

Managing Linguistic Uncertainty in Interpreting: Insights from an Empirical Investigation

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Interpreting is a fast-paced activity where interpreters must make quick choices when faced with uncertainty. This study looks at how professional interpreters handle linguistic uncertainty in English-Chinese sight translation, with a focus on the strategies they use. By analyzing transcription data alongside instructor evaluations, we found that interpreters relied most on creative interpretation and omission, while strategies like paraphrasing, simplification, transformation, addition, and generalization appeared less often. The results show a clear preference for strategies that keep communication flowing without adding unnecessary cognitive load. These findings support the Processing Economy Hypothesis, which suggests interpreters naturally seek efficient ways to process language while maintaining meaning. The study also highlights practical implications for interpreter training, emphasizing the value of flexible, economy-oriented strategies to help interpreters stay fluent under pressure.

Keywords: linguistic uncertainty, strategies, Processing Economy Hypothesis, interpreting, English-Chinese sight translation

Introduction

Interpreting is a communicative action transmitting one language to another accurately through the oral form in order to exchange information (Pöchhacker, 2004). It is a kind of communicative tool on which man depends in the course of cross-cultural activities among all kinds of nationals. Different from translation, interpreters have to render the messages from the source language into the target one immediately after they hear the message or with a minimum delay, and what the interpreters have said will be the only message source for the listeners who form the other side of communication.

Scholars have been studying the complex cognitive process of interpreting. Seleskovitch & Lederer (1989) used the Triangle Model to concisely illustrate the process of interpreting, which is illustrated below (Figure 1):

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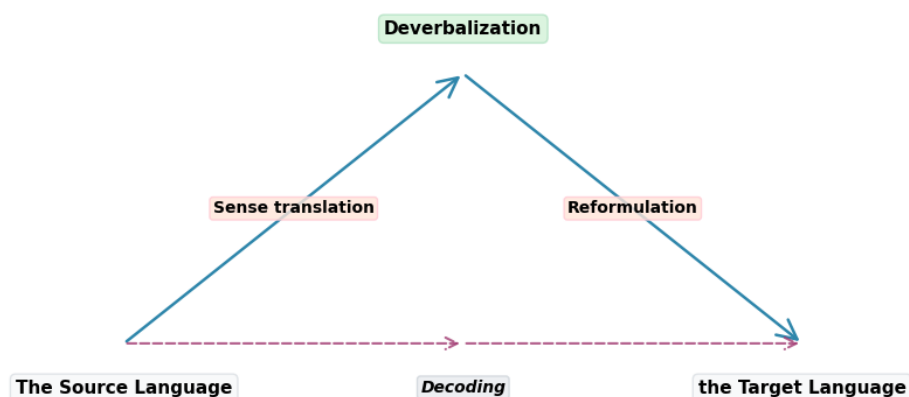


Figure 1. The Triangle Model of interpreting.

According to Seleskovitch and Lederer, there are three steps in the process of interpreting: (1) merging elements of linguistic meaning with extra-linguistic knowledge to obtain sense; (2) deverbalizing that sense as it emerges; and (3) spontaneously expressing this sense linguistically (Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1989, p. 22). This model shows that interpreting starts from the input of the source language and ends in the output of the target language in the mid of which there is a crucial stage called deverbalization. Deverbalization is a stage in the interpreting process where the source speech in its linguistic form disappears completely from the interpreter's mind, to be replaced by non-linguistic representation of its "sense". According to Seleskovitch & Lederer, the sense here is composed of both implicitness and explicitness. A full comprehension of sense depends on a sufficient level of shared knowledge between interlocutors, without which the confrontation between texts and cognitive structures does not lead to the emergence of sense. The existence of deverbalization stage could help explain the phenomenon that the interpreter can memorize a speech composed of hundreds of words. He or she does not memorize the whole speech exactly word by word, which is beyond the memory capacity of human beings, but deverbalizes and reformulates the speech with his or her linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge and memorizes the sense of it.

While the Triangle Model provides a clear conceptual framework for understanding the mental stages involved in interpreting, real-life interpreting tasks often present unexpected challenges. One of the most common difficulties is encountering uncertain words or expressions whose meanings are not immediately clear (He & Wang, 2021). In such cases, the interpreter's ability to maintain the flow of communication without compromising accuracy depends heavily on strategic decision-making. The selection of appropriate interpreting strategies—such as paraphrasing, omission, substitution, or generalization—becomes essential when dealing with linguistic uncertainty. These strategies allow interpreters to navigate moments of ambiguity while preserving the overall sense of the original message, thus ensuring effective cross-cultural communication.

