103 2017), or it may refer to the effects the trait has on its bearers' (adaptive) behavior. Im-  
104 portantly, these adaptations may only emerge out of complex co-evolutionary interactions  
105 between culture and biology (Henrich & McElreath, 2007).

106 Ultimately, the target of reproduction is the informational content carried by some vehicle  
107 – whether this vehicle is expressed behavior, an artifact, or the instructions of a written  
108 account (though it is of course the case that the vehicle can itself have “fitness”). Artificial  
109 Life has often equated such a characterization with the idea of a “meme” (Bedau, 2013;  
110 Bull et al., 2000; Bullinaria, 2010): a discrete, particulate unit of information that is copied  
111 intact between brains, analogous to the way that genes are copied between parents and  
112 offspring (Dawkins, 1976). Cultural evolution, however, does not require the process of re-  
113 production and cultural inheritance to be understood in terms of strict copying. While the  
114 literature on this point is vast, Rosenberg (2017) provides a clear summary of the argu-  
115 ments:

116 1. Replication in biology has not always involved high-fidelity replicators – the “major  
117 transitions in evolution” literature explains how evolution itself has gradually gen-  
118 erated higher fidelity transmission processes. While the first replicating molecules  
119 were not DNA, nor did they have accurate copying mechanisms, fidelity increases  
120 are evolutionary achievements that have been and can be selected for over time  
121 (Maynard Smith & Szathmáry, 1995).

122 2. Even in genetic evolution, a single gene can rarely be equated with a single trait –  
123 the vast majority of biological traits result from complex interactions between the  
124 proteins expressed and regulated by many genes, so why should one demand in  
125 cultural evolution that a trait is the product of one discrete meme?

126 3. Many features of human institutions are adapted to preserve and proliferate cultural  
127 traits even under low individual copying fidelity. Variation is introduced in the form  
128 of the (re)combination of existing traits, innovation of new traits by individuals (which

129 may involve rational thought), or copying error (loosely analogous to mutation in ge-  
130 netic evolution). Meanwhile, selection may occur in multiple ways. This includes  
131 biological selection – that is, the effect that cultural traits have on biological fitness  
132 (for instance, being led to believe that something is safe to eat when it is not).

133 If we accept that evolution is algorithmic (i.e. it follows a series of processes to produce a  
134 certain outcome; selection + reproduction + variation = evolution), it follows that we are not  
135 bound to particular features of biological processes (e.g. sexual reproduction), nor are we  
136 bound to a specific substrate (e.g. DNA). Though Dennett’s conception of cultural evolution  
137 has changed over the years (e.g. Dennett (2017)) – perhaps in response to critics (Uhlíř  
138 & Stella, 2012) – the fundamental insight we take from him still applies: the idea of an  
139 algorithmic process makes it all the more powerful, since the substrate neutrality it thereby  
140 possesses permits us to consider its applications to just about anything (Dennett, 1996).  
141 Which is, of course, true: That one can create an evolutionary process within a computer is  
142 evidence that the process itself need not be strictly biological, merely algorithmic (Lehman  
143 et al., 2020).

## 144 **2.2 Co-Dependent Evolutionary Systems**

145 Cultural evolution is deeply intertwined with biological evolution. While these evolutionary  
146 processes and their products can generate complicated co-evolutionary feedback loops,  
147 each evolutionary system can be understood, studied, and modelled separately (Boyd &  
148 Richerson, 1985; Mesoudi, 2011). For instance, as we suggest in more detail below, pre-  
149 modern hominin cultural evolution contributed to biological fitness in the form of ecolog-  
150 ical knowledge and technological production. Nonetheless, over time, cultural evolution  
151 has become increasingly unmoored from genetic fitness effects, producing a wide range  
152 of behavioral, social, and technological change (Henrich, 2015). The reason for both the  
153 intimacy and relative independence of the two systems should be evident. The substrate



154 of culture is biological: the brain.

155 Culture is bound to a biological substrate, but a substrate which is different from the clas-  
156 sical understanding of genetic evolution in which traits are encoded (directly or indirectly)  
157 by genes. Gene expression may produce brains and (some) brains may acquire culture,  
158 but one cannot skip the middle step and claim that genes produce culture. While humans  
159 may be biologically prepared to acquire language (Fitch, 2011), they are not biologically  
160 determined to learn English, Farsi, or Korean. Clearly, accessibility and exposure to cer-  
161 tain kinds of inputs – the presence of English, Farsi, or Korean language cues – determine  
162 what language any given human ultimately produces. Or put another way, the acquisition,  
163 production, and transmission of language is largely influenced by social learning. So one  
164 cannot simply claim that the process of cultural evolution is independent from biology.  
165 Biological and cultural evolution are interdependent.

166 The idea that cultural species, and particularly cumulatively cultural species such as *Homo*  
167 *sapiens*, have two interdependent systems of inheritance has been labelled “dual inheri-  
168 tance” (“triple inheritance” if the environment is also included (Laland et al., 2000)). On  
169 this account, human offspring inherit a genotype from their parents through sexual repro-  
170 duction and they inherit a body of cultural information over the course of their post-natal  
171 lives via processes of social learning (Henrich & McElreath, 2007) – processes that them-  
172 selves may be culturally evolved tools (Heyes, 2018). Just as one’s genotype has been  
173 dictated by a history of selection pressures acting on genetic variation, one’s cultural in-  
174 heritance is similarly shaped by selective pressures and the variation introduced through  
175 innovation, recombination, and error involved in social learning. Thus, in the same way  
176 that certain phenotypic features are adaptations – increasing the biological fitness of in-  
177 dividuals – elements of culture may also be adaptations. Consider food taboos present in  
178 Fijian society (Henrich & Henrich, 2010; McKerracher et al., 2016) which apply exclusively  
179 to pregnant women. Despite the causal opacity of the underlying process, these taboos

180 protect women from miscarriage. Alternatively, consider the ritualized process of cassava  
181 production. Again, despite the causal opacity of the underlying process, populations have  
182 developed practices that remove toxic cyanogenic elements which would have long-term  
183 health consequences if regularly consumed (Banea et al., 1992; Bradbury & Denton, 2011;  
184 Cardoso et al., 2005; McKerracher et al., 2016). Of course, it can also be adaptive to ac-  
185 quire cultural elements idiosyncratic to local cultures. Regardless of whether the practice  
186 of female or male circumcision has biological benefits, within a circumcising culture, it can  
187 be adaptive to demonstrate commitment to the group by engaging in such a costly signal.  
188 This can ensure inclusion and support by the group as well as prevent ostracism (Howard  
189 & Gibson, 2017; Sosis, 2004) – thus enhancing reproductive outcomes.

190 Cultural organisms do not only inherit genes and cultural information, but also an envi-  
191 ronment: that is, a habitat that has been selected, modified, and partly created by their  
192 ancestors. All organisms change their habitats through their actions – of which spider-  
193 webs, termite mounds, or human-made earthworks are just a few notable examples – with  
194 more or less transitory effects. Such organism-modified environments are evolutionarily  
195 relevant insofar as they modify selection pressures or transmission opportunities – what  
196 the evolutionary literature calls niche construction (Laland et al., 2000). Systematic and  
197 long-lasting modifications, such as beaver dam-building or human agriculture can have  
198 profound effects on both biological and cultural evolutionary processes of the species  
199 producing these modifications as well as others in the habitat.

200 While niche construction is not uniquely human, humans are distinctive in that most of  
201 their niche construction activities are cultural (e.g., making dams, fences, bridges, schools,  
202 roads, clothes). Over evolutionary time, the hominin lineage has created a cultural niche  
203 that has not only affected their biological and cultural evolution by creating new selection  
204 pressures, but which has increasingly become crucial for their survival (Laland & O'Brien,  
205 2011; Uchiyama et al., 2021). For example, the use of fire and cooking may have facilitated

206 selection for larger brains alongside smaller guts and jaws. Lacking fire or cooking, ho-  
207 minins would have been poorly adapted to their environments (Aiello & Wheeler, 1995).  
208 The second inheritance system – culture – can thus indirectly affect the first – genes –  
209 through niche construction. Genes and culture have co-evolved: cultural activities such  
210 as tool use and tool making have generated selection pressures for social tolerance and  
211 cognitive skills such as social learning, attention, working memory, and language, which in  
212 turn have opened up ever greater capacities for cultural innovations, social learning, and  
213 large-scale cooperation (Henrich, 2015), creating the biological and cultural conditions for  
214 the emergence of open-ended cultural evolution.

215 Cultural evolution is often faster than genetic evolution: a cultural variant can emerge and  
216 recombine quickly and repeatedly within the lifetime of its carrier, and can die indepen-  
217 dently of the death of the individual (Boyd et al., 2013). Alongside the speed of cultural  
218 evolution, humans’ capacity for planning and foresight suggests that many human adap-  
219 tations are cultural or have cultural origins (Uchiyama et al., 2021). Thus, cultural evolution  
220 cannot only produce solutions to (ecological) problems, but also create new opportunities  
221 and niches that cultural evolution can exploit – an autocatalytic process, resulting in the  
222 emergence of open-ended cumulative culture.

### 223 **3 Open-Ended Cultural Evolution**

224 As noted in the introduction, open-ended evolution is an umbrella term for a constellation  
225 of features associated with evolutionary change. These include the ongoing generation of  
226 novelties, adaptations, and evolutionary salient entities (T. Taylor et al., 2016). For simplic-  
227 ity, we hold that an evolutionary system can generate open-ended evolutionary change if  
228 it is able to produce a continuous stream of novel units (evolutionary individuals, traits)  
229 with no *a priori* limits to the generation of such novelties (Gabora & Steel, 2017; T. Taylor  
230 et al., 2016). As several commentators have noted (Bedau, 2019; Bedau et al., 2019; Pattee

231 & Sayama, 2019; Tennie et al., 2018), human cultural evolution appears to be just such an  
232 open-ended evolutionary system.

233 More recently, cultural evolution researchers have used the term “open-ended” to describe  
234 what is unique about human culture (Tennie et al., 2018). This acknowledges that human  
235 culture frequently involves processes of cumulative cultural evolution – processes that gen-  
236 erate traits (e.g. behaviour, beliefs) that build upon previous traits, perhaps also making  
237 them more complex, efficient, and adaptive. But calling human culture “open-ended” is  
238 also meant to suggest that cultural solutions to problems do not need to be stuck at local  
239 optima, but can break free and further improve, for instance, by the harnessing of new af-  
240 fordances (Arthur, 2009; Derex, 2022). Focusing on this putative “uniqueness” of human  
241 culture, researchers have identified important transitions, cognitive capacities, and pat-  
242 terns of cultural evolution as hominins have evolved and changed over the past 8 million  
243 years.

