



Multi-task reinforcement learning in humans

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The ability to transfer knowledge across tasks and generalize to novel ones is an important hallmark of human intelligence. Yet not much is known about human multitask reinforcement learning. We study participants' behaviour in a two-step decision-making task with multiple features and changing reward functions. We compare their behaviour with two algorithms for multitask reinforcement learning, one that maps previous policies and encountered features to new reward functions and one that approximates value functions across tasks, as well as to standard model-based and model-free algorithms. Across three exploratory experiments and a large preregistered confirmatory experiment, our results provide evidence that participants who are able to learn the task use a strategy that maps previously learned policies to novel scenarios. These results enrich our understanding of human reinforcement learning in complex environments with changing task demands.

Imagine standing at the threshold of your apartment on a Sunday morning (Fig. 1a). If you are feeling hungry, you might choose to go to your local burger joint, where they make terrific burgers. Conversely, if you are feeling groggy, you might instead go to your favourite coffee shop, where they make the best espresso. Now imagine that, on a rare occasion, you are feeling both hungry and groggy. In that case, you might choose to go to a local diner, where they make decent food and decent coffee. Even if you have only had food or coffee there up to that point, and would prefer the burger joint or the coffee shop over the diner for either of them, you will be able to extrapolate to the rare scenario in which you need both and realize that the diner is the best option. Finally, imagine that one day you decide to start reading fiction for fun, but would like to do it in a social setting. Given this new task, you might again choose to go to the coffee shop, even though you have never pursued this particular goal before.

In these examples, a single agent is performing multiple tasks with different goals, but the tasks all share some common structure. Humans are able to exploit this structure in the service of flexible behaviour, without learning each task from scratch. The question of how humans achieve such flexibility has long preoccupied cognitive scientists.^{1,2} In this paper, we study this question from the perspective of reinforcement learning (RL), where the computational goal is to choose actions that maximize long-term reward.³

One way to design a flexible RL algorithm is to use a model of the environment. If an agent knows the reward it expects to obtain in each state of the environment, along with the transition structure (how to get from one state to another), then it can use planning to identify the reward-maximizing route through the environment. This is the essence of model-based algorithms. Importantly for our purposes, these algorithms can adapt immediately when the reward or transition structure changes across tasks, without needing to learn from scratch. However, this flexibility comes at a cost: planning is computationally expensive. An agent acting in real time does not have the luxury of re-planning every time a change in the environment is observed.

A different way to achieve flexibility is to directly learn a value function that maps states and actions to expected future rewards, without learning a model of the environment. This is the essence of

model-free algorithms. If the learned function captures the shared structure across tasks, the agent can adapt to new tasks without learning from scratch. Since the learned function is usually cheap to evaluate, the agent can circumvent the costs of planning. The challenge is to design a task-dependent value function that can generalize effectively. If, for example, the agent learned a separate mapping for every task, then there would be no cross-task generalization, whereas at the other extreme, learning a common mapping across tasks would lead to catastrophic interference across tasks.

Recent work in computer science has grappled with this challenge, using new ideas about how to efficiently exploit the shared structure across tasks (see Methods for details). One idea, known as universal value function approximators (UVFAs)⁴, is to represent multiple value functions with a single function approximator that can generalize over both states and tasks. The key assumption underlying this idea is that values vary smoothly across tasks—a small change in task parameters yields a small change in values. If this assumption holds, then UVFAs can learn to generalize across tasks in the same way that function approximators learn to generalize across states within a task, simply by treating the task identifier as an input to the function approximator. In our running example, this is the kind of generalization that would lead you to choose the diner when you are both hungry and groggy; you already know that the diner is a reasonably good place to go when you are either hungry or groggy, and it is reasonable to expect that the value of the diner in this new task will be similar to the values learned for these previous tasks.

Another idea is to maintain a set of policies (for example, the optimal policies for tasks that you encounter frequently, such as feeling hungry or feeling groggy). These policies can be generalized to new tasks by choosing the action (across all cached policies) that leads to the states best satisfying the new task goals—an algorithm known as generalized policy improvement.^{5,6} This generalization is made possible by learning a predictive representation of states (successor features, SF). The combination of SF and generalized policy improvement is known as SF&GPI. In our running example, this is the kind of generalization that would lead you to the coffee shop when you want to read in a social setting; by imagining the features of the state where you end up by going to the coffee shop (tables, a

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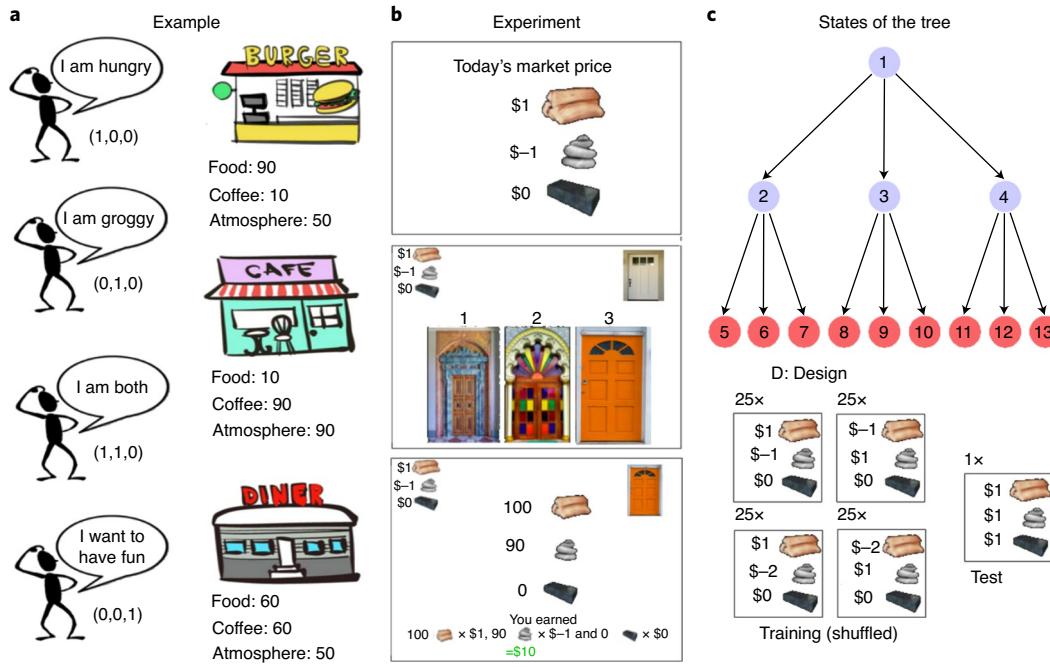


Fig. 1 | Overview of theoretical setup and experiments. **a**, Example of multitask reinforcement learning. An agent who has found that going to the burger joint or coffee shop is a good way to gain rewards when hungry or groggy might have also encountered a diner before, which can be a viable option if the agent is both hungry and groggy. Moreover, the agent might have also learned that the coffee shop has a good atmosphere and therefore could go there to have fun. **b**, Screenshots of the experiment. Participants were presented with a reward function on every trial, which corresponded to the prices or costs they would receive or pay when encountering different resources (wood, stone or iron) at the final state of the decision tree. Top: Participants saw the current price/costs for each resource at the beginning of each trial. This corresponds to the reward function, which can change across trials. Middle: Participants had to choose between three doors on every step of the decision-making task, leading to 12 different doors in total. In the top-left corner, they saw a reminder of the current reward function. In the top-right corner, they saw which door they had chosen on the previous step. Bottom: After having gone through two different doors, participants saw the quantities of each resource at the new state, where the quantity directly corresponds to the features of the state and remained unchanged for each final state across all trials. **c**, Decision tree in which nodes correspond to different states. Although each state comes with a given set of features $\phi(\cdot)$, we only set the features of the final states to values different from 0, corresponding to the encountered quantities of resources in our experiments. All transitions were deterministic in our experiments. **d**, Design of the reward function. During training, participants encountered reward functions with positive weights for one resource and negative weights for another resource. The third resource's weight was always set to 0. At test, participants encountered a reward function with all weights set to 1.

relaxed atmosphere, intellectuals chatting with each other), you can figure out that the policy you usually follow when feeling groggy (the one that leads to the coffee shop) could serve you well in this new task.

