

in contrast, most items were solved correctly across the fluid intelligence range. Despite unlimited time to solve each problem, and some resulting improvement in performance, the result was replicated in Experiment 2 (Fig. 2*B*). The data were examined using the general linear model, predicting proportion of correct answers from Condition (combined or separated), Experiment, and IQ. The main effects of Condition [$F(1, 57) = 26.8$; $P < 0.001$] and IQ [$F(1, 57) = 14.9$; $P < 0.001$] were both highly significant, along with their interaction [$F(1, 57) = 12.0$; $P = 0.001$]. Despite the trend for improved performance in Experiment 2, Experiment showed no significant main effect, [$F(1, 57) = 3.1$; $P = 0.08$] or interactions.

Combining data across experiments, proportion correct in the combined-format condition showed a partial correlation (Pearson's r , with effect of Experiment partialled out) of 0.52 with Culture Fair IQ, in line with very poor performance for the low-IQ participants. For the separated format, the few errors remaining also tended to be made by low-IQ participants ($r = 0.33$).

As the Culture Fair has 4 subtests (series, odd-one-out, matrices, topology), we were able to examine any possible influence of problem type. For the combined condition of our modified matrix task, partial correlations with Culture Fair subtests (removing the effect of Experiment) were 0.45 (series), 0.38 (odd-one-out), 0.35 (matrices), and 0.40 (topology), suggesting a broad link to fluid intelligence, rather than specific overlap with the Culture Fair's own matrix problems. We also compared our integrated matrices to the Culture Fair's own matrices in terms of correlation to remaining Culture Fair subtests (sum of series, odd-one-out, and topology.) Intriguingly, the partial correlation with remaining

subtests was somewhat higher (0.53) for our modified problems than for the Culture Fair's own matrices (0.41).

Although practice trials already illustrated the procedure of focusing on one object part after another, we examined whether problem-solving in the integrated condition would be helped by prior experience of the separated condition, perhaps further reinforcing part-by-part attentional focus. Performance in the integrated condition, however, was independent of whether it was experienced first or second [$F(1, 53) = 0.2$].

Additional insight into problem-solving failures was provided by a detailed analysis of drawing errors. In Experiment 1, for combined-format problems, pooling across participants and items, a total of 289 parts were not correctly drawn. In 149 cases (52%), the participant drew the wrong one of the two alternative values given in the matrix (wrong-alternative errors). In addition, 83 cases (29%) were omissions of a part, with a variety of other incorrect drawings making up the remaining 57 cases. For separated-format problems, a total of 50 parts were not correctly drawn, with 42% wrong-alternative errors, 32% omissions, and the remainder miscellaneous. In Experiment 2, for combined-format problems, there were 67 wrong-alternative errors and 7 omissions (79% and 8%, respectively) among the total of 85 cases in which a part was not correctly drawn. For separated-format problems, the total of 12 errors was made up of 8 wrong-alternative errors and 4 omissions. Although some errors in Experiment 1 likely reflected failure to complete the problem in the time available, the majority throughout were confusions between correct and incorrect solutions for a given object part.

In Experiment 2, we had access to drawing times for each stroke of the participant's solution. These data allowed us to confirm that, as expected, participants predominantly focused on one object part at a time, with long pauses between drawing one part and the next. Time from problem presentation to first stroke was substantially longer for the combined-format condition (mean = 13.3 s) than for the separated-feature condition [mean = 7.3 s; $t(15) = 4.8$; $P < 0.001$; data unavailable for 5 participants because of a procedural error]. Total time spent drawing (time from first to last stroke), in contrast, was similar in the two conditions [22.7 and 22.6 s, respectively; for combined- and separated-format; $t(20) < 0.1$]. Excluding the few cases in which a single object part was not drawn as a whole before starting the next (10.1% and 2.8%, respectively, for combined- and separated-format problems), mean times to draw a single object part were 3.1 and 2.6 s, respectively, for combined- and separated-format [$t(20) = 1.6$; $P > 0.05$], with mean pauses between the end of one part and the start of the next of 7.1 and 7.6 s, respectively [$t(20) = 0.8$; $P > 0.05$]. The data show closely similar solution strategies in the two conditions, with each part of the solution drawn before moving on to consider the next.

