The State of Dubbing in Cameroon: A Review of research on dubbing in the Cameroonian audiovisual landscape

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Abstract
This paper examines the various studies that have been carried out in the domain of dubbing as an audiovisual translation (AVT) mode in Cameroon by Cameroonian researchers. It identifies what has been done so far, critically examines the frameworks, methods and procedures used, determines and appraises what is still to be done and charts the way forward. A field survey carried out in the country shows that only two schools of higher learning in the country teach AVT and that, 42 studies so far have been carried out in this area out of which, only 9 are based in the area of dubbing which implies that this mode of AVT is disregarded. Analysis of these studies shows that in addition to the fact that dubbing is still at an embryonic state, people know very little about it and thus shy away from doing research in the domain. Following this critical study, proposals and recommendations are made to refocus research and stimulate research in the neglected area of dubbing.

Key words: Dubbing, Audiovisual Translation (AVT)

Resumé
Cet article examine les différentes études déjà menées au Cameroun par les chercheurs camerounais dans le domaine du doublage comme mode de traduction audiovisuelle (TAV). Il identifie les travaux qui ont été faits jusqu’ici et examine, de manière critique, les cadres, méthodes et procédures employés, évalue et détermine ce qui reste à faire dans le domaine du doublage et ensuite, trace le chemin à suivre dans l’avenir. Une enquête de terrain menée au Cameroun révèle que seuls deux établissements d’enseignement supérieures enseignent la TAV et que sur les 42 études qui ont été menées jusqu’à présent dans ce domaine, seuls 9 d’entre-elles portent sur le doublage; ce qui veut dire que ce mode de TAV suscite très peu d’intérêts. L’analyse des études montre qu’en plus du fait que le doublage soit encore à un stade embryonnaire, les Camerounais en savent très peu sur le doublage et évitent, par conséquent, de mener les recherches dans le domaine. Suite à cette étude critique, des propositions et des recommandations ont été faites dans l’optique de recentrer et de stimuler la recherche dans ce domaine négligé du doublage.

Mots clés: Doublage, Traduction audiovisuelle (TAV)
Introduction and Context
The audiovisual (AV) industry in Cameroon has been an outstanding communication tool in the country since the dawn of independence in 1960. According to Tanjong, Minnie and Bussiek (2012), radio broadcasting began in Cameroon in 1941, when the French government opened the first radio station in Douala, ‘Radio Douala’, also known as “A Child of War”. Later, it became the department of radio broadcasting controlled by the then Ministry of Information and Culture after independence. Television broadcasting followed in 1985 (25 years after independence) with the establishment of the government-owned Cameroon Television (CTV). The Department of Radio Broadcasting and Cameroon Television operated as separate entities until 17 December 1987 following a strike action by journalists of the radio. This action resulted in a Presidential Decree that fused radio and television to create a new media house named the ‘Cameroon Radio Television Corporation’ (CRTV) (official website of the CRTV, 2014).

Initially, CRTV retained monopoly over broadcasting for several years. However, this ended with the publication of a Prime Ministerial Order No. 200/158 of 3 April 2000, which liberalised the AV sector. Presently, the country has over 80 radio stations and five national television stations (Tanjong et al., 2012). The CRTV has evolved significantly, has continued to increase media coverage, and is much more bilingual than the other television stations. However, it has failed to adequately address the needs of the hearing impaired in its programmes (Ako, 2013).

The AV companies such as Canal 2 International, Spectrum Television 1, Spectrum Television 2, TV Max and Ariane Television have come to put an end to CRTV’s longstanding monopoly in the AV sector (Esambe, 2007). They now constitute a serious challenge to CRTV which can no longer singlehandedly cater for the AV needs of the millions of television viewers especially as the country is now in a context which, according to Gnotuom (2009), is marked by a high demand from the viewers who are constantly on a search for more captivating television programmes. According to Tane (2008), this viewership is more interested in programmes which portray their daily lives and despite the remarkable growth of Cameroon’s AV sector, broadcasting companies are still facing many difficulties. Tane (2010) points out that Cameroonian television channels, just like many West African channels, face problems especially at the level of content, professional management, procurement of programmes and satellite bandwidths, adaptation to new economic norms, and insufficient professional human resources.

Even though sixteen types of AVT modes (subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, interpreting, surtitling, free commentary, partial dubbing, simultaneous translation, live subtitling, subtitling for the deaf and hearing-impaired, audio description, script translation, animation, multimedia translation, double versions, remakes) have so far been identified by various researchers in the field [Luyken, Herbst, Langham-Brown, Reid and Spinhof (1991), Gambier (1996), De Linde and Kay (1999), Agost (1999), Chaves (2000); Diaz Cintas (2001), Chaume (2004), Gambier (2004)], Chaume (2004) states that they are not a closed group but an ever-growing whole and so new types are added or split over time. Most theorists however agree on the major groups that make up these modes of AVT, that is, shift from oral to written codes (subtitling), synchronisation (dubbing) and semi-synchronisation (voice-over). This article will focus on the second major group: Dubbing.

