The Effects of Repetition on Incidental Vocabulary Learning: A Meta-Analysis of Correlational Studies

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Abstract

This study aims to clarify the complex relationship between repetition and L2 incidental vocabulary learning by meta-analyzing primary studies reporting the correlation coefficient between number of encounters and vocabulary learning. Forty-five effect sizes from 26 studies (N = 1,918) were synthesized and quantitatively analyzed to calculate the mean effect size of the frequency-learning relationship as well as explore the extent to which 10 empirically motivated factors moderate the relationship. Results showed that there was a medium effect (r = .34) of repetition on incidental vocabulary learning. Subsequent moderator analyses revealed that variability in the size of repetition effects across studies was explained by learner variables (age, vocabulary knowledge), treatment variables (spaced learning, visual support, engagement, range in number of encounters), and methodological differences (nonword use, forewarning of an upcoming comprehension test, vocabulary test format). Based on the findings, suggestions for future directions are provided in L2 incidental vocabulary learning research.

Keywords: Frequency of encounters, Incidental vocabulary learning, L2 vocabulary, Meta-analysis

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Research on incidental vocabulary learning suggests that the number of times an unknown word is encountered in context affects how likely the word will be learned successfully (e.g., Brown, Waring, & Donkaewbua, 2008; Horst, Cobb, & Meara, 1998; Peters & Webb, 2018; Webb, 2007). However, the number of encounters needed for learning varies considerably between first language (L1) studies (e.g., Elley, 1989; Jenkins, Matlock, & Slocum, 1989; Saragi, Nation, & Meister, 1978). Even greater variability is observed across second language (L2) studies with the number of encounters necessary to learn words ranging from 6 (Rott, 1999), 8 (Horst et al., 1998), 10 (Webb, 2007), 12 (Elgort & Warren, 2014), to more than 20 times (Waring & Takaki, 2003). This inconsistency might be attributed to learner-related factors (e.g., L2 proficiency; Zahar, Cobb, & Spada, 2001) and methodological differences between studies (e.g., spaced vs. massed learning conditions; Webb, 2014). Due to such complexities, findings have been mixed and it remains unclear to what extent frequency of encounters is a reliable predictor of incidental vocabulary learning. Moreover, there is also a lack of clarity on the extent to which learner and methodological factors affect the role that repetition plays in incidental vocabulary learning. With several decades having passed since Saragi et al. (1978) conducted their seminal study of the relationship between repeated encounters and incidental vocabulary learning, the time is ripe for a meta-analysis of this topic.

The present study aims to clarify the complex landscape of frequency effects on L2 incidental vocabulary learning by conducting a meta-analysis with two goals: (a) to obtain an overall mean correlation between repeated encounters and L2 incidental vocabulary learning, and (b) to determine how learner-related, treatment-related, and methodological factors account for the variation pertaining to the frequency effects.

Incidental Vocabulary Learning

Defining the construct of incidental vocabulary learning is challenging (Gass, 1999) as there have been numerous ways of operationalizing the construct in vocabulary research (Bruton, López, & Mesa, 2011). Researchers generally operationalize learning words incidentally in a methodological sense; “incidental learning” occurs when learners are not forewarned of an upcoming vocabulary test. The argument for this definition is that if learners know of an upcoming vocabulary test, they will pay special attention to target vocabulary and engage in “intentional learning” (Hulstijn, 2003; Peters, Hulstijn, Sercu, & Lutjeharms, 2009). A second prevalent definition of incidental vocabulary learning is that it occurs as a “by-product” of meaning-focused activities (Hulstijn, 2003, p. 362). In contrast to studies using a word-focused task (e.g., flashcard learning) that is expected to be more intentional, incidental learning studies often use meaning-focused comprehension tasks (e.g., reading a novel, listening to lectures). In these tasks, learners’ attention is directed towards text comprehension and away from vocabulary learning (Swanborn & de Glopper, 1999). Nevertheless, it
is important to note that neither the methodological operationalization (i.e., the absence of posttest announcement) nor task selection (i.e., using a reading comprehension task instead of a flashcard learning task) eliminates the possibility that some learners may be involved in more intentional learning than others (Bruton et al., 2011; Pellicer-Sánchez & Schmitt, 2010).

In the current study, we defined incidental vocabulary learning as the learning that emerges through a meaning-focused comprehension task, in which learners are not told of an upcoming vocabulary test. We also acknowledge that there is no control over the variability of intentional learning across individuals, and consider “incidental” as a methodological rather than theoretical construct (Hulstijn, 2003; Peters et al., 2009).

Frequency of Encounters

Despite the large body of research on incidental vocabulary learning through meaning-focused input, the number of encounters necessary for learning to occur remains unclear. Saragi et al. (1978) conducted a landmark study revealing the important role of repetition for incidental vocabulary learning through reading. They found that native speakers of English needed to encounter target words at least 10 times before substantial learning occurred. Numerous researchers have since expanded on Saragi et al. to further explore the role that repetition plays in incidental learning with L2 learners (Brown et al., 2008; Horst et al., 1998; Malone, 2018; Pellicer-Sánchez & Schmitt, 2010; Peters & Webb, 2018; Pigada & Schmitt, 2006; Rott, 1999; Waring & Takaki, 2003; Webb, 2007; Webb & Chang, 2015; Webb, Newton, & Chang, 2013). These studies reveal that the number of encounters necessary for substantial learning to take place varies to a large degree. Such inconsistencies of the results are an inevitable consequence of variations of approaches to conceptualizing and measuring vocabulary learning. If we consider a third or 33% of word learning as “reasonable” (Laufer & Rozovski-Roitblat, 2015) and define word knowledge as form recognition, one encounter might be suffice for learning to occur from reading (43% in Chen & Truscott, 2010; 67% in Webb, 2007). Yet, acquiring meaning recognition probably requires more than one encounter: two (45% in Rott, 1999), two to four (33% in Pellicer-Sánchez & Schmitt, 2010), eight to ten (54% in Waring & Takaki, 2003), and ten or more (36% in Pigada & Schmitt, 2006). Acquiring recall knowledge is even more difficult: form recall (27% with seven encounters in Chen & Truscott, 2010) and meaning recall (29% with ten encounters in Webb, 2007). According to Pellicer-Sánchez and Schmitt (2010), at least 10 to 17 encounters might be necessary for word meanings to be recalled (48%). Vocabulary knowledge also involves multiple aspects other than knowledge of form-meaning connection (Nation, 2013), and research has revealed that even more encounters might be necessary for learning such aspects including collocation, syntactic information, word class, and association (e.g., Pellicer-Sánchez & Schmitt, 2010; Webb, 2007; Webb et al., 2013).

To complicate this matter, timing of administering vocabulary posttests also plays an integral role in determining the relationship between repetition and vocabulary learning. According to Rott (1999), six encounters may not be sufficient for word learning as evidenced by a loss of 12%
(45% => 33%) on the meaning-translation test after one month. In Waring and Takaki (2003), 2.1 out of 5 word meanings were recalled immediately after reading, but only 0.3 words were recalled three months later (42% => 6%). Similarly, Webb and Chang (2015) reported that more than 25 encounters led nearly half of the word meanings to be recognized after one week (47.63%), but only 7.2% of them were retained after three months. In contrast to earlier studies measuring word knowledge as a product of meaning-focused input (i.e., explicit knowledge), recent studies have started exploring real-time processing involved in vocabulary learning as well as speed of word recognition (i.e., procedural and implicit knowledge) using sensitive measures such as eye-tracking and priming techniques (Elgort, Brysbaert, Stevens, & Van Assche, 2018; Elgort & Warren, 2014; Godfroid et al., 2018; Mohamed, 2017; Pellicer-Sánchez, 2016). Sensitive measures are different from explicit measures in that the former concerns learners’ lexical knowledge during language processing under time pressure, whereas the latter provides an indication of learners’ ability to recognize or recall word forms or meanings without time restrictions (e.g., multiple choice, translation, gap-filling, and matching tests). The mounting evidence based on sensitive measures provides support for earlier studies (e.g., Webb, 2007) suggesting that the role of repetition in vocabulary learning depends on the choice of measures used to assess learning (e.g., form recognition, meaning recall).