However, failure to grasp the meaning of source language input—particularly in the absence of sufficient background knowledge or contextual cues—can significantly impair the interpreter's performance. Misunderstanding or incomplete comprehension may result in inaccurate or misleading renditions, which can distort the speaker's intent and cause communication breakdown. Moreover, repeated uncertainties without

adequate coping strategies may lead to a decline in interpreter confidence, increased cognitive load, and ultimately, the failure to fulfill the communicative task. Therefore, the interpreter's ability to flexibly apply appropriate strategies under linguistic uncertainty is not only a reflection of professional competence, but also a key factor in maintaining the overall quality and reliability of the interpreting output.

According to Hurtado Albir, strategies are the procedures (conscious or unconscious, verbal or nonverbal) used by the interpreter to solve problems that emerge when carrying out the interpreting process with a particular objective in mind (Hurtado Albir, 1996, 1999). Building upon this foundational definition, other scholars have also contributed their efforts to the study of interpreting strategies. For instance, Oléron and Nanpon (1965/2002) discussed strategies designed to control the situation and involving various compromises. Similarly, Gerver (1969) also mentioned that interpreters use the strategy of working in bursts to cope with rapid input speed.

Since the 1990s, systematic research on strategy has been significantly expanded by scholars such as Gile (1995), Kalina (1992), Kohn & Kalina (1996), Niska (1998), Setton (1999), Riccardi (1998, 2005), and Petite (2005). Among them, Gile introduced a set of coping tactics including delaying, segmentation, paraphrasing, transcoding, and omission. In a similar vein, Kalina (1992) identified strategies such as syntactic restructuring, anticipation, monitoring, and approximation. Extending this work, Kohn and Kalina (1996) generalized four categories of strategies, encompassing compression, condensation, deletion, substitution, and linguistic simplification. The four detailed categories include: (1) communicative transfer: inferencing, adaptation, neutralization, elaboration, deletion; (2) parallel organization of source text comprehension and target text production: decalage, anticipation, monitoring, independent discourse chunks, repair, approximation, discourse presentation skills (pause, intonation, and production rate); (3) emergency strategies: transcodage, word-for-word interpreting; and (4) dealing with source discourse complexity: decalage, chunking, approximation, attenuation, substitution, linguistic simplification, compression, and condensation.

Focusing on a more specific issue, Niska (1998) conducted a study on strategies for interpreting neologisms in a workshop paper. She found from her experiment that omission was the most commonly used strategy in simultaneous interpreting. In total, she identified five strategies: omission, use of approximate equivalent, explanation of the concept, loan translation, and direct translation, with omission ranking first. Likewise, Setton (1999) discussed four strategies—waiting, stalling, chunking, and anticipation—particularly relevant for interpreting between languages with differing grammatical structures, such as Chinese and English, based on a corpus of simultaneous interpreting data.

Adding to the typological categorization of strategies, Pöchhacker (2004) proposed three broad types: (1) task-related strategies, including both off-line and on-line approaches; (2) structure coping strategies, focusing on the parallel organization of source discourse comprehension and target discourse production, involving time management, restructuring, anticipation, chunking, waiting, and stalling; and (3) strategies related to conveying source content, such as implication and explication, adaptation, and compression.

Further building on the communicative perspective, Riccardi (2005) emphasized that as a goal-oriented communicative activity, simultaneous interpreting may be analyzed through the strategies applied to achieve communicative objectives. She categorized strategies into comprehension, production, global, and emergency types. Specifically, comprehension strategies include anticipation, segmentation, selection of information, and

stalling or waiting; production strategies encompass compression, expansion, approximation, generalization, the use of open-ended linguistic forms, morphosyntactic transformation, and prosody elements like pauses and intonation. Global strategies include decalage and monitoring, while emergency strategies may involve omission of text segments, transcoding, and parallel reformulation. Lastly, Petite (2005) conducted an experimental study focusing on repair strategies in simultaneous interpreting. The study suggests that an interpreter's primary drive is not simply to fix errors, but rather to either stay closer to the original message or to make the delivery easier for the audience while maximizing its impact. The findings indicate that interpreters are willing to invest additional cognitive effort to achieve greater fidelity or relevance.

