

CALQUE IN ARABIC: THE BRIGHT SIDE OF BORROWING

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Abstract

Arab scholars, linguists, and particularly grammarians have always been haunted by the idea of keeping Arabic, the language of the Glorious Qur'an, pure and void of foreign elements. Proponents of this view have deemed any development in the language as corruption and any semantic change as solecism. People and their societies live not only in the middle of change but in the expectation of change as well. The present study argues that not all elements borrowed from other languages are harmful to the structure and identity of the borrowing language. On the contrary, loans from other languages, especially by means of calque, contribute to the betterment and development of the language, Arabic in our case, since they produce neologisms and refresh language expression. The study has come to the conclusion that, contrary to what traditional scholars propagate, calque has been a good source of new concept to Arabic in all walks of life and an element that keeps the language in pace with what is going on in the globe.

Key words: *calque, borrowing, language change, linguistic purity.*

1. Change the Unchangeable Fact

Since language is a social phenomenon, life-change is reflected on it, and since lexical items are a central part of language, they are prone to change their meanings by time. The puristic attitude towards language that opposes change is bewildering to those who know the nature of language development. Most of the factors that lead to semantic change are non-linguistic (religious, social, psychological, etc.); they are forced upon language by the change in the real world. In spite of this well-tryed fact, attempts to block the natural course of language in various parts of the world, privately and collectively, are still going on. Anderson reports that "Indian scholars recognized language change as detrimental to the holy writings and channeled their efforts towards inhibiting this erosion of the language"(1973, p.7). Arab scholars are

known for objecting to language change; they consider most of the changes that occur in their language as corruption, and deterioration. The difference between the Arab and German scholars, for example, is that the former have been trying, they believe, to preserve their language mainly for religious, as well as, to a lesser extent, national reasons, while the German exert such efforts mainly for national or perhaps even racial reasons. On this premise, Trudgill (1983, pp.52-3) criticizes the Germans in the following statement:

The German language was an important component of the Nazi's theories about Germanic 'master race', and false ideas about the possibility and desirability of preserving 'linguistic purity' (i.e. defending a language against 'contamination' by loan words from other languages) may often go hand in hand with equally false ideas about racial purity.

The gigantic efforts exerted to halt change or at least to put it under control have been often been doomed to failure. As far as English is concerned, Pyles and Algeo (1993, p.256) have realized this fact by stating that "language reformers in the past have not been notably successful in remodeling English nearer to their heart's desire. The language has a way of following its own course and leaving would be guides behind."

2. Arabic and Borrowing

Arabic grammar was written about 13 centuries ago motivated by religious reasons when new foreign communities that spoke other than Arabic embraced Islam. The Arabic orthodox view is inspired by the 'citation period' which dictates that whatever said or written after (770 AD in urban areas and 1000 AD in nomadic areas) is not to be taken as a linguistic reference. (For a more detailed discussion of citation period "asr al-Ihtijaj" see AbulRazzaqAl-Sa;idi,2017). Though many language specialists tend to have a 'conservative' viewpoint to the 'foreign invasion', especially at this time of technological advancement and social media, Arabic, nevertheless, can benefit from foreign elements and adapt them to its morphological and semantic norms. Al-Samarra'I (1966, p.29) notes that language books do not refer to the way a lexical item develops through time. This is because the writers of these books are imitators in their linguistic research to the first idea that chained good and eloquent language by a certain time. Dealing with language change in this way has been the main reason for

not recording the journey of word evolution. Thus, Anis (1966, p.36) is not far from truth when he describes the traditional views as 'dictatorship of time and place'.

3. Contact and Influence

Languages may have contact and influence one another through various channels. They may meet through neighborhood, war, occupation, trade, technology, social media, translation and other means of contact. Samuels (1972: p.93-94) sees that contact usually takes place via bilinguals who also have some degree of competence in the second language.

The last century and the first two decades of the present one have witnessed an array of translations into Arabic from various languages especially English and to a lesser extent French. A natural consequence is that Arabic has either borrowed or created many new terms. Translators have found themselves in dire need of new signifiers that stand for the foreign signifieds being transferred into the Arab culture whether these signifieds represent invented objects, new trends, or an expression that fills a gap in the language. In this respect, Al-Najjar (1997:2) states:

As a general rule, the birth of any new signified triggers the coinage of a signifier to label it. The opposite does not obtain. A corollary to this is whenever a new signified is transferred from a source culture into a receptor culture, the linguistic system of receptor culture is called upon to coin a signifier for that borrowed signified.