As highlighted above, it is important to articulate the construct of vocabulary knowledge in incidental learning research. The focus of the current study was on explicit word knowledge primarily related to form and meaning, instead of procedural or implicit word knowledge.

**Correlation between Frequency of Encounters and Learning Gains**

Correlations between repetition and vocabulary learning give useful insights into the role of repetition in incidental vocabulary learning. Researchers traditionally calculate a repetition-learning correlation by comparing the number of times each word occurs in a text with the number of participants who learn each word (Horst et al., 1998; Saragi et al., 1978). The strength of this research design relates to its high degree of ecological validity. Researchers normally use existing books (Daskalovska, 2016) or commercially accessible television programs (Rodgers, 2013) without any significant manipulation of the number of encounters with target words. In this regard, learners’ experience with the texts reflect real-life situations. The drawback of this approach, however, is a lack of experimental control over the number of encounters, which inevitably varies widely from word to word (e.g., 1 to 209 in Saragi et al., 1978). Crucially, in such authentic materials, the number of encounters is likely to be correlated or confounded with other lexical or contextual factors (e.g., keyness or relevance of the items to text comprehension, intrinsic difficulty of the items) (Hulme, Barsky, & Rodd, 2018). Certain researchers (Chen & Truscott, 2010; Webb, 2007; Webb et al., 2013) made attempts to overcome this problem by controlling for the number of encounters of each target word. In Webb (2007), for instance, participants were randomly assigned to one of the four treatment conditions spanning 1, 3, 7, and 10 encounters. Each experimental group was exposed to the same set of target words a different number of times, which allowed for comparisons between groups. This
between-participants design, as opposed to within-participants design (e.g., Saragi et al., 1978), allows researchers to attribute learning purely to frequency effects while other confounding factors are controlled for.

Since Saragi and colleagues (1978) found a moderate correlation between frequency and gains in meaning recognition \( (r = .34) \), many researchers have since followed this practice in order to explore the roles of frequency in L2 domains. Focusing on low-intermediate EFL learners, Horst et al. (1998) found a relatively high correlation \( (r = .49) \) between frequency and meaning recognition, providing evidence in line with Saragi et al. A follow-up study with high-intermediate learners (Horst, 2000), however, did not find significant frequency effects \( (r = .01) \). Despite using the same text (i.e., *The Golden Fleece*), mode of input (i.e., reading with audio support), and test format (i.e., meaning recognition through a multiple-choice test), Zahar et al. (2001) and Tekmen and Daloglu (2006) reported varying sizes of correlations: \( r = .21-.40 \) and \( r = .45-.56 \), respectively. Webb (2007) measured different aspects of receptive and productive word knowledge and found high correlations when learning gains were measured through recall test formats such as a dictation task \( (r = .50) \) and a meaning translation task \( (r = .43) \). In studies focusing on spoken input and using a developmental scale (Wesche & Paribakht, 1996) to measure learning gains, Vidal (2003) reported a moderate correlation \( (r = .34) \) when EFL university students listened to video-taped academic lectures. A follow-up study (Vidal, 2011) found a relatively high correlation for a listening group \( (r = .49) \), which was nonetheless smaller than the correlation found in a reading group \( (r = .69) \). In a longitudinal study that involved viewing a series of episodes of an American TV show, Rodgers (2013) found a significant but small correlation on a demanding test format of meaning recognition \( (r = .30) \) but no significant correlation on a less demanding test format \( (r = .18) \). Webb and Chang (2015) found a negligible size of correlation between frequency of encounters and meaning recognition \( (r = -.03) \) when learners engaged in an extensive reading program with audio support over 13 weeks. According to the effect-size benchmarks developed by Plonsky and Oswald (2014)—small \( (r = .25) \), medium \( (r = .40) \), and large \( (r = .60) \), the effects of frequency of encounters on incidental vocabulary learning have ranged from none (e.g., -.03, .01), small (e.g., .18, .21, .29), medium (e.g., .34, .40, .49), and up to large (e.g., .56, .69).

In summary, researchers agree that repetition is a crucial factor promoting L2 incidental vocabulary acquisition, and considerable variability exists in the size of frequency effects on learning across studies. The view that researchers also agree with today is that incidental vocabulary learning research should shift its focus away from trying to determine a threshold number of encounters necessary for learning to occur. Instead, our focus should be on trying to understand the complexity of how frequency relates to other factors in determining vocabulary learning. Therefore, it is crucial to explore whether and to what extent different factors moderate the relationship between frequency of encounters and incidental vocabulary learning.
Review of Moderator Variables

There are many potential moderators influencing the relationship between repeated encounters and incidental vocabulary learning. Besides the ways to operationalize learning gains (e.g., test format, test timing), numerous other factors are believed to contribute to or determine the role that frequency plays in vocabulary learning. The potential moderators include learner variables (e.g., age, gender, proficiency, motivation, working memory, background knowledge), word characteristics (e.g., imageability, concreteness, cognateness, number of letters and syllables, parts of speech), text characteristics (e.g., genre, text length, richness of contextual clues, keyness of the word for comprehension), and methodological/treatment variations (e.g., spaced vs. massed treatment conditions, nonwords vs. real words) (Elgort et al., 2018; Elgort & Warren, 2014; Malone, 2018; Paribakht & Wesche, 1999; Peters, Heynen, & Puimège, 2016; Peters & Webb, 2018; Webb, 2008, 2014; Webb & Chang, 2015). Due to empirical motivations based on previous studies as well as logistic reasons related to feasibility and reliability of variable identification and coding (e.g., general L2 proficiency), our moderators were limited to a total of 10 variables. The main rationale for choice of these variables was based on the literature review; the variables which either pertain to conflicting results or remain unexplored in research. Also, the variables of interest were considered difficult to investigate in primary research (e.g., nonword use), which lends itself to the approach of analysis employed in the current study: meta-analysis. Therefore, 10 variables—categorized in terms of learner-related, treatment-related, and methodological factors—were used for the current investigation as moderator variables.

Learner Variables

**Age.** A recent meta-analysis on incidental vocabulary learning through spoken input found a positive age effect (de Vos, Schriefers, Nivard, & Lemhöfer, 2018). In this study, university students outperformed children in kindergarten and elementary school. Since older learners tend to have more years of experience with the L2 and text comprehension than younger learners, these findings indicate that older learners may use strategies more effectively to derive the meanings of unknown words. To the best of our knowledge, virtually no research has explored age effects on the relationship between frequency of encounters and vocabulary learning.

**Vocabulary knowledge.** Zahar et al. (2001) found that frequency of encounters was more beneficial for learners with a smaller vocabulary size than for learners with a larger vocabulary size. Lexically proficient learners presumably have better comprehension of L2 words and sentences surrounding unknown words; thus, they could capitalize on rich contextual clues to attempt successful inferences of L2 words in fewer encounters than novice learners. However, follow-up studies (Daskalovska, 2014a; Tekmen & Daloğlu, 2006) did not support this hypothesis, as the researchers did not find higher correlations between frequency and learning for lower-proficiency learners. Similarly, Elgort and Warren (2014) found a significant interaction between frequency and proficiency in predicting meaning recall, indicating that more proficient learners tend to benefit from
increasing the number of encounters with unknown words. To explore these conflicting results, in the present study, L2 vocabulary knowledge was identified as an important potential moderator in incidental vocabulary learning.

