

A Brief Introduction to the *Hexi Yiyu* (河西譯語): Unidentified-Language Glosses in a National Library of China Manuscript

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Abstract The National Library of China holds a unique Qing manuscript of the *Yiyu* (81 folios), copied by Yuan Shoujie at his Zhenjietang. Folios 64–69, bearing the heading ‘Hexi’ are conventionally called the *Hexi Yiyu*. Discovered in 1981, this sole surviving copy has attracted scholarly attention, yet the language it records remains unidentified. Despite its modest size and the lack of rigorous transcription rules comparable to the Type-A *Huayi Yiyu*, the glossary retains research value. This paper briefly outlines the *Huayi Yiyu* typology, examines the bibliographical features and research history of the *Hexi Yiyu*, and provides English translations and IPA transcriptions of its lexical items to facilitate future studies.

Key Words: Huayi Yiyu; Hexi; Yiyu; Tangut

Özet

Çin Milli Kütüphanesi, Yuan Shoujie tarafından kendi Zhenjietang’ında kopyalanmış olan *Yiyu*’nun (81 yaprak) eşsiz bir Qing dönemi elyazmasına sahiptir. Başlığında “Hexi” yazan 64–69. yapraklar, geleneksel olarak *Hexi Yiyu* olarak adlandırılır. 1981’de keşfedilen bu tek günümüze ulaşan kopya akademik ilgi çekmiştir, ancak kaydettiği dil hâlâ tanımlanmamıştır. Mütevazı boyutuna ve A Tipi *Huayi Yiyu* ile karşılaştırılabilecek titiz transkripsiyon kurallarının eksikliğine rağmen, bu sözlükçe araştırma değerini

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korumaktadır. Bu makale, *Huayi Yiyu* tipolojisini kısaca özetlemekte, *Hexi Yiyu*'nun bibliyografik özelliklerini ve araştırma geçmişini incelemekte ve gelecekteki çalışmaları kolaylaştırmak için sözcük birimlerinin İngilizce çevirilerini ve IPA transkripsiyonlarını sunmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Huayi Yiyu; Hexi; Yiyu; Tangut

China has a long and distinguished tradition of compiling bilingual glossaries. Early landmarks include the sound-and-meaning glossaries of Buddhist terminology produced by Xuan Ying and Hui Lin during the Tang dynasty (玄應《一切經音義》, 慧琳《一切經音義》), the Xianbei–Chinese lexical entries featured in the *Suishu* (《隋書》, vol.32), the categorized Korean–Chinese glossary *Jilin Leishi* (《雞林類事》), the Tangut–Chinese practical handbook **Fanhan Heshi Zhangzhongzhu* (《番漢時合掌中珠》), as well as the records of Khitan and Jurchen terms scattered throughout the *Liaoshi* (《遼史》, vol.116) and *Jinshi* (《金史》, appendix vol.1 following vol.135). (Liu Yingsheng, 2008, 45-53) This genealogical line continues into the Yuan dynasty with the Sino–Mongolian glossary *Zhiyuan Yiyu* (《至元譯語》) and ultimately foreshadows the more systematically compiled collections of the subsequent eras. It was during the Ming and Qing dynasties (14th–18th centuries), however, that such lexicographic undertakings were formally institutionalized on a larger scale, with

official compilations produced to render Chinese into a wide array of minority and foreign languages. These imperially sanctioned bilingual works from the Ming and Qing periods are collectively known as the *Huayi Yiyu* (《華夷譯語》, 'Sino-Foreign Glossary').

There are currently over 80 extant *Huayi Yiyu* glossaries, of which more than 50 involve minority languages within China.¹ For a long time, these *Huayi Yiyu* glossaries have been divided into four types: A, B, C, and D. This classification method was first proposed by the Japanese scholar Ishida Mikinosuke (石田幹之助, 1930, p.1277–1290) in 1930, who at that time divided such documents into three types: A, B, and C. In 1931, the German scholar Walter Fuchs added a translation term to his paper², further expanding this classification system and leading to the final establishment of the four-type classification system of A, B, C, and D. This classification method remains in use today. Type A, also known as the Hongwu (洪武) *Huayi Yiyu*, is a bilingual Sino-Mongolian translation

¹ These numbers are obtained from the statistical data compiled in this work: Endo, M., Takekoshi, T., Sarashina, S., Feng, Z (eds.), 2007, p. 197-204.

² Ishida Mikinosuke. The *Tatar Yiyu* in the So-Category C *Huayi Yiyu*, *Journal of North Asia Studies*, 1944, Vol. 2, pp. 86. For the Chinese translation, see Jia Jingyan and Zhu Feng. *Menggu Yiyu, Nüzhen Yiyu Huibian (A Collection of Mongolian and Jurchen Yiyu)*, Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 1990, pp. 370. [贾敬颜、朱凤：《蒙古译语、女真译语汇编》，天津古籍出版社，1990年，第370页]

compiled by Hanlin Academy (翰林院) lecturer Huo Yuanjie (火源潔) and others in 1382 (the 15th year of the Hongwu reign) and published in 1389 (the 22nd year of the Hongwu reign). Type A lacks Mongolian script, using only Chinese characters to annotate Mongolian pronunciations, and includes a ‘text’ (來文) section. Extant copies of Type A include official printed editions and old manuscript copies. Type B, also known as the Yongle (永樂) *Huayi Yiyu*, includes translations from the eight bureaus established in 1407 (the 5th year of the Yongle reign) for Tatars (韃靼, Mongolian), Jurchen (女直), Xi Fan (西番, 'Western Barbarians', Khams Tibetan language), Xi Tian (西天, 'India', Middle Indo-Aryan language), Hui Hui (回回, Early New Persian), Bai Yi (百夷, Thai languages), Gao Chang (高昌, Uyghur) and Burma (緬甸, Burmese), as well as the later additions for the Ba Bai (八百, Northern Thai language) and Siamese (暹羅) bureau. The most distinctive feature of this system is that each translation is recorded in its native script. Each department's translation consists of two parts: ‘glossery’ (雜字) and ‘text’. Type B has both printed and manuscript copies that have survived. The C-type edition, also known as the *Huayi Yiyu* compiled by the Hui Tong Guan (會同館, the Bureau of Interpreters), refers to the translations compiled by the Hui Tong Guan during the Ming Dynasty. Its most notable

characteristic is that it is a handwritten copy of transliterated words with phonetic annotations in Chinese characters, lacking both written sources and any ethnic scripts or printed editions. The D-type edition, also known as the *Huayi Yiyu* compiled by the Hui Tong Si Yi Guan (會同四譯館, the Bureau of Interpreters and Translators), refers to various translations compiled after the establishment of the Hui Tong Si Yi Guan in 1748 (the thirteenth year of the Qianlong 乾隆 reign of the Qing Dynasty), including six translations from the Western-style translation bureau. These are all in miscellaneous characters and lack written sources. This type of translation includes the native script and exists in both handwritten and printed versions.