This process, among other things, has affected the meanings of already existing lexical items by employing them to signify new concepts. Al-Najjar (1997) thoroughly investigates the linguistic methods for translating foreign signifiers into Arabic and discusses nine methods for rendering foreign signifiers into Arabic. The methods include loanword like *ديابيطيق* for *diabetes*; loanblend like *فدرالية* for *federalism*; translation couplet like *ناتو (منظمة حلف شمال الأطلسي)* for *NATO*; semantic loan by semantic change like *فنان*, originally meant zebra in Arabic, for *artist*; derivation from Arabic roots like *إنهزامية* for *defeatism*; compounding Arabic words like *عدم الانحياز* for non-alignment; intentional substitution like *وزير الحرب الصهيوني* for *Israeli Minister of Defense*; definition like *حامل الحقيبة الدبلوماسية* for *courier*; and loan translation (calque) like *عملة صعبة* for *hard currency*. Of course our interest is in the last method.

It is a fact that every language may resort to a number of ways to expand or alter its lexicon. While loanwords are very common in English, for instance, Arabic has made extensive use of loan translation to create new vocabulary items by translating foreign morphemes into native ones. Thus, rather than borrowing the words themselves, the meaning of the word or phrase is borrowed and then translated into Arabic. To Strang the signifier 'loanword' itself is believed to be a loan translation of German 'lehnwort' (1970, p.25).

4. Calque and Related Terms

Calques is defined as substituting for each of the morphemes of the SL phrase or compound the semantically closest morpheme in the TL and combining these according to the TL rules of word formation. The constituent elements and the rules governing their combination will be those of the TL. As a corollary, the newly created form will be fully motivated for the TL user. Wright and Hope (1996, p.1870) argue that in order for a phrase to be called calque it should retain the structural properties of the SL, as in the examples: *Princess Royal, Governor General, Secretary General, corps diplomatic, director general*, and the like. Here the adjective postmodifies the head noun in direct contradiction to the normal English word order. Nevertheless, this seems not to be a commonly adopted opinion since many other linguists consider calque as a method by which the meaning is borrowed but the form is native.

The term calque, according to Grambs refers to "An imitative borrowing in language, or a word modeled on an aspect or range of meaning of a particular word in another language." (1984, p.57) Most references use calque and loan translation reciprocally. In defining calque *The American Heritage Dictionary* (2006) refers the reader to *loan translation* and defines it as "A form of borrowing from one language to another whereby the semantic components of a given term are literally translated into their equivalents in the borrowing language" (p.1025). In a sense, calque is literal or word-for-word translation where the Source Language (henceforth SL) elements are translated 'literally' into the Target Language (henceforth TL).

5. Calque an Acceptable Solution

This study is an attempt to depart from prescriptive studies, i.e. ones that embrace the say-and-don't-say dogma which is the traditional approach in linguistic analysis of Arabic grammar and linguistic schools. In lieu of this approach, a descriptive one is

adopted. It is axiomatic that human experience has developed more rapidly during the last two decades of the twenty-first century than ever before, and correspondingly multitudes of new terms to express new concepts, new techniques, and inventions have been introduced. A new concept may enter a language for which there is no word. It follows naturally that a word or phrase is found for it by adopting one of three ways suggested by Ullmann (1962, p.210).

1. Forming a new word from existing elements,
2. Borrowing a term from another language, and
3. Changing the meaning of an old or existing word.

Of course borrowing may take a handful of shapes including calque. In his celebrated book *Language*, Bloomfield (1933) categorized borrowing of linguistic forms from one speech community to another as (a) *cultural borrowing* which is the adoption of lexical items from another language; (b) *intimate borrowing* which is the transfer of linguistic forms within the same geographical and political community; (c) *dialect borrowing* which is the adoption of linguistic forms associated with speakers of a different 'form' of the language of the recipient and it is socially motivated.

To Helmke, (2013: p.1) calque is a charming linguistic aspect since it "manifests itself in a variety of guises." He purports that the term covers a wide range of processes by saying "calquing involves loaning and transferring items of vocabulary and even phonetic and syntactic traits from one language to another." Al-Najjar (1997) classifies calque into six types including *complete calque*, *calque with reduction*, *calque with extension*, *calque with substitution*, *calque with reduction and substitution*, and *calque with extension and substitution*.