**Treatment Variables**

**Spacing.** Higher correlations are often found in massed-treatment conditions where participants are given one-day treatment exposure (e.g., \( r = .54 \), Tekmen & Daloğlu, 2006) as opposed to spaced-treatment conditions where participants are given multiple treatment exposures over an extended period of time (e.g., \( r = .18 \), Rodgers, 2013). One reason for this difference is that the interval between treatments and posttests varies greatly in spaced conditions, which might mask frequency effects on learning (Webb & Chang, 2015). For example, Webb and Chang reported a negligible frequency effect (\( r = -.03 \)) with the treatment-testing interval ranging from 1 to 13 weeks, whereas Zahar et al. (2001) found a medium effect (\( r = .36 \)) with a 2-day interval. Thus, the evidence suggests a hypothesis that a smaller frequency effect would be found for learners in spaced learning conditions compared to those in massed learning conditions.

**Mode of input.** The effect of repetition may be more salient in learning through written input than spoken input (Brown et al., 2008; Hatami, 2017; Vidal, 2011). Due to the transitory nature of spoken language and inherent difficulty with speech segmentation, L2 listeners tend to lack the capacity of processing L2 speech efficiently and collecting adequate contextual information so as to work out the meanings of unknown words (van Zeeland & Schmitt, 2013). In reading while listening, on the other hand, repetition effects are expected to come more into play because the audio input prevents readers from skipping over or skimming through sentences where target words are embedded (Horst et al., 1998; Malone, 2018). Similarly to listening, however, reading while listening conditions may not be as favorable as self-paced reading because the audio track can make it difficult for readers with audio support to pause or go back to earlier sentences when having problems with text comprehension. Emerging studies on viewing have also pointed to the importance of repetition for word learning (Peters et al., 2016; Peters & Webb, 2018; Rodgers, 2013). Peters and Webb (2018) suggest that frequency of encounters plays a different role in watching L2 television than listening due to the presence of visual support. Research comparing the effects of frequency in different modes of input is lacking. Therefore, the effect of frequency on incidental vocabulary learning in different input modes deserves investigation.

**Visual aid.** Research has shown that the presence of visual imagery occurring with written or aural input improves vocabulary learning. Horst et al. (1998) suggested that the presence of pictures in a book improved vocabulary learning. Elley (1989) also suggested that illustrations supported vocabulary learning when children listened to stories. Neuman and Koskinen (1992) found vocabulary learning was significantly greater when learners viewed television with captions than when they read. Visual support may make words more salient, and this could perhaps reduce the effects of frequency (Horst et al., 1998). However, how visual support affects the role of repeated
encounters in learning remains to be examined (Peters et al., 2016; Peters & Webb, 2018).

**Engagement.** Researchers agree that “the more a learner engages with a new word, the more likely they are to learn it” (Schmitt, 2008, p. 338). This notion was embodied in Hulstijn and Laufer’s (2001) involvement load hypothesis, which proposes that the amount of attention and elaboration with L2 words determine vocabulary learning (Laufer & Rozovski-Roitblat, 2015). In the context of incidental vocabulary learning, learners in controlled conditions do not have any external support or interaction with peers (Webb, 2007), whereas learners in ecologically valid conditions (e.g., extensive reading) likely engage with L2 words using dictionaries or having discussions (Webb & Chang, 2015). Thus far, no attempts have been made to directly explore how engagement influences the role of repeated encounters in vocabulary learning. However, earlier studies indicate that the effect of engagement might surpass that of repetition on vocabulary learning, reducing the frequency effects that have been observed in engagement-free meaning-focused input (Laufer & Rozovski-Roitblat, 2011; Webb & Chang, 2015).

**Range in encounters.** The range in number of encounters with target words has varied from study to study: 1 to 3 (Hulstijn, Hollander, & Greidanus, 1996), 4 to 8 (Pellicer-Sánchez, 2017), 1 to 7 (Chen & Truscott, 2010), 2 to 17 (Horst et al., 1998), 5 to 54 (Rodgers, 2013), 1 to 70 (Webb & Chang, 2015), and 1 to 209 (Saragi et al., 1978). The absence of significant correlations between frequency of encounters and learning may be attributed to a restricted range in the number of encounters (Pellicer-Sánchez, 2017). Crucially, a limited range of encounters (e.g., 1 to 3) tend to underestimate the resulting correlation, since the data stem from a mere fragment of the full-scale “true” relationship that would be detected with a wider range of encounters (e.g., 1 to 209) (see Thorndike, 1949 for discussion of this issue in greater detail). Therefore, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the wider the range in number of encounters, the higher the correlation.

**Methodological Variables**

**Nonword use.** A main methodological concern in incidental vocabulary learning research is how to control for learners’ pre-existing knowledge of target words and ensure that learning gains are purely attributed to treatments. One way to deal with this issue is to use nonwords (Nation & Webb, 2011; Reynolds, 2018). Researchers normally substitute nonwords for high-frequency real words appearing in a text to make sure that participants do not engage in learning new concepts (Hatami, 2017; van Zeeland & Schmitt, 2013; Waring & Takaki, 2003; Webb, 2007). The downside of using nonwords is that the learning may not reflect actual L2 learning in a real-life situation. Building upon Webb’s (2007) study using nonwords, Chen and Truscott (2010) conducted a study using real words, and suggested that the results based on nonwords likely lead to an overestimate of the learning that would occur in more natural situations. However, the extent to which such overestimate of learning affects the role of frequency remains unanswered; therefore, it deserves further exploration.

**Comprehension test announcement.** Learners informed that there will be a comprehension test after completing meaning-focused tasks (e.g., reading a text) may learn more vocabulary
incidentally. Informed participants know in advance that they may be asked about both content and text features, and direct their attention to different aspects of texts including topic-related words and grammatical connections in the passage (Swanborn & De Glopper, 2002). This might eventually bring about higher learning gains as a result of repeated encounters, given that topic-related words are often recurrent and likely chosen as target words if they are considered unfamiliar to participants. Informed participants may engage in meaning-focused activities with greater mental effort (Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Paribakht & Wesche, 1999), making them more attentive to every occurrence of target words in context and consequently more amenable to frequency effects.

**Test format.** Previous research suggests that recall test formats tend to yield higher correlations between repetition and learning than recognition test formats (Chen & Truscott, 2010; Peters & Webb, 2018; Webb, 2007). The reason for this may relate to the fact that recognition measures tend to be confounded by other “noise” factors such as wild guessing. Thus, recall tests may provide a more accurate indication of knowledge of form-meaning connection (Chen & Truscott, 2010; Webb, 2007).

**Research Questions**

As reviewed above, the relationship between frequency of encounters and vocabulary learning appears to be influenced by many factors pertaining to individual differences and methodological variations across studies. In order to clarify this complexity of the frequency-learning relationship, the current study conducted a meta-analysis of correlations between frequency of encounters and incidental vocabulary learning. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the overall relationship between frequency of encounters and L2 incidental vocabulary learning?
2. Which empirically motivated factors moderate the relationship between frequency of encounters and L2 incidental vocabulary learning?

**Method**

**Literature Search**

As suggested by literature search guidelines (In’nami & Koizumi, 2010; Plonsky & Oswald, 2015), the following databases were employed to identify resources to include in the meta-analysis: the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA), ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, PsycINFO, Google, Google Scholar, and VARGA (online repository of literature on vocabulary studies available at Paul Meara’s Lognostics website, [http://www.lognostics.co.uk/varga/](http://www.lognostics.co.uk/varga/)). We also searched 19 journals of applied linguistics, language teaching, and second language acquisition (SLA) using the search functions available in the journal websites. Abstracts published (from May 1978 up to October 2018) were searched using various
combinations of the following key words: *frequency, repetition, repeated encounters/exposure(s), incidental word/vocabulary/lexical learning/acquisition, second language acquisition/learning, foreign language learning, reading, listening, reading while listening, viewing, correlation, Pearson, and Spearman*. In addition, we conducted ancestry searches by examining the references of relevant review articles (e.g., Webb, 2014) and doctoral theses (e.g., Horst, 2000). As a result, 2,336 reports that appeared initially eligible for the meta-analysis were screened in reference to the following selection criteria.

**Inclusion Criteria**

Ten criteria for inclusion were set to assess the retrieved studies.