Similarly to their single-task counterparts, UVFAs and SF&GPI exploit different kinds of structure to generalize to new tasks⁷: UVFAs rely on similarity in the value function across tasks, while SF&GPI relies on the shared structure of the environment. The two frameworks thus confer distinct and complementary advantages which would manifest as different generalization patterns in new tasks.

In our experiments, we test these predictions by asking participants to search for rewards in a two-step sequential decision-making task. At the final states of the decision tree, participants encounter different quantities of resources (the features for each state). At the start of each trial, participants see the values of the different features for that trial. This induces a reward function over the final state of the tree, with states with more valuable features delivering greater overall rewards. Thus, the same state can deliver a large reward on one trial but a small or even negative reward on another trial. After being trained on multiple such reward functions (or tasks), participants encounter a test trial with a new reward function we designed to discriminate between the two multi-task RL frameworks as well as standard single-task RL approaches. Across three exploratory

experiments, we find strong evidence for the SF&GPI strategy. We then preregistered our previous design and ran a large-scale replication study, again finding evidence for the SF&GPI strategy. We conclude that participants who manage to learn in our experiments solve multi-task RL problems by evaluating previously learned policies given the current reward function and the features of the different states.

Results

Participants performed a two-step decision-making experiment (Fig. 1b). Participants could pick between three different doors which would lead them to another room, where they again saw a set of three different doors, leading to nine final states in total (Fig. 1c). Each of the final states was a room that contained different quantities of the resources, which were then multiplied by their prices/costs w and added together, leading to participants' reward on that specific trial. The transitions between rooms were deterministic (that is, choosing a particular door always led participants to the same next room). There were 13 rooms in total, corresponding to the different states of the decision tree (Fig. 1c).

The prices and costs of the different resources on a given trial can be interpreted as the weight vector w of the multi-task RL problem, corresponding to the value of each feature on a particular trial; changing the weights corresponds to changing the task. We

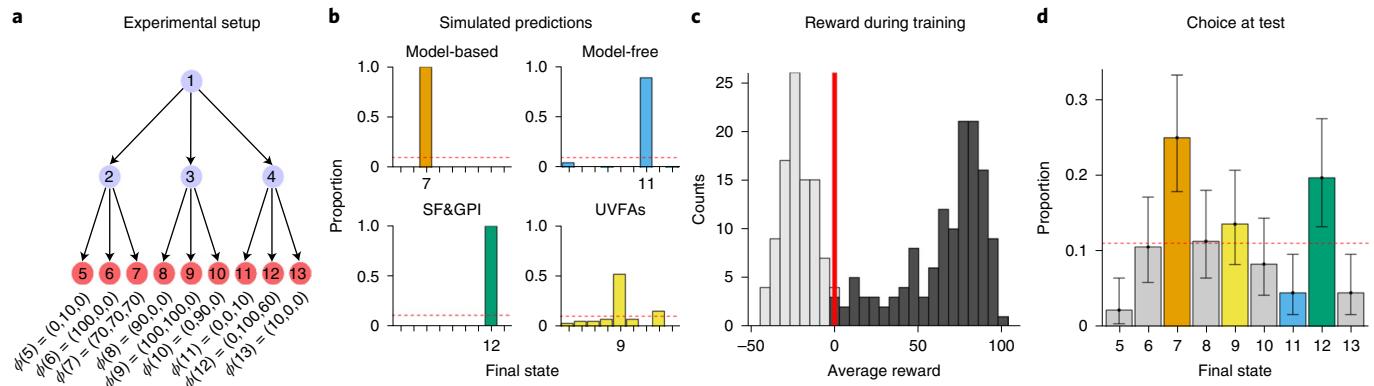


Fig. 2 | Overview and results of experiment 1. **a**, Experimental setup. Participants ($N=226$) are trained on the set of weights $\mathbf{w}_{\text{train}} = \{[1, -1, 0], [-1, 1, 0], [1, -2, 0], [-2, 1, 0]\}$ and tested on the weights $\mathbf{w}_{\text{test}} = [1, 1, 1]$. The features for each final state are shown below the tree. **b**, Predictions of the different models. Predictions were derived by simulating models in our experiment given the training weights and then registering their decisions given the weights of the test trial. This simulation was repeated 100 times for each model, and the proportion choosing the different target states was tracked. **c**, Distribution of average reward obtained by participants during the training trials. Participants were split into a group that accumulated less than 0 points (grey, $N_{\text{excl}}=94$) and a group that accumulated more than 0 points (black, $N_{\text{incl}}=132$), which we analysed further. The red vertical line marks the threshold of 0. **d**, Participants' ($N_{\text{incl}}=132$) choices given the new weights \mathbf{w}_{test} on the test trial. Choices are coloured by the simulated model predictions. Error bars show the 95% confidence interval of the mean based on an exact binomial test. The dashed line indicates chance responding.

use this property of our setup to train participants on one set of weight vectors, $\mathbf{w}_{\text{train}}$, and then test them on a different weight vector, \mathbf{w}_{test} . The weights during the training were the same throughout all experiments. Specifically, the set of training weights for the first 100 trials was $\mathbf{w}_{\text{train}} = \{[1, -1, 0], [-1, 1, 0], [1, -2, 0], [-2, 1, 0]\}$, where each participant experienced each set of weights 25 times in random order and each resource was randomly assigned to one of the three weights for each participant. The weights on the 101st trial, which was the crucial test for our models' predictions, were set to $\mathbf{w}_{\text{test}} = [1, 1, 1]$ (that is, a novel task in which all resources were equally rewarding; see Supplementary Information for a different version of this experiment).

In all experiments, the interesting final states are 6, 7, 9 and 12. Much like the burger joint from our running example, state 6 always has a substantial amount of the first feature (e.g., $\phi(6) = [100, 0, 0]$ in experiment 1, Fig. 2a), making it the optimal state for tasks $[1, -1, 0]$ and $[1, -2, 0]$. Much like the coffee shop from our running example, state 12 always has a substantial amount of the second feature (e.g., $\phi(12) = [0, 100, 60]$ in experiment 1, Fig. 2a), making it the optimal state for tasks $[-1, 1, 0]$ and $[-2, 1, 0]$. Like the diner, state 9 (e.g., $\phi(9) = [100, 100, 0]$ in experiment 1, Fig. 2a) has both the first and second feature, however the negative task weights mean that it is never rewarding during training. Yet, state 9 does deliver a substantial reward on the test task $[1, 1, 1]$, which UVFAs can extrapolate. Importantly, single-task approaches such as model-free value function approximation would never choose state 9, as it is not rewarding during training. SF&GPI would also not choose state 9 for the same reason, since it is unlikely that a policy leading to state 9 will be learned. Also like the coffee shop, state 12 additionally has a substantial amount of the third resource, meaning that it delivers a high reward on the test task $[1, 1, 1]$ as well. Assuming that training induces policies leading to states 6 and 12, SF&GPI will identify state 12 as the best choice on the test task. UVFAs are unlikely to choose state 12 since they learn to ignore the third feature as it is irrelevant during training, a crucial aspect of function approximation. Additionally, because the weights of the training features alternate between positive and negative, a model-free learner would simply converge on a state that consistently delivers a reward of 0. Finally, we always designate state 7 as the single optimal state on the test task (e.g., $\phi(7) = [70, 70, 70]$ in experiment 1, Fig. 2a), predicted

by a model-based learner that knows the full structure of the environment, but not by the other models.

