

Effects of Word Length on Eye Guidance Differ for Young and Older Chinese Readers

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Running Head: Aging & Word Length Effects in Chinese

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Abstract

Effects of word length on where and for how long readers fixate within text are preserved in older age for alphabetic languages like English that use spaces to demarcate word boundaries. However, word length effects for older readers of naturally unspaced, character-based languages like Chinese are unknown. Accordingly, we examined age differences in eye movements for short (2-character) and long (4-character) words during Chinese reading. Word length effects on eye-fixation times were greater for older than younger adults. We suggest this age difference is due to older adults' saccades landing more rarely at optimal intra-word locations, especially in longer words.

Key Words: Eye Movements during Reading; Chinese; Word Length; Eye Guidance

1 During reading, the eyes move along lines of text in a series of rapid movements (saccades)
2 separated by brief pauses (fixations). In alphabetic languages, these eye movements are strongly
3 influenced by characteristics of both the fixated word and the next word along (Rayner, 2009). Word
4 length, in particular, has a major influence on where readers look and for how long. Specifically,
5 longer words are more likely to be fixated (and so not skipped) and to receive longer fixations than
6 short words (Brysbaert, Drieghe, & Vitu, 2005; Joseph, Liversedge, Blythe, White, & Rayner, 2009;
7 Paterson, Almabruk, McGowan, White, & Jordan, 2015; Paterson, McGowan, & Jordan, 2013;
8 Rayner; 1979; Rayner & McConkie, 1976; Rayner, Sereno, & Raney, 1996). Moreover, readers use
9 parafoveal cues to word length to target their forward-moving saccades. These saccades tend to land
10 within a location between the beginning and middle of words, which Rayner (1979) termed the
11 *preferred viewing location* (PVL). However, saccades can land closer to the beginning letters of long
12 than short words due to oculomotor error (Joseph et al., 2009; McConkie, Kerr, Reddit, & Zola,
13 1988; Paterson et al., 2013, 2015). Word length effects therefore provide an effective diagnostic of
14 the efficiency of eye guidance during reading.

15 An important concern is whether these effects change with age. It is well-established in
16 alphabetic languages that older adults read more slowly than young adults by making more and
17 longer fixations and more regressions (backwards eye movements; e.g., Kliegl, Grabner, Rolfs, &
18 Engbert, 2004; McGowan, White, Jordan, & Paterson, 2014; Paterson et al., 2013; Rayner, Reichle,
19 Stroud, Williams, & Pollatsek, 2006; Rayner, Yang, Schuett, & Slattery, 2013; Stine-Morrow,
20 Shake, Miles, Lee, Gao, & McConkie, 2010; Whitford & Titone, 2017). Paterson et al. (2013) used
21 word length to investigate if this age-related reading difficulty was due to poorer eye guidance in
22 older age. Word length influenced the probability and duration of eye-fixations on words similarly
23 for young and older adults. Moreover, the two age groups produced similar patterns of landing
24 positions on short and long words (see also Rayner et al., 2006). The findings therefore suggest eye
25 guidance during reading is preserved in older age, at least for alphabetic languages like English.

26 However, the situation might be different for other writing systems. For many alphabetic
27 languages, eye guidance is aided by the presence of spaces between words, which demarcate word
28 boundaries and provide cues to the length of upcoming words (Rayner, Fischer, & Pollatsek, 1998).
29 Several studies show reading performance suffers more for older adults when these spaces are
30 removed (McGowan et al., 2014; Rayner et al., 2013), suggesting older readers rely particularly
31 heavily on these visual cues to word boundaries. Not all writing systems use spaces to demarcate
32 word boundaries, however. For instance, Chinese is written as a sequence of equally-spaced, box-
33 like symbols called characters, some of which correspond to a word although most words in Chinese
34 contain two or more characters (see Li, Zang, Liversedge, & Pollatsek, 2015; Zang, Liversedge, Bai,
35 & Yan, 2011). According to the *Lexicon of Common Words in Contemporary Chinese* (2008), only
36 6% are one-character words, 72% are two characters, 12% three characters, and the remainder
37 mostly four characters. It will therefore be important to establish if there are age differences in eye
38 guidance when reading this unspaced, character-based language.