1. The study measured vocabulary gains resulting from incidental learning conditions in which the target words were not directly taught or studied, but expected to be picked up through completing meaning-focused activities. Moreover, no explicit mention must be made to participants regarding upcoming vocabulary posttests after the treatment, although it was possible that participants were told of upcoming “comprehension” tests.

2. The article concerned incidental vocabulary learning through various meaning-focused modes of input including reading, listening, reading while listening, and viewing activities.

3. The study focused on learning target words through L2 input. Studies that involved learning target words encountered in L1 input (e.g., Saragi et al., 1978) were not included.

4. The study measured explicit knowledge of form-meaning connection, not procedural word knowledge using an eye-tracking technique (Godfroid et al., 2018) or implicit knowledge using response-time measures (Elgort & Warren, 2014).

5. The study focused on learning single-word items, not multi-word items (e.g., Pellicer-Sánchez, 2017).

6. The article was written in English.

7. The study reported a correlation coefficient between frequency of encounters and learning gains or provided sufficient information to calculate it.

8. The study ensured that vocabulary test scores that were subsequently compared to frequency of encounters were not confounded by pre-existing knowledge of target words. Common approaches to controlling for pre-existing knowledge include conducting pretests, using nonwords, and pilot testing of target words with another population.

9. In studies using multiple vocabulary tests, production tests (e.g., form recall) needed to be administered before recognition tests (e.g., multiple choice recognition). This order of test administration is crucial, given that in the opposite order, presentation of a target word as an option would give away the answers in the subsequent production test.
10. Initially, attempts were made to include studies adopting both within- and between-participants designs. In the former, all participants are exposed to the same text where the number of encounters varies across target words (e.g., Horst et al., 1998). Conversely, in the latter, participants are assigned to experimental groups in which the number of encounters varies across participants (e.g., Webb, 2007). However, the number of studies identified for the between-participants design was small (k = 3: Al-Shehri, 2015; Chen & Truscott, 2010; Webb, 2007); hence, only studies adopting within-participants design were included.

Studies meeting all 10 criteria were included in the current meta-analysis. Due to the limited number of studies reporting correlations based on delayed vocabulary posttests (Ellis, 1995; Webb & Chang, 2015), our data were mainly based on immediate vocabulary posttests (average interval between treatment and testing = 2.4 days, Range = 0 to 14 days).

To minimize publication bias (the fact that studies reporting significant findings and large effect sizes tend to be published and submitted for publication), this meta-analysis included both published and unpublished works (e.g., 5 M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations, 1 conference proceeding, and 1 conference presentation). The drawback of this comprehensive approach relates to the possibility that the reliability of the results from the meta-analysis might be compromised. One way to deal with this issue is to examine the quality of research design. An important methodological consideration in incidental vocabulary learning studies is to control for pre-existing knowledge of target words (Nation & Webb, 2011). The eighth inclusion criteria above served as a safeguard against this potential confounding factor; in our final data set, most studies conducted pretests (39/45, 87%) and the remainder used nonwords (6/45, 13%). In the vast majority of studies conducting pretests, attempts were made to avoid test effects (e.g., alerting participants to target words) by administering pretests a day or more prior to treatment sessions (37/39, 95%, M = 9.9 days), and this finding was also true for the majority of unpublished studies (12/13, 92%, M = 7.7 days) (the information about the interval between pretest and treatment was not accessible in the remaining two studies). Additionally, we conducted sensitivity analysis by examining the extent to which the current meta-analysis results could be replicated with only published data, with unpublished data excluded. The analysis confirmed that the current results were less likely influenced by unpublished sources of information (Appendix S1). Lastly, information related to internal consistency of measurement (e.g., Cronbach alpha) can be used to account for the attenuating effects of measurement unreliability in weighting effect sizes (Jeon & Yamashita, 2014). However, because only six studies reported reliability values, we could not compute a weighted effect size based on the information provided.

We contacted authors and gratefully received additional information from six authors that was needed for the current meta-analysis to be completed (Ana Pellicer-Sánchez, Marije Michel, Nina Daskalovska, Niousha Pavia, Sarvenaz Hatami, Yanxue Feng). Although the data from a study conducted by Ferris (1988) was not available any longer (Dana Ferris, personal communication,
March 6, 2018), information from other papers that cited her work (Daskalovska, 2014a; Horst, 2000; Krashen, 1989) was sufficient; therefore, it was also included in our data set. In all, 26 studies \((N = 1,918)\) providing a total of 58 effect sizes were identified and selected for this meta-analysis. It should be noted that although we adopted a comprehensive approach, several studies cited in the literature review of this article (e.g., Pellicer-Sánchez & Schmitt, 2010; Rott, 1999; Waring & Takaki, 2003) did not meet our selection criteria and were not included in the data analysis.

**Coding**

Twenty-six studies (with 58 effect sizes) were coded as specified by the coding scheme table presented in Appendix S2. The table illustrates 17 variables including 10 moderator variables related to learner, treatment, and methodology as well as information regarding identification (publication author, title, year, type), sample sizes, and effect sizes. To deal with the issue of multiple effect sizes—meta-analysis based on multiple effect sizes produced from the same participants violates independence of observations—and to select a single effect size, we averaged multiple effect sizes prior to the meta-analysis (Plonsky & Oswald, 2015). This averaging method enables the meta-analytic outcomes to be comprehensive without any unnecessary loss of valuable data. As a result, 58 effect sizes were reduced to 45 independent effect-size samples, 13 of which were from four replication studies (Daskalovska, 2010, 2014b; Reynolds, 2018; Tekmen & Daloğlu, 2006) and an original study conducted by Zahar et al. (2001).

To establish the reliability of the coding procedures, 10 studies (35%) were randomly selected and coded independently by two authors. Following Boulton and Cobb's (2017) approach, the number of discrepancies between the two researchers’ codings was calculated, and the agreement was rated at 98%. After all disagreements were resolved through discussion, the remaining studies were coded by the first author.

**Moderator Variables**

A total of 10 moderator variables were coded in reference to the following criteria.

**Age.** Due to the limited number of studies reporting the age of participants (19/45, 40%), following de Vos et al. (2018), we used grade levels to indicate this variable: primary school, secondary school, and university levels.

**Basic vocabulary.** Due to inconsistencies in the information of vocabulary test scores reported by researchers, we defined vocabulary knowledge in a narrow sense as basic vocabulary. It refers to the knowledge of the most frequent 2,000 word families (Nation, 2013) measured by one of the frequency levels in the Vocabulary Levels Test (VLT) (Nation, 1990; Schmitt, Schmitt, & Clapham, 2001; Webb, Sasao, & Ballance, 2017). The reported mean score was calculated as a percentage score (0 to 100%). A total of 22 effect sizes were available for this variable \((M = 0.74, SD = 0.14, Range = 0.50 to 0.94)\).

**Spacing.** The majority of vocabulary studies comparing spaced and massed learning have
been conducted in a paired-associate paradigm (e.g., Nakata, 2015). Spacing is often operationalized within a strictly controlled laboratory setting in which participants study individual L2 items in isolation at different time intervals. Given that a simple application of such operationalization to the current study may not be appropriate as our focus was on incidental learning, we initially identified and categorized treatment procedures commonly employed in this area as summarized in Table 1. Table 1 suggests that the number of text exposures participants receive varies greatly across studies (e.g., an entire novel, multiple graded readers, multiple TV episodes). Therefore, regardless of the number of texts or treatments, when treatment sessions were completed within a single day, the study was coded as a massed condition; when treatment sessions lasted for more than two days, the study was coded as a spaced condition. For example, two studies (Hatami, 2017; van Zeeland & Schmitt, 2013) were coded as massed conditions despite the difference in the number of text exposures. In the former, participants listened to a single text (4,231 words) within a single day, whereas in the latter, participants listened to four short texts ($M = 1,110$ words) within a single day.