Notice that, in all experiments, there are four training tasks but only two resulting optimal policies for SF&GPI to consider. The redundant tasks were necessary to allow UVFAs to pick up on the smoothness in the task space and generalize to the test task. Having only two policies for SF&GPI makes the experiments easier to understand conceptually.

Experiment 1. In the first exploratory experiment, participants ($N=226$, mean age 35.2 yr, s.d. 10.3 yr, 92 females) were trained on four different weights (Fig. 2a), among which the first and second weight always showed diverging directions and the third weight was set to 0 on every training trial; For example, if on one trial iron had a value of \$1, then wood could have had a negative value of \$−1, and stone a value of \$0. Participants were then trained on 100 trials of these weights, experiencing 25 trials for each of the different weights, assigned at random. This training regime favoured the development of two optimal policies: one leading to state 6 for tasks $[1, -1, 0]$ and $[1, -2, 0]$, and one leading to state 12 for tasks $[-1, 1, 0]$ and $[-2, 1, 0]$. On the final, 101st trial, the prices of the different resources changed and all of them had an equal value of 1.

Importantly, we set the features of the final states to values that discriminated as much as possible between UVFAs, SF&GPI and standard model-based and model-free RL algorithms. In particular, the model-based algorithms predict that participants should go to state 7 with features $\phi(7) = [70, 70, 70]$, since given the new weights of $\mathbf{w} = [1, 1, 1]$ this state would produce the maximum possible reward of 210. Model-free RL predicts that participants would go to state 11 with features $\phi(11) = [0, 0, 10]$, because that state led to an average reward of 0 and was thus the single best state during training, under the assumptions that the weights are ignored completely. UVFAs predict that participants would go to state 9 with features $\phi(9) = [100, 100, 0]$. This is because this state maximizes the reward based on the first two weights, which UVFAs can extrapolate due to the smoothness of the training tasks, even though this state was never rewarding during training. Furthermore, UVFAs learn to ignore the third feature because its weight had been set to 0 throughout training. Finally, SF&GPI predicts that participants

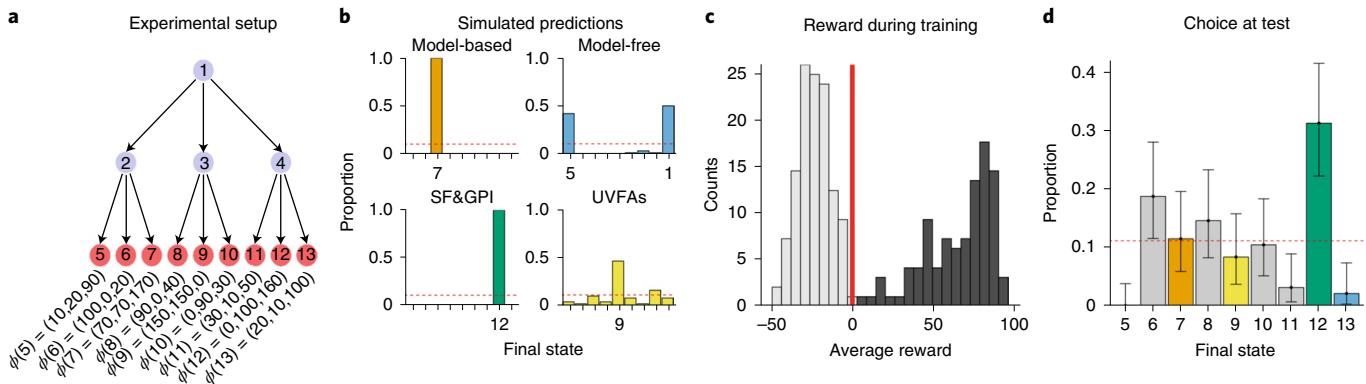


Fig. 3 | Overview and results of experiment 2. **a**, Experimental setup. Participants ($N=202$) were trained on the set of weights $\mathbf{w}_{\text{train}} = \{[1, -1, 0], [-1, 1, 0], [1, -2, 0], [-2, 1, 0]\}$ and tested on the weights $\mathbf{w}_{\text{test}} = [1, 1, 1]$. The features for each final state are shown below the tree. **b**, Predictions of the different models. Predictions were derived by simulating models given the training weights and then registering their decisions on the weight of the test trial. This simulation was repeated 100 times for each model, and the proportion choosing the different target states was tracked. **c**, Distribution of average reward obtained by participants during the training trials. Participants were split into a group that accumulated less than 0 points (grey, $N_{\text{excl}}=106$) and a group that accumulated more than 0 points (black, $N_{\text{incl}}=96$), which we analysed further. The red vertical line marks the threshold of 0. **d**, Participants' ($N_{\text{incl}}=96$) choices given the new weights in the test trial. Choices are coloured by the simulated model predictions. Error bars show the 95% confidence interval of the mean based on an exact binomial test. The dashed line indicates chance responding.

would go to state 12 with features $\phi(12)=[0, 100, 60]$, because it is the highest value state that the optimal training policies lead to. We verified these predictions by simulating the behaviour of each model 100 times and calculating the probability with which each model chose the different final states on the 101st trial (Fig. 2b).

Next, we looked at participant performance. Because the distribution of average rewards during the training trials was bimodal (Fig. 2c; see Supplementary Information for further analyses), we only analysed participants who gained an average reward of higher than 0 during the training rounds. This led to the exclusion of 94 participants. We then analysed the remaining 132 participants' decisions during the test trial (Fig. 2d). Thirty-three participants chose the final state 7 during the test trial. This state was predicted by a purely model-based learner, since it was the state leading to the highest overall reward. The proportion of participants choosing this state was significantly above the chance level of $p=1/9$ ($\hat{p}=0.25$, 95% CI (0.18, 0.33), one-sided exact binomial test: $P=5.98 \times 10^{-6}$, Bayes factor (BF)=2,359). The second most frequently chosen state was the final state 12, which was predicted by SF&GPI and chosen by 26 participants. This proportion was also significantly higher than chance ($\hat{p}=0.197$, 95% CI (0.13, 0.28), binomial test: $P=0.003$, BF=11.2). There was no significant difference between the two most frequently chosen options ($\chi^2(1, 59)=0.61$, $P=0.435$, $V=0.08$, 95% CI (-0.06, 0.16), BF=0.45). None of the other states were chosen significantly more frequently than chance (BF=0.5).

Experiment 2. In experiment 1, most participants chose the path that was predicted by a model-based planner, while the path predicted by SF&GPI was the second most frequently chosen path. However, the model-based path contained features that all had the same value. This means that, in the test task, where each resource had the same value, the best state contained each of the resources in equal proportions. This might have helped people to choose the model-based path based on perceptually matching equal weights to a state with equal feature values. In our second exploratory experiment, we attempted to overcome the effect of matching between equal weights and features, by changing the features of the model-based path. Furthermore, we made the experiment more difficult by adding nuisance features that were not essential for the

models' optimal policies but which made purely model-based planning computationally more demanding.

Participants ($N=202$, mean age 37.6 yr, s.d. 13.3 yr, 85 females) participated in an experiment similar to experiment 1. However, we changed the feature values to create even stronger predictions about participants' behaviour (Fig. 3a). We increased the overall mean of all individual final states to create larger differences between them, given a particular weight. We also used more unique feature values in general to make the experiment harder and to not allow for chunking of feature values across states. We also changed the feature values of the target nodes to rule out competing explanations of the observed effects. First, we changed the features of state 7 to $\phi(7)=[70, 70, 170]$. This was still the best possible state given the weights at test of $\mathbf{w}=[1, 1, 1]$ but did not allow for simple perceptual matching of equal weights to equal features. Furthermore, we changed the features of node 12 to $\phi(12)=[0, 100, 160]$ to make the attraction of the previously unrewarded weight even higher and create a stronger difference between the SF&GPI and all other models. Finally, we increased the two features of the previously rewarded weights for the state that was predicted by UVFAs to $\phi(9)=[150, 150, 0]$. We verified these predictions by simulating 100 runs of all models and calculating the proportion of final states they chose during the test trial (Fig. 3b).