39 Existing research aimed at understanding mechanisms of eye guidance during Chinese reading
40 has focused on young adults' reading behaviour and investigated if word length plays as important a
41 role in determining when and where the eyes move as for alphabetic languages (Li, Zang,
42 Liversedge, & Pollatsek, 2015; Zang, Liversedge, Bai, & Yan, 2011). This research therefore
43 provides a basis for investigating aging effects on eye guidance for this language. The findings for
44 young adults show that long words are skipped less often and fixated for longer than short words (Li,
45 Liu, & Rayner, 2011). However, effects on saccade landing positions differ for words that receive
46 only one first-pass fixation (i.e., fixated once prior to a saccade to another word) or multiple first-
47 pass fixations (Li et al., 2011; Yan, Kliegl, Richter, Nuthmann, & Shu, 2010). Landing positions on
48 words that receive only one first-pass fixation tend to be close to word center for both short and long
49 words, and so differ depending on word length. By contrast, initial fixations on words that receive
50 multiple first-pass fixations tend to land on the first character of words regardless of word length.

51 Two alternative accounts of these effects have been proposed. According to Yan et al. (2010),
52 the effects show readers select either the beginning or center of words as saccade targets depending
53 on whether they can obtain parafoveal cues to word length. By contrast, Li et al. (2011) argue that
54 the effects are not attributable to parafoveal processing of word length but occur simply because
55 word recognition is facilitated, and the probability of a re-fixation reduced, when saccades happen to
56 land at an optimal intra-word location (i.e., word center). Li et al. also propose that parafoveal
57 processing in Chinese is character- rather than word-based, and that readers achieve processing
58 efficiency by estimating how many upcoming characters they can identify on each fixation and
59 targeting their next saccade to the right of these characters (see also Liu, Reichle, & Li, 2015; Wei,
60 Li, & Pollatsek, 2013). Crucially, however, while the underlying mechanisms differ, both accounts
61 highlight the importance of parafoveal processing for eye guidance during Chinese reading.

62 Growing evidence indicates that older adults experience age-related reading difficulty for
63 Chinese, which they read more slowly by making more and longer fixations and more regressions
64 than young adults, while also skipping words less frequently and making shorter forward saccades
65 (Wang et al., 2018; Zang et al., 2016). These shorter saccades suggest that Chinese older readers
66 might have specific problems with eye guidance (although the age difference in saccade length is
67 small, about 1/3 of a character, and so this requires further investigation). One possibility is that
68 older readers have particular difficulty segmenting unspaced characters into words, possibly because
69 their parafoveal processing of upcoming characters is impaired due to visual decline in older age (see
70 e.g., Owsley, 2011). Crucially, this may cause older readers to make generally shorter forward
71 saccades which may more rarely land at optimal locations in longer words in particular, and this may
72 be an important source of the reading difficulty they experience.

73 Accordingly, to investigate age differences in eye guidance during Chinese reading more
74 closely, we recorded the eye movements of young and older adults who read sentences that
75 contained short (2-character) or long (4-character) target words matched for lexical frequency, first-

76 character frequency and predictability. We expected to replicate previously reported aging and word
77 length effects. However, a crucial concern was whether word length effects on fixation times for
78 words would differ across age groups, as this might reveal an important age difference in the
79 processing of words. We also followed the same approach as previous research to assess word length
80 effects on saccade landing positions (Li et al., 2011; Yan et al., 2010) by first examining landing
81 positions overall then specific effects for words that receive only one or multiple first-pass fixations
82 separately. Crucially, these analyses will establish if there are age differences in the likelihood of
83 initially fixating optimal intra-word locations, and whether both age groups initially fixate the
84 beginning letters of words that receive multiple fixations, as both factors might affect the efficiency
85 with which words are recognized. We also report additional analyses that examine re-fixation
86 probabilities as a function of initial landing positions in words and word length effects on the size of
87 forward-moving saccades, to more fully understand how words that receive multiple first-pass
88 fixations are processed. Taken together, the findings will help establish if age differences in eye
89 guidance during Chinese reading make an important contribution to age-related reading difficulty.