Luyken et al. (1991:73) define dubbing as the replacement of the original speech by a voice-
track which is a faithful translation of the original speech and attempts to reproduce the timing, phrasing and lip movements of the original. The aim of dubbing is to create the illusion of allowing the audience to experience the production of the audiovisual material in their own language without diminishing any of the characteristics of the original. A programme is well dubbed when the viewer is not aware of the fact that he or she is watching a dubbed version (Dries, 1995:9). Dubbing essentially means that the original dialogues are newly recorded with dialogues spoken by native speakers in the idiom of the film-importing country while the original music and sound-effects track (M&E track) are kept (Blinn, 2008:8). Thus for the audiences in importing countries, the film becomes easily comprehensible. In order to better understand this study, some related key terms will be listed and defined below.

**Audiovisual Translation (AVT)**

AVT is translation on screen, involving three codes: image, sound and written text (Gamal, 2008: 1). Image refers to the images displayed in the form of videos, sound refers to the sound track that accompanies these images, be it translated or not, while written text refers to the words presented on screen, either intralingual or interlingual. The original sound track is either replaced or maintained or texts are inserted on the image. AVT is generally broken down into 3 groups: Subtitling, Dubbing and Voice-over. AVT can either be intralingual (same language) or interlingual (different languages). The term audiovisual translation, abbreviated AVT, first appeared in academic circles in the 1980s and early 1990s (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 11-12). Since then, there has been a variation in the appellation. Some scholars refer to it as film translation or cinema translation, screen translation, multimedia translation and recently multidimensional translation (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 12). In its inception, AVT was used to encapsulate different translation practices used in the audiovisual media cinema, television; VHS (Video Home System) in which there is a transfer from source to a target language which involves some form of interaction with sound and images. Many scholars have written about AVT mode but have come out with no clear definition and rather ended up naming different AVT modes. Audiovisual programmes use two codes, namely image and sounds (Diaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 9).

**Subtitling**

Subtitling is a shift from oral to written codes. It consists in supplying a translation of the spoken source language dialogue into the target language in the form of synchronised captions, usually at the bottom of the screen while the dialogue is in the original version (Micola, Bris, & Banal-Estañol, 2012). In other words, subtitling means showing a written version of the lines found on the soundtrack, whether in the same language as the soundtrack or in another, along with the visual material (Borell, 2000:4).

**Dubbing**

Dubbing involves replacing a soundtrack by another in a language different from the original. It is the method in which the foreign dialogue is adjusted to the mouth movements of the actors in the film so that the audience feels as if they are listening to actors actually speaking in their target language (Micola et al., 2012). It can also be defined as the replacement of the original speech by a voice-track which is a faithful translation of the original speech and attempts to reproduce the timing, phrasing and lip movements of the original (Luyken et al. 1991:73)

**Synchronisation**

Synchrony/Synchronisation is one of the most important factors in dubbing. The term synchrony
was first introduced to the field of audiovisual studies by Fodor (1976, cited in Bartrina & Espasa 2005) in his description of content [the semantic relation between the translation and what happens on screen (images and music)], character and phonetic synchrony (agreement between the voices of the dubbing actors and the expectations of the on-screen actor’s voice). There are many types of synchronies in dubbing, some of which are as follows:

Lip sync is the match between lip movements of the original speech and those of the dubbed speech. Linear sync/isochrony refers to the length of the utterance that is signalled by the opening of the actor’s lips, or better still, by the beginning and end of the movements of his/her articulatory organs. Gestural sync is the matching of words, gestures and actions. Gestures refer to signs that need to match verbal signs, often specifying or reinforcing their meanings. Therefore, words and the way in which they are uttered should be compatible with the actions that are performed on screen (for example, one cannot deliver a speech while running fast.). Rhythmic sync takes into consideration various factors at the same time which must also be complied with when the actor is off screen. This type of synchronism consists of syntactic rhythm of the original language, speed of acting, the pitch the actor uses, which is in turn motivated by the setting where the scene takes place [Pavesi & Perego, 2005:13-16; Di Paolinelli & Fortunato, 2005].