Researchers have extensively explored interpreting strategies as key means for interpreters to manage challenges during the interpreting process. Yet, there is not sufficient empirical research concerning strategies of managing linguistic uncertainty. Thus, the present study explores empirically what strategies are frequently employed to manage linguistic uncertainty during interpreting. The significance of this present research lies in: (1) it explores empirically how professional interpreters manage linguistic uncertainty, thereby adding new data to the present literature; (2) it situates the issue within the context of English-Chinese interpreting, highlight language transfer between two distant language families; (3) it provides explanation from the perspective of cognitive processing and cognitive effort, thereby enriching previous studies.

From Effort Model to Processing Economy Hypothesis

To explain the cognitive processes and challenges involved in interpreting—especially simultaneous interpreting—through a cognitive load perspective, Daniel Gile (1995) proposed the seminal Effort Model. Gile argued that interpreting is a complex cognitive activity that requires various “efforts” (mental operations). These efforts compete for limited cognitive resources (like attention and memory). If the total demand exceeds the interpreter's capacity, performance suffers—leading to omissions, errors, or breakdowns. Gile proposes four main efforts for simultaneous interpreting: (1) Listening and Analysis Effort (L): Understanding and analyzing the source speech (decoding words, syntax, meaning, etc.); (2) Production Effort (P): Producing the target language output (formulating and articulating the interpretation); (3) Short-term Memory Effort (M): Holding incoming information in memory until it can be processed and rendered; (4) Coordination Effort (C): Managing the balance and timing of the above efforts simultaneously. The total cognitive load equals the sum of L, P, M and C.

If the total cognitive load exceeds available capacity, errors may occur. Gile argued that cognitive overload is the main reason for interpreting failures, not just linguistic or technical problems. However, for an interpreter, training can improve his or her performance, not by expanding capacity, but by increasing efficiency (e.g., better anticipation, chunking, note-taking). Yet, the Effort Model is descriptive—it doesn't prescribe how to interpret but explains what's happening mentally during the task. Therefore, when analyzing the cognitive effort and the corresponding strategy use, some scholars turn to more prescriptive models, one of which is the Processing Economy Hypothesis (He, 2018).

The Processing Economy Hypothesis was introduced within the field of translation and interpreting studies—specifically in the context of explaining how interpreters prioritize different cognitive processing routes. The concept was put forward by Yuanjian He (2018) in a theoretical framework. It is hypothesized that because

of the way in which the subsystems of the brain are designed and operates, bilingual processing including interpreting is conditioned by economy. That is to say, the human brain is designed to work economically—it naturally seeks to achieve communicative goals using the least possible cognitive effort, provided the output remains acceptable.

According to He (2018), there are two main cognitive routes in interpreting: one is the Structure-routed Processing, which directly maps source-language grammatical structures to target language. It is quick and low-effort, but may lead to awkward or less natural expressions in the target language. The other is the Concept-mediated Processing, which involves fully decoding the meaning into conceptual representations, then re-encoding it naturally in the target language. It requires more mental effort and time but produces more idiomatic, target-friendly output (See Figure 2).

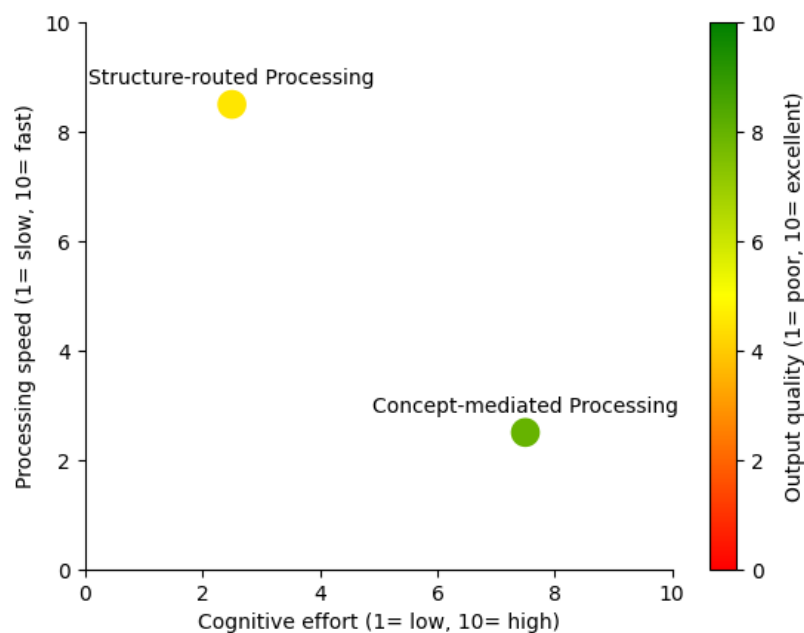


Figure 2. Processing Economy Hypothesis: The cognitive trade-offs in interpreting.