Table 1. 
Categories for Spaced and Massed Learning Conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example study</th>
<th>Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single exposure</td>
<td>Exposed to a single text within a day</td>
<td>Hatami (2017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-paced multiple exposures</td>
<td>Exposed to long texts (e.g., an entire novel) in their spare time for more than a day</td>
<td>Daskalovska (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlled multiple exposures within a day</td>
<td>Exposed to multiple short texts in class within a day</td>
<td>Van Zeeland &amp; Schmitt (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlled multiple exposures over time</td>
<td>Exposed to multiple texts in class for more than a day</td>
<td>Horst et al. (1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated exposures within a day</td>
<td>Exposed to the same text multiple times within a day</td>
<td>Tekmen &amp; Daloglu (2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated exposures over time</td>
<td>Exposed to the same text multiple times for more than a day</td>
<td>Neuman &amp; Koskinen (1992)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mode of input. This variable consists of five categories: reading, listening, reading while listening, viewing, and other (i.e., combination of two or more modes). Viewing was initially further categorized into sub-groups according to the presence/absence of captions, but due to small sample sizes for a viewing-without-caption category ($k = 2$), all relevant studies were combined under the category of viewing ($k = 6$).

Visual aid. This variable was coded based on whether any visual information related to
treatment texts was available to participants. Visual support was present in viewing conditions (Rodgers, 2013), and it was also present in written texts (e.g., graded readers) containing pictures (Horst et al., 1998; Webb & Chang, 2015).

**Engagement.** The majority of effect-size samples \((k = 31)\) were based on highly controlled conditions where participants are not allowed to have any external support (e.g., dictionary use) or communicative activities (e.g., post-reading activities). However, 11 samples came from studies with a high degree of ecological validity \((k = 11)\) in which students had opportunities to engage with L2 words. Engagement included using dictionaries (Webb & Chang, 2015), asking questions (Ellis, 1995), taking notes (Vidal, 2003), and having discussions (Horst, 2000).

**Range in encounters.** This variable was calculated by subtracting the minimum number of encounters from the maximum number of encounters \((M = 20.81, SD = 19.72, \text{Range} = 5 \text{ to } 111)\). For example, in Horst et al. (1998), the minimum was 1 and the maximum was 17; hence, the range of encounters was calculated as 16.

**Nonword use.** Although most studies used real words as target items \((k = 39)\), some studies \((k = 6)\) replaced real L2 words in a treatment text with nonwords that are phonologically and orthographically plausible in the target language (e.g., vinse, grike, droil; van Zeeland & Schmitt, 2013).

**Comprehension test announcement.** Following a previous meta-analytic study on L1 incidental vocabulary learning (Swanborn & de Glopper, 1999), this variable was coded as present when studies explicitly announced that comprehension tests would come after treatments. Conversely, studies that did not include an announcement of a subsequent comprehension test were coded as no announcement.

**Test format.** The format of vocabulary measurement was coded as recognition, recall, and vocabulary knowledge scale. Recognition knowledge was typically measured through multiple-choice and yes/no checklist tests, whereas recall knowledge was measured through translation and gap-filling tests. In addition, studies using a developmental scale (Wesche & Paribakht, 1996) to measure vocabulary gains were given a separate category: vocabulary knowledge scale (VKS). While acknowledging long-standing issues with this test format (see Schmitt, 2010), we included the data in the current meta-analysis for several reasons. First, VKS has been extensively used in incidental vocabulary learning research, and we believe examining the results based on the test in comparison to other test formats will further inform our understanding of the relationship between frequency and vocabulary learning. Also, the quality of the data from those studies using VKS was sound, given that they met our inclusion criteria and efforts were made by the researchers to increase the validity of the test scores (Vidal, 2003, 2011; Yang & Sun, 2013).

**Analysis**

The current study used the Comprehensive Meta-Analysis (version 3.3) software to calculate the mean effect size and conduct moderator analysis for 10 moderator variables. Prior to the
effect-size aggregation and moderator analysis, we conducted three analyses to assess the extent to which publication bias influences the current data set: (a) fail-safe $N$, (b) Orwin’s fail-safe $N$, and (c) the trim-and-fill method (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2009). All three measures consistently indicated that there was little concern regarding the influence of publication bias on the current meta-analysis findings (see Appendix S3 for detailed information regarding the results of these three measures and the funnel plot).

The basic unit of analysis is the Fisher’s $z$-score transformed from the correlation coefficients ($r$) retrieved from each included study. Fisher’s $z$ was then converted back to $r$ in reporting the results for the sake of interpretability. Following earlier meta-analysis studies based on correlations (Jeon & Yamashita, 2014; Li, 2016), we used Fisher’s $z$ instead of $r$ because of its better statistical properties including normal distribution and stable variance. We employed a random-effects model to compute the inverse-variance weighted mean correlation and a mixed-effects model for subsequent moderator analysis. Only categories with three or more effect sizes were included for effect size aggregation and moderator analysis (Li, 2016). In effect-size aggregation, the homogeneity test was conducted using a within-group $Q$ statistic in order to examine whether there would be a significant variation in true effect sizes across studies. For moderator analysis, a between-group $Q$ value was computed for categorical variables and meta-regression analysis was conducted for continuous variables. To increase the interpretability of the results regarding continuous variables, Pearson $r$ and Spearman $rho$ correlation analyses were also conducted after both between and within inverse-variance weighting applied to the effect sizes.

**Results**

**Effect Size Aggregation**

In answer to the first research question which asked about the overall relationship between repetition and incidental vocabulary learning, forty-five effect sizes were aggregated to produce a weighted mean effect size and a 95% confidence interval (CI) (Figure 1). Results show that the overall relationship between repeated encounters and vocabulary learning was significant, $r = .34$, 95% CI [.27, .40], $p < .001$, a medium effect according to Plonsky and Oswald's (2014) effect-size benchmark. The homogeneity test was statistically significant ($Q = 95.15$, $df = 44$, $p < .001$), indicating that the difference could be created by variability in the true effect across studies as well as sampling error. In what follows, a series of moderator analyses were conducted to examine the extent to which empirically motivated variables account for this variability.
Figure 1. Overall average correlation between frequency of encounters and learning gains (indicated by a diamond) and correlations with confidence intervals for each study.

Moderator Analysis

In answer to the second research question which asked which and to what extent empirically motivated variables could moderate the relationship between repetition and incidental vocabulary learning, moderator analyses were performed with 10 variables related to learner (age, basic vocabulary), treatment (spacing, mode of input, visual aid, engagement, range in encounters), and methodology (nonword use, comprehension test announcement, test format). Summaries of results from analysis on categorical and continuous variables are presented in Tables 2, 3, and 4.
### Table 2.

**Moderator Analysis for Categorical Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>k</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Q</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Upper</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Learner</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Primary school</td>
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<td>.20</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
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<td>.23</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td>.12</td>
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<td>.02</td>
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<td>.31</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
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<td>.24</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td>.17</td>
<td>.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viewing</td>
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<td>.22</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual aid</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.31</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Nonword use</td>
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<td>.62</td>
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<td>.09</td>
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<td>Comprehension test announcement</td>
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<td>.33</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recall</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VKS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. CI = confidence interval; RWL = reading while listening; VKS = vocabulary knowledge scale.*
Table 3: Moderator Analysis for Continuous Variables (Regression Analysis)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>k</th>
<th>Q</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>95% CI Lower</th>
<th>95% CI Upper</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic vocabulary</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>-0.0046</td>
<td>-0.0106</td>
<td>0.0014</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range in encounters</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>-0.0048</td>
<td>-0.0081</td>
<td>-0.0014</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. CI = confidence interval.

Table 4: Moderator Analysis for Continuous Variables (Correlation Analysis)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>k</th>
<th>r (rho)</th>
<th>95% CI Lower</th>
<th>95% CI Upper</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic vocabulary</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-.43(-.44)</td>
<td>-.85</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range in encounters</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-.44(-.50)</td>
<td>-.72</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. CI = confidence interval.