6. Text Analysis

In the following pages, an attempt is made to return Arabic calque to their English original terms. Ten texts written by different authors have been selected from a Jordanian daily, namely Addustour. All texts were picked up from the same issue, April 7, 2021. The lists of calques with their English counterparts reveal that, in spite of the deeply-rooted view and attempts to keep Arabic away from foreign elements, there is a huge number of various types of calques in just ten short articles in one issue of the daily under analysis. They also show that calques in the form of collocation are the most commonly employed. Many calques have been detected in more than one article and in such cases the calque is mentioned in the lists where it

first appears. The researchers have tried their best to find the original in English. Of course it is not automatic to tell which expressions are borrowed by means of calque, and how to relate them to their original expressions. In this respect, Grasilli (2016) reports that "it is difficult sometimes to prove that a particular word is a calque. This often requires a lot of documentation compared to an untranslated term because, in some cases, a similar phrase might have arisen in both languages independently."

There are some indicators that help us to tell which is which, including whether or not the term or expression belongs to the Arab environment or culture. One can notice that most of the calques listed in the ten tables below include political and economic expressions which are not part of the Arabic language a century or even half a century ago. It is worth mentioning that journalism in all its forms has played a vital role in introducing such calques into Arabic. The waves of political, economic, scientific, etc. expressions that have entered Arabic by means of translation, especially calque, have filled a gap, or a probable gap in the language since the language, sooner or later will be in dire need of them. Arab Language Academies in Damascus, Cairo, Baghdad, and Amman, in addition to the Arabization Coordination Bureau in Rabat, have not been so helpful in coping with the thousands of terms that the world produces to us every year.

The lists show that the calques extracted from the articles have been mostly formed in conformity with the Arabic morphological system but with some exceptions where transliteration is found a better way to transfer the intended meaning.

Text.1

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Full lifting of sanctions	رفع كامل للعقوبات
2	Drums of war	طبول الحرب
3	Direct reflections	انعكاسات مباشرة
4	His vital interests	مصالحه الحيوية
5	The international community	المجتمع الدولي
6	Power balances	توازنات القوى
7	Path to negotiated solution	مسار الحل التفاوضي
8	On top of her priority schedule	على رأس جدول اولوياتها
9	To obey the voice of reason	للانصياع لصوت العقل

10	Unconditional bias	الانحياز غير المشروط
11	Form the government	تشكل الحكومة
12	Political, economic and social reform	الاصلاح السياسي والاقتصادي والاجتماعي
13	Internal crises	أزمات داخلية

Text 2

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Study of the surrounding climate	دراسة المناخ المحيط
2	Party establishment	المؤسسة الحزبية
3	Political will	الارادة السياسية
4	Participation rates	معدلات المشاركة
5	General Life	الحياة العامة
6	Community empowerment	التمكين المجتمعي
7	Realistic embodiment	تجسيد واقعي
8	Pluralistic democratic approach	النهج الديمقراطي التعددي
9	Popular climates	المناخات الشعبية
10	Formation of parliamentary governments	تشكيل حكومات برلمانية
11	Electoral periods	فترات انتخابية
12	Embodies political will	يجسد الارادة السياسية
13	State centenary	مئوية الدولة
14	Dialogue products	منتجات الحوار
15	Parliamentary elections	الانتخابات النيابية
16	Political parties law	قانون الاحزاب
17	Parliamentary blocs government influence	كتل برلمانية النفوذ الحكومي
18	Representative body	الجسم النيابي
19	The party body	الجسم الحزبي
20	Closed listings	قوائم مغلقة
21	The parliamentary opposition movement	تيار المعارضة النيابية
22	Under the umbrella of the Parliament dome	تحت مظلة القبة النيابية
23	Election campaigns	الحملات الانتخابية
24	private sector	القطاع الخاص
25	Financial incentives system	نظام حوافز مالية

26	Electoral money	المال الانتخابي
27	Partisan identity	الهوية الحزبية
28	Sub-identities	الهويات الفرعية
29	multiparty	التعددية الحزبية
30	Dialogue door	باب الحوار

Text.3

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Systematic campaign	حملة ممنهجة
2	Attempting to discredit	محاولة نزع الثقة
3	video clip	مقطع الفيديو
4	Our cell phones	هواتفنا الخلوية
5	Interior Minister	وزير الداخلية
6	WhatsApp groups	جروبات الواتساب
7	Agendas are not national	اجندات ليست وطنية
8	Social media	وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي
9	External accounts	حسابات خارجية
10	Fabricated audio recordings	تسجيلات صوتية مفبركة
11	alarm	جرس الانذار
12	Corona vaccines	لقاحات كورونا
13	Company CEO	المدير التنفيذي للشركة
14	The emerging corona virus	فايروس كورونا المستجد
15	The rolling section	المقطع المتداول
16	Fight rumors	مكافحة الشائعات