Voice-over
Voice-over, also known as semi-synchronisation, is a method of revoicing. In the case of a speaker in view, the voice-over attempts to coincide with the original speech. Voice-over is characterised by the faithful translation of original speech and approximately synchronous delivery (Luyken et al., 1999: 80). This mode of AVT is mostly used in programmes such as the news, documentaries and interviews just to name a few. The process of voice-over consists of lowering the sound of the original track and superimposition of the translated voice some seconds after the original voice has started. Both finish at the same time.

Music and Sound-effects track (M&E track)
Most films have some sort of music that goes together with the different actions in the film. This music is accompanied with different sounds. The various sounds or sound tracks of this music have different effects on the viewers thus the term “music and sound-effects track” (M&E track). The effect from the sound track may cause some viewers to laugh or be angry. Others may cry or stop watching the film. At times, one can tell or imagine the type of action going on in a film just by listening to the music without seeing the actual action. This is very common in Nigerian films.

Radio Douala
Radio Douala is the first and oldest government radio station in the country. It was opened during the colonisation period. It was originally owed by the French and later by the Cameroon government. Radio broadcasting began in Cameroon in 1941, when the French government opened the first radio station in Douala called “Radio Douala”. It is also known as “A Child of War”.

Cameroon Radio and Television (CRTV)
CRTV is the State owned television and radio station. The terms Television and Radio are combined together in CRTV because the journalists/staffs of both the radio (R) stations and the television (TV) stations work together and belong to the same ministry.

Statement of the problem
In the globalised world today, science and technology constitute the driving force of change and development that are improving the lives of human beings. In the multimedia world (television,
radio, internet, etc.), changes are evident in the quantity and quality of AV media productions, thus making information and entertainment readily and widely accessible to many people and in Cameroon in particular (Obia, 2010; Nfor, 2011; Ako, 2013). AVT is a relatively new domain in Cameroon. It is still a fledgling sector both in academic and professional spheres. As of now, training in AVT in Cameroon is offered only in two translator-training schools: The Advanced School of Translators and Interpreters (ASTI) in Buea and the “Institut Supérieur de Traduction et Interprétation (ISTI)” in Yaounde. Consequently, AVT as a professional activity in the country has mostly been carried out by non-professionals (Mba Bizo, 2009; Kamdem, 2009). There has been significant interest and thus publications in the domain of AVT especially in the area of subtitling. Despite the significant number of studies carried out so far by researchers in the country, one wonders why AVT still appears to be at an embryonic state. This concern leads us to the following questions: (i) what type of research has so far been carried out on dubbing as an AVT mode in Cameroon? (ii) with all its attested importance, why is the national media still lagging behind in practicing AVT, particularly dubbing? (iii) What is the way forward?

Objectives
Based on the above contextualisation, the aims of this paper are to:

i) identify the type of research work that has been carried out so far in dubbing as an AVT mode in Cameroon,

ii) establish and examine the reasons why the national media is still lagging behind in practicing AVT, particularly dubbing and

iii) determine and appraise what is still to be done.

Methodology
The methodology involved: (i) identifying from field survey, the various types of research work that have been carried out so far in dubbing in the AVT sector in Cameroon; (ii) examining critically the frameworks, methods and procedures used; (iii) determining difficulties faced and the reasons that slow down research in this area and; (iv) identifying areas for further research and making proposals for the way forward. AVT in Cameroon is actually taught only in two institutions in the country: The Advanced School of Translators and Interpreters (ASTI) in the University of Buea and the Institut Supérieur de Traduction et Interprétation (ISTI) in Yaounde. A survey carried out in these two Schools of higher learning involved basically 3 groups that make up AVT in general: Subtitling (24 articles and M. A. theses), Dubbing (9 articles and M. A. theses), Voice-Over (1 article and 1 M. A. thesis), and a combination of these 3 AVT groups just mentioned (7 articles and M. A. theses). This makes a total of 42 studies carried out so far in the field of AVT. However, we will limit the scope of the current study to dubbing because that is the concern of this study. The review of these articles and theses was focused on: the objective of each study, the literature review, the methodology used and the findings. The oldest of these studies was done in 1997 and the most recent in 2015.

Dubbing in Cameroon
The fact that Cameroon is a bilingual country with English and French as official languages, alongside 286 national languages, makes the country to be a fertile ground for translation as a whole and AVT in particular. This is because, due to the country’s bilingualism/multilingualism policy and the determination of its leaders to promote both official and national languages, the practice of translation is highly encouraged [Ayonghe (2009); Ayonghe, Kruger, Suh, and Chia (2009); Ako, 2013]. However, contrary to these expectations, the practice of AVT is very much absent in the country (Ayonghe et al., 2009; Tawah, 2010; Ako,
Most programmes broadcast are dubbed and imported from abroad.