244 In the next three subsections we make distinctions between patterns of cultural evolution-  
245 ary change: between cumulative and non-cumulative cultural traditions; between “building-  
246 up” or *tall* traditions and the “building-out” of *wide* repertoires of traditions; and between  
247 bounded and unbounded evolution. These patterns capture important differences in cul-  
248 tural evolutionary dynamics. Though these patterns are distinct, they likely overlap in many  
249 instances. In the final subsection we turn to consider how these distinct kinds of evolution-  
250 ary patterns help characterize and explain the evolution of open-ended cultural evolution  
251 in hominins.

252 In focusing on distinct kinds of evolutionary patterns, and tracing these patterns back to  
253 concrete changes in selection pressures, cognitive mechanisms, and social arrangements,  
254 the approach taken here differs from recent attempts at describing hallmarks of open-  
255 ended evolution (T. Taylor et al., 2016). Hallmarks are signals, such that if one encountered  
256 them, this is good evidence that the evolutionary system is capable of open-ended evolu-

257 tion. By contrast, our approach distinguishes patterns that are associated with processes  
258 supporting cultural evolutionary change. These processes are critical to, but not neces-  
259 sarily sufficient for, open-ended evolution – and thus are poor candidates for a hallmark  
260 approach. Nonetheless, distinguishing these processes helps to identify those important  
261 for evolving open-endedness, as well as how the interaction between such processes may  
262 be important to the eventual emergence of a system supporting full-blown open-ended  
263 evolution.

### 264 **3.1 Cumulative vs. Non-Cumulative**

265 A key distinction drawn by cultural evolution researchers is that between cumulative and  
266 non-cumulative culture. As many researchers see it, cumulative culture is central to ex-  
267 plaining how human beings could have developed the sophisticated technical toolkits that  
268 allowed them to survive and thrive across varying – and sometimes extreme – ecologies  
269 (Grove, 2011; Henrich, 2015; Potts, 2013; Richerson & Boyd, 2005). Based on extensive  
270 human and non-human experiments, and a number of computational and mathematical  
271 models, Mesoudi and Thornton (2018) have suggested “core” criteria that cultural evolu-  
272 tionary processes would have to satisfy in order to be classified as cumulative:

- 273 1. a change in behavior, followed by ...
- 274 2. ... transfer of the modified or novel trait via social learning, where ...
- 275 3. ... the learned trait results in an “improvement” in performance/fitness (cultural or  
276 genetic), with ...
- 277 4. ... the previous steps repeated in a manner that results in (sequential) modification  
278 and improvement over time.

279 However, we follow recent work in denying that “improvement” over time is a necessary  
280 feature of cumulative culture evolution, and instead favor a minimal formulation that sheds

281 this requirement (Buskell & Tennie, forthcoming).

282 On this minimal formulation, cumulative culture is simply the modification to, and reten-  
283 tion of, socially transmitted cultural traits (Buskell & Tennie, forthcoming). What we have  
284 called processes of cumulative culture in the above discussion, are whatever cognitive and  
285 social capacities are sufficient to bring about trait modification and retention over time.  
286 But these *processes* generate *patterns* in the evolutionary record. Because cumulative  
287 culture involves retained modifications, they have histories – and can be considered “tra-  
288 ditions”. The histories of such traditions can, at least in principle, be reconstructed as  
289 sequences of step-by-step changes (akin to what Calcott (2009) calls “lineage explana-  
290 tions”). This minimal formulation better aligns cumulative culture with evolutionary theory,  
291 such that cumulative changes can generate not only adaptive traditions, but also neutral  
292 and maladaptive ones (Buskell & Tennie, forthcoming).

293 Contrasting with cumulative culture is non-cumulative cultural evolution. The latter is a  
294 process of cultural change that does not retain modifications for one reason or another.  
295 This might be because there is no retention of past behavior, no introduction of modifi-  
296 cations, or no social learning sophisticated enough to pick up on relevant modifications.  
297 These situations might occur if individuals can only innovate new traits, cycle through a  
298 set of traits, or do not learn from one another. In these cases, histories of modifications  
299 will be non-existent, uninformative, or based in non-cultural inheritance systems.

### 300 **3.2 Tall vs. Wide Evolution**

301 Recent work has built upon analyses of cumulative culture to distinguish further cultural  
302 evolutionary patterns that had been unhelpfully lumped together. This work distinguishes  
303 between patterns involving an increasing stock of cultural traditions (“cultural disparity”)  
304 and important aspects of cumulative cultural traditions (e.g. increases in adaptiveness,  
305 efficacy, or complexity) (Buskell, 2018, forthcoming). This and other work (Dean et al.,

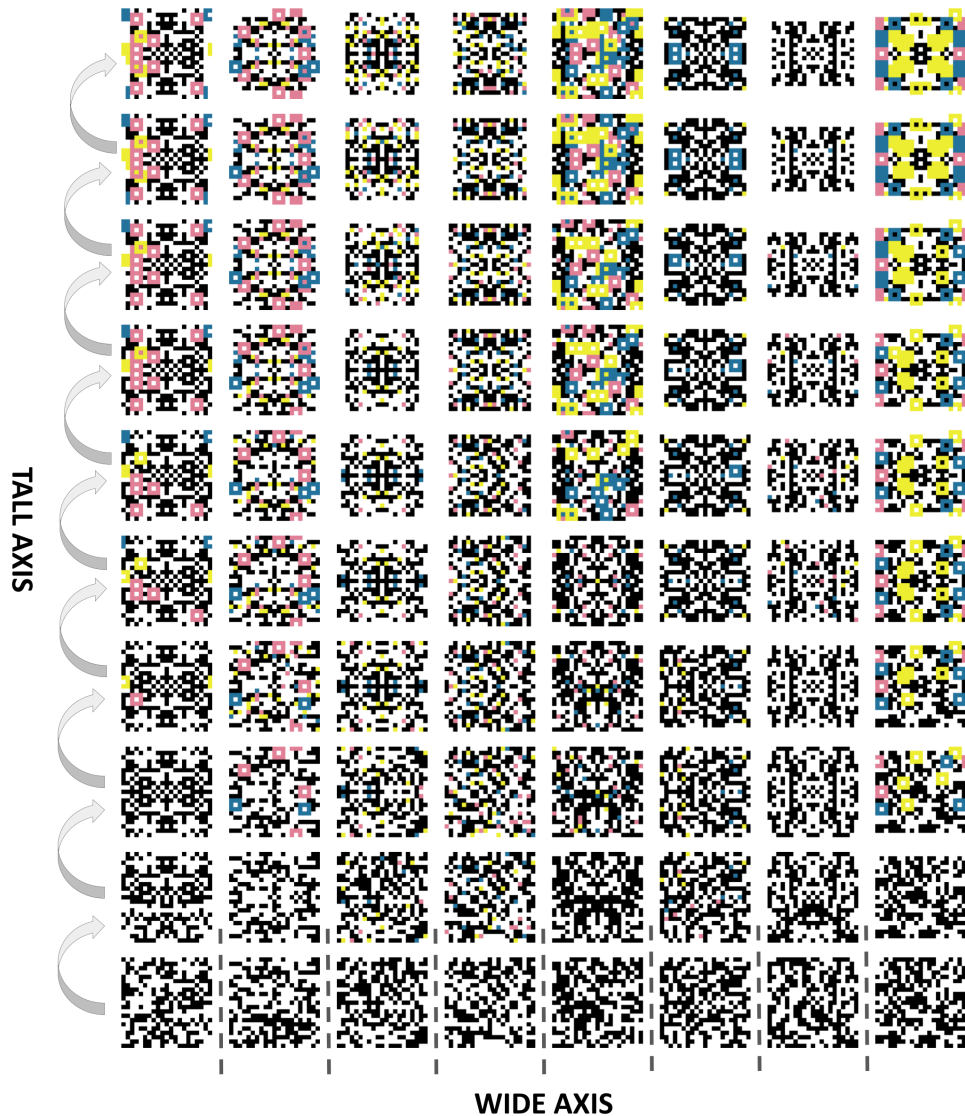


Figure 1: This figure illustrates our conception of *tall* and *wide* evolution. Full details are available in Appendix I. Each box represents some kind of technology or cultural practice. Each pixel within each box represents a piece of discrete (but arbitrary) information. The eight squares in row 1 (the bottom row) were generated by asking each of the pixels to become black or white at a probability of 0.5. Thus, all initial configurations of aggregate information are equiprobable. Thereafter one of eight arbitrary rules was applied over ten iterations. These rules were not grounded, but represent changes of ‘information’ within the aggregate, or which introduces structure (such as symmetry) in the aggregate. As can be seen, as the aggregate information cumulatively changes over time, it becomes more complex and more structured, and increasingly dissimilar from other traditions. Each column is independent of all other columns, and ‘movement’ along the *wide* axis is not possible without violating the cumulative principle of *tall* evolution.

306 2014; Tennie et al., 2009) points to a helpful distinction between cultural evolutionary  
307 patterns: between “building upon” traditions and “building out” to generate new traditions  
308 – or just *tall* versus *wide* evolution.

309 Figure 1 provides a visual example of both tall and wide evolution, with tall evolution dis-  
310 playing a series of path-dependent adaptations within a single tradition. Each step in the  
311 sequence could only have occurred if the previous evolutionary steps had already arisen.  
312 While tall traditions need not be path-dependent – for instance, if evolution is highly con-  
313 strained – it is a common assumption that evolutionary change is so, and we emphasize  
314 path-dependency here. Wide evolution, by contrast, is about the novel instancing of new  
315 traits. Paradigmatically, this involves the innovation of completely new traditions that need  
316 not follow any *a priori* sequence. Of course, some new traditions may only arise through  
317 path-dependent cumulative evolution and recombination – but we put those instances to  
318 the side in this illustration. Thus, in this figure, one could re-arrange the wide axis (since  
319 new traditions need not appear in any sequence), but not the tall (since each step is strongly  
320 determined by the one prior).