90 Method

91 The research was approved by the research ethics committee in the Academy of Psychology and
92 Behavior at Tianjin Normal University and conducted in accordance with the principles of the
93 Declaration of Helsinki.

94 *Participants.* Participants were 26 young adults aged 18-22 years (M=19 years) from Tianjin
95 Normal University, China, and 26 older adults aged 65-89 years (M=77 years) from a residential
96 home for older people in Tianjin. All were native Mandarin speakers, screened for normal acuity
97 (>20/40 in Snellen values) using a Tumbling E eye chart (Taylor, 1978), and non-impaired cognition
98 using the Beijing version of the Montreal Cognitive Assessment (Nasreddine et al., 2005). Acuity
99 was lower for older adults (M=20/30, range=20/21 to 20/36) than younger adults (M=20/17,
100 range=20/12 to 20/21; $t(50)=15.04, p<.001$), as is typical. The two groups were closely matched on

101 years of formal education (young adults, $M=13.2$ years, range=13-14 years; older adults, $M=13.5$
102 years, range=9-19 years; $t<1$) and all participants reported reading for several hours (at least) each
103 week. Vocabulary and short-term memory were assessed using the Vocabulary Knowledge Test
104 from the Chinese version of the WAIS-III (Wechsler, Chen, & Chen, 2002) and the WAIS-III digit-
105 span subtest (Wechsler, 1997). Vocabulary scores were similar for young ($M=69.9$, $SD=5.6$) and
106 older adults ($M=70.3$, $SD=5.8$; $t<1$), and digit spans lower for older ($M=12.4$, $SD=2.6$) than younger
107 adults ($M=15.0$, $SD=2.0$; $t(50)=4.07$, $p<.001$), as is typical (Ryan, Sattler, & Lopez, 2000).

108 *Stimuli & Design.* Stimuli were 64 sentence frames that contained a short (2-character) or long
109 (4-character) target word (see Figure 1 & Appendix). The short and long words were closely
110 matched for log lexical frequency (long words, $M=1.94$, short words, $M=1.99$; $t<1$) and log first-
111 character frequency (short words, $M=3.9$, long words, $M=4.3$; $t<1.7$) using the SUBTLEX-CH
112 corpus (Cai & Brysbaert, 2010). The 2-character words could not form a word with an adjacent
113 character in the sentences, and the first 2 characters of the 4-character words could not form a word.
114 Naturalness ratings from 16 readers who did not participate in the experiment showed that sentences
115 were highly natural ($M=6.4$, max=7), with no difference due to word length (short words, $M=6.3$,
116 long words, $M=6.4$; $t<1$). A cloze task with another 11 readers showed that short and long target
117 words were equally unpredictable in the sentence frames (short words, $M=1.5\%$, and long words,
118 $M=0.7\%$, words guessed correctly; $t<1.2$). A recognition test administered after the experiment
119 confirmed all participants knew the meanings of all the target words. The sentences were 16-28
120 characters ($M=24$) long and target words were always located near the middle of sentences.

121 -----Figure 1-----

122 Sentence frame and target word combinations were divided into two lists, each containing all 64
123 frames and equal numbers of short and long target words. Thirteen participants from each age group
124 were randomly allocated to each list. The design was therefore mixed, with the between-participants
125 factor age group (young adult, older adult) and within-participants factor word length (long, short).

126 Sentences in each list were presented in random order, preceded by 4 practice sentences.

127 *Apparatus & Procedure.* An EyeLink 1000 eye-tracker recorded each participant's right-eye
128 gaze location every millisecond during binocular viewing. Stimuli were presented in Song font as
129 black text on a white background. Each character subtended 0.9° approximately and so was of
130 normal size for reading. Participants took part individually. At the start of the experiment, each
131 participant was instructed to read normally and for comprehension, and a 3-point horizontal
132 calibration procedure ensured spatial accuracy $<.35^\circ$. Thereafter, calibration accuracy was checked
133 before each trial and the eye-tracker re-calibrated as necessary. At the start of each trial, a fixation
134 square equal in size to one character was presented on the left side of the screen. Once this was
135 fixated, a sentence was presented with the first character replacing the square. The participant
136 pressed a response key once they finished reading each sentence. The sentence then disappeared and
137 was replaced on 25% of trials by a yes/no comprehension question, to which the participant
138 responded by pressing a response key. The experiment lasted 45 minutes for each participant.