In the early 1980s, Prof. Jia Jingyan (贾静颜)³ discovered this manuscript of *Yiyi* in the Rare Books Department of the Beijing Library.⁴ The cover, starting from the right, bears the general title *Yiyu* (譯語). Below, two lines in smaller characters read ‘This manuscript, formerly from the Zhenjietang Collection of Yuan Shoujie, is a copy borrowed from the collection of my friend, Jiasun Ren. This copy is hereby inscribed and presented’ (袁壽皆貞節堂

³ In his paper, Huang Zhenhua pointed out that the translation was originally discovered by the late Professor Jia Jingyan of the Minzu University of China in the Rare Books Department of the Beijing Library. See Huang, Z. 1991, p. 68.

⁴ Feng Zheng was the first to introduce the Yuan family's Zhenjietang manuscript of *Yiyu* to the academia. See Feng, Z. 1981, p. 57-68.

寫本書鈔閣借 稼孫仁兄親家藏本錄副訖題此奉歸). The ‘Yuan Shoujie’ (袁壽皆) mentioned in the text refers to Yuan Tingtao (袁廷禱, 1762-1809), later renamed Tingshou, courtesy name Youkai (字又愷), also known as Shoujie (壽階), a renowned bibliophile from the Suzhou (蘇州) Province during the Qianlong and Jiaqing (嘉慶) periods of the Qing Dynasty, and one of the ‘Four Great Bibliophiles of the Qianlong and Jiaqing Eras’ (Liu Peng, 2013, p.99). ‘Zhenjietang’ (貞節堂) was originally the residence of Yuan's mother, Madam Han (韓孺人), later named ‘Zhenjietang’ by Yuan Tingtao in memory of her virtues. It subsequently became the Yuan family's place for copying and storing books (Liu Peng, 2015, p.43). The compiler and copyist of this *Yiyu* are unknown, and the date of composition of the original text is also not clearly recorded.⁵

This manuscript of *Yiyu* is printed on yellow cotton paper. Each half-page is bordered by a single blue line. The text, excluding the Phagspa script, is divided into three horizontal columns and eleven vertical lines in black ink. Each line contains three entries, all written flush left without line breaks. The words *Yiyu* (譯語) are inscribed in black ink at the center outside the border. Below the border on the

⁵ Regarding the original text of the Yuan family manuscript, Feng Zheng believes that the original text should be a manuscript from the Northern Yuan period or the early Ming Dynasty, see Feng, Z. 1981, p.64. On the other hand, Nie Hongyin believes that *Yiyu* should undoubtedly have been compiled by the Northern Yuan government, see Nie, H.2002, p.25.

lower half-page, the page number is first written in black ink, followed by the inscription ‘Zhenjietang Yuan Family Manuscript’ (貞節堂袁氏鈔本) in blue ink. The book has no page margin, the characters are neat, the top and bottom margins are generous, and it is well-preserved.

The *Yiyu* comprises 81 pages, is not divided into volumes, has no preface, no textual examples, and no ‘text’. The contents include, in order, a syllable table of Phagspa script (pages 1-23), Phagspa script surnames (pages 24-26), Mongolian glossary (pages 27-33), Tatar glossary (pages 34-50), Uyghur glossary (pages 50-64), Hexi glossary (pages 64-69), and Hui Hui glossary (pages 69-80). The *Yiyu* comprises a total of seven bilingual glossaries pairing Chinese with the minority languages of the Northwest region, covering four languages that were prevalent in the area at the time: Mongolian, Uyghur, Hexi, and Persian.

At the end of the volume, on page 81, there is a hand-drawn ink seal in Phagspa script reading ‘Seal of the Grand Commandant’ (太尉之印), with the inscription ‘Seal of the Grand Commandant, made by the Ministry of Rites in the eleventh month of the first year of the Xuanguang reign’ (太尉之印 宣光元年十一月日 中書禮部造) (Beijing Library Ancient Books Publishing Editorial Group, 1990, p.573-613). ‘Xuanguang’ (宣光) was the reign title of Ayushiridara,

Emperor Zhaozong (昭宗) of the Northern Yuan dynasty. Its first year corresponds to 1371, which is the fourth year of the Hongwu reign of the Ming dynasty. This indicates that the original manuscript was compiled by the Northern Yuan government. However, the means by which it later came to be transmitted to the central era remains unknown.

Pages 64 to 69 of the *Yiyu* are the section on the Hexi region, also known as the *Hexi Yiyu* (see Figure 1-6). The *Hexi Yiyu* is divided into 17 categories according to meaning, containing a total of 255 entries, and is the only extant copy so far. It is the smallest in scale among all known glossaries of the *Yiyu* type (Nie Hongyin, 2019, p.145).

In accordance with the classification outlined above, the *Hexi Yiyu* studied in this paper belongs to one of the so-called C-type editions of the *Huayi Yiyu* compiled by the Hui Tong Guan in the early *Northern Yuan dynasty*.

Academic research on the *Hexi Yiyu* has attracted considerable attention since its discovery. The following overview presents the major contributions in chronological order.

Feng Zheng (冯蒸) was the first scholar to draw attention to the *Hexi Yiyu*. In his paper (1981, p. 57-68), he provided a systematic bibliographical survey of the *Huayi Yiyu*-type texts held in Beijing

libraries, and in the fourth section of that paper he first introduced the *Hexi Yiyu*, conjecturing that the language recorded therein was a Ming-dynasty form of Tangut.

Two years later, Chen Naixiong (陈乃雄), building on Feng's work, published a transcription of the glossary and compared its lexical items with Mongolian, Uyghur, and Kazakh, pointing out that nearly seventy words show affinity with Mongolian and Uyghur within the Altaic language family. (1983, p.233-249.)

Feng himself, in a dedicated paper (1986, p.165-198), further expanded the comparative framework by including Tangut, Tibetan, and Yi (彝语). He was inclined to regard the language as the variety of Tangut-Qiang most closely related to Tangut, yet he also observed that this Tangut-Qiang language is rather distant from the main branches of Tibeto-Burman, namely the Tibetan and Yi-Mian groups, and that it shares more differences than similarities with Tangut; he even suggested that it might constitute an independent system not belonging to any subbranch of Tibeto-Burman.

Huang Zhenhua (黄振华) also contributed two articles to this topic. In his paper (1991, p.68-71), he focused on a comparative analysis of selected *Hexi Yiyu* words with Persian, also touching upon Chinese, Arabic, and even Hebrew elements, and proposed that about thirty words in the glossary are related to Persian and Arabic.

In his paper (1996, p.143-149), he further pointed out that fifty-eight words can be linked to Tangut and other Tibeto-Burman languages.

The studies of the above three scholars together discuss over a hundred lexical items. Although only a few of their identifications can be regarded as conclusive, their findings at least suggest that the language used in the Hexi region at that time had varying degrees of connection with Tibeto-Burman, Mongolian, and Persian.

Nie Hongyin (聂鸿音) has been a persistent researcher on this subject in recent years. In his paper (2002, p.24-27), after reviewing previous studies, he put forward the view that the *Hexi Yiyu* records an Islamized variety of Tangut. However, in his latest studies (2019, p.144-153 and 2020, p107-112), his position shifted: he argued that the glossary actually documents an unknown language spoken in the Guyuan (固原) area of Ningxia (宁夏) from the late thirteenth to the late fourteenth century. This language, under the strong influence of Islamic culture, had borrowed a number of Persian words, and later, when the local population shifted to Chinese after the Ming dynasty, the so-called ‘Hexi language’ disappeared without a trace. In addition, Nie also wrote a short introductory article aimed at a general readership to explain the basic facts about the *Hexi Yiyu*.