321 By way of example, let us consider some kind of adaptive problem that may have multiple  
322 starting points - starting points which are either equiprobable (equally likely to occur in  
323 the same environment), or equally efficient at solving the problem but are the product of  
324 different affordances due to different environments. This might include capturing fish, or  
325 preserving meat, or could include production of housing or clothing, refining ore into more  
326 valuable products, or skinning cats. The specifics matter less than the principle being  
327 illustrated. Along the x-axis we have multiple starting points. Let us consider the fishing  
328 example. One equiprobable starting point may be to wait in the shallows and bash a fish  
329 with a rock as it swims by, or, to bash a fish with a stick. Another example may be to wait at  
330 a certain point on the beach which, at low-tide, forms a natural pool from which fish cannot  
331 escape. Another yet may involve poisoning the water with certain plant foliage. It can be



332 true that these starting points are 1) are all equally likely due to the affordances of the  
333 environment, or 2) are all arrived at by different groups who live in different environments  
334 with different affordances. Whether either is true in any given situation is less important  
335 than accepting that these are (some of) the starting points for acquiring fish.

336 Tall evolution may involve the rock culture innovating upon the basic rock-bashing be-  
337 haviour. Perhaps first by throwing the rock, then to tying a fibre to the rock before throwing  
338 (so as to recover the rock more quickly through a pulling motion); and then using multiple  
339 rock-fiber devices to expand the range of striking. Later innovations might eschew the  
340 bashing/throwing motion for connecting the fibers together to make a rake or net. Further  
341 innovating might then improve the netting technology or the casting technique, and so on.

342 Meanwhile, the stick culture may innovate upon the bashing motion by innovating a sharp  
343 point – now preferring to pierce rather than to bash. Later innovations might make spears  
344 much longer than would ever be practical for bashing, so as to stand further away from  
345 the fish without scaring them. Then, perhaps, innovations might lead to a stone-tip for  
346 the spear. And later still, a spear-throwing device like an atlatl or woomera to bring down  
347 larger prey, and so on.

348 It may be the case that the first instance that stick bashing and rock bashing are equally  
349 (in)efficient, and that – assuming an abundance of rocks and sticks – one individual or  
350 one culture may switch between techniques with little cost. However, once groups be-  
351 gin to innovate upon their starting point, horizontal movement comes with greater cost,  
352 and relies upon different principles. A raking technique does not beget a spear-thrower,  
353 and vice versa. After “tall” evolution has progressed beyond a certain point, horizontal  
354 movement cannot be integrated/combined with the existing “advanced” approach, and  
355 switching comes at greater cost to the individual or culture.

356 Another case study is the tool use of chimpanzees. Chimpanzees are capable of spon-  
357 taneously innovating tools given available resources, such as using blades of grass for

358 termite fishing, sticks for obtaining out of reach objects, branches for scooping algae out  
359 of water (Bandini & Tennie, 2017; Boesch & Boesch, 1990; Sanz et al., 2010). Each and all  
360 of these innovations can exist within a population of individuals, but the existence of one  
361 need not depend on the existence of any other. Theoretically, any of these innovations can  
362 be selected for and spread within the population independently of the others. This is wide  
363 evolution. Nonetheless, modifications could be added to these innovations – introducing  
364 an anvil-prop to nut-cracking, chewing and stripping the grass to produce ant-catching  
365 bristles – that put them on the vertical road to becoming a tall cultural evolutionary tradi-  
366 tion.

367 This example also points to an important corollary of the distinction between tall and wide  
368 evolution. The capacities underlying each plausibly come apart. This seems clear when one  
369 looks at hominin evolution, where early capacities for social learning led to wide knowledge  
370 bases of disparate ecological traditions prior to the building up any particular tradition into  
371 more complex forms (Buskell & Tennie, forthcoming; Sterelny, 2021) (more on this below).

372 More generally, we want to resist identifying tall or wide evolution patterns as hallmarks of  
373 open-ended evolution. It is an open question of how tall (or short), wide (or narrow) evo-  
374 lutionary patterns relate to open-ended evolution, as well as the transition to open-ended  
375 evolution. As examples above and below suggest, capacities that support tall and wide  
376 evolutionary patterns likely existed well before ecological and evolutionary circumstances  
377 permitted their expression. And indeed, open-endedness most likely emerged from the  
378 gradual accumulation of new traditions, their elaboration into tall, path-dependent tradi-  
379 tions, and their recombination and exaptation into bushy, wide, and novel traditions - we  
380 can see this visually in the patent record genealogies produce by Bedau (2013, 2019), with  
381 both the gradual accumulation of new patent traditions and long sequences of traditions  
382 building up being easy to identify. There's no reason to take either tall or wide evolution as  
383 a hallmark of open-ended evolution, ultimately they just describe the patterns of change

384 that underpin the emergence of open-ended evolutionary process. We suspect that both  
385 are necessary for open-ended evolution to emerge, but only further empirical analysis of  
386 the patterns of change found in open-ended evolutionary systems will allow us to ascertain  
387 whether common pattern exists or whether a multitude of patterns can ultimately underpin  
388 open-endedness. We think it unsurprising that capacities underwriting both tall and wide  
389 evolution should be needed. Both formal modelling (Enquist et al., 2010; Kolodny et al.,  
390 2015; Winters, 2020) and cultural evolutionary theory (Buskell et al., 2019; Charbonneau,  
391 2016; Richerson & Boyd, 2005) emphasizes the role of cultural recombination as a po-  
392 tent force in generating new innovations: this occurs when distinct cultural traditions (or  
393 their constituent elements) are combined, and potentially exapted (Mesoudi & Thornton,  
394 2018), to generate new traits. We expand upon this line of thinking below and go on to ask  
395 whether these variations in the progression of evolution (tall, wide, recombinative, exapted)  
396 are detectable within the “ALife test” introduced by Bedau et al. (1998) (also see, Channon  
397 (2001, 2003, 2006)).

### 398 **3.3 Unbounded/Bounded Evolution**

399 A conceptually distinct and contrasting set of evolutionary patterns is that between bounded  
400 and unbounded evolution. Bounded evolution occurs when abilities for transmission, re-  
401 tention, or the production of modifications are limited or absent. This leads to evolutionary  
402 exploration of a parochial, bounded space of traits. Unbounded evolution, by contrast, oc-  
403 curs when the above abilities for transmission, retention, or the production of modifications  
404 are present and when the environment facilitates evolutionary exploration. This might oc-  
405 cur, for instance, when the environment is rich in natural resources which can be exploited  
406 in technological production (Derex, 2022).

407 To get a grasp on this distinction, it is useful to look at a domain in cultural evolutionary re-  
408 search where issues of boundedness or unboundedness arise. A good example is work on

409 the Zone of Latent Solutions (ZLS) Theory (Tennie et al., 2009), which analyses the cultural  
410 and putative cumulative cultural traditions of non-human animals. *Putative*, because while  
411 several species have capacities for social learning, they appear to have minimal capacities  
412 for building upon previous traits. Speaking generally, the ZLS theory suggests that the cul-  
413 tural capacities of non-human animal species are “bounded”, limited by a possible range  
414 of features. Explanations for why this might be the case have mainly centred on the great  
415 apes (hereafter “apes”), but developing work suggests similar explanations may hold true  
416 with other animals, such as some birds and whales (Aplin, 2019; Perry, 2011; van Schaik  
417 et al., 2003; Whitehead & Rendell, 2015; Whiten et al., 1999).

418 According to the ZLS theory, many putative instances of ape (and perhaps other animals’)  
419 cumulative culture are not, in fact, instances of cumulative culture. The ZLS theory argues  
420 that apes lack (or have minimal, or rarely expressed) capacities for transmitting and re-  
421 taining trait modifications. What appears to be cumulative culture is instead likely to be  
422 socially-influenced *reinnovation*. When apes reinnovate, they draw on a baseline repertoire  
423 of behaviours – behaviours that any able-bodied ape would be able to express – to individ-  
424 ually strike upon the trait of interest. Though this reinnovation may be socially facilitated,  
425 in the sense that other apes may draw attention to relevant or highly salient environments  
426 or objects, the trait is developed by each learner anew.

427 The basic idea of the ZLS is that this baseline repertoire – and the artful combinations  
428 thereof – largely set the bounds of possible cultural evolution (together, perhaps, with other  
429 cognitive features). Absent of more sophisticated forms of social learning, apes are unable  
430 to add novel traits, or to build cumulative traditions that progress beyond the boundary of  
431 “latent solutions”. Apes, but not humans, do not seem to copy – or transmit – traits beyond  
432 their ZLS (be it in the technical (Tennie et al., 2009), or social domain (Clay & Tennie,  
433 2017)). As said above, the appearance of cumulative culture can largely be accounted for  
434 by socially-facilitated reinnovation (Tennie et al., 2020). There is, however, one study on

435 unenculturated, untrained (i.e. ecologically relevant) apes in captivity where apes showed  
436 evidence for social learning that seemed to have gone beyond their baseline performance  
437 levels (Whiten et al., 2007). This is interesting evidence, and, pending the passing of  
438 additional controls (Bandini et al., 2020) that might explain social learning in the task used  
439 in this study by types of social learning inside the ZLS account, might to date represent  
440 the single exception to the ape ZLS claims.

441 What might explain the transition between bounded ape culture and unbounded human  
442 culture? Though a full catalogue of important underlying processes has not yet been com-  
443 pleted, a key capacity seems to be abilities for copying “know-how” – that is, capacities for  
444 attending to, perhaps understanding, and copying/reconstructing the elements and inter-  
445 relationships of *any* particular behavior (including the making of artefacts; and of artefact  
446 structures themselves). Other relevant capacities - at least for modern humans - plausibly  
447 include language, and special types of teaching (especially those types of teaching that  
448 can transmit know-how).

449 ZLS research thus helps the current project in two ways. First, it helps to sharpen the  
450 notion of cultural evolutionary boundedness. Boundedness involves a limited exploration  
451 of cultural evolutionary space, due to minimal, lacking, or rarely expressed capacities for  
452 transmission, retention, or the production of modifications. Second, it helps to illuminate  
453 the devilish empirical issues involved in understanding the transition from boundedness to  
454 unboundedness. Focusing on the tall, wide, and unbounded cultural evolution of humans  
455 alone may not be helpful for understanding this transition (Buskell & Tennie, forthcoming),  
456 but a combined focus that also includes understanding the patterns of change in evolu-  
457 tionary systems that ultimately fail to break away from boundedness may.