**Learner moderators.** With regard to age of participants, there was a significant difference among three age groups: primary school ($r = .20$), secondary school ($r = .23$), and university ($r = .38$). A post hoc $Q$ test showed a significantly larger effect for university students than secondary school students ($Q = 5.59$, $p = .01$), indicating that university students benefit more from repeated encounters with L2 words compared to secondary school students. The differences between primary school and university students or between primary and secondary school students did not reach significance ($Q = 1.45$, $p = .22$ and $Q = .03$, $p = .85$, respectively). Considering the small sample size of the primary school group ($k = 4$) and the fact that the $Q$ test tends to be underpowered with limited samples (Borenstein et al., 2009), the results should be interpreted with caution. As for basic vocabulary, mixed-effects meta-regression analysis using the unrestricted maximum likelihood method showed a negative relationship between basic vocabulary and frequency effects (i.e., learners with a smaller vocabulary size tend to benefit more from repeated encounters with L2 words), but it did not reach statistical significance ($Q = 2.29$, $p > .05$). The absence of statistical significance might relate to the fact that $Q$ tests are likely underpowered particularly when analyzing small samples (i.e., for basic vocabulary, only 22 out of 45 effect sizes were available) (Borenstein et al., 2009). Weighted correlation analyses revealed a significant negative relationship between vocabulary knowledge and frequency effects ($r = -.43$, $rho = -.44$). A closer inspection of the data (Figure 2 for the scatterplot) suggests that this negative relationship was prominent around the samples including lexically proficient participants. Using the cut point of 80% for mastery of a vocabulary level suggested by Schmitt (as cited in Xing & Fulcher, 2007, p. 184), we split the data into two groups: 2,000 level mastered and 2,000 level unmastered. The further analysis revealed that the relationship was negligible but its direction was positive in the group of unmastered samples ($r = .046$), whereas...
the direction was negative in the group of mastered samples \((r = -0.245)\) (see Appendix S4 for the scatterplots). The results confirmed that the overall negative relationship between frequency and basic vocabulary stemmed from the group of lexically proficient learners.

Notably, the opposite direction of the relationship between frequency and the two variables—age and basic vocabulary—was counterintuitive (i.e., frequency was more beneficial for older learners, but less beneficial for more proficient learners). A linear relationship was expected between age and basic vocabulary (i.e., older learners are more lexically proficient than younger learners); therefore, we anticipated a positive correlation between frequency and basic vocabulary. However, further analysis showed no significant difference in vocabulary knowledge between the two age groups \(^6\) (indicated by the large overlap between the two confidence intervals): secondary school \((k = 5, M = 0.69, 95\%\ CI [0.52, 0.85])\) and university \((k = 17, M = 0.76, 95\%\ CI [0.69, 0.83])\).

These findings mean that basic vocabulary knowledge and age were not related in our data. Regardless of vocabulary knowledge, older learners tend to benefit more from repeated encounters than younger learners.

**Figure 2.** Relationship between basic vocabulary and effect sizes (frequency-learning association).

**Treatment moderators.** First, the frequency effect was significantly larger in massed learning conditions \((r = .38)\) than in spaced learning conditions \((r = .23)\). A further examination of the exposure type in massed and spaced conditions was conducted on single exposure, self-paced multiple exposures, controlled multiple exposures over time, and repeated exposures (the other two variables were not included in the analysis due to the small samples, \(k < 3\)). As summarized in Table 4, learners who were repeatedly exposed to the same text in a day \((r = .46)\) benefited most from frequency. This was followed by learners who received a single exposure \((r = .33)\), and to a much lesser extent, self-paced and controlled multiple-exposures conditions \((r = .19)\). Second, mode of input approached statistical significance \((Q = 7.71, p = .06)\), and relatively large frequency effects
were found for reading \((r = .41)\) and listening \((r = .39)\), compared to reading while listening \((r = .28)\) and viewing \((r = .22)\). Third, visual aid was found to be a significant moderator. Learners presented with visual information \((r = .21)\) during meaning-focused tasks benefited less from repeated encounters than those who had no access to the information \((r = .38)\). Regarding engagement with target words, a significantly larger effect was found for treatments involving no engagement \((r = .39)\) compared to treatment involving engagement \((r = .17)\). Lastly, with regard to range in encounters, mixed-effects meta-regression analysis using the unrestricted maximum likelihood method showed a negative and significant relationship between range in encounters and frequency effects, indicating that the wider the range, the smaller the frequency effects. This finding was also confirmed by subsequent weighted correlation analyses \((r = -.44, \rho = -.50)\). The scatterplot (see Figure 3) illustrates that the size of the frequency effect appears to decline after a range of approximately 20 encounters. This trend was confirmed by the significant difference (indicated by no confidence interval overlap) between two range groups: “less than 20” \((k = 32, r = .37, 95\% \text{ CI } [.31, .44])\) vs. “20 or more” \((k = 12, r = .15, 95\% \text{ CI } [.04, .25])\). It should be noted that the results do not suggest any negative relationship between learning and frequency per se; rather, the results indicate that the frequency-learning correlation does not seem to increase beyond a range of around 20 encounters.

Table 5.

\begin{tabular}{lcccc}
\hline
Exposure type & \(k\) & \(r\) & 95\% CI & \(Q\) tests \\
\hline
 &  & Lower & Upper & \\
Single exposure & 18 & .33 & .23 & .43 & .00 & 14.17 & .00 \\
Self-paced multiple exposures & 5 & .19 & .05 & .33 & .00 \\
Controlled multiple exposures over time & 7 & .19 & .02 & .35 & .02 \\
Repeated exposures within a day & 11 & .46 & .37 & .55 & .00 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textit{Note.} CI = confidence interval.
Methodological moderators. A significantly larger frequency effect was found for nonwords \( (r = .50) \) than for real words \( (r = .30) \), indicating that the effect of repeated encounters becomes much stronger when learners are exposed to nonwords than when they are exposed to real words. Similarly, a large effect was also found for studies forewarning learners of an upcoming comprehension test \( (r = .51) \). This effect was significantly larger than studies with non-forewarned learners \( (r = .30) \). Finally, the results regarding test format showed larger frequency effects for the recall test format \( (r = .43) \) and VKS \( (r = .45) \) in comparison to the recognition test format \( (r = .29) \), but the difference was not significant \( (Q = 4.55, p = .10) \). A post hoc \( Q \) test suggested a tendency that recall test formats contributed to larger frequency effects than recognition test formats \( (Q = 3.16, p = .07) \). There were no significant differences found between VKS and recognition or between VKS and recall \( (Q = 1.85, p = .17 \text{ and } Q = 0.02, p = .88, \text{ respectively}) \).

Discussion

In answer to the first research question regarding the overall relationship between frequency of encounters and incidental vocabulary learning, the results showed that there was an average correlation of .34, a medium effect according to Plonsky and Oswald’s (2014) effect-size benchmark. In other words, about 11% of the variance in word learning through meaning-focused input was explained by frequency of encounters. Although revealing, a large effect size might be expected, considering the great theoretical value and substantial attention that many researchers have given to the role of frequency in vocabulary acquisition for the past four decades (Elley, 1989; Godfroid et al., 2018; Horst et al., 1998; Jenkins et al., 1989; Pellicer-Sánchez & Schmitt, 2010; Peters & Webb, 2018; Saragi et al., 1978; van Zeeland & Schmitt, 2013; Vidal, 2011; Waring & Takaki, 2003; Webb, 2007; Webb & Chang, 2015; Webb et al., 2013). The current meta-analysis indicates that while
frequency of encounters is important, it should perhaps be considered as one of many factors affecting vocabulary learning (Webb & Nation, 2017).

In answer to the second research question which asked whether and to what extent moderator variables would account for the variability in the effects of repetition, the results revealed that frequency-learning associations were significantly moderated by a range of variables pertaining to learner, treatment, and methodology.