Beyond the studies by Chinese scholars, to the best of my knowledge, the only specialized research on the *Hexi Yiyu* in

Western academia is a paper by the German scholar Herbert Franke. From philological and historical perspectives, Franke offered important insights into the linguistic identity of the document, considering the Hexi language to be a ‘mixed language’ not attested in any other source. Franke also discussed the geographical extent of ‘Hexi’ inferring that it was located within Gansu Province with Lanzhou as its centre. (Franke, 2009, p.363-364)

The meaning and geographical reference of the term ‘Hexi’ have also been the subject of specialized investigations by several scholars. Shi Xiaohong (石小红), in her paper, argued from the perspective of Middle Chinese phonology that ‘Hexi’ corresponds phonetically to the terms ‘^中合申’ (qašin and sanšin) used in the *Secret History of the Mongols* and the *Altan Tobchi* to refer to the Tangut people. She maintains that in middle ancient Mongolian, ‘Hexi’ (i.e., qašin) designated both the geographical location of Xixia (西夏) and the main ethnic group that founded that regime. Nie Hongyin had earlier pointed out that in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, the people of Xixia are consistently called ‘Tangyut’ (Tangut), while the place is called ‘qašin’ (Hexi), thereby highlighting ethnic and geographical attributes respectively. (Shi Xiaohong, 2023, p.124-129)

During the Yuan dynasty, the population composition of the former Xixia territories became increasingly complex. Deng Wentao (鄧文韜, 2022) points out that the term ‘Tangut people’ (Tangyut) in the Yuan period no longer referred simply to the original ethnic group of the Xixia kingdom, but rather encompassed a large political community that included Tanguts, Han Chinese, Xianbei, Shatuo, Uyghurs, Jurchens, Hui-hui, Tibetans, and others within the former Xixia borders. Liu Pujiang (劉浦江, 1998) also discussed the later transformations of the Khitan, Tangut, and Jurchen peoples from the perspective of ethnic survivals. In Yuan historical sources, ‘Hexi’ already generally referred to the area of present-day Ningxia and Gansu. (Nie Hongyin, 2020, p.111) Meanwhile, Xu Cheng (徐成) shows that in the Yuan period, sometimes the entire population of the former Xixia, including Tanguts and Han Chinese, was collectively called Hexi (2024, p. 153-170). According to the *Da Ming Huidian* (大明會典卷之一百九·賓客·會同館), fascicle 109, there is a record “河西一補名 成化二十年 添一名後俱不補” (i.e., one additional interpreter for Hexi was added in the twentieth year of the Chenghua reign (1484) and thereafter no more were added). This indicates that as late as 1484, the Ming Hui Tong Guan still maintained an official interpreter for ‘Hexi’ Language. In addition, according to the *Gaochang Guan Zazi* (高昌館雜字), the last entry

in the ‘People’ section is ‘348. Hexi — Tanggu’ (河西—倘骨) (Hu Zhenhua and Huang Runhua, 1984, p.43), which corresponds to the entry ‘Hexi state — Tang u de’ (河西國—倘吾的) in the ‘Human Affairs’ section of the *Hexi Yiyu*.

Furthermore, the earliest occurrence of the term ‘Tangut’ can be traced back to the old turkic inscription of the Bilge Qaghan, erected in the 23rd year of the Kaiyuan reign of the Tang dynasty (735).(Mehmet, 2013, p.136) As for the diachronic evolution of the geographical scope of ‘Hexi’ Dong Zhenhua (董振华) and Mao Xi (毛曦) have provided a systematic treatment, tracing the semantic and geopolitical shifts of the term over more than two millennia, from the Qin Dynasty (秦朝) to the 20th century (民国). (2019, p.52-60)

This paper reconsiders the date of composition of the original manuscript of *Yuan’s Yiyu* within the broader context of Chinese linguistic development during the Yuan–Ming transition. Several internal pieces of evidence support a dating to the Northern Yuan period or the early Ming: firstly, the presence of a seal bearing the reign-era designation ‘Xuanguang’ (宣光); and secondly, the polyglot structure of the work, which comprises lexical sections on Mongolian, Uighur, Persian, and Hexi languages—thus constituting a comprehensive record of the northern non-Han languages. It is

therefore highly plausible that the Chinese character glosses in the *Hexi Yiyu* reflect the mainstream Northern Chinese phonology of that era. The phonological framework adopted for transcription and analysis in this study is accordingly based on the *Zhongyuan Yinyun* (《中原音韻》), the foremost rhyming dictionary of the period.

With respect to the phonological system of Northern Chinese at this time, the following features are particularly relevant. First, the language maintained a largely one-to-one correspondence between graph and syllable, without a phonemic contrast in vowel length: although certain dialects may have exhibited subtle durational differences in vowels, these never rose to the level of phonological opposition. Second, in terms of syllabic structure, sequences of diphthongs and even triphthongs were commonplace. Third, and most notably, the Middle Chinese entering-tone codas (入聲韻: –p, –t, –k) had completely disappeared, so that former entering-tone characters had become open syllables or ended with a vowel. The nasal codas (陽聲韻) were partially retained, with the northern dialects primarily preserving the –n and –ŋ codas; the Middle Chinese –m coda, though still attested in early Yuan materials, gradually merged with –n and was largely lost by the period in question. All of these phonetic characteristics are discernible, to

varying degrees, in the Chinese character transcriptions employed to annotate the foreign lexical items in the *Hexi Yiyu*.

In the following sections, the author presents the transcribed forms, English glosses, and IPA notations for the lexical entries recorded in the *Hexi Yiyu*, drawing systematically on the phonological system of the *Zhongyuan Yinyun* for the reconstruction of the Chinese glosses.

Chinese Lexical Items in <i>Hexi Yiyu</i>	English Gloss	Transliteration Recorded in <i>Hexi Yiyu</i>	IPA Transcription
天文門 Category of Astronomy			
1. 天 tian	sky	吉達麻	ki ta mua
2. 日 ri	sun	的	ti
3. 月 yue	moon	浪乞	laŋ khi
4. 星星 xing xing	star	忙	muaŋ
5. 斗 dou	dipper, northern dipper	乞石	khi ŋi
6. 風 feng	wind	多撒	tuo sa
7. 雲 yun	cloud	卜尔	pu zǐ
8. 雷 lei	thunder	喇乞	la khi

9. 雨 yu	rain	谷	ku
10. 霜 shuang	frost	卜喇	pu la
11. 雪 xue	snow	拍荅	phai ta
12. 霧 wu	fog	絡	luo
13. 霞 xia	rainbow	果莫	kuo mau
14. 露 lu	dew	設基	ʂe ki
地理門 Category of Geography			
15. 地 di	soil, place	他則	thuo tsai
16. 山 shan	mountain	希	xi
17. 水 shui	water	蠻	man
18. 江 jiang	river	紅犯	xuŋ fan
19. 湖 hu	lake	苦獨	khu tu
20. 河 he	stream, river	荅	ta
21. 海 hai	sea	汪洋	waŋ jaŋ
22. 路 lu	way, road	舍	ʂie
23. 嶺 ling	mountain range	巴	pua
24. 橋 qiao	bridge	立骨	li ku
25. 澗 jian	mountain torrent	查乞	tʂa khi
26. 城 cheng	city	設兒	ʂe zī
27. 市 shi	city, market	混	xuən
28. 村 cun	village	聚林者	tʃiu liəm tʂie