As in experiment 1, the performance distribution during training was bimodal (Fig. 3c). Thus, we again looked only at the 96 participants who earned an average reward higher than 0 and excluded the other 106 participants. The most frequently chosen path of these 96 participants was the one that led to state 12 (Fig. 3d), which was predicted by SF&GPI. In total, 30 of the 96 participants chose this state. This was higher than would be expected at the chance level of $p=1/9$ ($\hat{p}=0.31$, 95% CI (0.22, 0.42), binomial test: $P=2.98 \times 10^{-6}$, BF=99,837). Only 7 out of 96 participants chose the path that was predicted by a fully model-based planner. This was not significantly different from chance ($\hat{p}=0.11$, 95% CI (0.03, 0.14), binomial test: $P=0.65$, BF=0.4) and also significantly lower than the number of people choosing the path predicted by SF&GPI ($\chi^2(1, 41)=7.90$, $P=0.004$, $V=0.38$, 95% CI (0.24, 0.53), BF=18.7). None of the remaining states that were predicted by the other models was chosen more frequently than would be expected by chance (maximum BF=0.4).

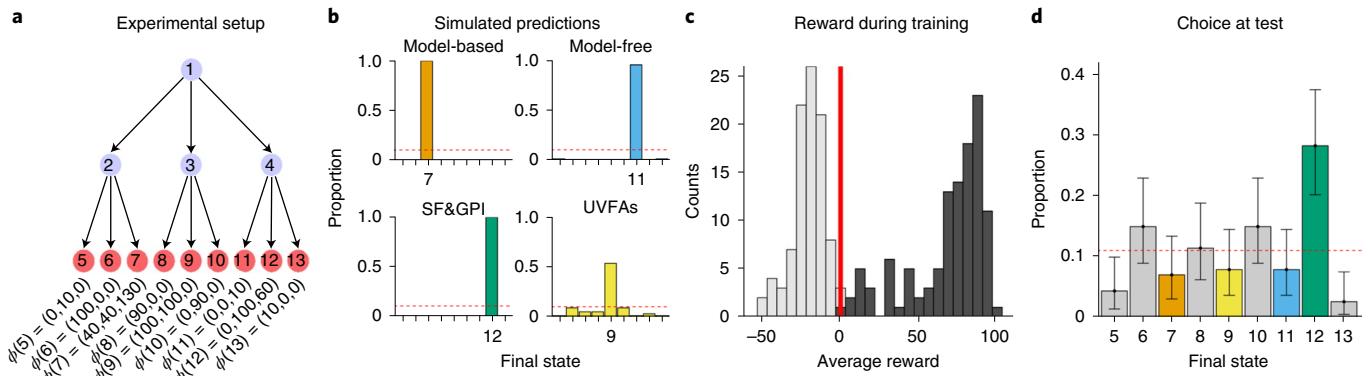


Fig. 4 | Overview and results of experiment 3. **a**, Experimental setup. Participants ($N=200$) were trained on the weights $\mathbf{w}_{\text{train}} = \{[1, -1, 0], [-1, 1, 0], [1, -2, 0], [-2, 1, 0]\}$ and tested on the weight $\mathbf{w}_{\text{test}} = [1, 1, 1]$. The features for each final state are shown below the tree. **b**, Predictions of the different models. Predictions were derived by simulating models given the training weights and then registering their decisions on the weight of the test trial. This simulation was repeated 100 times for each model, and the proportion choosing the different target states was tracked. **c**, Distribution of average reward obtained by participants during the training trials. Participants were split into a group that accumulated less than 0 points (grey, $N_{\text{excl}}=87$) and a group that accumulated more than 0 points (black, $N_{\text{incl}}=113$), which we analysed further. The red vertical line marks the threshold of 0. **d**, Participants' ($N_{\text{incl}}=113$) choices given the new weights in the test trial. Choices are coloured by the simulated model predictions. Error bars show the 95% confidence interval of the mean based on an exact binomial test. The dashed line indicates chance responding.

Summarizing the results of experiment 2, changing the features of the state predicted by a model-based RL algorithm and making the experiment more difficult in general caused more participants to choose the state that was predicted by SF&GPI.

Experiment 3. Since we changed multiple aspects of experiment 1 in experiment 2, we examined the robustness of our results by only changing fewer characteristics of the design applied in experiment 1. In our third exploratory experiment, we used a similar range of feature values as in experiment 1, avoided the additional use of nuisance features and chose the features of the final states so as to make as clear predictions as possible (Fig. 4a).

This time, a model-based agent would again choose state 7 with $\phi(7)=[40, 40, 130]$, leading to the highest rewards given the test weights of $\mathbf{w}=[1, 1, 1]$. A purely model-free agent would choose state 11 with $\phi(11)=[0, 0, 11]$, since that state on average leads to a reward of 0 during the training trials. UVFAs predict that people should choose state 9 with $\phi(9)=[100, 100, 0]$ by extrapolating from their experience with the training tasks. Finally, SF&GPI would pick state 12 with $\phi(12)=[0, 100, 60]$ because it is the best possible state to choose from the previously rewarding states, given the novel task. We validated these predictions by simulating 100 runs for each model (Fig. 4b).

As in the previous experiments, participants ($N=200$, mean age 35.8 yr, s.d. 11.2 yr, 89 female) exhibited a bimodal performance distribution during training, and we therefore removed participants with an average reward below 0. This led to the exclusion of 87 of the 200 participants. Thirty-two of the remaining 113 participants chose the path that was predicted by SF&GPI. This state was the most frequently chosen state, significantly more than would be expected under the chance level of $p=1/9$ ($\hat{p}=0.28$, 95% CI (0.20, 0.38), binomial test: $P=4.4 \times 10^{-7}$, BF=24,902). The final state predicted by a model-based learner was only chosen by 8 out of 113 participants, which was not greater than chance ($\hat{p}=0.07$, 95% CI (0.03, 0.13), exact binomial test: $P=0.94$, BF=0.96) and significantly smaller than the number of people choosing the state predicted by SF&GPI ($\chi^2(40, 1)=13.23$, $P<0.001$, $V=0.42$, 95% CI (0.28, 0.57), BF=274). None of the other states was chosen significantly more often than chance (maximum BF=0.6) (Fig. 5).

Summarizing the results of experiment 3, in a simpler setup of experiment 2, we found further evidence for SF&GPI, since more

people ended up choosing the state predicted by this model than by any alternative model.

Experiment 4. All of the previous experiments produced at least partial evidence in favour of SF&GPI. However, given the bimodality of participants' performance, we ended up excluding around 40% of participants in each experiment. Thus, to confirm the reproducibility of our results, we conducted a large preregistered replication of experiment 3. Our preregistration included the exclusion criterion of removing participants with an average reward during training trials less than 0. We also committed ourselves to a sampling plan of collecting 500 participants in total (that is, more than twice as many as in our previous experiments). Finally, we preregistered the following three hypotheses: (1) state 12 will be the most frequently chosen state overall, as predicted by SF&GPI; (2) state 12 will be chosen more frequently than chance (predicted BF of higher than 10); and (3) state 12 will be more frequently chosen than state 7 (predicted BF of higher than 10), because more people will follow the predictions of SF&GPI than those of a model-based planner.