### 3.4 Evolved Open-Endedness in Action

According to Pattee and Sayama, “conditions for increased open-endedness must have been gradually acquired in the course of evolution” (2019, p. 5). In justifying this claim, Pattee and Sayama point not only to concepts from the foundations of the modern synthesis (Haldane, 1932) and other more recent attempts to frame evolution as a progression of steps towards increased evolvability (Maynard Smith & Szathmáry, 1995; Szathmáry, 2015; Wagner & Altenberg, 1996; Wilson, 1997), but also to numerous examples of evolved mechanisms that have “significantly facilitated the open-endedness in the evolution of life” (Pattee & Sayama, 2019, p. 6). Notable amongst these examples are:

- the evolution of symbolic language spoken by humans, which are noted as being “evolved from simpler, less open-ended languages” (Pattee & Sayama, 2019, p. 6).
- the formation of co-operative groups of increasing scale and complexity (colonies → societies), with higher levels of organisational and institutional formation requiring the evolution of new mechanisms not previously seen in lower-level organisational entities.
- the evolution of new information-processing abilities, sensory modalities, and the brain, all providing organisms with new possibilities to explore and exploit.

From these examples it is clear that Pattee and Sayama (2019) consider what we describe as the evolution of culture (e.g. languages and social institutions) and the biological mechanism that support culture (e.g. the brain and culture supporting sensory modalities), as clear examples of evolved open-endedness. Therefore, we believe that in human cultural evolution (including “dual-inheritance” and “triple-inheritance”) we have a real (and recent) example of evolved open-endedness in action. Below, we outline the case for human culture evolution as an instance of evolved open-endedness in action.

Within cultural species more broadly, we can differentiate between different types of cul-

483 tural evolution: bounded non-cumulative, bounded cumulative, unbounded non-cumulative,  
484 and unbounded cumulative. While cumulative culture may or may be uniquely human  
485 (Mesoudi & Thornton, 2018), unbounded cumulative culture plausibly is. Indeed, human  
486 cultural evolution appears to be the only instance of unbounded cumulative cultural evolu-  
487 tion.

488 Evidence suggests that the transition towards unbounded cumulative cultural evolution  
489 has taken place over the last few hundred thousand with the origin and evolution of *Homo*  
490 *sapiens* (Stringer, 2016; Stringer & Galway-Witham, 2017), or even few million years with  
491 the advent on stone tool use in early *Homo* (Lewis & Harmand, 2016). We thus have, in  
492 both archaeological remains and in our genes, the record of this transition into open-  
493 ended cultural evolution. Exploring this transition is valuable, for it offers a compelling  
494 insight into the problems, solutions, processes and complex evolutionary dynamics that  
495 can jointly explain the emergence of a new open-ended evolutionary system. Though this  
496 is a particular instance, we suspect the concepts, tools, and ideas can be generalised.

497 This is not to say explaining the transition from primate ancestors to fully-fledged cultural  
498 hominins is easy. Anything but. Contemporary narratives point to a number of important  
499 changes that might have facilitated the evolution of a robust, quasi-independent system for  
500 cultural inheritance. These include changes in morphology (the bipedal stance, decreased  
501 gut size, larger crania), life history and population structure (social affiliation, intergener-  
502 ational care, long developmental periods, extended family groups and social institutions),  
503 and cognitive attributes and machinery (greater executive control, social tolerance and at-  
504 tentiveness) (Aiello & Wheeler, 1995; Antón et al., 2014; Grove, 2017; Kaplan et al., 2000;  
505 Klein, 2008; Ostrom, 1990; Powers & Lehmann, 2013; Powers et al., 2016; Sterelny, 2012,  
506 2021).

507 Just as important were cultural evolutionary feedback loops where early culture could fa-  
508 cilitate selection for more and more effective social learning. Pre-modern hominin culture,

509 for instance, generated an information environment seeded with cues as to how one should  
510 live. This includes “scaffolded” learning environments, where juveniles can learn in a rel-  
511 atively safe and low-cost manner by interacting with the products of adult cooperation.  
512 These low-cost and safe learning environments could be increasingly supplemented with  
513 real-world experience, perhaps teaching, and experimentation as learners developed. Se-  
514 lection to improve capacities to navigate and explore this informational domain would in  
515 turn lead to greater informational structure in the world — and thus to further selection.  
516 This general story is one of humans as “evolved apprentices” (Sterelny, 2012).

517 The story of how hominins escaped the “boundedness” of their primate relatives exploits  
518 this evolutionary feedback loop, increasing capacities for both tall and wide culture, and  
519 abilities to recognize “task-independent” properties of artefacts and behaviors that could  
520 be transferred and combined with other behaviors to generate new kinds of cultural tradi-  
521 tions. These cognitive and cultural capacities could open up new evolutionary domains by  
522 exploiting novel affordances (Arthur, 2009; Derex, 2022). As a result, human technologies  
523 capture and put to use a collection of phenomena: for example, a car not only exploits the  
524 phenomenon that rolling objects produce much less friction than sliding ones (resulting in  
525 the use of wheels), but it also exploits the phenomenon that chemical substances (diesel,  
526 say) produce energy when burned (Arthur, 2009). This discovery and exploitation of new  
527 solutions to old problems allows a potentially unbounded form of cumulative culture. As  
528 noted above, we see evidence for the opening-up of new evolutionary search spaces, and  
529 the exploitation of new solutions in numerous domains within patent records (Bedau, 2013,  
530 2019; Bedau et al., 2019).

531 Equally important is the way that human groups can support the increasing specialisa-  
532 tion of skills and knowledge, the circulation of knowledge, and participation in collective  
533 endeavours – pitching in on large or temporally distributed projects that could never be  
534 completed by a single agent in their own lifetime. These social features in turn could con-



535 tribute to the changes in cognition, life history, and information dynamics discussed above.  
536 This is part of what some have called – with various slight differences – the cultural intelli-  
537 gence hypothesis (Herrmann et al., 2007; Muthukrishna et al., 2018; van Schaik & Burkart,  
538 2011).

539 As this makes clear, the transition between a limited type of social learning and the more  
540 complex and open-ended form currently enjoyed by humans is a complex story. Despite  
541 this complexity, researchers in archaeology, comparative psychology, paleoanthropology,  
542 psychology, philosophy, and many others have been able to make progress on disentangling  
543 distinct causal pathways, and to show how these can be put together again to explain  
544 the evolution of a distinct system of open-ended evolution: human cultural evolution (Boyd  
545 & Richerson, 1985; Tomasello, 1999).

## 546 **4 Cultural Evolution, Open-Ended Evolution and Artificial** 547 **Life**

548 Culture and cultural evolution have a long tradition in Artificial Life, appearing amongst  
549 both the grand challenges (C. Taylor & Jefferson, 1993) and open problems (Bedau et al.,  
550 2000) of the field, and spawning a regular workshop series at the Artificial Life confer-  
551 ence (Marriott et al., 2018). It is therefore curious that open-ended cultural evolution has  
552 received relatively little attention as a possible avenue for fruitful research until recently  
553 (see Bedau et al. (2019)).

554 In the previous sections of this paper we have outlined many of the arguments and fac-  
555 tors that we feel place cultural evolution firmly within the domain of open-ended evolution  
556 research. However, we also note a curious parallel between the work already taking place  
557 within the Artificial Life open-ended research community and the broader study of culture  
558 as an evolving system. A particular example of this can be seen in T. Taylor (2019), where

559 three classes of novelty, all capable of generating open-ended evolution, are introduced: 1)  
560 *exploratory novelty*, whereby existing traits are recombined to produce novel adaptations,  
561 2) *expansive novelty* resulting from the discovery and exploitation of new affordances, and  
562 3) *transformative novelty* resulting from the discovery of new state spaces, possibly via  
563 the exaptation of current traits. Within the cultural evolution literature we can see clear  
564 parallels with each of these classes: *exploratory novelty* can be seen as a restricted pro-  
565 cess of cultural variation and accumulated modification within one domain or affordance  
566 (described as Type I cumulative cultural evolution by Derex (2022)); *expansive novelty* can  
567 be interpreted as an exploration of new affordances, expanding cultural evolution in to new  
568 domains (described as Type II cumulative cultural evolution by Derex (2022)); and *trans-*  
569 *formative novelty* can be viewed as movement into an n-dimensional state-space through  
570 the recombination and exaptation of existing cultural traits, enabling the creation and ex-  
571 ploitation of new cultural and ecological niches. Examples of cultural exaptation abound  
572 in numerous domains, technology (Bedau, 2019; Bedau et al., 2019; Boyd et al., 2013) and  
573 pharmaceuticals (Andriani et al., 2015) being two such examples.

574 It is evident that open-ended evolution research in artificial life and cultural evolution re-  
575 search have been speaking about very similar things; the types of novelty discussed by T.  
576 Taylor (2019) and core aspects of cumulative cultural evolution outlined by Derex (2022)  
577 and Mesoudi and Thornton (2018) demonstrate such similarities. It should therefore be  
578 uncontroversial to suggest an open-ended evolutionary synthesis that combines genetic  
579 evolution, cultural evolution, and artificial evolution within a single theoretical framework.  
580 Combined with the exploratory work on open-ended technological innovation of Bedau  
581 (2019) and Bedau et al. (2019), the inclusion of social and cultural transitions emerg-  
582 ing from earlier biological transitions within the major transitions framework (Calcott &  
583 Sterelny, 2011; Maynard Smith & Szathmary, 1995; Szathmary, 2015), and the clear articu-  
584 lation of evidence for both biological and cultural mechanisms for the facilitation of evolved  
585 open-endedness (Pattee & Sayama, 2019), we see a strong argument for the inclusion of

586 cultural evolution within the broader framework of open-ended evolution.

587 In the sections below we argue that the transition from bounded to unbounded evolution,  
588 that is evident within the recent hominin evolutionary history, shines an important light  
589 on how evolved open-endedness might be achieved. We go on to consider tall and wide  
590 evolution within the context of the Bedau et al. (1998) “ALife Test” and provide some initial  
591 thoughts on how this test could be further expanded to detect tall and wide patterns in order  
592 to better delineate between the mechanisms driving (and halting) artificial evolutionary  
593 systems. Finally, we introduce a raft of new questions that the inclusion of cultural evolution  
594 under the framework of evolved open-endedness allows us to ask.

#### 595 **4.1 Transitions from Bounded to Unbounded Evolution**

596 As we saw in section two, it is common to operationalize culture in informational terms:  
597 culture is information, embedded (or carried) by heterogeneous vehicles, that can be trans-  
598 mitted between agents (Richerson & Boyd, 2005). On this understanding, one thread tying  
599 together the evolutionary history of hominin populations is an increase in and improvement  
600 of culturally transmitted information (Boyd & Richerson, 1985). This general observation  
601 has led some researchers to claim that culture represents a “major transition” in the sense  
602 of Maynard Smith and Szathmáry (1995) and Szathmáry (2015), building off the idea that  
603 such transitions involve changes in the quality and reliability of information transfer. For  
604 instance, Waring and Wood (2021) argue that human cultural groups are a new kind of evo-  
605 lutionary individual, suggesting that cultural selection pressures now vastly outweigh bio-  
606 logical selection pressures in determining the course of human diversification and change.