29. 土 tu	soil	兀里	u li
30. 井 jing	well	都	tu
31. 泉 quan	spring, fountain	喇喇	la la
時令門 Category of Time and Season			
32. 春 chun	spring	把吉	pua ki
33. 夏 xia	summer	撒奴	sa nu
34. 秋 qiu	autumn	三通	sam thun
35. 冬 dong	winter	思立	sī li
36. 年 nian	year	光	kuaŋ
37. 陰陽 yin yang	yin and yang	乃直	nai t̃si
38. 晝 zhou	day	盡	tsin
39. 夜 ye	night	業忽	ie xu
40. 冷 leng	cold	麻祿	mua
41. 熱 re	hot	革吉	kai ki
42. 早 zao	early	清谷	tshien̄ ku
43. 晚 wan	late	石格	ʃi kai
花木門 Category of Flora			
44. 樹 shu	tree	葉的	ie ti
45. 葉 ye	leaf	混麻	xuən mua
46. 花 hua	flower	谷立	ku li

47. 林 lin	forest	格立	gai
48. 麝香 she xiang	musk	食六	tʃhi liəu
49. 大黃 da huang	rhubarb	完卜	ɔn pu
50. 棗 zao	dates, jujube	赤吉	tʃhi ki
51. 梨 li	pear	蘇木	su mu
52. 松 song	pine	孫揚	suən thi
53. 桃 tao	peach	福	fu
54. 杏 xing	apricot	梅	mei
55. 鎖葡萄 suo pu tao	? grape	母忽忽	mu xu xu
鳥獸門 Category of Fauna			
56. 仙鶴 xian he	titmouse, sparrow	浪革	laŋ kai
57. 孔雀 kong que	peacock	八立	pua li
58. 龍 long	dragon	元	ien
59. 虎 hu	tiger	拍	phai
60. 獅子 shi zi	lion	奴兒	nu zī
61. 獐 zhang	roeibuck, river- deer	忽木	xu mu

62. 兔 tu	hare	走	tʂəu
63. 牛 niu	ox	食食	ʂi ʂi
64. 羊 yang	sheep	思	sī
65. 熊 xiong	bear	黑兒	xei zǐ
66. 毛牛 mao niu	yak	代食食	tai ʂi ʂi
67. 馬 ma	horse	人思	zjən sī
68. 驢 lǘ	ass, donkey	黑	xei
69. 黃 鼠 huang shu	suslik, ground squirrel	喇蘇	la su
70. 沙狐 sha hu	steppe fox	主八	tʂiu pua
71. 駱駝 luo tuo	Bactrian camel	吾十獨兒	u ʂi tu zǐ
72. 魚 yu	fish	牙把	ia pua
宮室門 Category of Architecture			
73. 宮殿 gong dian	palace	米浦	mi phu
74. 皇 城 huang cheng	imperial city	密十革	mi ʂi kai
75. 御路 yu lu	imperial road	邦及	paŋ ki

76. 衙門 ya men	government office	刺刻	la khai
77. 房 fang	house	提	thi
78. 門 men	door, gate	刻	khai
79. 牆 qiang	wall	亦	i
80. 窓 chuang	window	合古	xo ku
81. 館驛 guan yi	an ancient Chinese post house for officials and messengers	管故	kuon ku
器用門 Category of Implements and Tools			
82. 紙 zhi	paper	幅	fu
83. 墨 mo	ink	鋪	phu
84. 筆 bi	pen	兀租	u tsu
85. 硯 yan	inkstone	即墨	tsi mui
86. 盔 kui	helmet	手底	ɕiəu ti
87. 甲 jia	armor	昔	si
88. 刀 dao	knife	乞都阿	khi tu a
89. 鎗 qiang	gun	乃陽	nai iaŋ
90. 弓 gong	bow	郭牙	kuo ia

91. 箭 jian	arrow	奴木	nu mu
92. 碗 wan	bowl	苦	khu
93. 櫟 die	small dish	豆子	təu tsi
94. 盤 pan	plate	坤	khuən
95. 筋 jin	chopsticks	都兒	tu zī
96. 卓 zhuo	table	雨迷尺	iu mi t̃shi
97. 鍋 guo	pot	兒	zī
98. 床 chuang	bed	隱奴	iən nu
99. 帳房 zhang fang	tent, yurt	察邪	t̃sa ɣie
100. 櫃 gui	cabinet, cupboard	傘都	san tu
101. 扇 shan	fan	把定	pua tiŋ
身體門 Category of the Human Body			
102. 身 shen	the whole body	動	tuŋ
103. 體 ti	body parts, the physical structure	灘	than
104. 頭 tou	head	商	ɣian
105. 面 mian	face	莫麻	mau mau
106. 眼 yan	eye	徹	t̃shie
107. 口 kou	mouth	荅	ta

108. 耳 er	ear	弄	luŋ
109. 鼻 bi	nose	豆	təu
110. 心 xin	heart	荒	xuaŋ
111. 膽 dan	gall	經忽	tɕiəŋ
112. 肝 gan	liver	衣	i
113. 肺 fei	lung	石	ʂi
114. 牙 ya	tooth	露	lu
115. 舌 she	tongue	班	pan
116. 鬚 xu	beard	惕	thi
117. 髮 fa	hair	向	ɕiaŋ
118. 手 shou	arm, head	雷的	lui ti
119. 脚 jiao	leg, foot	ㄗ卜	tiŋ pu
120. 腿 tui	leg	浪	laŋ
人物門 Category of People			
121. 皇帝 huang di	emperor	母積	mu ki
122. 皇后 huang hou	empress	阿兒母積	a zǐ mu ki
123. 太子 tai zi	crown prince	立奴	li
124. 父親 fu qin	father	凹	ua

125. 母親 mu qin	mother	滅	t̚ʂhi
126. 兄 Xiong	brother	不卜刻	pu pu khai
127. 弟 di	younger brother	六子刻	liəu ts̥i khai
128. 子 zi	son, child	盤	phuon
129. 女 nǚ	daughter	蘇	su
130. 娘子 niang zi	young lady, wife, woman	撒卜蘇	sa pu su
131. 官人 guan ren	official, lord	治必	t̚ʂi pi
132. 使臣 shi chen	envoy, legate	治里密	t̚ʂi li mi
133. 通事 tong shi	interpreter, translator	荅尺	ta t̚ʂhi
134. 太醫 tai yi	physician	脫里	thuo li
135. 伴當 ban dang	attendant, companion	丁八兒	tiŋ pua z̥i
人事門 Category of Human Affairs			
136. 敬順天道 jing shun tian dao	revere and comply with the natural order	倘格因牙吉達麻 的	thaŋ kai iən ki ta mua ti