Following our sampling plan, we recruited 500 participants in total (mean age 34.66 yr, s.d. 9.11 yr, 214 females). As preregistered, we excluded all participants who did not achieve an average reward higher than 0 during the training trials. This led to the exclusion of 197 participants in total. Eighty-one of the remaining 303 participants chose the final state 12 on the 101st trial. Thus, state 12 was the most frequently chosen state during the test trial, confirming our first preregistered hypothesis. The proportion of participants choosing state 12 was significantly higher than would have been expected under the chance level of $p=1/9$ ($\hat{p}=0.27$, 95% CI (0.22, 0.32), binomial test: $P=4.38 \times 10^{-14}$, BF=1.11×10¹¹), confirming our second preregistered hypothesis. Finally, we assessed how many participants ended up choosing state 7, that is, the state predicted by a model-based planner. Forty-six participants choose the final state 7, which was significantly more than chance ($\hat{p}=0.12$, 95% CI (0.11, 0.20), binomial test: $P=0.02$, BF=1.8). However, significantly more people chose the state corresponding to the SF&GPI prediction than the state corresponding to the model-based algorithm's prediction ($\chi^2(127, 1)=9.10$, $P=0.003$, $V=0.19$, 95% CI (0.09, 0.30), BF=22.4). This result confirmed our third and final preregistered hypotheses.

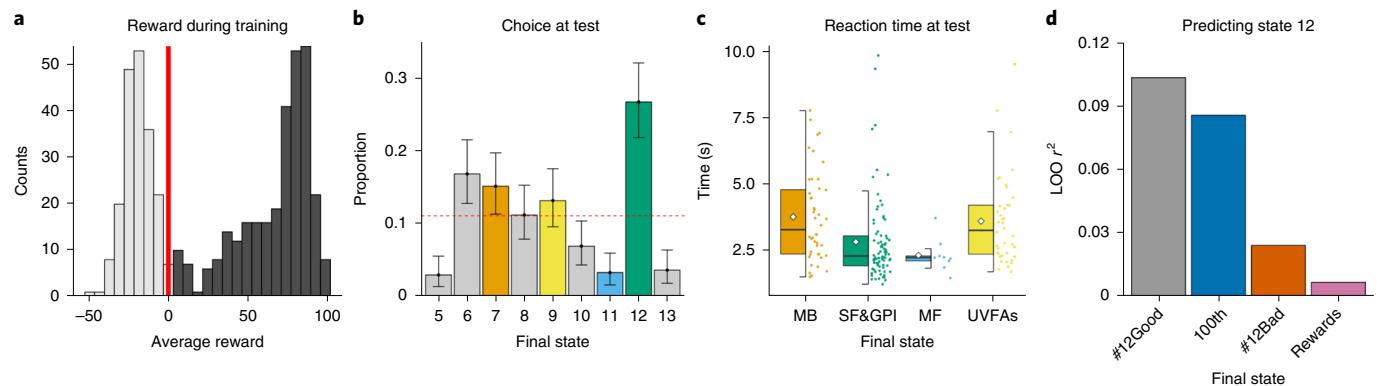


Fig. 5 | Results of preregistered experiment 4. **a**, Distribution of average reward obtained by participants ($N=500$) during the training trials. Participants were split into a group that accumulated less than 0 points (grey, $N_{\text{excl}}=197$) and a group that accumulated more than 0 points (black, $N_{\text{incl}}=303$), which we analysed further. The red vertical line marks the threshold of 0. **b**, Participants' ($N_{\text{incl}}=303$) choices given the new weights in the test trial. Choices are coloured by the simulated model predictions. Error bars show the 95% confidence interval of the mean based on an exact binomial test. The dashed line indicates chance responding. **c**, Reaction times on the 101st trial in dependence on participants' choices in seconds. Dots are participant reaction times, diamonds are group means, horizontal lines inside boxes represent medians, each box shows the interquartile range of the distribution, and the whiskers show 1.5 times the interquartile range. **d**, Bayesian model fit of different variables predicting participants choosing state 12 on the 101st trial. All values show the standardized (based on chance performance) approximate leave-one-out cross-validation error (LOO) based on the posterior likelihood of a logistic model regressing a variable onto a dependent variable indicating whether or not participants chose state 12. The regressors were how often participants correctly chose state 12 during training (#12Good), whether or not they chose state 12 on the 100th trial (100th), how often they incorrectly chose state 12 during training (#12Bad) and their average reward during training (Rewards).

Because the final dataset of experiment 4 was much larger than our previous datasets, this allowed us to further investigate signatures of the SF&GPI model by exploring three additional analyses.

For our first exploratory analysis, we looked at the proportion of participants who ended up choosing state 6 on the 101st trial. Although none of our models predicted this state a priori, it was frequently the best state (on half of all trials) during the training trials. Put differently, choosing state 6 was another policy that participants could have learned during training. Since SF&GPI predicts that participants choose the best of the previously learned policies, this means that they should also prefer state 12 over state 6. In total, 51 participants ended up choosing state 6, a significantly larger proportion than chance ($\hat{p}=0.17$, 95% CI (0.14, 0.23), binomial test: $P=0.001$, BF=12.7). However, the proportion of participants choosing this state was significantly smaller than the number of participants choosing state 12 ($\chi^2(1, 132)=6.37$, $P=0.006$, $V=0.16$, 95% CI (0.05, 0.25), BF=5.6), ruling out the possibility that participants chose one of the previously rewarded policies at random.

For the second exploratory analysis, we looked at participants' reaction times on the 101st trial. Since the computations performed by the SF&GPI strategy are a strict subset of the computations performed by the model-based strategy (six versus nine dot products and comparisons), this leads to the prediction that participants who choose in correspondence with the SF&GPI prediction (state 12) should do so faster than participants who choose in line with the model-based predictions (state 7). We therefore calculated participants' mean reaction times on the 101st trial in dependence on their choices on that trial. We removed extremely long reaction times (above 10 s) before conducting this analysis. Comparing the different groups' reaction times, we found that participants choosing state 12 were indeed faster than participants choosing state 7 ($t(122)=3.05$, $P=0.003$, $d=0.57$, 95% CI (0.19, 0.95), BF=11.9). We did not find evidence for a difference in reaction times between participants choosing state 12 and participants choosing state 11, the state predicted by model-free RL ($t(87)=0.93$, $P=0.35$, $d=0.33$, 95% CI (-0.37, 1.02), BF=0.47), a strategy that performs only three comparisons, a strict subset of the SF&GPI computations. In contrast, consistent with our predictions, participants choosing state 11

were faster than participants choosing state 7 ($t(51)=2.51$, $P=0.015$, $d=0.91$, 95% CI (0.16, 1.68), BF=3.6). Participants choosing state 9 were as slow as participants choosing state 7 ($t(82)=0.43$, $P=0.67$, $d=0.09$, 95% CI (-0.34, 0.53), BF=0.03), even though UVFAs (state 9) require only three comparisons and three feedforward passes through the function approximator. This suggests that a UVFA-like computation is not faster than a model-based computation for our experimental setup, possibly due to the relatively small number of options and feature dimensions. It is worth noting that our reaction time analysis assumes that atomic operations such as dot products and comparisons are implemented identically across neural circuits supporting the different strategies. While in our view this is a plausible assumption, it is not strictly necessary, and in principle, models could explain human choice behaviour well even if the corresponding reaction times in humans and machines differed (for example, if all computations occurred in parallel, reaction times across different strategies might be similar).