The Hypothesis also stipulates that: first, bilingual pairing applies as a priori wherever available and cognitively possible. This means that if a ready-made, direct equivalent exists between the source and target languages (e.g., common words, fixed phrases, idioms that match well), the interpreter will tend to use it without rethinking the meaning from scratch. This is an automatic and low-effort route. Second, at the absence of any conscientious intervention, cognitively less costly computational paths, such as structure-routed processing, are accessed as much as possible over those more costly ones, so as not to overload the systems. It means that if the interpreter does not consciously intervene, the brain often follows the structure-routed path—keeping the sentence structure similar to the source language, rather than restructuring it to fit target language norms. This minimizes the load on working memory and processing time. Generally speaking, this could be achieved through a number of strategies like paraphrasing, omission, substitution, generalization, etc. The Hypothesis argues that interpreters naturally tend to choose less cognitively demanding processing routes, unless a deliberate override is necessary.

In this light, linguistic uncertainty, which often arises from ambiguous input, unfamiliar terminology, or syntactic complexity, can be managed more effectively through strategies that reduce cognitive load. These include paraphrasing, which allows interpreters to reformulate ideas using simpler or more familiar structures; omission, which removes non-essential or highly uncertain segments; and substitution or simplification, which replace unknown or difficult elements with culturally or linguistically accessible equivalents. The Hypothesis explains why such strategies are not only common but also necessary: they serve as adaptive responses to real-time cognitive constraints, preventing system overload. By prioritizing computational efficiency—such as opting for structure-routed processing over more effortful semantic reconstruction—interpreters maintain fluency and accuracy under pressure. Thus, the Processing Economy Hypothesis provides a useful cognitive framework for understanding how and why interpreters employ specific strategies to manage linguistic uncertainty in high-stakes communicative context. In the present study, empirical investigation was conducted to reveal strategy use in such context and analysis was done based on the Processing Economy Hypothesis.

Research Design

Participants

Eight professional interpreters took part in the experiment. All participants were native speakers of Chinese who had acquired English as a second language. Their English proficiency was high, with IELTS scores above 6.5 or TEM-8 scores exceeding 70. On average, the interpreters had more than two years of professional experience. Prior to the experiment, they received brief training to ensure they were familiar with the experimental procedures.

Materials

The experiment used two English texts that shared a similar topic. Each text was composed of nine sentences, with Passage One containing 184 words and Passage Two slightly longer at 185 words. Vocabulary analysis showed that Passage One included 157 words from the British National Corpus 1–2000 List, 17 from the Academic Word List, and 10 words not found on either list. In comparison, Passage Two had 151, 20, and 14 words in those categories, respectively. Additionally, the passages were balanced on several linguistic metrics, such as total character count, average sentence length, word length, Flesch Reading Ease score, and Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level (refer to Table 1). In order to examine how interpreters manage linguistic uncertainty, each passage was crafted to contain five deliberately selected lexical challenges. These consisted of words or phrases that had been pre-identified as likely to cause difficulty. The selections fell into two categories: rare vocabulary and metaphorical expressions. Because both word frequency and the presence of metaphor are reliable indicators of a term's internal lexical complexity (Jensen, 2009). These two factors offer an effective means of gauging the level of cognitive effort required to process a given word (He & Wang, 2021).