137. 尊待朝廷 zun dai chao ting	respect and honor the imperial court	矮的苦難加卜	ai ti ku nan ka pu
138. 大明國 da ming guo	Great Ming Empire	我喇都	uo la tu
139. 聖旨 sheng zhi	imperial edict	發麻窩	fa mua uo
140. 河西國 he xi guo	Hexi Country	倘吾的	than u ti
141. 明日入朝 早起 ming ri ru chao zao qi	get up early tomorrow to attend the imperial court	法他哈那母喇替	fa thuo xa nuo mu la thi
142. 進貢 jin gong	pay tribute to the emperor	人出	zjen tsh
143. 方物 fang wu	offer local products as tribute	塔兒惕	tha zī thi
144. 入朝 ru chao	entering the imperial court	麥丹加兒	mai tan ka zī
145. 立 li	stand	烏	u

146. 好生擺著 hao sheng bai zhe	place something properly (carefully)	結自撒福坤	kie tsī sa fu khuən
147. 鞠躬 ju gong	bow	班忽	pan xu
148. 拜 bai	worship, pay respect	朝翠	t̃shau suəi
149. 叩頭 kou tou	to knock one's head on the ground	扯窩子及納	t̃shiã uo tsī ki na
150. 跪 gui	to kneel	密納兒	mi na zī
151. 起來 qi lai	stand up	哈兒荅	xa zī ta
152. 這邊來 zhe bian lai	come here	印圓必牙	iən iuen pi ia
153. 那邊去 na bian qu	go there	翁送荅納	uŋ suŋ ta na
154. 不要攘 bu yao rang	do not resist, do not fight	隕阿莫坤	o a mau khuən
155. 法度利害 fa du li hai	laws and regulations and	赤洗大勤卜	t̃shi ʃi tai kin pu

	advantages and disadvantages		
156. 賞賜 shang ci	to bestow	塞祿兒	sai lu zī
157. 表裏 biao li	the outside and the inside	卜喇以惕	pu la i thi
158. 領勅 ling chi	to receive an imperial edict	查兒打丹	t̥ʂa zī ta tan
159. 分付 fen fu	to instruct, to hand over	苔買吾	ta mai u
160. 明日嶺賞 ming ri ling shang	tomorrow, receive the reward	法他迭米禿	fa thuo mi thu
161. 謝恩 xie en	to express gratitude for imperial grace	感瓜石	kam kua ʂi
162. 求討 qiu tao	to beg for	格兒列	kai zī lie
163. 買賣 mai mai	buying and selling	忽兒八思	xu zī pua sī
164. 廩給 lin ji	salary, provision	吳祿法	u lu fa

165. 口粮 kou liang	rations	打汗	ta xan
166. 人夫 ren fu	laborer	馬忽	ma xu
167. 省諭 xing yu	to give explicit instructions	亞藍	ia lam
168. 外夷婦服 wai yi gui fu	the submission of foreign peoples	立荅把肉文	li ta pua zəu
數目門 Category of Numerals			
169. 一 yi	one	雷	lui
170. 二 er	two	聶	nie
171. 三 san	three	梭	suo
172. 四 si	four	得	tei
173. 五 wu	five	莫	mau
174. 六 liu	six	遲	tshi
175. 七 qi	seven	沙內	ša nuei
176. 八 ba	eight	阿兒	a zǐ
177. 九 jiu	nine	格	kai
178. 十 shi	ten	哦	uo
179. 十一 shi yi	eleven	哦雷	uo lui

180. 十二 shi er	twelve	哦轟	uo nie
181. 十三 shi san	thirteen	哦梭	uo suo
182. 十四 shi si	fourteen	哦得	uo tei
183. 十五 shi wu	fifteen	哦莫	uo mau
184. 十六 shi liu	sixteen	哦遲	uo t̃shi
185. 十七 shi qi	seventeen	哦沙內	uo ʂa nuei
186. 十八 shi ba	eighteen	哦阿兒	uo a z̃i
187. 十九 shi jiu	nineteen	哦格	uo kai
188. 一十 yi shi	ten	雷哦	lui uo
189. 二十 er shi	twenty	轟哦	nie uo
190. 三十 san shi	thirty	梭哦	suo uo

191. 四十 shi	si forty	得哦	tei uo
192. 五十 shi	wu fifty	莫哦	mau uo
193. 六十 shi	liu sixty	遲哦	t̄hi uo
194. 七十 shi	qi senty	沙內哦	ʂa nuei uo
195. 八十 shi	ba eighty	阿兒哦	a z̄i uo
196. 九十 shi	jiu ninety	格哦	kai uo
197. 百	bai hundred	一兒記	i z̄i ki
198. 千	qian thousand	獨多	tu tuo
199. 萬	wan ten thousand	阿蠻	a man
珍寶門 Category of Precious things			
200. 金 po	jin gold	客	khai
201. 銀	yin silver	獨	tu
202. 珍珠 zhu	zhen pearl	迷卜	mi pu
203. 琥珀 po	hu amber	恰兒八	khia z̄i pua

204. 水晶 shui jing	crystal	亭專	puo tɕiən
205. 瑪瑙 ma nao	agate	阿皆兒	a kiai zī
206. 水銀 shui yin	mercury	布洗	pu sien
207. 錫 xi	tin	利亦	li i
208. 鐵 tie	iron	阿阿	a a
衣服門 Category of Clothes			
209. 段 duan	damask, satin	線	ɕiən
210. 羅 luo	a type of silk gauze	紅	xuŋ
211. 布 bu	calico, cotton	習	ɕi
212. 西陽布 xi yang bu	Xiyang cloth, a type of fabric	哈麻立	xa mua li
213. 圓領 yuan ling	(robe with) round collar	吉光	ki kuaŋ
214. 紗帽 sha mao	silk cap	他納	thuo na
215. 帶 dai	girdle, belt	各木	kau mu
216. 絹 juan	raw silk	乞卜	khi pu
217. 被 bei	coverlet	捏皮	nie phi

218. 褥 ru	rug, mattress	冷骨	lən ku
219. 靴 xue	boots	採胡	tshai xu
220. 鞋 xie	shoes	散根	san kən
221. 襪 wa	sock	哈占	xa tsiem
飲饌門 Category of Food and Drink			
222. 酒飯 jiu fan	wine and food	烏吃納	u t̃shi na
223. 筵宴 yan yan	banquet, feast	脫脫	thuo thuo
224. 下程 xia cheng	farewell feast	吳法	u fa
225. 肉 rou	meat	吃不納	t̃shi pu na
226. 湯 tang	soup	卜蘇	pu su
227. 酥油 su you	butter	失古脫	ʃi ku thuo
228. 燒餅 shao bing	baked flatbread	兀尚篋	u ʃian mie
229. 油 you	fat, oil	即蘇	tsi su
230. 塩 yan	salt	荅利	ta li
231. 醋 cu	vinegar	克顏	khiai ian
顏色門 Category of Colours			