139

Results

140 Following standard procedures, fixations less than 80ms and greater than 1200ms were
141 removed. Trials also were excluded if track-loss or error occurred (affecting $<1\%$ of trials). Data
142 were analysed using the lme4 package (Bates, Mächler, Bolker, & Walker, 2014) in R (R
143 Development Core Team, 2016). Linear mixed-effects models were used for continuous variables
144 and generalized linear models for dichotomous variables. Maximal random effects were used for
145 both types of model (Barr, Levy, Scheepers, & Tily, 2013). The pattern of effects did not differ
146 between log-transformed and untransformed data, so analyses of untransformed data are reported for
147 transparency. For all analyses, $t/z > 1.96$ were considered significant as with high degrees of freedom
148 (as in our analyses) $t > 1.96$ produces p -values where $p < .05$. Participants and stimuli (sentences in
149 sentence-level analyses and target words in word-level analyses) were specified as crossed-random
150 effects. Age-group was a fixed factor in sentence-level models, and age-group and word length were

151 fixed factors in word-level models. Response accuracy for comprehension questions was >80% for
152 all participants ($M=96\%$) and did not differ across age groups ($t<1.6$). See Table 1 and 2 for
153 sentence-level and target word means and Tables 3 and 4 for a summary of statistical effects.

154 -----Tables 1 to 4-----

155 *Sentence-Level Analyses.* Compared to young adults, the older adults read more slowly, and
156 made more and longer fixations and more regressions, consistent with age-related reading difficulty.
157 Compared to young adults, the older adults also made shorter forward saccades and skipped target
158 words infrequently, consistent with findings in other recent Chinese studies.

159 *Word-Level Analyses.* Compared to young adults, the older adults skipped words less frequently,
160 and had longer first-fixation durations, higher re-fixation probabilities, and longer gaze durations and
161 total reading times for target words, consistent with age-related reading difficulty. We also observed
162 clear word length effects, due to lower word-skipping, higher re-fixation probabilities and longer
163 gaze durations and total reading times for long compared to short words. Crucially, word length
164 effects for gaze durations and total reading times were qualified by interactions with age group, due
165 to larger effects of word length for the older than younger adults. First-fixations were shorter for the
166 long than short words for both age groups. This was most likely because long words received more
167 re-fixations than short words, and so effects of word length on fixation times were observed clearly
168 only in fixation time measures that include all the fixations made during the initial or overall
169 processing of words (i.e., gaze duration and total reading time, respectively).

170 *Word-Level Landing Position Effects.* Mean landing positions were closer to word beginnings
171 for the older than younger adults and for the long than short words. The launch sites of saccades that
172 ended in these fixations were nearer the beginning of target words (and so saccades were shorter) for
173 the older than younger adults and for the short than long words. The indication, therefore, is that
174 older readers made shorter saccades that landed nearer the beginnings of words. We explored these
175 effects further by analyzing landing positions separately for words that received only one or multiple

176 first-pass fixations, following Yan et al. (2010) and Li et al. (2011). The percentage of trials in which
177 words received one first-pass fixation (i.e., the inverse of re-fixation probability) was greater for the
178 young adults (short words, young adults=85%, older adults=60%; long words, young adults=50%,
179 older adults=15%), suggesting they recognized words more efficiently.

180 *Landing Positions on Words Receiving One First-Pass Fixation.* Landing positions for words
181 receiving one first-pass fixation were closer to the beginning of words for the older than younger
182 adults and for the long than short words but with no interaction between age group and word length.
183 Figure 2a shows the proportion of fixations at each half-character position. The distributions, for the
184 young adults in particular, appear to peak near the center of short and long words.