Discussion

Matrix problems are among the most widely used tests of "fluid intelligence." They are important because ability to solve these problems is broadly predictive of success in many kinds of cognitive activity. The critical cognitive ingredient of such problems remains uncertain. To address this question, we made a number of simple modifications to the traditional matrix format. Straightforward though they are, these modifications put major constraints on understanding what a matrix test measures.

In particular, we aimed to link fluid intelligence to the broad principle of cognitive compositionality and to the attentional control functions of frontal and parietal cortex. The key process, we propose, is one of splitting a complex whole into simple, separately attended parts. To contrast with influential views based on working memory or mental speed, we modified the matrix format to minimize working memory and speed demands. By constructing matrix items from multiple parts and allowing answers for each part to be drawn in turn, we removed the requirement to store intermediate results and finally synthesize into a single answer. We

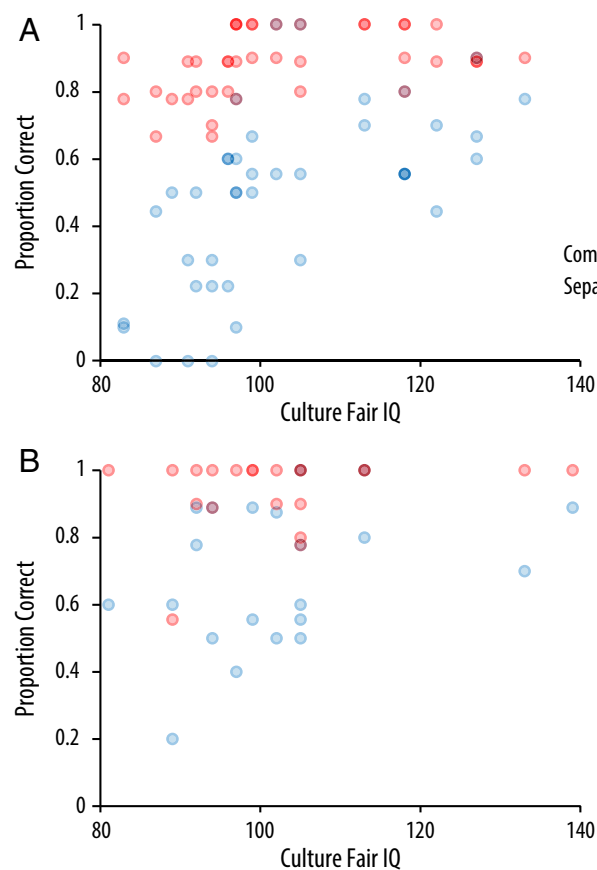


Fig. 3. Scatterplots relating matrix performance (proportion correct in combined- and separated-format) to Culture Fair IQ. (A) Experiment 1, 30-s limit per problem. (B) Experiment 2, unlimited time.

also used both speeded and unspeeded task versions. Despite these modifications, performance remained very poor in participants with low fluid intelligence. Among the many errors made, the most common was choice of the wrong alternative value for a given part, implying confusion in solving this aspect of the problem. Such errors largely vanished, however, when the materials made it trivial to separate the overall problem into parts. Of course, such data do not show that working memory capacity and/or speed make no significant contribution to fluid intelligence. Even when little remains in a matrix problem beyond the need to split it into easily solved parts, it appears still to capture the essence of traditional tests.

As addressed in the long history of symbolic artificial intelligence (e.g., ref. 22), splitting a problem into parts must be based on knowledge of the task domain, in the present case including knowledge of objects, matrices, task rules, and so on. Attentional focus must be achieved by using this knowledge to discover important parts of a problem, or component steps that move closer to the overall goal. In the present tasks, this would correspond to focus on useful component parts of the objects depicted in the matrix. Plausibly, knowledge is widely distributed in the brain, with frontoparietal control systems important in selecting and combining together the perceptual, memory, and action components of a current attentional episode (38).

Even the simplest tasks generally have some correlation with fluid intelligence, and in the current experiments, even performance in the separated condition correlated with the Culture Fair. This is the result we should expect, as even in simple tasks, attention must be focused on the right things at the right time, producing an appropriate mental control program. In a typical laboratory task, for example, components might include ensuring appropriate fixation and readiness before a stimulus is presented, performing whatever operations on that stimulus the task requires, monitoring response timing and accuracy, and so on. This universal requirement for building a complex whole from focused parts may be at least one major explanation for the finding of universal positive correlations between fluid intelligence and even simple tasks. As tasks become more complex, however, it is increasingly challenging to separate them into clearly focused parts. The best way to measure cognitive segmentation may be with complex, multistep behavior, such as the problem-solving of traditional fluid intelligence tests.