For our final exploratory analysis, we looked at the factors that predicted whether or not participants chose state 12 on the 101st trial. Because SF&GPI assumes that participants map previously learned policies onto novel tasks, this means that participants' knowledge of the policy choosing state 12 should be predictive of the probability of choosing that state during the test trial. We therefore created a binary variable indicating whether or not participants chose state 12 on the 101st trial. We also created four independent variables. The first one was how often participants successfully chose state 12 during training and was expected to be highly predictive of choosing state 12 during the test trial, as predicted by SF&GPI. The second one was whether or not participants chose state 12 on the 100th trial, which we used to rule out a simple model-free repetition of the previous action. The third one was how often participants chose state 12 unsuccessfully (leading to negative rewards) during training, which we used to rule out simple experience effects. The final one was participants' average reward during training, which we used to rule out simply using better strategies more generally. As predicted by SF&GPI, the frequency of successfully choosing state 12 during training was most predictive of choosing state 12 at test (standardized Bayesian LOO $r^2=0.103$). Choosing state 12

Table 1 | Feature values used for all experiments. The value shown for each state represent the values $\phi(\text{state})$ which participants encountered when ending up in this state

State	Experiment 1	Experiment 2	Experiments 3 and 4
5	[0, 10, 0]	[10, 20, 90]	[0, 10, 0]
6	[100, 0, 0]	[100, 0, 20]	[100, 0, 0]
7	[70, 70, 70]	[70, 70, 170]	[40, 40, 130]
8	[90, 0, 0]	[90, 0, 40]	[90, 0, 0]
9	[100, 100, 0]	[150, 150, 0]	[100, 100, 0]
10	[0, 90, 0]	[0, 90, 30]	[0, 90, 0]
11	[0, 0, 10]	[30, 10, 50]	[0, 0, 10]
12	[0, 100, 60]	[0, 100, 160]	[0, 100, 60]
13	[10, 0, 0]	[20, 10, 100]	[10, 0, 0]

on the 100th trial (LOO $r^2=0.086$, BF = 269.2), the frequency of unsuccessfully choosing state 12 during training (LOO $r^2=0.024$, BF = 1.09×10^6), and participants' average rewards (LOO $r^2=0.007$, BF = 1.7×10^7) were all less predictive of participants choosing state 12 on the 101st trial. These results provide further evidence that it was indeed participants' knowledge of the policy choosing state 12 that helped them to do so on the 101st trial.

Summarizing the results of our preregistered experiment 4, we found strong evidence for our preregistered hypothesis that participants choose the state predicted by SF&GPI more frequently than any other state. Moreover, additional exploratory analyses showed that participants did not simply repeat previously successful choices at random, were faster due to the computationally less demanding SF&GPI strategy and that their choice of the state predicted by SF&GPI was related to how well they had learned the reusable policy.

Discussion

How do people learn to find rewards when they are confronted with multiple tasks? We studied participants' behaviour in a sequential decision-making experiment in which tasks varied as a function of feature-based rewards. We created tasks in which a participant's decision during a final test trial discriminated between several models: two recent multi-task RL algorithms, as well as traditional model-based and model-free algorithms. Across four experiments, we found strong evidence for an algorithm that combines SF with generalized policy iteration (SF&GPI). This suggests that people tackle new tasks by comparing policies of familiar tasks based on predictive state features.

In general, UVFAs and SF&GPI have complementary strengths, and each strategy can perform better than the other under different circumstances⁷. However, in our particular experimental setup, SF&GPI was not the optimal strategy on the test task in any of the experiments, with model-based and UVFA strategies choosing states with higher rewards. Since our goal was to compare models based on human behaviour rather than model performance, this helped us rule out the possibility that the lack of fit of UVFAs is simply due to UVFAs being an inferior strategy. As a result, in our experiments, SF&GPI reflects the specific way in which human decision-making is suboptimal, although in general it should fit human behaviour better regardless of whether it outperforms UVFAs.

There has been a recent surge of interest in multi-task RL in the machine learning community^{8–10}. The key question is what shared structure an agent can exploit across tasks to generalize efficiently. Different algorithms vary in their assumptions about this shared structure. We focused on two algorithms, UVFAs and SF&GPI, that exemplify particular classes of solutions. UVFAs exploit structure in the space of value functions, whereas SF&GPI exploits structure in the space of states and features.

Beyond the algorithms examined in our paper, there are a number of other important ideas that have been successful in machine learning; For example, hierarchical RL algorithms learn policy primitives that combine to produce solutions to different tasks¹¹, while meta-RL algorithms learn a learning algorithm that can adapt quickly to new tasks^{12,13}, echoing the classic formation of task sets described by Harlow¹⁴. Of particular note is the development of hybrids of UVFAs and SF&GPI known as universal SF approximators, which combine the benefits of both approaches⁷. Studying how people perform multi-task RL can inform this line of research and help facilitate the development of algorithms with multi-task solving abilities on par with humans. We believe our study is an important initial step in that direction.

Multi-task RL has recently attracted attention in computational neuroscience. Yang and colleagues¹⁵ trained a single recurrent neural network to solve multiple related tasks and observed the emergence of functionally specialized clusters of neurons, mixed-selectivity neurons like those found in macaque prefrontal cortex, as well as compositional task representations reminiscent of hierarchical RL. Wang and colleagues¹² proposed how meta-RL might be implemented in the brain, with dopamine signals gradually training a separate learning algorithm in the prefrontal cortex, which in turn can rapidly adapt to changing task demands.

There is also recent work showing that SF can explain a wide range of puzzling phenomena related to the firing of hippocampal place cells and entorhinal grid cells¹⁶, traditionally thought to encode the location of animals in physical and abstract spaces as a kind of cognitive map¹⁷. Stachenfeld and colleagues proposed that, instead, these regions encode a predictive map, indicating which states the animal will visit in the future under a given policy (a special case of SF in which each feature corresponds to a future state). Our work invites speculation that the predictive map may in fact be factorized into distinct state features, with different subsets of cells corresponding to different anticipated features of the environment. Furthermore, generalized policy improvement predicts that the activity of these cells should be tightly coupled to behaviour on new tasks: how well the SF for different policies are learned, and whether they are instantiated on the test trial, will govern which final states are considered, and ultimately which action is chosen. Finally, the SF can be learned using a kind of vector-based temporal difference error⁵, which quantifies the difference between the expected and actually observed features. Such a vector-valued sensory prediction error may be encoded by dopamine neurons in the midbrain¹⁸.

A potential criticism of our study arises from the mismatch between the training and test distributions, with the former lacking tasks which make use of the third feature. Even though in our setting this still allows UVFAs to outperform SF&GPI on the test task, it remains somewhat of an open question whether, in a scenario more aligned with the assumptions underlying UVFAs, humans would also rely on this type of generalization. However, when we ran an additional experiment setting the weights at test to $w=[1, 1, 0]$, participants again ended up choosing the states predicted by the SF&GPI model (see Supplementary Information). Nonetheless, one could argue that the reason SF&GPI chooses like humans is that, like humans, it is given the 'correct' features. This raises the question of how the relevant features are discovered in the first place. Although UVFAs provide one such mechanism, it seems that it is not consistent with human behaviour, at least in our setup, since UVFAs are unlikely to learn features that are not useful during training. Furthermore, SF&GPI assumes the 'correct' relationship between features and rewards, which is also given directly to humans but needs to be learned from scratch by UVFAs. It is therefore conceivable that, as the dimensionality of the feature space increases such that keeping track of all features becomes infeasible for humans, and as the relationship between features and rewards is made implicit, human behaviour might increasingly resemble that

of UVFAs. Previous work has suggested a feature-based attentional capacity limitation in human RL^{19,20}.

Another shortcoming of our current study is that—on average—only 60% of the participants managed to learn within our tasks and ended up producing average rewards greater than 0. This led to the exclusion of a large number of participants, with some uncertainty as to what the computations of these non-learners were. However, further analyses of the excluded participants showed that they were mostly behaving at random and did not converge on any policy (see Supplementary Information). Future investigations could try to use longer learning trials, higher incentives and possibly easier tasks to decrease the number of non-learners.