Text.4

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Complicated conversations	محادثات معقدة
2	The Joint Commission	اللجنة المشتركة
3	On the sidelines of the meeting	على هامش الاجتماع
4	Revive the plan	إعادة إحياء الخطة

5	Virtual meeting	لقاء افتراضي
6	Spokesperson of Ministry of Foreign Affairs	المتحدث باسم وزارة الخارجية
7	Eased economic sanctions	خفف العقوبات الاقتصادية
8	Nuclear program	برنامج نووي
9	Nuclear weapon	سلاح نووي
10	Lift sanctions	رفع العقوبات
11	Uranium enrichment	تخصيب اليورانيوم
12	Atomic Energy Corporation	مؤسسة الطاقة الذرية
13	Technical stages	المراحل الفنية
14	Reflect a personal point of view	تعكس وجهة نظر شخصية

Text 5

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Businessmen Association	جمعية رجال الأعمال
2	Chamber of commerce	غرفة تجارة
3	Chambers of Industry	غرف الصناعة
4	Study centers	مراكز الدراسات
5	Economic recovery	التعافي الاقتصادي
6	Silent strip	قطاع صمتي
7	White revolution	ثورة بيضاء
8	sales tax	ضريبة المبيعات
9	gradual easing	التخفيف التدريجي
10	Fund portfolio	محفظة صندوق
11	Investment of guarantee money	استثمار اموال الضمان
12	Paper press	الصحافة الورقية

Text 6

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Quantum leap	نقلة نوعية
2	Businessmen Union	اتحاد رجال الاعمال
3	Assistant Secretary General	الامين العام المساعد

4	Work of the ninth session of conference	أعمال الدورة التاسعة للمؤتمر
5	Hold it by default and face-to-face	عقدها افتراضيا وواجهيا
6	Mobilization of energies	حشد الطاقات
7	Official officials	مسؤولين رسميين
8	Research institutions	مؤسسات بحثية
9	Opening session	الجلسة الافتتاحية
10	Elements of success	عناصر نجاح
11	Advanced technology	تكنولوجيا متقدمة
12	Investment opportunities	فرص استثمارية
13	Investment partnership	الشراكة الاستثمارية
14	Of common interest	ذات الاهتمام المشترك
15	Enhancing cooperation prospects	تعزيز آفاق التعاون
16	Digital economy	الاقتصاد الرقمي
17	The Fourth Industrial Revolution	الثورة الصناعية الرابعة
18	Digital infrastructure	البنية التحتية الرقمية
19	Highlight	تسليط الضوء
20	Food security	الأمن الغذائي
21	Exchange of experiences	تبادل الخبرات
22	Framing joint cooperation	توطر التعاون المشترك
23	Promote economic inclusion	تعزيز الاندماج الاقتصادي
24	Raise the level of cooperation	رفع مستوى التعاون
25	Development of bilateral relations	تطوير العلاقات الثنائية
26	The level of ambitions	مستوى الطموحات

Text 7

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Price stability	استقرار الاسعار
2	Market stability	استقرار السوق
3	Price ceilings	سقف سعري
4	Health conditions	الشروط الصحية
5	Safety and quality standards	معايير السلامة والجودة

Text8

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Ideological and geopolitical shifts	التحولات الايديولوجية والجيوسياسية
2	Political openness	الانفتاح السياسي
3	Objective justification	المبررات الموضوعية
4	Economic well-being	الرفاه الاقتصادي
5	occupied a regional and international stature	احتلت مكانة اقليمية ودولية
6	The implications of the nuclear file	تداعيات الملف النووي
7	Arab Spring revolutions	ثورات الربيع العربي
8	Israeli annexation policies	سياسات الضم الاسرائيلية
9	Deal of the century	صفقة القرن
10	The alternative homeland	الوطن البديل
11	Conflict hotspots axes	محاور بؤر الصراع
12	A key determinant of national security	محدد رئيسي للامن الوطني
13	Foreign aid	المساعدات الخارجية
14	Increasing inflation rates	زيادة معدلات التضخم
15	Total public debt	اجمالي الدين العام
16	Management of political action	إدارة العمل السياسي
17	The influx of refugees	تدفق اللاجئين
18	The default of the international community	تقصير المجتمع الدولي
19	Inflamed points	نقاط ملتهبة
20	Terrorist and extremist organizations	التنظيمات الارهابية والمتطرفة
21	Regional influence	نفوذ لإقليمي
22	Exporting its internal crisis	تصدير أزمته الداخلية