Table 1
Key Metrics of Passage One vs. Passage Two

	Passage One	Passage Two
High-frequency vocabulary (BNC 1–2000)	157 (85.33%)	151 (81.62%)
Academic-specific vocabulary	17 (8.46%)	20 (9.71%)
Low-frequency or unlisted words	10 (5.43%)	14 (7.57%)

	Passage One	Passage Two
Overall word count	184	185
Number of sentences	9	9
Average sentence length (in words)	20.4	20.5
Flesch Reading Ease score	45.8	49.6
Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level index	11.9	11.4

Procedure and Data Collection

The present study used sight translation as the experiment task. Sight translation, understood as delivering orally in one language the content of a written text in another (Sampaio, 2007; Lambert, 2004), is a common practice in both professional interpreting and interpreter training. In professional settings, it is often required when working with speeches, reports, contracts, or legal documents, particularly where no oral source speech is available (Weber, 1990; Ibrahim, 2008; Sofer, 2008). It is frequently used in bilateral meetings, press conferences, presentations, and ceremonial events, offering a fast and efficient way to convey information (Čeňková 2010). Other uses include rendering drafts for plenary review, handling non-working language speeches, briefing clients before events, and reducing the need for complete written translations. In the classroom, sight translation is widely valued as preparation for simultaneous interpreting. It develops quick coordination between reading, comprehension, and delivery, while building skills in text analysis, meaning transfer, expression, public speaking, and speed (Sampaio, 2007; Weber, 1990; Moser-Mercer, 1994). Research evidence (ALPAC, 1966; Dragsted & Hansen, 2009) confirms its dual role as an indispensable professional tool and a highly effective training exercise for interpreters.

In the experiment, each participant sat in front of a computer screen and was asked to sight translate two passages. To avoid bias from differences between the texts, we used a Latin Square design to rotate the assignment of passages among participants. They were instructed to work at a pace similar to their usual professional speed. While they performed the sight translation, their output was captured with a digital voice recorder. Immediately after the task, short follow-up interviews were conducted to explore whether any of the problem triggers had caused uncertainty during the process. After the experiment, the interpreting recordings were transcribed. To assess the quality of the interpreting, two interpreter training instructors were invited to evaluate each participant's interpreting output, using a scoring scale from 0 (lowest) to 10 (highest). Also, the interpreting transcriptions were examined to identify the strategies used to cope with linguistic uncertainty.

Results and Discussion

The two instructors' evaluations indicated that the professional interpreters achieved consistently good performance. On a scale of 0 to 10, their scores ranged from 7.24 to 9.03, with an average score of 8.12 ($SD = 0.67$). The instructors agreed that the professional interpreters displayed fluency and high-quality in their interpretations.

The interviews indicated that not all of the selected items were met with uncertainty from all participants, for which reason we excluded certain item. Finally, nine of the selected items were included in the results for further processing. We then analyzed the corresponding interpreting transcription, identified and classified the strategies used by the participants.

The results showed that when facing with linguistic uncertainty, the professional interpreters were able to adopt a wide range of strategies instead of adhering to one or two strategies. According to the transcription, we found that among the strategies used to handle linguistic uncertainty (see Figure 3), creative interpretation was used most frequently, appearing 20 times and showing a clear dominance. It was followed by omission, which appeared 13 times. Both paraphrasing and simplification occurred 10 times, reflecting a similar tendency in use. The transformation strategy appeared 8 times, slightly less frequent than the previous two, while addition occurred 7 times. Generalization was the least used strategy, with only 4 occurrences. Overall, creative approaches and omission played a dominant role in strategy selection, whereas the tendency to generalize information was comparatively weak.

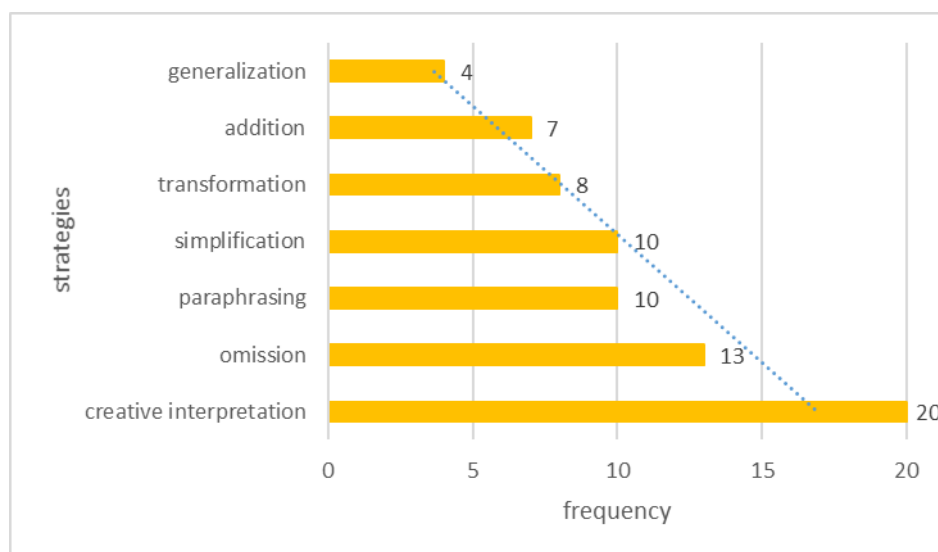


Figure 3. The strategies used to handle uncertainty.