Age and Basic Vocabulary

The results showed that a larger frequency effect was found for older learners (university level, \(r = .38\)) than for younger learners (primary and secondary school levels, \(r = .23\) and \(.20\)) while their basic vocabulary knowledge (i.e., the most frequent 2,000 word families) was constant. The reason for the absence of a significant difference between university and primary school students might relate to small sample sizes for the latter group \((k = 4)\). These findings indicate that with maturity and accumulated experience in engaging with L2 texts, learners may gradually develop literacy and strategic skills, enabling better text comprehension in terms of accuracy and automaticity. This might free up attentional resources for older learners and allow them to accumulate word knowledge efficiently over repeated encounters.

Interestingly, the result for basic vocabulary and frequency showed that vocabulary learning of lexically proficient learners was less likely explained by frequency of encounters compared to low-proficiency learners. A further examination of the data showed that the diminishing effect of frequency was present in lexical learning by participants who mastered the most frequent 2,000 level, whereas it may not be the case for those who did not master that level. These findings suggest a non-linear relationship between vocabulary knowledge and frequency effects on incidental word learning. Beyond a certain point in vocabulary growth, learners may be able to acquire L2 words in fewer encounters and need not receive as many encounters as learners with smaller vocabulary sizes (Zahar et al., 2001). However, it is important to note that in this study the definition of vocabulary knowledge was limited to the most frequent 2,000 word families. Although knowledge of these high-frequency words is crucial for L2 general proficiency (Nation, 2013; Webb & Nation, 2017), looking at this level alone might not reveal a fuller picture of the relationship between frequency effects and vocabulary knowledge of advanced learners.

Lastly, we should note that comparison of the primary-study results and the current meta-analysis results is not simple. In our meta-analysis, the negative correlation between frequency effects and basic vocabulary was based on the variance in vocabulary test scores (i.e., VLT 2,000 level) “between studies” (not “between learners” as in primary studies). In the studies we included, attempts were made to ensure that the difficulty of the treatment texts was suitable for their own participants. The researchers often examined vocabulary demands using a lexical profiler (at least 16 out of 26 studies), pilot-testing the texts (Vidal, 2003), consulting experts for evaluation (Neuman & Koskinen, 1992), and using simplified versions of texts (Hatami, 2017). Thus, the results of the
diminishing role of frequency for lexically proficient learners (VLT 2,000 level > 80%) as well as its negligible effect ($r = .046$) for less proficient learners (VLT 2,000 level < 80%) should be interpreted within the context where text difficulty was controlled for.

**Spacing and Exposure Type**

A smaller frequency effect was found when studies were conducted in spaced learning conditions ($r = .23$) than in massed learning conditions ($r = .38$). This result supports our prediction based on Webb (2014, p. 2) positing that “[repetition] effects may be greatest when repeated encounters occur within a short span.” A further examination of the exposure type revealed that two massed-conditions showed medium effect sizes (repeated exposures, $r = .46$ and single exposure, $r = .33$), whereas two spaced-conditions showed small effect sizes (controlled and self-paced multiple exposures, $r = .19$ for both). A relatively high correlation between frequency of encounters and vocabulary learning for repeated exposures indicates that reading or listening to the same text repeatedly might make unknown words more salient during the subsequent exposure. This is chiefly because by the second or third time of exposure, learners are familiar with the text content and need less effort for comprehension, thereby directing their attention to information that they might still need to work out, including unknown words.

**Mode of Input and Visual Aid**

Although no significant differences were found across any of the four types of input-mode conditions, frequency appeared to benefit learning through reading ($r = .41$) and listening ($r = .39$) more than reading while listening ($r = .28$) or viewing ($r = .22$). A relatively high correlation for listening was unexpected, since previous studies suggested a small effect of frequency on learning through listening (Brown et al., 2008; Hatami, 2017; Vidal, 2011). The relatively large effect for listening might relate to the way we categorized this variable, a general category of “listening” which encompassed a variety of spoken activities spanning listening to simplified input, engaging in spoken interaction, and listening to songs repeatedly (Ellis, 1995; Pavia, Webb, & Faez, in press). These activities were different in genre and text length from the ones that have been used to compare the two modes in earlier studies: graded readers (Brown et al., 2008; Hatami, 2017) and academic lectures (Vidal, 2011). Similarly, the results did not support our prediction that the controlled nature of a reading while listening condition would offer a favorable situation where frequency effects will figure significantly because readers’ attention is focused onto every word and sentence. A possible reason for this might be that dual modes of input could leave a strong trace of memory of L2 words, which might help learn the words in fewer encounters. A recent study (Malone, 2018) suggests that aural support while reading induces deeper cognitive processing, to the extent that the effect of simultaneous aural input overrode that of repeated encounters upon meaning-recognition learning. Lastly, as for viewing, its smallest effect size merits further exploration ($r = .22$). A possible reason for this might be because frequency effects that result from viewing L2 television may be attenuated
by other factors such as visual images in combination with L1 and L2 subtitles (Peters & Webb, 2018; Rodgers, 2013). This explanation was supported by the result of visual aid which was found to be a significant moderator. Learners presented with visual information \((r = .21)\) during a meaning-focused task benefited less from repeated encounters than those who had no access to the information \((r = .38)\). This finding was in accord with the view that visual imagery heightens the salience of unknown words and it has an attenuating impact on frequency of encounters (Horst et al., 1998).

**Engagement**

Studies involving engagement produced a smaller frequency effect on vocabulary learning \((r = .17)\) compared to engagement-free studies \((r = .39)\). Earlier studies allude to the possibility that engagement (e.g., dictionary use, discussion of the stories, the use of learning journals) might reduce the frequency effect on vocabulary learning (Laufer & Rozovski-Roitblat, 2011; Webb & Chang, 2015). A possible reason for this attenuating effect is that engagement with target words might override the effect of repeated encounters. For instance, according to involvement load hypothesis (Hulstijn & Laufer, 2001), looking up the meaning of an unknown L2 word in a dictionary could induce a certain level of motivational and cognitive involvement (e.g., “need” to know the meaning of the word, “search” for the word meaning, and “evaluation” for judging which one of multiple meanings listed in the dictionary entry fits the context where it appears). As few as one dictionary look-up of a word could lead to larger gains than multiple encounters with the word (Laufer & Rozovski-Roitblat, 2015). Alternatively, it is possible to argue that such engagement attempts might have resulted in intentional learning and increased attentional processing of target-word forms.

**Range in Encounters**

The rationale for including this variable was based on the hypothesis that a restricted range of repetitions might misleadingly disguise the size of true frequency effects on incidental vocabulary learning. However, frequency effects were not found in the expected direction. The results indicated that the wider range in number of encounters led to a weaker correlation between frequency and learning. Further examination of the relationship showed that frequency effects remained prominent up to the range of around 20 encounters, after which the effects appeared to start declining. The result indicates that although frequency affects learning positively, its effect may not remain constant for initial and later encounters (Bisson, van Heuven, Conklin, & Tunney, 2014; Godfroid et al., 2018). This is likely because although encounters may contribute to incidental learning, there are diminishing learning gains as the number of repetitions increases beyond a certain point (Webb & Nation, 2017). Recent eye-tracking research lends support to this claim as Elgort and colleagues (2018) observed the plateau effect on processing of target novel words after a certain number of encounters (e.g., 8 to 10 encounters). Thus, we need to remember that the general view that “more is better” for learning may not always be true (Elgort et al., 2018; Pellicer-Sánchez, 2016). However, it
should be noted that the current study focused exclusively on knowledge of form and meaning, and it is likely that other aspects of word knowledge (e.g., derivation, grammatical functions) are enhanced to different degrees with different numbers of encounters (Webb, 2007).

Nonword Use

The difference between studies using nonwords ($r = .50$) and real words ($r = .30$) was substantial. This finding reveals that frequency effects become much more salient when participants learn words that they have never seen or heard before. By extension, the more fully developed knowledge of a word becomes, the weaker the frequency effect on learning that word (Bisson et al., 2014). Another possible reason might relate to special attention elicited by nonwords (Reynolds, 2018). In reality, some of the target (real) words that are supposed to be unfamiliar to participants could be partially known to them (e.g., forms of the words might be at least recognizable). Compared to a partially known (real) word, a nonword could draw much more attention from learners because salience of the nonword might be pronounced by the presence of high-frequency words surrounding it. Therefore, use of nonwords in L2 research might not only overestimate the amount of learning (Chen & Truscott, 2010; Reynolds, 2018) but also inflate the size of correlations between learning gains and frequency of encounters.