One natural question that arises from our formulation of multi-task RL is where the feature weights w for the different tasks come from. One possibility is that they are imposed externally in explicit form, as they are in our study. They could also be learned from experience, potentially together with the low-dimensional feature representation ϕ (ref. ²¹). However, another possibility is that they are internally generated, more akin to feeling groggy or hungry as in our example from the introduction. The task defined by w would then correspond to the agent’s internal state, with each feature weight reflecting how valuable a given feature is based on the agent’s needs²². These feature weights could be encoded as part of a generic latent state representation, such as the one thought to be encoded in orbitofrontal cortex^{23,24}, or in brain regions specific to representing physiological needs, such as the hypothalamus²⁵ or insula²⁶. Such a perspective can help resolve the ‘reward paradox’²⁷, a key challenge of applying RL as a theory of human and animal learning, which typically assumes an external reward function that does not exist in natural environments. This view predicts that inducing different motivational states (for example, hunger, thirst, sleepiness) would correspond to naturalistically varying the feature weights w .

Our study has several limitations. Most notably, our definition of multi-task RL is fairly narrow: we consider tasks that share the same deterministic state transition function and only differ in the reward function. Furthermore, our design is restricted to the tabular case, with a discrete enumerable state space. Constraining our study in this way allowed for a clean test of our hypotheses, yet as a result it falls short of capturing the full plethora of multi-task RL behaviours, such as compositionality of tasks and policies^{28,29} or discovery of shared task representations³⁰. Indeed, the overly simplistic design could explain why we found no evidence for UVFAs: even though there is smoothness in the task space, there is no smoothness in the state space, which might be crucial for humans to leverage this type of generalization. Future studies could investigate human multi-task RL in richer, more complex domains, such as video games, to overcome these and other potential blind spots of our current experiment³¹.

Finally, our experiment was designed to distinguish alternative accounts of multi-task RL only based on performance on a test trial. From this vantage point, our treatment of the multi-task RL problem might seem unsatisfactory, since it only speaks to how values and policies are transferred, rather than how they are learned in the first place. This limitation stems from our goal of distinguishing between entire classes of algorithms, without committing strongly to particular instantiations from each class. There are many different ways to learn the values of UVFAs or the policies and SF of SF&GPI, resulting in different predictions about the process of learning that are secondary to the multi-task problem itself. By focusing on predictions that are invariant to the particular learning algorithm and preregistering our predictions for the final experiment, we were able to maximally distinguish between algorithms, thus narrowing down the space of viable models and paving the way for future studies of learning.

The ability to flexibly adapt to changing task demands and creatively use past solutions in new situations is a hallmark of

human intelligence that is yet to be matched by artificial agents². In the current study, we investigated how humans accomplish this behaviour in the framework of multi-task RL. Using a sequential decision-making task, we found evidence that people transfer knowledge from familiar to unfamiliar tasks by comparing previous solutions and choosing the one which leads to states that are most favourable according to the new task. This strategy offers an efficient alternative to standard model-free and model-based approaches. We believe that studying how humans learn and search for rewards across multiple tasks will allow our models to generalize to increasingly broad and complex domains.

Methods

Experimental methods. **Participants.** The Harvard Internal Review Board approved the methodology, and all participants consented to participation through an online consent form at the beginning of our experiments. Participants were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk for experiment 1 ($N=226$, 92 female; mean \pm s.d. age 35.2 ± 10.3 yr), for experiment 2 ($N=202$, 85 female; mean \pm s.d. age 37.6 ± 13.3 yr), for experiment 3 ($N=200$, 89 female; mean \pm s.d. age 35.8 ± 11.2 yr) and for experiment 4 ($N=500$, 214 females; mean \pm s.d. age 34.66 ± 9.11 yr). In all of the experiments, participants were paid a participation fee of US\$1.50 and a performance-contingent bonus of up to US\$2.00. Participants earned on average US\$2.14 \pm 0.13 and spent 32.2 ± 3 min on the task in experiment 1, earned US\$2.64 \pm 0.20 and spent 29.9 ± 4 min in experiment 2, earned US\$2.53 \pm 0.15 and spent 34.3 ± 5 min in experiment 3 and earned US\$2.58 \pm 0.28 and spent 30.8 ± 5 min in experiment 4. Participants were only allowed to participate in one of the experiments and were required to have a 90% human interaction task (HIT) approval rate and 100 previously completed HITs. No statistical methods were used to pre-determine the sample sizes for experiments 1–3, but our sample sizes are similar to or larger than those reported in previous publications^{32,34}. For the preregistered experiment 4, we aimed to collect 500 participants in total, making this sample size more than twice as large as in our previous studies.

Design. All participants went through the same training tasks with weights $w_{\text{train}} = \{[1, -1, 0], [-1, 1, 0], [1, -2, 0], [-2, 1, 0]\}$ and tests with weights $w_{\text{test}} = [1, 1, 1]$. Participants encountered each training weight on 25 randomly chosen trials of 100 trials in total. On the 101st trial, the novel test weight was introduced. The task structure was a two-step decision tree with three nodes on each level and one node at the start, leading to 13 states in total. The transitions between states were deterministic, which means that the same choice in the same state always led to the exact same next state. The final states contained three feature values, which we adapted to create diverging model predictions. The feature values for all states are presented in Table 1 for all experiments.

The reward on each trial was calculated by multiplying the features of the final state with the current task weights w . The detailed preregistration for experiment 4 can be accessed at <https://osf.io/cuxqn/> (September 21, 2019).

We used a sequential task in order to allow distinguishing between the model-based and SF&GPI strategies. In particular, due to the one-step look-ahead, SF&GPI would always choose the optimal action if the task had only a single decision stage, which would coincide with the optimal model-based choice. We refrain from analysing the first-stage choices—which can be computed directly from the final state frequencies in our deterministic setup—since they are not as informative for distinguishing the different models as the final states, which incorporate information about both first- and second-stage choices.

Materials and procedures. Participants played a game in which they were a tradesperson scavenging a mediaeval castle for resources to trade. Additionally, they were told that there were three types of resources (wood, stone and iron) that they could sell for different prices. Moreover, some resources could not be sold but instead needed to be disposed of at a cost. The prices and costs for the different resources were shown to participants on every trial, with prices presented as positive and costs as negative money. Furthermore, participants were told that they would see the daily market price on every trial before they entered the castle. Participants initialized a trial by entering the castle through pressing the space key. Once the trial started, they saw three different doors, which they could select by pressing 1, 2 or 3 on their keyboard. After they had chosen one of the three doors and walked through it, they were in a new room which always again had three different doors that they could choose by pressing 1, 2 or 3. After their second decision, they entered a final room in which they found resources (corresponding to $\phi(s')$) which were then multiplied by the costs/prices of that day and converted to USD by dividing the trial score by 100. Every specific path always corresponded to the same chosen doors, where we assigned different pictures of doors to the choices at random for each participant before the experiment started. Once the experiment started, everything was deterministic, with the same choices always leading to the same rooms and all of the final nodes always having the exact same feature values. The only thing that changed over trials was the task defined by the

weight \mathbf{w} . On each trial, the current prices/costs for every resources as well as their decision history (that is, which door they had chosen on the previous step) was shown to participants at the top of the screen. Participants' bonus was determined by randomly sampling one of the 101 trials and using that trial's payoff.

Data collection and analysis were not performed blind to the conditions of the experiments.

Statistical tests. All reported binomial tests are calculated based on exact testing against the null hypotheses of chance $p=1/9$. We additionally report BFs for all tests. A BF quantifies the likelihood of the data under H_A relative to the likelihood of the data under H_0 . For all tests based on proportions, we tested the null hypothesis that the probability of choosing a final state is p_0 against the alternative that it is $\lambda \sim \text{logistic}(\lambda_0, r)$, with $\lambda_0 = \text{logit}(p_0)$ and $\lambda = \text{logit}(p)$. The parameter r is a scaling factor and set to $\sqrt{2}/2$. We computed the Bayes factor via Gaussian quadrature and drew posterior samples via independence Metropolis–Hastings³⁵. For comparing participants' reaction times in experiment 4, we used the Bayesian t test for independent samples³⁶, with the Jeffreys–Zellner–Siow prior and scale set to $\sqrt{2}/2$. Finally, we used Bayesian multi-level logistic regressions for experiment 4 with a prior on the coefficients of $\beta \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 10)$ and approximated the BF using bridge sampling³⁷.