Building on the scholarship on interpreting strategies, our empirical results provide further evidence of how interpreters handle uncertainty in real practice. The findings from the current study align closely with the theoretical assumptions of the Processing Economy Hypothesis (He, 2018). The Hypothesis posits that interpreters are naturally inclined to adopt cognitive strategies that minimize processing effort while maintaining acceptable communicative output. This tendency manifests clearly in the observed preference for creative interpretation and omission as the primary strategies for handling linguistic uncertainty.

Creative interpretation, the most frequently used strategy in this study (20 occurrences), exemplifies the balance between cognitive economy and communicative adequacy. According to Chang (2005), interpreters usually adopt this strategy when they had trouble perceiving part of the speech. If they missed a segment, they would sometimes fill in the gap by drawing on the surrounding context and producing something neutral enough not to stray far from the original message. By reformulating or adapting the source content in a flexible manner, interpreters can achieve target-language fluency without expending the additional cognitive resources required for fully concept-mediated processing. This suggests that when confronted with ambiguous or complex input, interpreters strategically prioritize efficiency over strict literal fidelity, consistent with the notion of structure-routed processing. This result also resonates with Setton's (1999) and Riccardi's (2005) observations

that adaptation and flexible reformulation are often employed to cope with gaps in perception or structural mismatches between languages. The frequent occurrences of creative interpretation suggests that interpreters, rather than striving for word-for-word fidelity, prioritize communicative effectiveness by reconstructing meaning from context, an approach also consistent with Riccardi's view of interpreting as a goal-oriented communicative activity.

Omission, appearing 13 times, further underscores this economy-driven approach. By omitting segments deemed non-essential or highly uncertain, interpreters reduce the immediate cognitive load and prevent system overload, which aligns with the Hypothesis's prediction that the brain favors low-cost computational paths when possible. In real-time interpreting, such omissions may serve as adaptive solutions to manage time constraints and working memory limitations, ensuring overall communicative continuity. This result also echoes Niska's (1998) finding that omission is one of the most pervasive strategies in simultaneous interpreting, particularly when dealing with novel or complex source text. While omission may at first appear to undermine accuracy, the literature underscores its function as a coping tactic (Gile, 1995) that helps interpreters preserve flow and reduce cognitive overload when faced with processing constraints.

Paraphrasing and simplification, both occurring 10 times, also reflect the interpreters' effort to manage cognitive load while preserving meaning. These strategies allow the interpreters to restructure or condense complex source-language structures into simpler, more accessible target-language forms, which thereby facilitates comprehension for both themselves and the audience. The similar frequency of occurrences indicates a shared cognitive effect: both strategies reduce processing demands without significantly compromising accuracy. The findings reflect strategies well-documented by Gile (1995), Kalina (1992), and Kohn & Kalina (1996). Their comparable frequency suggests that interpreters often draw on linguistic restructuring and condensation to balance accuracy with comprehensibility. These strategies serve to repack the source message in a form that is easier to produce and more accessible for the audience, which aligns with Pöchhacker's (2004) emphasis on structure-coping and content-conveying strategies.

Transformation (8 occurrences) and addition (7 occurrences) illustrate moderate-use strategies that may require slightly higher cognitive effort compared to omission or paraphrasing. These strategies typically involve reordering or elaborating source language to fit target-language norms or context. This finding suggests that while structure-routed processing predominates, interpreters occasionally engage in more resource-intensive operations when it is necessary to preserve meaning or naturalness. Transformation is closely related to morphosyntactic adjustments described by Riccardi (2005), while addition reflects elaborative strategies that help clarify meaning or bridge gaps in the source discourse. Both point to the interpreters' willingness to engage in higher cognitive effort, consistent with Petite's (2005) conclusion that interpreters aim not merely to correct errors but to enhance resemblance to the source or optimize communicative relevance.