607 Waring and Wood’s arguments interpret the major transitions framework in a particularly  
608 strong way. This takes transitions to involve the stabilization of a new evolutionary indi-  
609 vidual, here, a cultural group (McShea & Simpson, 2011). But one need not understand the  
610 framework in this “unified” way (Michod, 1999). Instead, transitions may involve modifi-

611 cations of the “core elements of the evolutionary process itself” (Calcott & Sterelny, 2011,  
612 p. 4), irrespective of introducing a new level or kind of selection process (Godfrey-Smith,  
613 2009). Thus, even if one is sceptical about cultural group selection (see, for instance,  
614 Chellappoo (2022)) one can usefully understand the introduction and refinement of cul-  
615 tural evolution using the ideas and machinery of the major transition literature (Calcott &  
616 Sterelny, 2011; Maynard Smith & Szathmáry, 1995; Szathmáry, 2015).

617 We conceive “open-endedness” through this more expansive understanding. It charac-  
618 terises an increase of informational content that can be (or is) transmitted in a given  
619 domain, potentially reflecting coordinated or piecemeal changes to the rate, increased  
620 quantity, or kind of variation that can be generated. In so doing, we elaborate and expand  
621 some ideas found in Pattee and Sayama (2019): “[o]ver time both biological adaptations  
622 that enable more complex and open-ended social and cultural behaviors (bigger brains,  
623 opposable thumbs, changes in the shape of the larynx, ...), and cultural adaptations that  
624 open up access to new domains of knowledge (symbolic language, the scientific method,  
625 music and art, complex social institutions, ...) have been selected for in a clear demon-  
626 stration of selection in favour of open-endedness, with this same selection pressure being  
627 seemingly absent in our closest genetic relatives”.

## 628 **4.2 Cultural Evolution and the “ALife Test” for Open-Endedness**

629 Determining whether an evolutionary system exhibits unbounded evolutionary dynamics  
630 is still arguably the primary concern of open-ended evolution research. Without the abil-  
631 ity to judge whether a system is open-ended, how can open-endedness be understood to  
632 any useful degree? Despite a general lack of use, we are of the opinion that the classifi-  
633 cation system of long-term evolutionary dynamics devised by Bedau et al. (1998) (some-  
634 times known as the “ALife Test” for open-endedness) provides us with the best method for  
635 determining whether an evolutionary system exhibits unbounded evolutionary dynamics.

636 However, we believe some of the key features of cultural evolution – wide vs. tall evolu-  
637 tion, transition from bounded to unbounded evolution, and evolved open-endedness – may  
638 necessitate some refinement of the “ALife Test”.

639 The three primary measures of evolutionary activity described in Bedau et al. (1998) are  
640 1) the diversity of traits within the system at any given time, 2) the amount of “new evo-  
641 lutionary activity” observed in the system over time (i.e., the creation and maintenance of  
642 new adaptive traits), and 3) the mean cumulative activity of traits (i.e., the number of traits  
643 observed to date divided by the current diversity of traits in the system). For a system to ex-  
644 hibit unbounded evolutionary dynamics it would need to always demonstrate positive new  
645 evolutionary activity (i.e. new traits are being created and maintained), alongside either  
646 unbounded diversity (as time progresses the number of traits maintained in the system  
647 continues to grow) and/or unbounded mean cumulative activity.

648 What these measures of evolutionary activity do not take into account is whether the new  
649 activity is a result of cumulative evolutionary processes, non-cumulative evolutionary pro-  
650 cesses, or recombinative processes. These distinctions matter because they can begin  
651 to shed light on *how* a system has progressed toward, and ultimately achieved, open-  
652 endedness. For instance, would we expect to see a “building-out” of wide adaptations (as  
653 seems to be the case in hominin cultural evolution) before the emergence of tall accu-  
654 mulated modifications, ultimately leading to the combination of traits from disparate evo-  
655 lutionary lineages forming recombinative adaptations (wide evolution providing the raw  
656 material for exploratory and expansive evolution as per T. Taylor (2019)? Or are there nu-  
657 merous different pathways to open-endedness which can only be understood by breaking  
658 down the nature of the evolutionary patterns of change, adaptive processes, substrate and  
659 mechanisms underpinning these evolutionary systems?

### 660 **4.3 New Questions in Open-Endedness**

661 Once we consider the implications and nature of cultural evolution from an open-ended  
662 evolution perspective we can begin to ask new and important questions about evolved  
663 open-endedness, human cultural evolution, and the underpinning dynamics of all evolu-  
664 tionary systems. These questions include, but are not limited to:

- 665 • Do the mechanisms underpinning cultural evolution more easily lead to open-endedness  
666 than those underpinning genetic evolution? Or vice-versa?
- 667 • What happens when a bounded aspect of an evolutionary system (e.g. animal cultural  
668 evolution) comes up against an unbounded aspect of the same evolutionary system  
669 (e.g. human open-ended cultural evolution)? Is there a sudden pressure for evolved  
670 open-endedness to emerge amongst species that have so far only exhibited bounded  
671 cultural evolution? And does the emergence of open-endedness always lead to the  
672 extinction of its bounded counterpart?
- 673 • Are there any bounded aspects of human cultural evolution? And could there also be  
674 bounded aspects of genetic evolution?
- 675 • Does an evolutionary system need to be cumulative to be open-ended, or is it possi-  
676 ble to have non-cumulative open-ended evolution? Note: If major transitions are one  
677 of the primary behavioral hallmarks of an open-ended evolutionary system (T. Tay-  
678 lor et al., 2016), and major transitions build up incrementally from one another (each  
679 transition is dependent on subsequent levels), this would imply that open-ended evo-  
680 lution must result from a cumulative evolutionary process. But is it possible to gen-  
681 erate open-ended evolution without cumulative major transitions and could major  
682 transitions be the result of numerous independent innovations?
- 683 • Are cumulative evolutionary systems always open-ended? The numerous cases out-  
684 lined in Mesoudi and Thornton (2018) would suggest not, nor do the criteria for cu-

685 cumulative cultural evolution necessitate an open-ended system (or logically lead to  
686 the conclusion that open-ended evolution is an unavoidable end point).

- 687 • What features of cultural evolution are common to all evolutionary systems capable  
688 of generating the open-ended evolution of novelty?
- 689 • Is an open-ended evolutionary synthesis which accommodates cultural evolution  
690 alongside genetic evolution and artificial evolution viable and/or desirable?
- 691 • Is niche construction necessary for open-ended evolution? And are the autocatalytic  
692 processes resulting from the interplay between numerous interdependent evolution-  
693 ary systems necessary for open-endedness?

## 694 **5 Conclusion**

695 In this paper we set out to outline culture as an evolutionary system and argue for its  
696 inclusion within the broader framework of evolved open-endedness. In order to make these  
697 arguments we provided numerous examples of the unique aspects of cultural evolution that  
698 highlight important contrasts with biological evolution, but we also maintain a direct link  
699 between the core algorithmic features of biological evolution and cultural evolution. We  
700 went on to discuss the key features and dynamics of cultural evolution, including: tall,  
701 wide, cumulative and non-cumulative evolution, transitions from bounded to unbounded  
702 evolution, dual and triple inheritance, evolved open-endedness, major transitions, and the  
703 ZLS theory. Each of these features provide new insights into the nature of another model  
704 evolutionary system.

705 Going forward we believe two lines of enquiry are necessary to fully develop cultural evo-  
706 lution as an integral part of open-ended evolution research. 1) Following on from the work  
707 of Bedau et al. (2019), we believe an application of the “ALife Test” to the vast number of  
708 available cultural evolution datasets, across numerous species, would be informative for

709 both the open-evolution community and the cultural evolution community. 2) Including  
710 mechanisms of cultural transmission and the unique features of cultural evolution within  
711 artificial evolutionary models aimed at addressing the question of open-endedness – this  
712 may involve the modelling of culture as an independent system, or the inclusion of culture  
713 alongside genetic (and environmental) inheritance. To enable these two lines of enquiry  
714 we believe some work on the refinement of the “ALife Test” is necessary, as is the develop-  
715 ment of tall- wide-recombinative evolutionary theory, and more interdisciplinary dialogue  
716 between the fields of Cultural Evolution and Artificial Life.

## 717 **Acknowledgements**

718 We would like to thank the members of the Cultural Evolution Online (CEO) Discord group  
719 who have provided advice and insights that have helped us form the views contained in  
720 this paper, and James Winters and Mathieu Charbonneau for their involvement in regular  
721 discussions with the authors on the topics addressed in this paper. We would also like to  
722 thank our two reviewers; both provided a series of constructive comments that have un-  
723 questionably improved this paper. Finally we would like to thank the organisers of the OEE4  
724 workshop and the guest editors of this special issue for providing us with the opportunity  
725 to present this work.

## 726 **References**

- 727 Aiello, L. C., & Wheeler, P. (1995). The expensive-tissue hypothesis: The brain and the di-  
728 gestive system in human and primate evolution. *Current anthropology*, 36(2), 199–  
729 221. <https://doi.org/10.1086/204350>
- 730 Andriani, P., Ali, A. H., & Mastrogiorgio, M. (2015). Measuring exaptation in the pharmaceu-  
731 tical industry. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, 2015(1), 17085. [https://doi.](https://doi.org/10.5465/ambpp.2015.17085abstract)  
732 [org/10.5465/ambpp.2015.17085abstract](https://doi.org/10.5465/ambpp.2015.17085abstract)



- 733 Antón, S. C., Potts, R., & Aiello, L. C. (2014). Evolution of early homo: An integrated biolog-  
734 ical perspective. *Science*, 345(6192), 1236828. [https://doi.org/10.1126/science.](https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1236828)  
735 1236828
- 736 Aplin, L. M. (2019). Culture and cultural evolution in birds: A review of the evidence. *Animal*  
737 *Behaviour*, 147, 179–187. [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2018.05.](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2018.05.001)  
738 001
- 739 Arthur, W. B. (2009). *The nature of technology: What it is and how it evolves*. Simon; Schus-  
740 ter.
- 741 Baehren, L. (2022). Saying “goodbye” to the conundrum of leave-taking: A cross-disciplinary  
742 review. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 9(1), 1–13. [https://doi.org/](https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01061-3)  
743 10.1057/s41599-022-01061-3
- 744 Bandini, E., Motes-Rodrigo, A., Steele, M. P., Rutz, C., & Tennie, C. (2020). Examining the  
745 mechanisms underlying the acquisition of animal tool behaviour. *Biology Letters*,  
746 16(6), 20200122. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsbl.2020.0122>
- 747 Bandini, E., & Tennie, C. (2017). Spontaneous reoccurrence of “scooping”, a wild tool-use  
748 behaviour, in naïve chimpanzees. *PeerJ*, 5(e3814). [https://doi.org/10.7717/peerj.](https://doi.org/10.7717/peerj.3814)  
749 3814
- 750 Banea, M., Poulter, N. H., & Rosling, H. (1992). Shortcuts in cassava processing and risk  
751 of dietary cyanide exposure in Zaire. *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, 14(2), 1–7. [https:](https://doi.org/10.1177/156482659201400201)  
752 [//doi.org/10.1177/156482659201400201](https://doi.org/10.1177/156482659201400201)
- 753 Bedau, M. A. (2013). Minimal memetics and the evolution of patented technology. *Founda-*  
754 *tions of science*, 18(4), 791–807.
- 755 Bedau, M. A. (2019). Patented technology as a model system for cultural evolution. In A.  
756 Love & W. Wimsatt (Eds.), *Beyond the meme: Development and structure in cultural*  
757 *evolution* (pp. 237–260). U of Minnesota Press.