Computational models. In this section, we describe the general theoretical setup that motivates the RL models whose predictions we tested experimentally. A complete description of the models can be found in the Supplementary Information.

We define the multi-task RL problem using the formalism of Markov decision processes (MDPs). An MDP is defined as a tuple $M = (\mathcal{S}, \mathcal{A}, p, R, \gamma)$, where \mathcal{S} and \mathcal{A} are the state and action spaces, $p(s'|s, a)$ is the probability of transition to state s' after taking action a in state s , $R(s)$ is a random variable that represents the reward received upon transitioning into state s and $\gamma \in [0, 1]$ is a discount factor that down-weights future rewards as an exponential function of their temporal distance in the future.

To apply this formalism to the multi-task learning scenario, it is useful to introduce a set of features $\phi(s')$. Returning to the example from the introduction, if the feature dimensions are food, coffee and atmosphere, then the features might be $\phi(\text{burger joint}) = [90, 10, 50]$, $\phi(\text{coffee shop}) = [10, 90, 90]$ and $\phi(\text{diner}) = [60, 60, 50]$; That is, the burger joint has good food, bad coffee and a decent atmosphere; the coffee shop has bad food, good coffee and a good atmosphere; and the diner has decent food, decent coffee and a decent atmosphere.

We assume the agent faces a sequence of tasks, with each task defined by a vector of weights \mathbf{w} . The weights \mathbf{w} determine how valuable each feature is, thus inducing a task-specific reward function $R_{\mathbf{w}}$. The expected one-step reward when transitioning from s to s' can be computed as the sum of the encountered features ϕ , weighted by the task-specific feature weights \mathbf{w} :

$$E[R_{\mathbf{w}}(s)] = r_{\mathbf{w}}(s) = \phi(s)^{\top} \mathbf{w}. \quad (1)$$

In our running example, the task to solve when feeling hungry can be expressed as $\mathbf{w}_{\text{hungry}} = [1, 0, 0]$. In that case, going to the burger joint would yield an expected reward of $\phi(\text{burger joint})^{\top} \mathbf{w}_{\text{hungry}} = [90, 10, 50]^{\top} [1, 0, 0] = 90$, while going to the coffee shop would yield a reward of merely $\phi(\text{coffee shop})^{\top} \mathbf{w}_{\text{hungry}} = [10, 90, 90]^{\top} [1, 0, 0] = 10$. Similarly, the task to solve when feeling groggy can be expressed as $\mathbf{w}_{\text{groggy}} = [0, 1, 0]$, $\mathbf{w}_{\text{hungry_and_groggy}} = [1, 1, 0]$, and so forth.

This means that, instead of solving a single MDP, the agent must solve a set of MDPs that share the same structure but differ in their reward functions (note that this is only one specific class of multi-task RL problem; more generally the MDPs can differ in more than just the reward function). Specifically, the problem facing the agent is to find a policy $\pi_{\mathbf{w}}: \mathcal{S} \rightarrow \mathcal{A}$ that maximizes the discounted future rewards $G_{\mathbf{w}}^{(t)} = \sum_{i=0}^{\infty} \gamma^i R_{\mathbf{w}}^{(t+i)}$, where $R_{\mathbf{w}}^{(t)} = R_{\mathbf{w}}(S_t)$ is the reward received at time t . The action-value function of a policy π on a particular task \mathbf{w} can be defined as

$$Q_{\mathbf{w}}^{\pi}(s, a) = E^{\pi} \left[G_{\mathbf{w}}^{(t)} | S_t = s, A_t = a \right], \quad (2)$$

where $E^{\pi}[\cdot]$ denotes the expected value when following policy π .

One of the benefits of learning about multiple tasks at the same time is the possibility of transferring knowledge across tasks with little new learning³⁸. There are two sources of structure an agent can exploit in the service of transfer: the similarity between the solutions of the tasks (either in the policy or in the associated value-function space), or the shared dynamics of the environment. Here, we compare two classes of multi-task RL models, which directly tap into these two sources of structure.

UVFAs extend the notion of value functions to also include the description of a task, thus directly exploiting the common structure in the associated optimal value functions (ref. ⁴). The basic insight behind UVFAs is to note that the concept of an optimal value function can be extended to include a description of the task as an argument. One way to do so is to specify a 'universal' optimal value $Q^*(s, a, \mathbf{w})$ as a function of task \mathbf{w} . The agent learns an approximation $Q(s, a, \mathbf{w})$. A sufficiently expressive UVFA can identify and exploit structure in the value functions across tasks, and thereby efficiently generalize to novel tasks.

SF&GPI exploits the common structure in the environment and capitalizes on the power of dynamic programming^{4,6}. The SF&GPI approach is based on two concepts: SF and generalized policy improvement. The SF of a state-action pair (s, a) under policy π are given by

$$\psi^{\pi}(s, a) = E^{\pi} \left[\sum_{i=t}^{\infty} \gamma^{i-t} \phi_{i+1} | S_t = s, A_t = a \right] \quad (3)$$

Intuitively, SF correspond to the cumulative features that the agent can expect to see over the long run when following a given policy π . SF allow for the immediate calculation of a policy's values on any task \mathbf{w} ^{39,40}. Moreover, since they satisfy the Bellman equation, SF can be learned by standard RL algorithms. Generalized policy improvement (a generalization of the classic policy improvement algorithm) computes a policy based on a set of value functions rather than on a single one. If an agent has learned the SF ψ^{π_i} for policies $\pi_1, \pi_2, \dots, \pi_n$ and is confronted with a new task \mathbf{w} , then it can easily compute the values of the policies on the new task as $Q_{\mathbf{w}}^{\pi_i}(s, a) = \psi^{\pi_i}(s, a)^{\top} \mathbf{w}$, which can be used to find the best suitable policy for the current task, $Q^{\max} = \max Q^{\pi_i}$.

Intuitively, SF&GPI corresponds to learning the features of states as well as policies that have resulted in high rewards in previous tasks. If a novel task appears, then given the learned features and transition structure, the agent can evaluate what the best past policy is to apply to the current task. SF&GPI is appealing because it allows transfer to take place between any two tasks, regardless of their temporal order. SF&GPI is also closely related to recent applications of SF to modelling behavioural^{32,41} and brain data⁴², as well as to findings showing that participants reuse previously discovered solutions to solve new but related tasks^{43,44}.

UVFAs and SF&GPI generalize to new tasks in two different ways⁴⁵. Whereas UVFAs aim to generalize across the space of tasks by exploiting structure in the underlying value function, SF&GPI aims to exploit the structure of the RL problem itself.

Reporting Summary. Further information on research design is available in the Nature Research Reporting Summary linked to this article.

Data availability

Anonymized participant data and model simulation data are available at <https://github.com/tomov/MTRL>.

Code availability

Code for all models and analyses is available at <https://github.com/tomov/MTRL>.

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Author contributions

M.S.T. and E.S. contributed equally. M.S.T., E.S. and S.J.G. conceived the experiments, M.S.T. and E.S. conducted the experiments and analysed the results. All authors wrote the manuscript.

Competing interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

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Sampling strategy	We used random sampling from MTurk. The sample size of the first three experiments was determined by past studies, which normally used 60-100 participants, but doubling that size to 200. For the pre-registered experiment, we really just wanted to have a sample sized that is much larger than 99% of psychological experiments and therefore opted for 500.
Data collection	Data was saved via javascript onto a local anonymized database.
Timing	Each experiment was running on MTurk for approximately 24 hours.
Data exclusions	We excluded participants from further analyses who had a mean performance of below 0. However, this is clearly stated in the results section of our paper. Moreover, we analyzed the behavior of these participants in the SI.
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