Cognitive segmentation implies focused attention on separate parts of a complex problem, and many observations support the central role of this process in effective thought and behavior. Classical accounts of frontal lobe damage, for example, emphasize disorganization in sequences of behavior, without a series of steps clearly leading to the goal (25). In plans for everyday activities, such as instructions for self-assembly furniture, much use is made of bullet points and similar devices to create a useful division into parts. In adults' interaction with young children, "scaffolding" of effective behavior is useful only when it divides complex tasks into simpler, manageable parts (39). More generally, "abstraction," long held to be a critical aspect of frontal lobe function (40), by definition involves focused attention just on some selected aspect of a complex whole, usually the aspect that is useful for some cognitive purpose. Cognition in general is organized in a structure of focused parts; as Lashley (41) foreshadowed, understanding such structure may be an essential step toward a "physiology of logic" (41, p. 122).

Materials and Methods

Experiment 1.

Participants. Forty participants (mean age, 57.3 y; range, 41–71 y; 25 female) were recruited from the volunteer panel of the MRC Cognition and Brain Sciences Unit. Participants gave informed, written consent and were reimbursed for their time. All procedures were carried out in accordance with ethical approval obtained from the Cambridge Psychology Research Ethics Committee.

Session. At the start of the session, participants completed the Culture Fair test of fluid intelligence, Scale 2 Form A. Where the participant had a Culture Fair score on record from within the last 5 y, the test was not readministered and the previous score was used. (For five participants, this resulted in missing data for analyses separating Culture Fair subtests, as the breakdown into subtests was not on record.) Scores were transformed to IQs using the published norms (5). The matrix task of Experiment 1 then followed two further tasks (not reported here).

Matrix task. The main experiment used a set of 20 matrix problems, constructed according to the same principles as those shown in Fig. 2 *A* and *B*. For each problem, two versions were created: combined format (Fig. 2*A*) and separated format (Fig. 2*B*). In the combined format, objects in the matrix were constructed of three varying, spatially separate parts (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, line or curve on left, arrow on right, long vertical line). For one part (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, line/curve to left), the items in the upper row had one value (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, line), whereas the item in the lower left panel had a different value (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, curve). For a second part (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, arrow), the items in the left column had one value (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, right-pointing), whereas the item in the upper right panel had a different value (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, left-pointing). For the third part (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, long vertical line), the items in the top right and bottom left panels had one value (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, positioned to right), whereas the item in the top left panel had a different value (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, centered). Below the matrix was a single answer box, sometimes including a figure core that was common to all objects in the matrix (horizontal line in Fig. 2*A*), which served to facilitate drawing the answer for each part. The participant was encouraged to focus on each part in turn, drawing into the answer box the part that would correctly complete the matrix (e.g., Fig. 2*A*, correct parts curve on left, left-pointing arrow on right, centered vertical line).

The separated format was identical, except that now the three parts were presented in separate matrices (Fig. 2*B*). Again participants were encouraged to focus on each part (matrix) in turn, drawing the correct part into the single answer box.

Each problem was presented to the participant on a single sheet of A4 paper. For each problem, a maximum of 30 s was allowed for answers to be drawn. Participants were told that they did not need to draw carefully, only sufficiently well to indicate which alternative they intended. If they chose, participants were allowed to abandon a partial solution and draw a new answer box to start again, although still with a maximum of 30 s allowed from initial problem presentation.

Problems were divided into two sets of 10: sets A and B. Within each set, problems were presented one after the other, with the order of problems within the set fixed across participants. For half the participants, set A was presented in combined format and set B in separated format; for remaining participants, this assignment was reversed. The order of sets A and B, and the order of combined/separated conditions, were independently counterbalanced across participants.

For each set, in addition to the 10 main problems, two additional problems were created for instruction and practice. The first of these had only two varying parts; the second had three. At the start of each condition, participants were led through these two practice problems, focusing attention on each part in turn and requiring the answer to be derived and drawn before moving on to the next part. After this instruction phase, participants solved the 10 main problems on their own.