Generalization, observed only 4 times, was the least used strategy. Its infrequent use may indicate that interpreters prefer to retain as much source-specific information as possible, especially in high-stakes or content-sensitive contexts such as political or academic interpreting. This reluctance aligns with the Hypothesis's view that cognitive economy does not imply indiscriminate simplification; rather, interpreters selectively deploy low-effort strategies while balancing communicative fidelity. This limited use also suggests that while generalization is theoretically recognized (e.g., in Kalina's and Riccardi's categorizations), interpreters might

avoid it in practice because it risks diluting the specificity of the message. The low frequency indicates that interpreters tend to preserve precision whenever possible, resorting to generalization only as a last option.

In summary, the pattern of strategy usage demonstrates a clear economy-driven hierarchy: strategies that minimize cognitive load (creative interpretation, omission) dominate, whereas strategies requiring greater mental effort (transformation, addition) are employed more selectively, and generalization is used sparingly. These findings provide empirical support for the Processing Economy Hypothesis, suggesting that interpreters' strategy selection is not random but systematically influenced by cognitive constraints and the need to optimize real-time processing. From a practical perspective, these results highlight the importance of training interpreters in flexible, economy-oriented strategies, particularly creative interpretation and selective omission, to improve performance under high cognitive demand. Moreover, understanding this hierarchy can inform the design of interpreter education programs and guide the development of assessment frameworks that account for both efficiency and accuracy in strategy use.

Conclusion

This study set out to investigate how interpreters handle linguistic uncertainty in real-time sight translation, with a particular focus on the strategies they employ and how these reflect broader theoretical frameworks such as the Processing Economy Hypothesis. The analysis of transcriptions revealed a clear hierarchy in strategy use, which underscores the interplay between cognitive economy and communicative adequacy in interpreters' decision-making when dealing with linguistic uncertainty.

The most striking finding is the predominance of creative interpretation, which emerged as the most frequently used strategy in the dataset. This strategy not only highlights interpreters' reliance on contextual cues to reconstruct meaning but also demonstrates their ability to maintain fluency and communicative effectiveness even when parts of the source input are unclear. This reflects a practical manifestation of the Processing Economy Hypothesis, as interpreters conserve cognitive resources by reconstructing meaning in a way that balances accuracy with efficiency. The frequent use of omission further reinforces the idea that interpreters operate under economy-driven constraints. Rather than attempting to process every word or phrase, interpreters selectively omit segments that are either non-essential or too costly to process in real time. While omission may appear problematic from a purely accuracy-based perspective, our findings reaffirm its functional value as a mechanism to reduce cognitive overload, maintain flow, and ensure overall communicative coherence.

Taken together, these findings provide empirical support for the Processing Economy Hypothesis. The strategies observed in this study were not employed randomly but reflected a systematic preference for lower-cost solutions that still achieve communicative adequacy. The clear hierarchy—dominated by creative interpretation and omission, followed by mid-range strategies like paraphrasing and transformation, and with generalization at the bottom—maps directly onto the principle that interpreters naturally prefer to adopt the cognitively economical processing routes.

From a pedagogical perspective, this study carries significant implications for interpreter training. The results highlight the need to equip students not only with a repertoire of strategies but also with the awareness of when and why to deploy them. Training should emphasize the development of flexible, economy-oriented strategies—particularly creative interpretation and selective omission—as these appear central to successful

performance under high cognitive demand when dealing with linguistic uncertainty. Moreover, understanding the trade-offs between economy and fidelity can guide the design of assessment frameworks that value both efficiency and accuracy, acknowledging that interpreters' strategic choices are constrained by real-time processing pressures rather than idealized notions of equivalence.

In conclusion, this study contributes to the growing body of research on interpreting strategies by providing empirical evidence of how interpreters manage uncertainty through a hierarchy of strategies shaped by cognitive economy. The findings affirm that interpreters are active problem-solvers who constantly balance effort and effect, making choices that optimize communication under demanding conditions. By connecting these empirical observations to established theoretical frameworks, this research not only enriches our understanding of interpreting practice but also offers valuable insights for interpreter education and professional development. However, the present study is limited by its scale, interpreting modality and text type. Further investigations are needed to test whether the same hierarchy of strategies emerges across larger datasets, diverse interpreting settings, and different genres of source texts.

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