232. 黄 huang	yellow	底把	ti pua
233. 紅 hong	red	速獨	su tu
234. 青 qing	blue, green, black	陽客	kai
235. 白 bai	white	洗的	sien ti
方隅門 Category of Direction			
236. 東 dong	east	貿	məu
237. 南 nan	south	捏民	nie miən
238. 西 xi	west	卜	pu
239. 北 bei	north	薩兒	sa zī
通用門 Miscellaneous Category (General Terms)			
240. 遠 yuan	far	常卜	tʃhian pu
241. 近 jin	close, near	帖	thie
242. 迎 ying	welcome	禿胡	thu xu
243. 送 song	send, see off	滿列印	muən lie iən
244. 來 lai	come	底納	ti na
245. 去 qu	go	十納	ʃi na
246. 行 xing	walk	安十納	an ʃi na
247. 坐 zuo	sit	溫十納	uən ʃi na
248. 貧 pin	poor	法	fa
249. 富 fu	rich	好顏	xau ian

250. 誠實 cheng shi	honest	寔到	ʃi tau
251. 聰明 cong ming	clever	光故	kuaŋ ku
252. 大 da	big	忽	xu
253. 小 xiao	small	恰	khia
254. 死 si	die	莫	mau
255. 活 huo	live	運	iuən

The *Hexi Yiyu* records a total of 255 words and phrases, employing 231 distinct Chinese characters throughout. These entries comprise 241 individual words and 14 multi-word phrases or short sentences, with the Chinese characters occurring altogether 520 times. The 241 words are transcribed with varying numbers of Chinese characters: 66 entries are spelled with a single character (e.g., 山 'mountain'-希 and 霧 'fog'-絡), 130 entries with two characters (e.g., 風 'wind'-多撒 and 拜 'worship'-朝翠), 38 entries with three characters (e.g., 兄 'brother'-不卜刻 and 刀 'knife'-乞都阿), and 7 entries with four characters (e.g., 駱駝 'Bactrian camel'-吾十獨兒 and 皇后 'empress'-阿兒母積). In addition, there are further entries requiring more than four characters (etc.).

Since the 231 distinct characters used for transcribing the unknown language appear 520 times in the text, it follows that many characters are reused. In the *Hexi Yiyu*, characters such as 兒, 納, 卜, 的, 立, 木, 刻, 蘇, 惕, 都, 思, 吉, 乞, 骨, and 革 each occur more than three times. Among these, the character with the highest frequency is 兒, which appears a total of 22 times.

Building on a systematic classification of the *Huayi Yiyu* textual tradition, this paper first presents a detailed account of the discovery and physical codicological features of the Yuan family's copy of the *Yiyu*. It then examines the specific characteristics of the *Hexi Yiyu* as a distinct component. For the first time, all Chinese phonetic glosses in the *Hexi Yiyu* are transcribed into the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), based strictly on the phonological system of the *Zhongyuan Yinyun*. In addition, drawing on existing English translations of other *Huayi Yiyu* texts, the present study provides the first complete set of English glosses for the entire lexical inventory of the *Hexi Yiyu*. It is hoped that these contributions will offer useful reference material for future researchers.

In sum, the *Hexi Yiyu* preserved within Yuan's manuscript copy of the *Yiyu* constitutes a crucial document of the Type-C branch of the *Huayi Yiyu* tradition, and is the sole surviving copy known both in China and abroad. Its physical format and phonetic notation

system exhibit distinctive features that set it apart from other members of the corpus. Nevertheless, the linguistic affiliation of the language recorded in the *Hexi Yiyu* remains unresolved to this day: whereas all the other languages represented in the *Huayi Yiyu* can be identified with known linguistic sources, the language underlying the *Hexi Yiyu* has yet to be conclusively determined. Given the complex ethnic composition of the Hexi region throughout history, and the fact that during the Northern Yuan and early Ming periods several languages—including Mongolian, Uyghur, and Persian—were in use in this area, the present study argues that a thorough investigation of the *Hexi Yiyu* holds substantial scholarly value for historical research, linguistic analysis, and codicological/textual criticism alike. Owing to the length constraints of the present paper, however, a detailed philological examination of the individual lexical entries in the *Hexi Yiyu* will be undertaken by the author in a separate study.

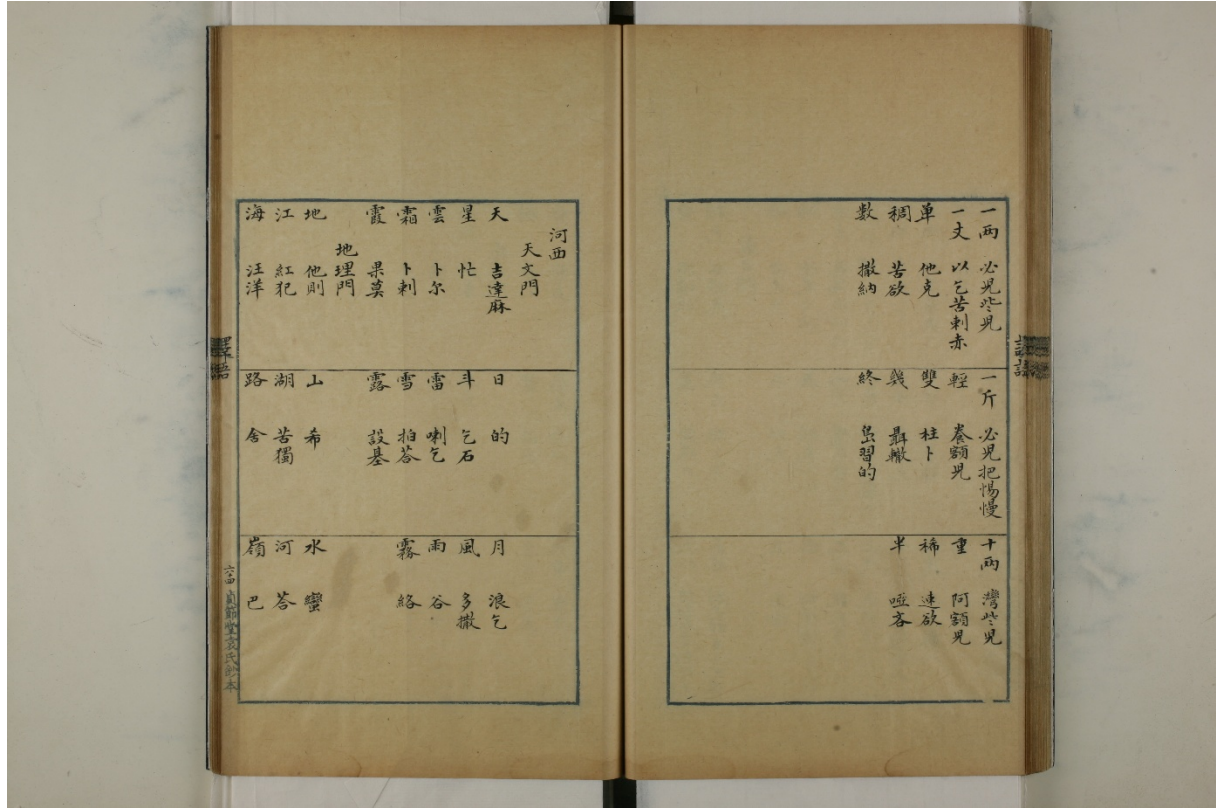


Figure1: Folio 64 of the *Yiyu* (the first folio of the *Hexi Yiyu*)⁶

⁶ Image source: Collection of the Rare Books and Special Collections Department, the National Library of China. Reproduced by permission of the Library.