Each answer was scored as correct (all three parts correct) or wrong (parts incorrect or omitted). For rare ambiguous cases (e.g., correct and incorrect answers different in length, drawn answer intermediate), fixed criteria (e.g., length midway between the two alternatives) were used to determine the score given. An error in designing one problem in set B resulted in the possibility of two different answers, and performance much worse than for other problems. This item was accordingly discarded, and set B performance scored as proportion correct out of nine, rather than 10.

Experiment 2. Tasks were identical in Experiment 2, except that now answers were drawn using a stylus on a Dell Inspiron 13 7000 series 2-in-1 tablet PC, running Windows 10. Outline response boxes and figure cores were provided as before. In addition to the response box, the screen had an "undo" button to delete the last stroke, a "reset" button to start again from scratch, and a "done" button to move on to the next matrix problem. Response strokes were recorded and timed using Matlab R2014a (The Mathworks Inc.) and Psychtoolbox-3 (42). Timing for each problem started when the done button was pressed, at which moment the next problem was revealed by the experimenter. Each problem was presented on a separate sheet of paper. There were 21 participants (mean age, 58.5 y; range, 36–77 y; nine women), recruited as before. Task structure was as for Experiment 1. Subjects first completed the matrix task, followed by one further task (not reported here), and finally the Culture Fair as before.

Access to Data and Materials. Materials, code, and data are freely available from the authors on request. The full set of matrix problems is provided in Fig. S1.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. This research was supported by Medical Research Council intramural program MC-A060-5PQ10.