Comprehension Test Announcement

As predicted, learners who were forewarned of an upcoming comprehension test ($r = .51$) benefited more from repeated encounters than those who were not forewarned ($r = .30$). However, the size of the effect was larger than expected ($r = .51$), which was approaching a large effect (Plonsky & Oswald, 2014). Forewarned learners might have been more attentive to a range of text features (e.g., topic-related words) that would be otherwise overlooked (Swanborn & De Glopper, 2002). Notice of a comprehension test may encourage a wider scope of learners’ attention to textual information that could increase the likelihood that target words in a text receive attention.

Test Format

Frequency effects were significantly larger when vocabulary learning was measured using a recall format ($r = .43$) than a recognition format ($r = .29$). These results were in line with earlier studies suggesting that more demanding measures are likely to be associated with frequency than less demanding measures (Chen & Truscott, 2010; Peters & Webb, 2018; Webb, 2007). Recall measures might be less subject to construct-irrelevant strategies (e.g., guessing) leading such test scores to better reflect learners’ knowledge of form-meaning connections than recognition measures such as multiple-choice and matching tests (Kremmel & Schmitt, 2016; Webb, 2007). Another possible reason is that a greater number of encounters might not be necessary to score correctly on a recognition test, whereas it might still continue to contribute to scoring successfully on a recall test. This is mainly because receptive knowledge is easier to acquire than productive knowledge, as it has
been found that form recognition develops faster than form or meaning recall (Godfroid et al., 2018; Webb, 2007). Consequently, the relationship between frequency and recognition might be less pronounced than that between frequency and recall. We found a medium frequency effect for VKS format ($r = .45$). Despite long-standing issues with the construct validity of the scale (Schmitt, 2010), it seems that the test serves the purpose of capturing incidental learning and is sufficiently sensitive to reflect accumulated information from every encounter (Wesche & Paribakht, 1996).

**Conclusion**

By systematically reviewing the body of L2 incidental vocabulary learning studies of the last four decades since Saragi et al. (1978), this meta-analysis sought to clarify complexities involved in the relationship between frequency and incidental vocabulary learning. The findings demonstrated that although frequency of encounters is an important predictor of incidental vocabulary learning, it is not a single determiner but one of many factors affecting vocabulary learning through meaning-focused input. The results also revealed significant variation in the size of frequency effects across studies and identified a number of important factors accounting for such variability spanning learner-related, treatment-related, and methodological variables.

There are several points that need to be acknowledged in order to interpret the current results accurately without overinterpretation. First, the fact that only six studies (6/25 studies, 24%) reported reliability coefficients (e.g., Cronbach alpha) for vocabulary tests is alarming. Compared to 13 earlier meta-analyses on different SLA fields in terms of the number of studies reporting reliability ($M = 35.4\%$, Range = 6 to 64%), the current study (24%) would be ranked fifth from the bottom (Larson-Hall & Plonsky, 2015). Vocabulary researchers should be encouraged to report reliability coefficients in future studies.

Second, we found a medium correlation ($r = .34$) between frequency of encounters and vocabulary learning. However, it should be noted that the finding resulted from an aggregation of primary studies employing within-participants designs. In this situation, there is little to no control over the number of exposures to the target words, which might cause confounding influence such as word properties on learning. In fact, the mean correlation ($r = .38$, 95% CI [.23, .51]) based on three between-participants studies (Al-Shehri, 2015; Chen & Truscott, 2010; Webb, 2007) appears to be larger than the correlation based on the within-participants studies ($r = .34$, 95% CI [.27, .40]). Although the highly controlled nature of between-participants studies (e.g., Webb, 2007) might overestimate the strength of the relationship, it is also reasonable that the current meta-analysis might underestimate it. As we stressed throughout this article, the role of frequency in lexical learning is greatly complicated by the presence of numerous other factors including individual differences and word characteristics. Therefore, a future direction for incidental vocabulary learning research should be to explore how frequency relates to other factors in the process (e.g., eye-movement) or product (e.g., posttest scores) of vocabulary learning rather than determine a frequency threshold necessary for learning. With a mixed effects modelling approach, we can examine the effects of both learner-
level (e.g., proficiency, age, motivation, working memory) and item-level (e.g., frequency, cognativeness, concreteness, word class, word length) variables altogether on learning gains with a view to obtaining deeper insights into the complex relationship between frequency and learning (Elgort et al., 2018; Elgort & Warren, 2014; Godfroid et al., 2018; Peters & Webb, 2018).

An additional point in need of acknowledgment is that the current meta-analysis focused on knowledge of single-word items pertaining to form-meaning connection. The size of frequency effects or the way it functions in learning single-word items might be different from that in learning multi-word items. A meta-analytic study on corpus frequency and collocation learning indicated a moderate correlation between learner knowledge and frequency of two words occurring together in various types of corpora (Durrant, 2014). Given the growing interest in incidental leaning of collocations (Pellicer-Sánchez, 2017; Webb et al., 2013), the relationship between frequency of encounters and collocation learning also merits future meta-analysis. Other aspects of word knowledge also need more rigorous attention in incidental vocabulary learning research. Due to a lack of studies exploring aspects other than form-meaning connection (6 out of 26 studies measured collocation, association, and grammatical function), they were not included in the current investigation. Future studies should measure aspects of vocabulary knowledge in addition to or apart from form-meaning connection. This would shed further light on the complex relationship between frequency and vocabulary learning.
Notes

1 In incidental vocabulary learning research, it is common to report the rate of learning based on the proportion of words learned to the total number of target words (Swanborn & de Glopper, 1999). Laufer and Rozovski-Roitblat (2015) suggest that learning gains of a third of all target words (i.e., 33%) is considered sufficient given that learners’ attention is not explicitly directed to target vocabulary.

2 A demanding test format includes distractors among multiple choice options that share aspects of form or meaning with the correct answer, whereas a less demanding test format includes distractors that do not share aspects of form or meaning with the correct answer.

3 Characteristics of target words were initially coded and analyzed as a moderator variable (number of letters per word, number of syllables per word, ratio of nouns to the total number of target words, word frequency, concreteness, familiarity, imageability, meaningfulness, age of acquisition). Given that the effects of these lexical features were found to be marginal, the results were not reported due to space limitations.

4 One might argue that comprehension activities involving dictionary use or classroom discussion likely draw learners’ attention to target vocabulary. However, we considered learning through such activities as incidental when learners’ word-engagement attempts were optional and spontaneous rather than forced by teachers or researchers.

5 One of the validity issues with VKS lies in the first two items on a checklist format: (a) I don’t remember having seen this word before, and (b) I have seen this word before, but I don’t know what it means. The fact that these two questions rely entirely on learners’ self-report increases the likelihood of making wild guesses. To control for the overestimation of word knowledge, Vidal (2003, 2011) and Yang and Sun (2013) included nonwords in the pool of test items and the number of incorrectly identified words (i.e., false alarm) was used to adjust the final scores downwards.

6 The group of primary school was not included in the analysis, since no studies focusing on primary school students reported test scores indicating basic vocabulary defined in the current study.
References

Note. The full reference list of the studies included in the meta-analysis is available in Appendix S5.


Durrant, P. (2014). Corpus frequency and second language learners’ knowledge of collocations: A


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Supporting Information
Appendix S1. Sensitivity Analysis.
Appendix S2. Coding Scheme.
Appendix S3. Results of Publication Bias Measures and Funnel Plot.
Appendix S4. Relationship Between Frequency and Basic Vocabulary for 2,000 Frequency Level Mastered and Unmastered Samples.
Appendix S5. References of Included Studies.