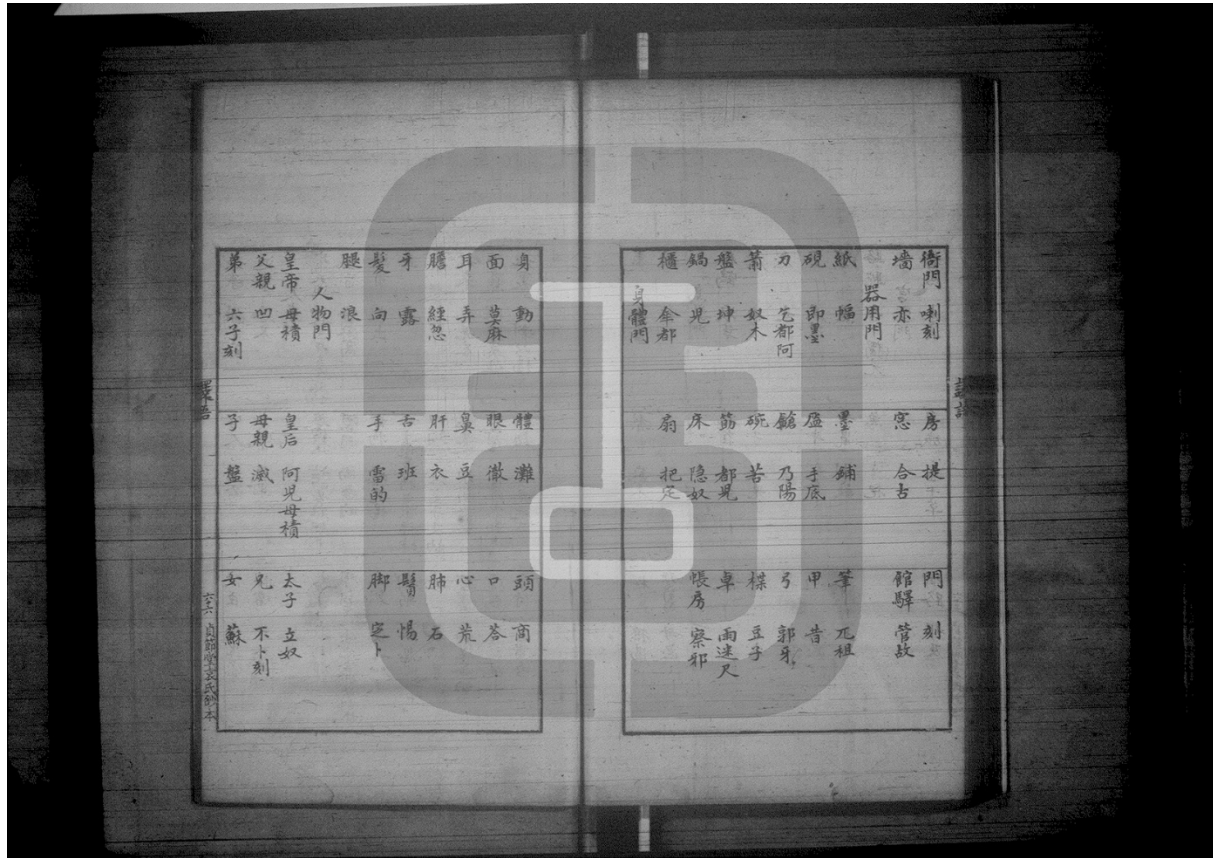


Figure 3: Folio 66 of the *Yiyu* (the third folio of the *Hexi Yiyu*)

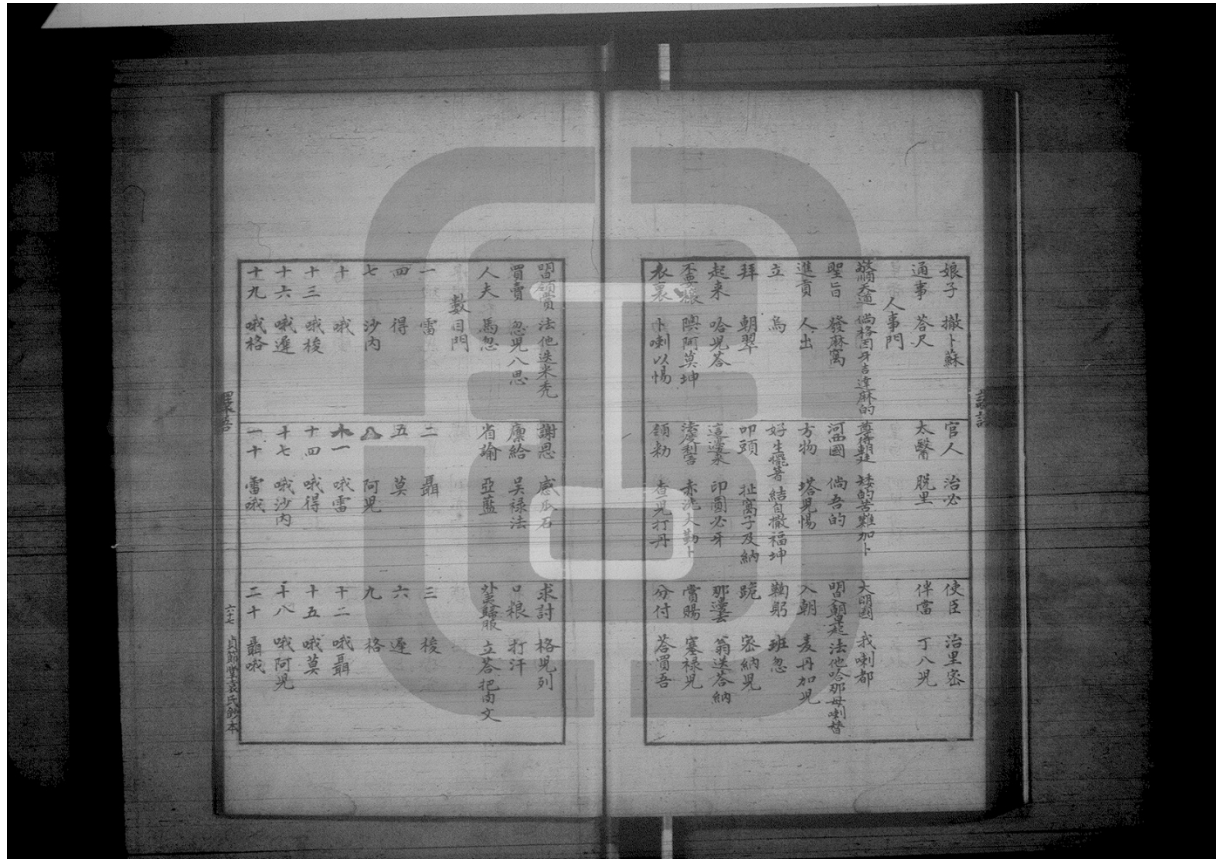


Figure 4: Folio 67 of the *Yiyu* (the fourth folio of the *Hexi Yiyu*)