1. Fodor JA, Pylyshyn ZW (1988) Connectionism and cognitive architecture: A critical analysis. *Cognition* 28:3–71.
2. Hummel JE, Biederman I (1992) Dynamic binding in a neural network for shape recognition. *Psychol Rev* 99:480–517.
3. Lake BM, Ullman TD, Tenenbaum JB, Gershman SJ (2016) Building machines that learn and think like people. *Behav Brain Sci* 1–101.
4. Raven JC, Court JH, Raven J (1988) *Manual for Raven's Progressive Matrices and Vocabulary Scales* (H. K. Lewis, London).
5. Institute for Personality and Ability Testing (1973) *Measuring Intelligence with the Culture Fair Tests* (The Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, Champaign, Illinois).
6. Kyllonen PC, Christal RE (1990) Reasoning ability is (little more than) working-memory capacity?! *Intelligence* 14:389–433.
7. Salthouse TA (1996) The processing-speed theory of adult age differences in cognition. *Psychol Rev* 103:403–428.
8. Marshalek B, Lohman DF, Snow RE (1983) The complexity continuum in the radex and hierarchical models of intelligence. *Intelligence* 7:107–127.
9. Stankov L (2000) Complexity, metacognition, and fluid intelligence. *Intelligence* 28:121–143.
10. Carpenter PA, Just MA, Shell P (1990) What one intelligence test measures: A theoretical account of the processing in the Raven Progressive Matrices Test. *Psychol Rev* 97:404–431.
11. Duncan J (2013) The structure of cognition: Attentional episodes in mind and brain. *Neuron* 80:35–50.
12. Halford GS, Cowan N, Andrews G (2007) Separating cognitive capacity from knowledge: A new hypothesis. *Trends Cogn Sci* 11:236–242.
13. Duncan J (1995) Attention, intelligence and the frontal lobes. *The Cognitive Neurosciences*, ed Gazzaniga MS (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA), pp 721–733.
14. Kane MJ, Engle RW (2002) The role of prefrontal cortex in working-memory capacity, executive attention, and general fluid intelligence: An individual-differences perspective. *Psychon Bull Rev* 9:637–671.
15. Unsworth N, Fukuda K, Awh E, Vogel EK (2014) Working memory and fluid intelligence: Capacity, attention control, and secondary memory retrieval. *Cognit Psychol* 71:1–26.
16. Jung RE, Haier RJ (2007) The Parieto-Frontal Integration Theory (P-FIT) of intelligence: Converging neuroimaging evidence. *Behav Brain Sci* 30:135–154, discussion 154–187.
17. Bishop SJ, Fossella J, Croucher CJ, Duncan J (2008) COMT val158met genotype affects recruitment of neural mechanisms supporting fluid intelligence. *Cereb Cortex* 18:2132–2140.
18. Prabhakaran V, Smith JAL, Desmond JE, Glover GH, Gabrieli JDE (1997) Neural substrates of fluid reasoning: An fMRI study of neocortical activation during performance of the Raven's Progressive Matrices Test. *Cognit Psychol* 33:43–63.
19. Woolgar A, et al. (2010) Fluid intelligence loss linked to restricted regions of damage within frontal and parietal cortex. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 107:14899–14902.
20. Gläscher J, et al. (2010) Distributed neural system for general intelligence revealed by lesion mapping. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 107:4705–4709.
21. Newell A, Shaw JC, Simon HA (1958) Elements of a theory of human problem solving. *Psychol Rev* 65:151–166.
22. Newell A (1990) *Unified Theories of Cognition* (Harvard Univ Press, Cambridge, MA).
23. Botvinick MM, Niv Y, Barto AC (2009) Hierarchically organized behavior and its neural foundations: A reinforcement learning perspective. *Cognition* 113:262–280.
24. Sacerdoti ED (1974) Planning in a hierarchy of abstraction spaces. *Artif Intell* 5:115–135.
25. Luria AR (1966) *Higher Cortical Functions in Man* (Tavistock, London).
26. Luria AR, Tsvetkova LD (1964) The programming of constructive ability in local brain injuries. *Neuropsychologia* 2:95–108.
27. Stuss DT, Benson DF (1984) Neuropsychological studies of the frontal lobes. *Psychol Bull* 95:3–28.
28. Bhandari A, Duncan J (2014) Goal neglect and knowledge chunking in the construction of novel behaviour. *Cognition* 130:11–30.
29. Unsworth N, Engle RW (2007) The nature of individual differences in working memory capacity: Active maintenance in primary memory and controlled search from secondary memory. *Psychol Rev* 114:104–132.
30. Everling S, Tinsley CJ, Gaffan D, Duncan J (2002) Filtering of neural signals by focused attention in the monkey prefrontal cortex. *Nat Neurosci* 5:671–676.
31. Freedman DJ, Riesenhuber M, Poggio T, Miller EK (2001) Categorical representation of visual stimuli in the primate prefrontal cortex. *Science* 291:312–316.
32. Sakagami M, Niki H (1994) Encoding of behavioral significance of visual stimuli by primate prefrontal neurons: Relation to relevant task conditions. *Exp Brain Res* 97:423–436.
33. Sigala N, Kusunoki M, Nimmo-Smith I, Gaffan D, Duncan J (2008) Hierarchical coding for sequential task events in the monkey prefrontal cortex. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 105:11969–11974.
34. Stokes MG, et al. (2013) Dynamic coding for cognitive control in prefrontal cortex. *Neuron* 78:364–375.
35. Duncan J, Owen AM (2000) Common regions of the human frontal lobe recruited by diverse cognitive demands. *Trends Neurosci* 23:475–483.
36. Duncan J (2005) Prefrontal cortex and Spearman's g. *Measuring the Mind: Speed, Control, and Age*, eds Duncan J, Phillips LH, McLeod P (Oxford Univ Press, Oxford), pp 249–272.
37. Duncan J (2001) An adaptive coding model of neural function in prefrontal cortex. *Nat Rev Neurosci* 2:820–829.
38. Rigotti M, Ben Dayan Rubin D, Wang XJ, Fusi S (2010) Internal representation of task rules by recurrent dynamics: The importance of the diversity of neural responses. *Front Comput Neurosci* 4:24.
39. Neitzel C, Stright AD (2003) Mothers' scaffolding of children's problem solving: Establishing a foundation of academic self-regulatory competence. *J Fam Psychol* 17:147–159.
40. Goldstein K, Scheerer M (1941) Abstract and concrete behavior: An experimental study with special tests. *Psychol Monogr* 43:1–151.
41. Lashley KS (1951) The problem of serial order in behavior. *Cerebral Mechanisms in Behavior: The Hixon Symposium*, ed Jeffress LA (Wiley, New York), pp 112–136.
42. Kleiner M, et al. (2007) What's new in Psychtoolbox-3. *Perception* 36:1–16.