- 758 Bedau, M. A., Gigliotti, N., Janssen, T., Kosik, A., Nambiar, A., & Packard, N. (2019). Open-  
759 ended technological innovation. *Artificial Life*, 25(1), 33–49. [https://doi.org/10.1162/  
760 artl\\_a\\_00279](https://doi.org/10.1162/artl_a_00279)
- 761 Bedau, M. A., McCaskill, J. S., Packard, N. H., Rasmussen, S., Adami, C., Green, D. G., Ikegami,  
762 T., Kaneko, K., & Ray, T. S. (2000). Open problems in artificial life. *Artificial life*, 6(4),  
763 363–376. <https://doi.org/10.1162/106454600300103683>
- 764 Bedau, M. A., Snyder, E., & Packard, N. H. (1998). A classification of long-term evolutionary  
765 dynamics. In C. Adami, R. K. Belew, H. Kitano, & C. E. Taylor (Eds.), *Artificial life vi:  
766 Proceedings of the sixth international conference on artificial life* (pp. 228–237).  
767 MIT Press.
- 768 Boesch, C., & Boesch, H. (1990). Tool use and tool making in wild chimpanzees. *Folia pri-  
769 matologica*, 54(1-2), 86–99. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000156428>
- 770 Borg, J., & Powers, S. T. (2021). Evolved open-endedness in cultural evolution. *The Fourth  
771 Workshop on Open-Ended Evolution*.
- 772 Boyd, R., & Richerson, P. J. (1985). *Culture and the evolutionary process*. University of  
773 Chicago press.
- 774 Boyd, R., Richerson, P. J., & Henrich, J. (2013). The cultural evolution of technology. In  
775 P. J. Richerson & M. H. Christiansen (Eds.), *Cultural evolution: Society, technology,  
776 language, and religion* (pp. 119–142). MIT Press Cambridge, MA. [https://doi.org/10.  
777 7551/mitpress/9780262019750.003.0007](https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262019750.003.0007)
- 778 Bradbury, J. H., & Denton, I. C. (2011). Mild methods of processing cassava leaves to remove  
779 cyanogens and conserve key nutrients. *Food Chemistry*, 127(4), 1755–1759. [https:  
780 //doi.org/10.1016/j.foodchem.2011.02.053](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodchem.2011.02.053)
- 781 Bull, L., Holland, O., & Blackmore, S. (2000). On meme–gene coevolution. *Artificial life*, 6(3),  
782 227–235. <https://doi.org/10.1162/106454600568852>
- 783 Bullinaria, J. A. (2010). Memes in artificial life simulations of life history evolution. *Proceed-  
784 ings of the ALife XII Conference*, 823–830.

- 785 Buskell, A. (2018). Causes of cultural disparity: Switches, tuners, and the cognitive science  
786 of religion. *Philosophical Psychology*, 31(8), 1239–1264. [https://doi.org/10.1080/  
787 09515089.2018.1485888](https://doi.org/10.1080/09515089.2018.1485888)
- 788 Buskell, A. (forthcoming). Cumulative culture and complex cultural traditions. *Mind & Lan-  
789 guage*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mila.12335>
- 790 Buskell, A., Enquist, M., & Jansson, F. (2019). A systems approach to cultural evolution.  
791 *Palgrave Communications*, 5(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-019-0343-5>
- 792 Buskell, A., & Tennie, C. (forthcoming). Mere recurrence and cumulative culture at the mar-  
793 gins. *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*. [https://doi.org/10.1086/  
794 717776](https://doi.org/10.1086/717776)
- 795 Calcott, B. (2009). Lineage explanations: Explaining how biological mechanisms change.  
796 *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 60(1), 51–78. [https://doi.org/10.  
797 1093/bjps/axn047](https://doi.org/10.1093/bjps/axn047)
- 798 Calcott, B., & Sterelny, K. (2011). *The major transitions in evolution revisited*. MIT Press.
- 799 Cardoso, A. P., Mirione, E., Ernesto, M., Massaza, F., Cliff, J., Haque, M. R., & Bradbury, J. H.  
800 (2005). Processing of cassava roots to remove cyanogens. *Journal of Food Compo-  
801 sition and Analysis*, 18(5), 451–460. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfca.2004.04.002>
- 802 Cavalli-Sforza, L. L., & Feldman, M. W. (1981). *Cultural transmission and evolution: A quan-  
803 titative approach*. Princeton University Press.
- 804 Channon, A. (2001). Passing the alife test: Activity statistics classify evolution in geb as  
805 unbounded. In P. S. Jozef Kelemen (Ed.), *Lecture notes in computer science vol.  
806 2159: Advances in artificial life, ECAL 2001* (pp. 417–426). [https://doi.org/10.1007/  
807 3-540-44811-X\\_45](https://doi.org/10.1007/3-540-44811-X_45)
- 808 Channon, A. (2003). Improving and still passing the alife test: Component-normalised ac-  
809 tivity statistics classify evolution in geb as unbounded. In R. K. Standish, M. A. Be-  
810 dau, & H. A. Abbass (Eds.), *Artificial life VIII: Proceedings of the eighth international  
811 conference on artificial life* (pp. 173–181). MIT Press.

812 Channon, A. (2006). Unbounded evolutionary dynamics in a system of agents that actively  
813 process and transform their environment. *Genetic Programming and Evolvable Ma-*  
814 *chines*, 7(3), 253–281. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10710-006-9009-3>

815 Charbonneau, M. (2016). Modularity and recombination in technological evolution. *Philos-*  
816 *ophy & Technology*, 29(4), 373–392. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13347-016-0228-0>

817 Chellappoo, A. (2022). When can cultural selection explain adaptation? *Biology & Philoso-*  
818 *phy*, 37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-021-09831-0>

819 Clay, Z., & Tennie, C. (2017). Is overimitation a uniquely human phenomenon? Insights  
820 from human children as compared to bonobos. *Child Development*, 89, 1535–1544.

821 Cultural Evolution Society. (2021). What is Cultural Evolution? [Last checked on June 06,  
822 2021]. Retrieved June 6, 2021, from [https://culturalevolutionsociety.org/story/What\\_](https://culturalevolutionsociety.org/story/What_is_Cultural_Evolution)  
823 [is\\_Cultural\\_Evolution](https://culturalevolutionsociety.org/story/What_is_Cultural_Evolution)

824 Dawkins, R. (1976). *The selfish gene*. Oxford University Press.

825 Dean, L. G., Vale, G. L., Laland, K. N., Flynn, E., & Kendal, R. L. (2014). Human cumulative  
826 culture: A comparative perspective. *Biological reviews*, 89(2), 284–301. [https://doi.](https://doi.org/10.1111/brv.12053)  
827 [org/10.1111/brv.12053](https://doi.org/10.1111/brv.12053)

828 Dennett, D. C. (1996). *Darwin's dangerous idea: Evolution and the meanings of life*. Penguin.

829 Dennett, D. C. (2017). *From bacteria to bach and back: The evolution of minds*. WW Norton  
830 & Company.

831 Derex, M. (2022). Human cumulative culture and the exploitation of natural phenomena.  
832 *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 377(1843),  
833 20200311. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0311>

834 Duranti, A. (1997). Universal and culture-specific properties of greetings. *Journal of linguis-*  
835 *tic Anthropology*, 7(1), 63–97. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jlin.1997.7.1.63>

836 Enquist, M., Strimling, P., Eriksson, K., Laland, K., & Sjostrand, J. (2010). One cultural parent  
837 makes no culture. *Animal Behaviour*, 79(6), 1353–1362. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2010.03.009)  
838 [anbehav.2010.03.009](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.anbehav.2010.03.009)

- 839 Fitch, W. T. (2011). Unity and diversity in human language. *Philosophical Transactions of*  
840 *the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 366(1563), 376–388. [https://doi.org/10.](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0223)  
841 [1098/rstb.2010.0223](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0223)
- 842 Gabora, L., & Steel, M. (2017). Autocatalytic networks in cognition and the origin of culture.  
843 *Journal of Theoretical Biology*, 431, 87–95. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtbi.2017.07.](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtbi.2017.07.022)  
844 [022](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtbi.2017.07.022)
- 845 Godfrey-Smith, P. (2009). *Darwinian populations and natural selection*. Oxford University  
846 Press.
- 847 Griffin, A. S. (2004). Social learning about predators: A review and prospectus. *Animal*  
848 *Learning & Behavior*, 32(1), 131–140. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03196014>
- 849 Grove, M. (2011). Speciation, diversity, and mode 1 technologies: The impact of variability  
850 selection. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 61(3), 306–319. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2011.04.005)  
851 [jhevol.2011.04.005](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2011.04.005)
- 852 Grove, M. (2017). Environmental complexity, life history, and encephalisation in human evo-  
853 lution. *Biology & Philosophy*, 32(3), 395–420. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-017-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-017-9564-4)  
854 [9564-4](https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-017-9564-4)
- 855 Haldane, J. B. (1932). *The causes of evolution* (Vol. Reprinted 1990). Princeton University  
856 Press.
- 857 Henrich, J. (2015). *The secret of our success. how culture is driving human evolution, do-*  
858 *mesticating our species, and making us smarter*. Princeton University Press. [https:](https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400873296)  
859 [//doi.org/10.1515/9781400873296](https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400873296)
- 860 Henrich, J., & Henrich, N. (2010). The evolution of cultural adaptations: Fijian food taboos  
861 protect against dangerous marine toxins. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Bio-*  
862 *logical Sciences*, 277(1701), 3715–3724. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2010.1191>
- 863 Henrich, J., & McElreath, R. (2007). Dual inheritance theory: The evolution of human cultural  
864 capacities and cultural evolution. In L. Barrett & R. Dunbar (Eds.), *Oxford handbook*  
865 *of evolutionary psychology* (pp. 555–570). Oxford University Press.