185 ----- Figure 2-----

186 *Initial Landing Positions on Words Receiving Multiple First-Pass Fixations.* Landing positions
187 for words receiving multiple first-pass fixations were closer to the beginning of long than short
188 words but did not vary with age group. Figure 2b shows the proportion of fixations at each half-
189 character position. Saccades tended to land near the beginning of words for both age groups,
190 resembling previous findings for young adults (Li et al., 2011; Yan et al., 2006). Taken together, the
191 findings show a higher likelihood of readers initially fixating an optimal location in words that
192 receive only one rather than multiple first-pass fixations. Moreover, as the older readers made fewer
193 single-fixations on words (and especially longer words) than young adults, it appears they are less
194 likely to initially fixate a word at an optimal location (i.e., word center).

195 *Re-Fixation Probability as a Function of Initial Landing Position.* In alphabetic languages, re-
196 fixation probabilities are higher when saccades land at the beginning or end rather than middle of
197 words (Nuthmann, Engbert & Kliegl, 2005; Rayner et al., 1996). Such effects are often attributed to
198 mis-located fixations, due to saccades undershooting or overshooting word boundaries. Figure 2c
199 shows re-fixation probabilities for landing positions at different intra-word locations in the present
200 experiment. These were analyzed by comparing re-fixation probabilities following initial fixations

201 on the first and second characters of short words, and first two half-characters, middle two half-
202 characters, and end two half-characters of long words. For the short words, re-fixation probabilities
203 were higher following initial fixations on the first than second characters ($\beta=.20$, $SE=.04$, $t=5.28$)
204 with no interaction with age group ($\beta=.18$, $SE=.04$, $t<2$). For the long words, re-fixation probabilities
205 were higher following initial fixations at beginning rather than middle locations ($\beta=.33$, $SE=.03$,
206 $t=9.45$), and middle rather than end locations ($\beta=.42$, $SE=.05$, $t=5.40$), with a similar pattern for
207 young and older adults. The pattern replicates that reported previously for young adults (Li et al.
208 (2010). Crucially, the findings suggest landing position effects on words receiving multiple fixations
209 in the present experiment are not due to mis-located fixations (as saccades rarely overshoot word
210 boundaries) but consistent with readers sequentially processing successive portions of words.

211 *Outgoing Forward Saccades from Target Words.* Outgoing forward saccades are longer from
212 long than short words if processing is word-based (Wei et al., 2013). In the present experiment, there
213 was an interaction between age group and word length, which we examined by comparing the size of
214 the word length effect for the young and older adults. This revealed that the interaction was due to a
215 larger word length effect for young than older adults ($\beta=.35$, $SE=.07$, $t=4.86$), and so suggests that
216 the older adults were less likely to process words using a word-based strategy.

217 Discussion

218 Our results confirm that Chinese older adults read more slowly than young adults by making
219 more and longer fixations, more regressions, shorter forward saccades, and skipping word
220 infrequently (Wang et al., 2018; Zang et al., 2016). The results also reveal potentially important age
221 differences in the effects of word length. For both age groups, long words were skipped less often
222 and fixated for longer than short words. In these respects, the findings accord with those for
223 alphabetic languages (Brysbaert et al., 2005; Joseph et al., 2009; Paterson et al., 2013, 2015; Rayner;
224 1979; Rayner & McConkie, 1976; Rayner et al., 1996). But, unlike previous studies that examined
225 aging effects in alphabetic languages (Paterson et al., 2013), word length effects were larger for older

226 than younger adults, due to older readers making disproportionately longer fixations on longer
227 words. These findings are theoretically important because they reveal age differences in word length
228 effects for unspaced, character-based languages like Chinese which have not been observed for
229 spaced, alphabetic languages like English. The findings may also have practical implications for
230 understanding aging effects on Chinese reading, as they suggest Chinese older readers have
231 particular difficulty recognizing long words.