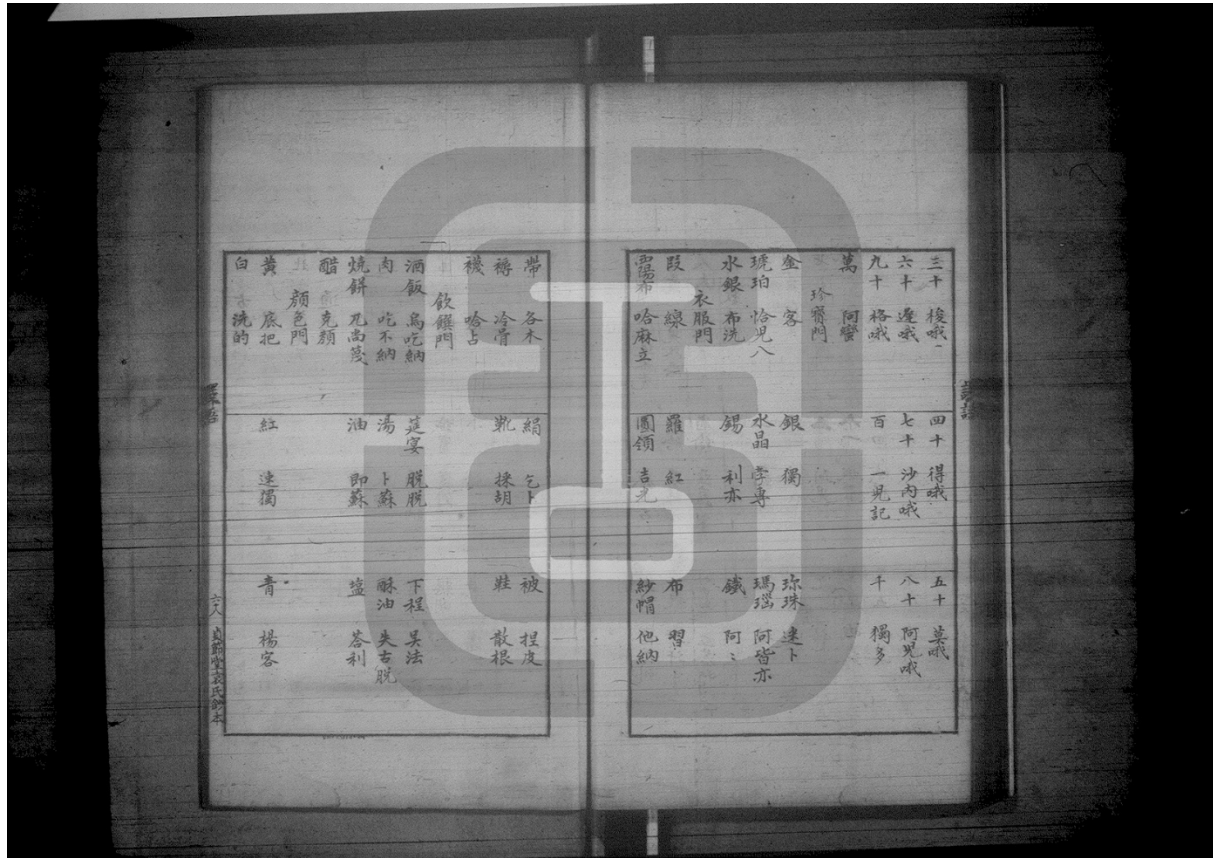


Figure 5: Folio 68 of the *Yiyu* (the fifth folio of the *Hexi Yiyu*)

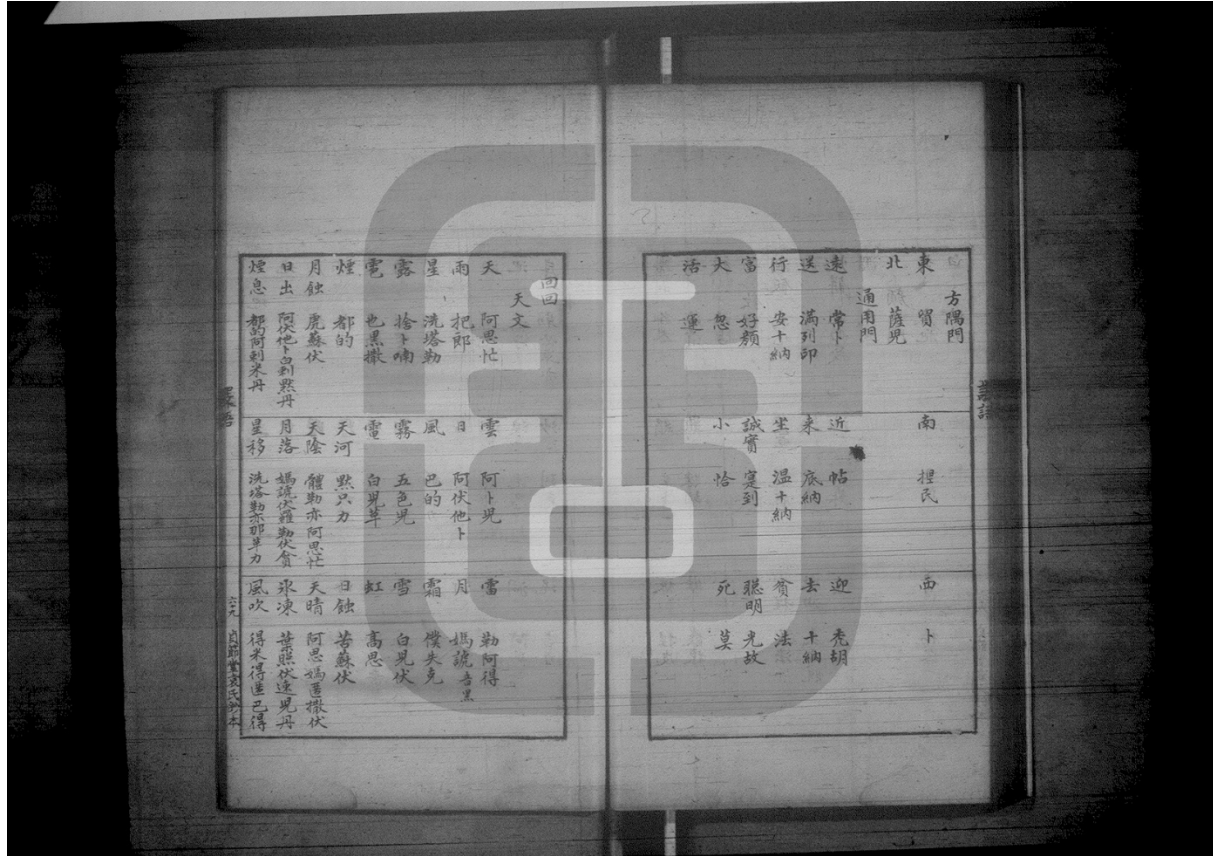


Figure 6: Folio 69 of the *Yiyu* (the last folio of the *Hexi Yiyu*)

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