- 866 Herrmann, E., Call, J., Victoria Hernández-Lloreda, M., Hare, B., & Tomasello, M. (2007).  
867 Humans have evolved specialized skills of social cognition: The cultural intelligence  
868 hypothesis. *Science*, 317. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1146282>
- 869 Heyes, C. (2018). *Cognitive gadgets: The cultural evolution of thinking*. Harvard University  
870 Press.
- 871 Howard, J. A., & Gibson, M. A. (2017). Frequency-dependent female genital cutting be-  
872 haviour confers evolutionary fitness benefits. *Nature Ecology & Evolution*, 1(3), 1–6.  
873 <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-016-0049>
- 874 Janik, V. M., & Slater, P. J. (2000). The different roles of social learning in vocal communi-  
875 cation. *Animal behaviour*, 60(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1006/anbe.2000.1410>
- 876 Kaplan, H., Hill, K., Lancaster, J., & Hurtado, A. M. (2000). A theory of human life history  
877 evolution. *Evolutionary Anthropology*, 9, 156–185. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-  
878 6505\(2000\)9:4<156::AID-EVAN5>3.0.CO;2-7](https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6505(2000)9:4<156::AID-EVAN5>3.0.CO;2-7)
- 879 Klein, R. G. (2008). *The human career* (3rd). University of Chicago Press.
- 880 Kolodny, O., Creanza, N., & Feldman, M. W. (2015). Evolution in leaps: The punctuated ac-  
881 cumulation and loss of cultural innovations. *Proceedings of the National Academy  
882 of Sciences*, 112(49), E6762–E6769. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1520492112>
- 883 Laland, K. N., & O'Brien, M. J. (2011). Cultural niche construction: An introduction. *Biological  
884 Theory*, 6(3), 191–202. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13752-012-0026-6>
- 885 Laland, K. N., Odling-Smee, J., & Feldman, M. W. (2000). Niche construction, biological  
886 evolution, and cultural change. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 75, 131–175. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X00002417>
- 888 Langton, C. G. (1989). Artificial life. In C. G. Langton (Ed.), *Artificial life: Proceedings of  
889 an interdisciplinary workshop on the synthesis and simulation of living systems, los  
890 alamos, 1987* (pp. 1–47). Addison-Wesley.
- 891 Lehman, J., Clune, J., Misevic, D., Adami, C., Altenberg, L., Beaulieu, J., Bentley, P. J., Bernard,  
892 S., Beslon, G., Bryson, D. M., Cheney, N., Chrabaszcz, P., Cully, A., Doncieux, S., Dyer,

893 F. C., Ellefsen, K. O., Feldt, R., Fischer, S., Forrest, S., ... Yosinski, J. (2020). The sur-  
894 prising creativity of digital evolution: A collection of anecdotes from the evolutionary  
895 computation and artificial life research communities. *Artificial life*, 26(2), 274–306.  
896 [https://doi.org/10.1162/artL\\_a\\_00319](https://doi.org/10.1162/artL_a_00319)

897 Lewens, T. (2015). *Cultural evolution*. Oxford University Press.

898 Lewis, J. E., & Harmand, S. (2016). An earlier origin for stone tool making: Implications  
899 for cognitive evolution and the transition to homo. *Philosophical Transactions of*  
900 *the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 371(1698), 20150233. [https://doi.org/10.](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2015.0233)  
901 [1098/rstb.2015.0233](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2015.0233)

902 MacDonald, K., Scherjon, F., van Veen, E., Vaesen, K., & Roebroeks, W. (2021). Middle pleis-  
903 tocene fire use: The first signal of widespread cultural diffusion in human evolution.  
904 *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(31). [https://doi.org/10.1073/](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2101108118)  
905 [pnas.2101108118](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2101108118)

906 Marriott, C., Borg, J. M., Andras, P., & Smaldino, P. E. (2018). Social learning and cultural  
907 evolution in artificial life. *Artificial Life*, 24(1), 5–9. [https://doi.org/10.1162/ARTL\\_a\\_](https://doi.org/10.1162/ARTL_a_00250)  
908 [00250](https://doi.org/10.1162/ARTL_a_00250)

909 Maynard Smith, J., & Szathmáry, E. (1995). *The major transitions in evolution*. Oxford Uni-  
910 versity Press.

911 McKerracher, L., Collard, M., & Henrich, J. (2016). Food aversions and cravings during preg-  
912 nancy on Yasawa Island, Fiji. *Human Nature*, 27(3), 296–315. [https://doi.org/10.](https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-016-9262-y)  
913 [1007/s12110-016-9262-y](https://doi.org/10.1007/s12110-016-9262-y)

914 McShea, D. W., & Simpson, C. (2011). The miscellaneous transitions in evolution. In B. Cal-  
915 cott & K. Sterelny (Eds.), *The major transitions in evolution revisited* (pp. 19–34).  
916 MIT Press Cambridge, Massachusetts.

917 Mesoudi, A. (2011). *Cultural evolution: How Darwinian theory can explain human culture &*  
918 *synthesize the social sciences*. University of Chicago Press.

- 919 Mesoudi, A., & Thornton, A. (2018). What is cumulative cultural evolution? *Proceedings of*  
920 *the Royal Society B*, 285(1880), 20180712. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2018.0712>
- 921 Mesoudi, A., Whiten, A., & Laland, K. N. (2006). Towards a unified science of cultural evo-  
922 lution. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 29, 329–383. [https://doi.org/10.1017/  
923 S0140525X06009083](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X06009083)
- 924 Michod, R. (1999). *Darwinian dynamics*. Princeton University Press.
- 925 Muthukrishna, M., Doebeli, M., Chudek, M., & Henrich, J. (2018). The cultural brain hypoth-  
926 esis: How culture drives brain expansion, sociality, and life history. *PLoS computa-*  
927 *tional biology*, 14(11), e1006504. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pcbi.1006504>
- 928 Neadle, D., Allritz, M., & Tennie, C. (2017). Food cleaning in gorillas: Social learning is a  
929 possibility but not a necessity. *PLoS One*, 12(12), e0188866. [https://doi.org/10.  
930 1371/journal.pone.0188866](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0188866)
- 931 Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective*  
932 *action*. Cambridge university press.
- 933 Pattee, H. H., & Sayama, H. (2019). Evolved open-endedness, not open-ended evolution.  
934 *Artificial Life*, 25(1), 4–8. [https://doi.org/10.1162/artLa\\_00276](https://doi.org/10.1162/artLa_00276)
- 935 Perry, S. (2011). Social traditions and social learning in capuchin monkeys (*Cebus*). *Philo-*  
936 *sophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 366(1567), 988–  
937 996. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0317>
- 938 Potts, R. (2013). Hominin evolution in settings of strong environmental variability. *Quater-*  
939 *nary Science Reviews*, 73, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.quascirev.2013.04.003>
- 940 Powers, S. T., & Lehmann, L. (2013). The co-evolution of social institutions, demography,  
941 and large-scale human cooperation. *Ecology letters*, 16(11), 1356–1364. [https://doi.  
942 org/10.1111/ele.12178](https://doi.org/10.1111/ele.12178)
- 943 Powers, S. T., van Schaik, C. P., & Lehmann, L. (2016). How institutions shaped the last major  
944 evolutionary transition to large-scale human societies. *Philosophical Transactions*



945 of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences, 371(1687). [https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2015.0098)  
946 2015.0098

947 Richerson, P. J., & Boyd, R. (2005). *Not by genes alone*. University of Chicago Press.

948 Richerson, P. J., & Henrich, J. (2009). Tribal social instincts and the cultural evolution of  
949 institutions to solve collective action problems. *Context and the Evolution of Mech-*  
950 *anisms for Solving Collective Action Problems Paper*. [https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.](https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1368756)  
951 1368756

952 Rosenberg, A. (2017). Why social science is biological science. *Journal for General Philos-*  
953 *ophy of Science*, 48(3), 341–369. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10838-017-9365-0>

954 Sanz, C. M., Schöning, C., & Morgan, D. B. (2010). Chimpanzees prey on army ants with spe-  
955 cialized tool set. *American Journal of Primatology: Official Journal of the American*  
956 *Society of Primatologists*, 72(1), 17–24. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajp.20744>

957 Sosis, R. (2004). The adaptive value of religious ritual: Rituals promote group cohesion  
958 by requiring members to engage in behavior that is too costly to fake. *American*  
959 *scientist*, 92(2), 166–172. <https://doi.org/10.1511/2004.46.928>

960 Sterelny, K. (2012). *The evolved apprentice*. MIT press.

961 Sterelny, K. (2021). *The pleistocene social contract*. Oxford University Press.

962 Stringer, C. (2016). The origin and evolution of homo sapiens. *Philosophical Transactions of*  
963 *the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 371(1698), 20150237. [https://doi.org/https:](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2015.0237)  
964 [//doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2015.0237](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2015.0237)

965 Stringer, C., & Galway-Witham, J. (2017). On the origin of our species. *Nature*, 546(7657),  
966 212–214. <https://doi.org/10.1038/546212a>

967 Szathmáry, E. (2015). Toward major evolutionary transitions theory 2.0. *Proceedings of the*  
968 *National Academy of Sciences*, 112(33), 10104–10111. [https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1421398112)  
969 1421398112

970 Taylor, C., & Jefferson, D. (1993). Artificial life as a tool for biological inquiry. *Artificial Life*,  
971 1(1\_2), 1–13. [https://doi.org/10.1162/artl.1993.1.1\\_2.1](https://doi.org/10.1162/artl.1993.1.1_2.1)