232 Analyses that examined saccade landing positions on target words in sentences shed further light
233 on this age difference in word length effects. We followed an established approach and examined
234 landing positions separately for words that received only one or multiple first-pass fixations (Li et
235 al., 2011; Yan et al., 2010). For the young adults, we replicated findings showing saccades to words
236 that receive only one first-pass fixation tend to land near word center, whereas saccades to words that
237 receive multiple first-pass fixations are more likely to land at the beginning of words. These effects
238 are attributed to flexible targeting of saccades towards the beginning or center of words depending
239 on the availability of parafoveal word length cues (Yan et al., 2010), or the reduced likelihood of a
240 re-fixation if a saccade just happens to land at an optimal intra-word location (i.e., word center) that
241 facilitates word recognition (Li et al., 2011). Our findings show that Chinese young and older adult
242 readers produce very similar patterns of landing positions, so that both tend to initially fixate the
243 beginning of words that receive multiple fixations and fixate near the center of words that receive
244 only one fixation. However, as the older adults more rarely make single-fixations on words, it also
245 seems clear that they benefit less from fixations that land at optimal locations in words.

246 This pattern of effects may be due to older readers making generally shorter forward saccades,
247 possibly due to impaired eye guidance. This may reflect specific difficulties segmenting text and
248 assembling characters into words or be a consequence of poorer parafoveal processing due to visual
249 declines in older age (see, e.g., Owsley, 2011). In particular, if Chinese older readers have difficulty
250 processing characters parafoveally, they may make generally shorter saccades than young readers

251 because they have difficulty identifying word boundaries (e.g., Yan et al., 2010) or can recognize
252 fewer upcoming characters on each fixation (Li et al., 2011; Liu et al., 2015; Wei, et al., 2013). In
253 either case, this may lead older readers to more rarely make saccades that land at optimal intra-word
254 locations, for long words in particular, which may help explain the difficulty they experience.

255 A further possibility is that word recognition difficulty leads readers to use a character- rather
256 than word-based strategy to process words that receive multiple fixations. Evidence for this comes
257 from the finding that re-fixation probabilities decreased linearly following initial fixations at
258 beginning, middle or end locations in long words. This contrasts with findings from alphabetic
259 languages showing readers are more likely to make a corrective re-fixation when their initial fixation
260 lands at a sub-optimal location (i.e., towards the beginning or end of words rather than word center;
261 e.g., Nuthmann et al., 2005; Rayner et al., 1996). It suggests the processing of Chinese words that
262 receive multiple first-pass fixations may not be similarly word-based (see Supplementary Materials
263 for further evidence). Moreover, as older readers more often make multiple fixations on words, they
264 may be less likely than young adults to use a word-based reading strategy. Readers typically make
265 longer forward-moving saccades from long than short words if processing is word-based (Wei et al.,
266 2013). Accordingly, our finding that word length effects on saccade length is greater for young than
267 older adults accords with this possibility and provides further evidence that older adults are more
268 likely to use a character-based strategy to recognize words. However, this possible age difference in
269 Chinese reading strategy will require further investigation. In particular, whether it reflects poorer
270 parafoveal processing or word-segmentation processes due to sensory and cognitive declines is
271 unclear. Further research on the underlying mechanisms is therefore essential to better understand
272 the difficulties experienced by older readers of unspaced, character-based languages like Chinese.

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Table 1. Means for Sentence-Level Measures

Measure	Age-Group	
	Young Adult	Older Adult
Sentence reading time (ms)	4260 (43)	8033 (89)
Average fixation duration (ms)	235 (1)	281 (1)
Number of fixations	15.4 (.15)	24.8 (.25)
Forward saccade length (characters)	2.9 (.02)	2.1 (.02)
Number of regressions	4.1 (.07)	6.0 (.10)

Sentence reading time is the time from the onset of the sentence presentation until the participant presses a key to indicate they have finished reading. Number of fixations is the count of fixations made during sentence reading. Average fixation duration is the mean duration, in milliseconds, of these fixations. Forward saccade length is the mean length, in characters, of progressive eye movements. For each measure, the Standard Error of the Mean is shown in parentheses.