Text9

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Proactive steps	خطوات استباقية
2	Articulated stage	مرحلة مفصلية
3	Bet on time	المراهنة على الوقت
4	Societal transformations	التحولات المجتمعية

5	The path of reform	مسار الاصلاح
6	Fight corruption	محاربة الفساد
7	Previous output	المخرجات السابقة

Text 10

No	English original term	Arabic calque
1	Urgent need	ضرورة ملحة
2	Constitutional Paths	المسارات الدستورية
3	Executive Authority	السلطة التنفيذية
4	project of law	مشروع القانون
5	House of Notables	مجلس الاعيان
6	The constitutional stages	المراحل الدستورية
7	Legislative and executive powers	السلطتين التشريعية والتنفيذية

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Texts analyzed are in order of appearance

All texts are from Addustour Daily, retrieved on April 7, 2021.

Text 1

حتى لا تصرفنا أزمات الداخل عن رؤية تحديات الخارج... عريب الرنتاوي

In order not to make internal crises distract us from seeing external challenges

By Oraib Al-Rantawi

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210255-%D8%AD%D8%AA%D9%89-%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%B1%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7-%D8%A3%D8%B2%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AE%D9%84-%D8%B9%D9%86-%D8%B1%D8%A4%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AC>

Text 2

حوار في الإصلاح السياسي ... د. حازم قشوع Dr. Dialogue on political reform by

HazemKashoua

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210252-%D8%AD%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D9%81%D9%8A->

[%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AD-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A](#)

Text 3

حملة مُمنهجة لإثارة البلبلة والفرع ومحاولة نزع الثقة بالدولة...مصطفى الريالات

Systematic campaign to create confusion, panic and attempt to state discredit

Mustafa Riyalat

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1208977->

[%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A9%D9%8C-%D9%85%D9%8F%D9%85%D9%86%D9%87%D8%AC%D8%A9%D9%8C-%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AB%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9%D9%90-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%8E%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%A9%D9%90-](#)

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[%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AB%D9%91%D9%82%D8%A9%D9%90-](#)

[%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D9%91%D9%8E%D9%88%D9%84%D8%A9%D9%90](#)

Text 4

محادثات معقدة بين أمريكا وإيران.. في فيينا... علي ابو حبله

Complex talks between America and Iran in Vienna by Ali Abu Habla

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210279->

[%D9%85%D8%AD%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%AB%D8%A7%D8%AA-](#)

[%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%82%D8%AF%D8%A9-](#)

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Text 5

خطة «الاقتصادي والاجتماعي»... ما لها وما عليها... عوني الداود

"Economic and social" plan ... pons and cons by Awni Al-Daoud

[https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210253-%D8%AE%D8%B7%D8%A9-](https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210253-)

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Text 6

الطباع: الصين ثاني أكبر شريك في الوطن العربي وحققنا مؤخرًا نقلة نوعية... إسلام العمري

Al-Tabbaa: China second largest partner in Arab world, recently made quantum leap by Islam Al-Omari

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210285->

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Text.7

وزيراً «الصناعة» والزراعة يلتقيان تجار اللحوم ويؤكدان أهمية استقرار الأسعار... جهاد الشوابكة

Ministers of "Industry" and Agriculture meet meat traders, stress importance of price stability by Jihad Shawabkeh

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210284->

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210284-%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A7-%C2%AB%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A9%C2%BB-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A9-%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%85-%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A4%D9%83%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A3%D9%87%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B1?search=%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A7%20%C2%AB%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A9%C2%BB%20%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A9%20%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86%20%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%B1%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%88%D9%85%20%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A4%D9%83%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%86%20%D8%A3%D9%87%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9%20%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B1...%20%D8%AC%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AF%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%83%D8%A9>

Text 8

الأمن الوطني مقدمة أولويات السياسة الأردنية ببعديها الداخلي والخارجي... د.دانيلا عدنان محمد القرعان

National Security: introduction to the priorities of Jordanian politics, internal and external by Dr. Daniel Adnan Mohammed Al-Quraan

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210276->

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210276-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B7%D9%86%D9%8A-%D9%85%D9%82%D8%AF%D9%85%D8%A9-%D8%A3%D9%88%D9%84%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9>

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Text 9

We need proactive decisions and steps by NasimEnizat ... نحتاج الى قرارات وخطوات استباقية... نسيم عنيزات

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210274->

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Text 10

الإصلاح السياسي ضرورة ملحة وحاجة ماسة.. قانون الانتخاب أولاً... د. رياض الصرايرة

Political reform: urgent necessity, urgent need. election law first by Dr.

RiadSarayreh

<https://www.addustour.com/articles/1210280->

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