- 972 Taylor, T. (2019). Evolutionary innovations and where to find them: Routes to open-ended  
973 evolution in natural and artificial systems. *Artificial life*, 25(2), 207–224. [https://doi.org/10.1162/artl\\_a\\_00290](https://doi.org/10.1162/artl_a_00290)  
974
- 975 Taylor, T., Bedau, M., Channon, A., Ackley, D., Banzhaf, W., Beslon, G., Dolson, E., Froese, T.,  
976 Hickinbotham, S., Ikegami, T., McMullin, B., Packard, N., Agmon, E., Clark, E., McGre-  
977 gor, S., Ofria, C., Ropella, G., Spector, L., Stanley, K. O., ... Wiser, M. (2016). Open-  
978 ended evolution: Perspectives from the OEE workshop in York. *Artificial life*, 22(3),  
979 408–423. [https://doi.org/10.1162/ARTL\\_a\\_00210](https://doi.org/10.1162/ARTL_a_00210)
- 980 Tennie, C., Bandini, E., van Schaik, C. P., & Hopper, L. M. (2020). The zone of latent solutions  
981 and its relevance to understanding ape cultures. *Biology & Philosophy*, 35(5), 1–42.  
982 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-020-09769-9>
- 983 Tennie, C., Caldwell, C., & Dean, L. G. (2018). Culture, cumulative. *The International Ency-  
984 clopedia of Anthropology*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1998>
- 985 Tennie, C., Call, J., & Tomasello, M. (2009). Ratcheting up the ratchet: On the evolution  
986 of cumulative culture. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological  
987 Sciences*, 364(1528), 2405–2415. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2009.0052>
- 988 Tomasello, M. (1999). *The cultural origins of human cognition*. Harvard University Press.
- 989 Uchiyama, R., Spicer, R., & Muthukrishna, M. (2021). Cultural evolution of genetic heritability.  
990 *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 1–147. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X21000893>
- 991 Uhlíř, V., & Stella, M. (2012). Who needs memetics? possible developments of the meme  
992 concept and beyond. *Anthropologie*, 50(1), 127–142.
- 993 van Schaik, C. P., Ancrenaz, M., Borgen, G., Galdikas, B., Knott, C. D., Singleton, I., Suzuki, A.,  
994 Utami, S. S., & Merrill, M. (2003). Orangutan cultures and the evolution of material  
995 culture. *Science*, 299(5603), 102–105. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1078004>
- 996 van Schaik, C. P., & Burkart, J. M. (2011). Social learning and evolution: The cultural in-  
997 telligence hypothesis. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological  
998 Sciences*, 366(1567), 1008–1016. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0304>

- 999 Wagner, G. P., & Altenberg, L. (1996). Perspective: Complex adaptations and the evolution  
1000 of evolvability. *Evolution*, 50(3), 967–976. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1558-5646.1996.](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1558-5646.1996.tb02339.x)  
1001 [tb02339.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1558-5646.1996.tb02339.x)
- 1002 Waring, T. M., & Wood, Z. T. (2021). Long-term gene-culture coevolution and the human  
1003 evolutionary transition. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*,  
1004 282, 20210538. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2021.0538>
- 1005 Whitehead, H., Laland, K. N., Rendell, L., Thorogood, R., & Whiten, A. (2019). The reach  
1006 of gene–culture coevolution in animals. *Nature Communications*, 10(1), 1–10. [https:](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-019-10293-y)  
1007 [//doi.org/10.1038/s41467-019-10293-y](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-019-10293-y)
- 1008 Whitehead, H., & Rendell, L. E. (2015). *The cultural lives of whales and dolphins*. University  
1009 of Chicago Press.
- 1010 Whiten, A. (2019). Cultural evolution in animals. *Annual Review of Ecology, Evolution, and*  
1011 *Systematics*, 50(1), 27–48. [https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-ecolsys-110218-](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-ecolsys-110218-025040)  
1012 [025040](https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-ecolsys-110218-025040)
- 1013 Whiten, A. (2021a). The burgeoning reach of animal culture. *Science*, 372(6537). [https:](https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abe6514)  
1014 [//doi.org/10.1126/science.abe6514](https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abe6514)
- 1015 Whiten, A. (2021b). The psychological reach of culture in animals' lives. *Current Directions*  
1016 *in Psychological Science*, 30(3), 211–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721421993119>
- 1017 Whiten, A., Biro, D., Bredeche, N., Garland, E. C., & Kirby, S. (2022). The emergence of col-  
1018 lective knowledge and cumulative culture in animals, humans and machines. *Philo-*  
1019 *sophical Transactions of the Royal Society B*, 377(1843). [https://doi.org/10.1098/](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0306)  
1020 [rstb.2020.0306](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2020.0306)
- 1021 Whiten, A., Goodall, J., McGrew, W. C., Nishida, T., Reynolds, V., Sugiyama, Y., Tutin, C. E.,  
1022 Wrangham, R. W., & Boesch, C. (1999). Cultures in chimpanzees. *Nature*, 399, 6737.  
1023 <https://doi.org/10.1038/21415>

1024 Whiten, A., Spiteri, A., Horner, V., Bonnie, K. E., Lambeth, S. P., Schapiro, S. J., & De Waal, F. B.  
1025 (2007). Transmission of multiple traditions within and between chimpanzee groups.  
1026 *Current Biology*, 17(12), 1038–1043. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2007.05.031>  
1027 Wilson, D. S. (1997). Altruism and organism: Disentangling the themes of multilevel selec-  
1028 tion theory. *The American Naturalist*, 150(S1), s122–S134. [https://doi.org/10.1086/](https://doi.org/10.1086/286053)  
1029 286053  
1030 Winters, J. (2020). Is the cultural evolution of technology cumulative or combinatorial?  
1031 *SocArXiv*. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/aypnx>

## 1032 **Appendices**

### 1033 **Appendix I: Elaborated Explanation of Figure 1**

1034 The following is a elaborated explanation of the logic behind the example found in figure  
1035 1. Links to reproducible code can also be found below.

1036 In the example presented in figure 1, each square is constituted by 441 pixels, where  
1037 coordinates  $(0, 0)$  are located in the center, and each axis extending from  $-10$  to  $+10$ . The  
1038 world wraps (i.e., coordinate  $(-10, -10)$  is adjacent to  $(-9, -10)$ ;  $(-9, -9)$ ;  $(-10, -9)$ ; as  
1039 well as  $(10, -10)$ ;  $(-10, 10)$ ;  $(10, 10)$ ;  $(-9, 10)$ ;  $(10, -9)$ ). Each pixel represents a state of  
1040 information, and while the colours have no grounded value, they indicate different states  
1041 of information. In total, there are five states (black, white, yellow, blue, and pink). The  
1042 aggregate of pixels within each square represents some kind of technology or cultural  
1043 practice held by a distinct hypothetical population. In row 1 (bottom row), each pixel is  
1044 turned white or black with a 0.5 probability. Thus, each of the eight squares represents an  
1045 equiprobable configuration of information. By this logic, each of these squares is solving  
1046 the same kind of problem.

1047 Over time, the hypothetical population alters their technology/practice, which is subse-

1048 quently altered again, and again in a cumulative fashion. In each case the overall tech-  
1049 nology/practice becomes both more complex (an increasing diversity of informational  
1050 [coloured] states of pixels) and more structured (certain axis of symmetry). Like the colours,  
1051 the axis of symmetry do not represent anything grounded, but simply demonstrate a certain  
1052 kind of orderliness and routinization of the technology/practice. In some cases, pixels are  
1053 lost (rule golf and hotel) and the 'shape' of the aggregate-information changes. Again, this  
1054 is not grounded, but may represent accidental loss of information, or a deliberate 'pruning'  
1055 of redundancy. In any event, the changes applied to information in each square are cu-  
1056 mulative, influencing each subsequent iteration, beginning with the equiprobable starting  
1057 point.

1058 There are eight rules, which are applied randomly over each iteration along the tall axis.

1059 **Rule Alpha:** A random subset (of between 0 and 49) pixels are asked to turn either, yellow,  
1060 blue, or pink.

1061 **Rule Bravo:** All pixels with [negative] x-coordinates ( $< 0$ ) to assume the informational  
1062 state of their corresponding [positive] x-coordinate ( $> 0$ ). In effect, this creates an axis of  
1063 symmetry along the vertical axis.

1064 **Rule Charlie:** Rule Charlie is the inverse of Rule Bravo.

1065 **Rule Delta:** All pixels with [positive] y-coordinates ( $> 0$ ) to assume the informational state  
1066 of their corresponding [negative] y-coordinate ( $< 0$ ). In effect, this creates an axis of  
1067 symmetry along the horizontal axis.

1068 **Rule Echo:** Rule Echo is the inverse of Rule Delta.

1069 **Rule Foxtrot:** A random subset (of between 0 and 19) pixels is identified. The 8-neighbors  
1070 of this pixel become a single colour (either, yellow, blue, or pink).

1071 **Rule Golf:** Black pixels with max ('top) and min ('bottom') coordinate disappear. Non-black  
1072 coloured pixels remain.(This is apparent in columns 1, 2, and 8 of figure 1).

1073 **Rule Hotel:** Rule Hotel is the inverse of Rule Golf (applied to the left/right edge, rather  
1074 than the top/bottom).

1075 Reproducible code can be found at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6948341>

1076 Code is written in netlogo, which is freely available at: <https://ccl.northwestern.edu/netlogo/>

Term	Definition	See
Culture	Information transmitted through mechanisms of social learning	Boyd and Richerson (1985), Cultural Evolution Society (2021), and Whiten et al. (2022)
Cultural Evolution	The change in frequency or the form of cultural traits over time, where these changes are at least in part influenced by social learning	Neadle et al. (2017)
Open-Ended Evolution	An evolutionary process that is capable of producing a continuous stream of new adaptive novel units, with no <i>a priori</i> limitations on the generation of such novelty	Gabora and Steel (2017) and T. Taylor et al. (2016)
Cumulative Culture	A process whereby a culturally transmitted trait accumulates modifications over time with a ratchet-like effect	Boyd and Richerson (1985) and Tomasello (1999)
Unbounded Evolution	A continuous demonstration of new adaptive novelty and/or the ongoing growth in trait diversity. Term used interchangeably with open-ended evolution, but often used to contrast with bounded evolution	Bedau et al. (1998) and Channon (2006)
Evolved Open-Endedness	Open-endedness as the outcome of an evolutionary process as opposed to an assumed pre-condition	Pattee and Sayama (2019)
Wide Evolution	A characterization of the disparity of traits and traditions; increased through processes of recombination, innovation, or the exploration of previously underappreciated affordances	Buskell (forthcoming) and Derex (2022)
Tall Evolution	A characterization of the typical length (measured in relevant changes generated through cumulative evolution) of independent trait traditions	

Table 1: Reference table of definitions for key terms