Table 2. Means for Target Word-Level Measures

	Age-Group			
	Young Adult		Older Adult	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
Word-skipping (%)	17 (1)	3 (1)	4 (1)	.5 (.2)
First-fixation duration (ms)	251 (3)	237 (3)	321 (4)	313 (4)
Re-fixation probability	.15 (.01)	.5 (.02)	.40 (.02)	.85 (.01)
Gaze duration (ms)	286 (5)	376 (7)	488 (12)	811 (18)
Total reading time (ms)	404 (9)	556 (12)	701 (19)	1117 (24)
Initial landing position (all trials)	48 (1)	31 (1)	28 (1)	22 (1)
Launch site (characters)	1.70 (.05)	1.78 (.05)	1.08 (.03)	1.25 (.03)
Landing position (one first-pass fixation)	50 (1)	41 (1)	46 (1)	35 (2)
Landing position (multiple first-pass fixations)	31 (3)	21 (1)	26 (1)	19 (1)
Outgoing forward saccade length (characters)	3.22 (.05)	3.94 (.06)	2.32 (.03)	2.66 (.04)

Word-skipping is the probability of not fixating a word during first-pass reading (prior to a fixation to the word's right). First-fixation duration is the length of the first first-pass fixation on a word. Re-fixation probability is the probability a word receives more than one first-pass fixation. Gaze duration sums all first-pass fixations on a word (prior to a saccade to the right of the word or a regression to the left). Total reading time sums all the fixations on a word. Landing position is the percentage distance in from a word's left boundary to the first first-pass fixation on that word, reported for all words and for words receiving only one or multiple first-pass fixations. Launch site is the distance, in characters, backwards from a word's left boundary to the starting point of the saccade that terminates in the first first-pass fixation on the word. Outgoing forward saccade length is the length, in characters, of forward moving saccades away from a word. For all measures, the Standard Error of the Mean is shown in parentheses.

Table 3. Statistic Effects of Age-Group for Sentence-Level Analyses

Measure	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Sentence Reading Time	3785.5	589.4	6.42***
Average Fixation Duration	46.74	8.94	5.23***
Forward Saccade Amplitude	0.79	0.17	4.54***
Number of Fixations	9.43	1.67	5.66***
Number of Regressions	1.95	0.64	3.06**

† = $p < .1$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Table 4. Statistical Effects of Age-Group, Word Length and Age-Group x Word Length for Word-Level Analyses

Measure	Effect	β	<i>SE</i>	<i>t/z</i>
Skipping Rate	Age-Group	1.81	0.45	4.05***
	Word Length	2.16	0.29	7.33***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.02	0.59	0.03
First-Fixation Duration	Age-Group	74.53	11.43	6.52***
	Word Length	9.78	3.46	2.82**
	Age-Group \times Word Length	6.12	6.93	0.88
Re-Fixation Probability	Age-Group	1.80	0.26	6.93***
	Word Length	2.34	0.14	17.14***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.49	0.27	1.83†
Gaze Duration	Age-Group	321.05	54.98	5.84***
	Word Length	212.34	9.82	21.63***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	235.52	19.63	12.00***
Total Reading Time	Age-Group	433.55	76.45	5.67***
	Word Length	290.40	13.99	20.76***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	269.21	51.92	5.19***
Landing Position	Age-Group	0.10	0.02	4.82***
	Word Length	0.17	0.01	22.01***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.00	0.02	0.28
Launch site	Age-Group	0.62	0.15	4.02***
	Word Length	0.10	0.04	2.32*
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.11	0.09	1.21
Landing position (one first-pass fixation)	Age-Group	0.06	0.02	2.82**
	Word Length	0.11	0.01	7.71***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.02	0.03	0.75
Initial landing position (multiple first-pass fixations)	Age-Group	0.03	0.02	1.34
	Word Length	0.09	0.02	4.19***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.04	0.05	0.91
Outgoing forward saccade length (characters)	Age-Group	1.18	0.20	6.03***
	Word Length	0.50	0.05	9.48***
	Age-Group \times Word Length	0.33	0.10	3.30**

† = $p < .1$, * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Figures

Figure 1. Example Sentence and Comprehension Question.

Figure 2. Landing Positions of Initial Fixations in Words Receiving (a) One First-Pass Fixation or (b) Multiple First-Pass Fixations, and (c) Re-Fixation Probability as a Function of Initial Landing Position. Note that differences in the amplitude of curves for young and older adults reflect overall differences in word-skipping, single-fixation, and re-fixation probabilities for the young and older adults.

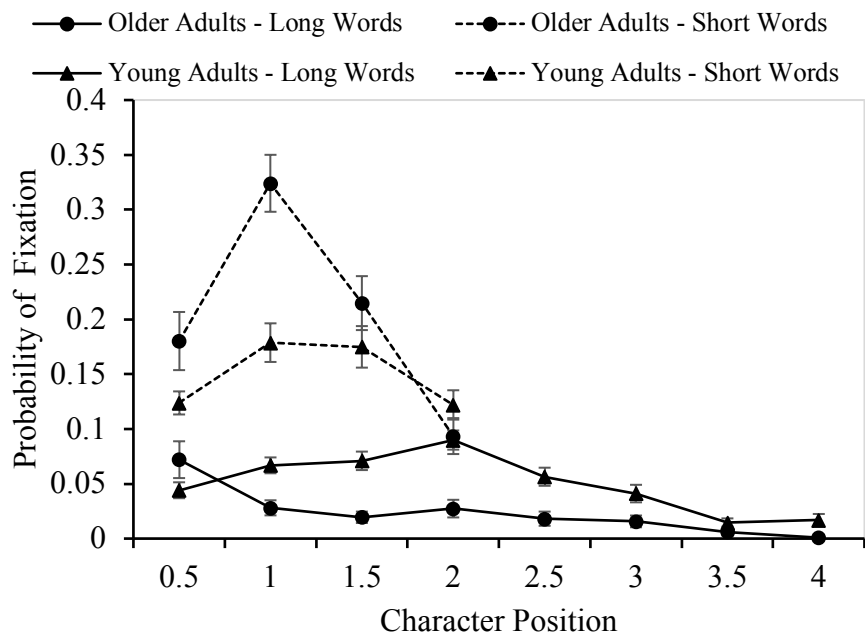
Figure 1

Short target word	我在街头帮助过的那个 流浪 的男子竟是父亲的战友。
Long target word	我在街头帮助过的那个 身无分文 的男子竟是父亲的战友。
Question	那个人是父亲的战友吗？

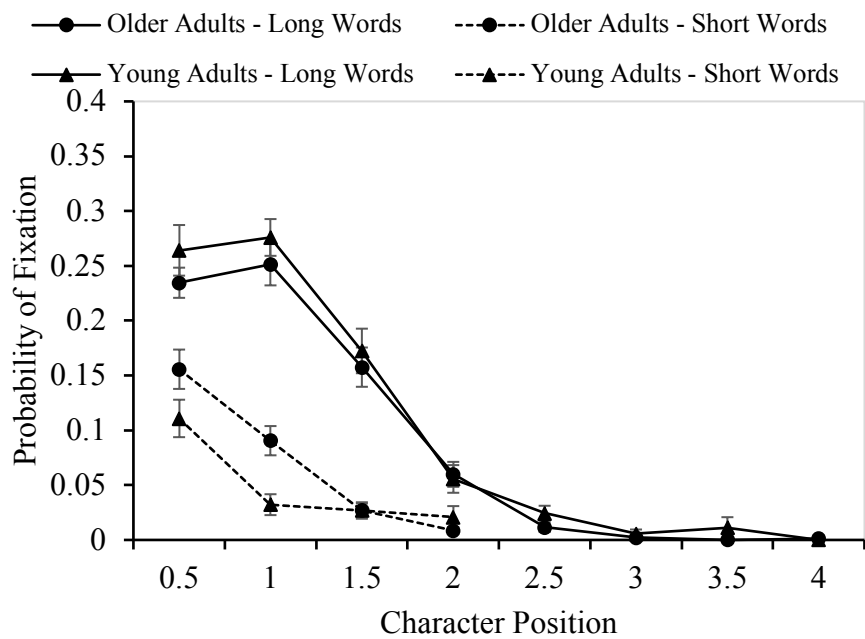
Example sentence containing a short and long word and the accompanying comprehension question. The sentences translate as ‘The homeless / penniless man I helped on the street was my father’s comrade-in-arms’. The question translates as ‘Was the man my father’s comrade-in-arms?’ Target words are shown in boxes but were presented normally in the experiment.

Figure 2

a.



b.



c.