Although, its origins are in the United States of America, dubbing has been widely used in Europe where it first appeared in 1936. Attempts at dubbing in the early 1930s resulted in low quality products and subsequently their rejection by viewers. During this period, a translator usually dubbed all the characters of a film. Thus more people got involved in the dubbing processes of translating, directing, editing and mixing, the quality did not improve that much. The unnatural sounding dialogues, the poor synchronisation and the poor performance of actors met with a lot of discontent from the spectators. The evolution of Dubbing went through live dubbing; loop dubbing in 1964 and videos in the 1990s when films could now be watched on video and new television channels caused a sharp rise in the demand for dubbed products (Ivarsson and Carroll, 1998: 10). Currently, there is no dubbing studio in Cameroon. The following studies have so far been carried out in the domain of dubbing in the country:

Soh (1997 & 2009) studied and described the process of film dubbing, the intellectual process of film comprehension for an equivalent rewording of the dubbed version of a film. He based his examples on extracts of “Gone with the wind”. His study enabled him to explain the mechanism through which meaning is formed and reworded during the process of film dubbing. Analysis of the major types of synchronisation (phonetic, syntactic and artistic) on which dubbing quality depends shows that cinematographic and AV dubbing requires equivalence at two levels namely sound and meaning. In another article, Soh (2006) presented a dubbing text as a complex fabric in which AV elements and gestures play their role. His aim was to highlight the role played by gestures made in a film during the dubbing process. According to him, the translation of the linguistic elements should take into account the weight of image and sound elements. He then concluded that the dubbing text is a compound made up of the image track, the sound track, and the paralinguistic elements of the message that these elements come together to produce the dubbing text.

Melong (2007) identified the difficulties encountered in dubbing the movie “Jesus” into the local Cameroonian language “Ngemboon”. His objective was to highlight difficulties encountered during a dubbing process and thereafter propose positive measures to solve them. He discussed the effectiveness of the strategies used and concluded that most of the difficulties were related to linguistic and cultural variations as well as to the technical requirements of dubbing and proposed domestication and adaptation as solutions to these problems. Eloundou (2008) examined the difficulties faced by translators in the dubbing of Nigerian films into French. With the same aim as Melong’s, she concluded that the dubbing was performed by amateurs who have virtually little or no mastery of AVT norms, and proposed solutions for improving on the quality of dubbed products. In the same manner, Mbohli (2011) did a similar study which was based on the impact of non-verbal communication in the dubbing of Nigerian films into French. Her aim was to highlight and appreciate the strategies used to dub non-verbal communication in Nigerian films. Teuma (2014) on her part carried out a study based on the influence of viewing habits on AVT preferences, using the case of Anglophones in Cameroon. Her objectives were to examine Anglophones’ viewing habits in light of dubbing; determine the factors that influence Anglophones’ preference for dubbing; correlate attitudes towards the French language and attitudes towards French movies; determine whether promoting awareness over subtitling as a tool for language acquisition
and learning is truly necessary. She concluded that Anglophones were more exposed to dubbing through DVDs (Digital Versatile Discs) than TV. Ngouno (2012) did a similar study like Nfor (2011) with a different film, a dubbed version of Hotel Rwanda (Terry, 2004). Her aim was to compare the original film and its dubbed version and see if the quality of this dubbed version is as good and authentic as the original version. She concluded that despite visual constraints, namely the close-up shot, Hotel Rwanda’s French version is faithful to the English original version.

Foy (2015) worked on the translation quality assessment of the interlingual auto-dubbing of the shadow witness by kouyembous (2014). His study was aimed at determining whether dubbing could be successful without prior training, appropriate financial and material means, and mastery of the target language. It also aimed at evaluating the quality of a dubbed film based on dubbing conventional norms such as visual and acoustic synchronisations. Data analysis was based on visual and acoustic synchronisations such as phonetic, content, character, isochrony, semantic, dramatic as well as prosodic elements such as accents and cultures. Foy’s (2015) findings revealed that without a sound training, adequate financial and material means, dubbing actors would encounter enormous problems and the end product will not meet the expectations of the audience. Based on these results, Foy (2015) recommended that a well-organised film industry be set up which, in turn, will give rise to dubbing studios in Cameroon.

From the aforementioned, studies carried out in the field of dubbing so far (see Table below) include strategies in dubbing films from English into French, a corpus study of dubbing a film from French into “Nguyemboom”; equivalence of sound and equivalence of understanding in the dubbing process of a film; the potentials and prospects of dubbing in Cameroon; the impact of non-verbal communication in a dubbing process; visual constraints in dubbing; and translation quality assessment of a dubbed product.

As can be seen, very few studies have so far been carried out in dubbing. One of the reasons for this handicap is that dubbing is being taught in ASTI only at the introductory stage and the building of a dubbing studio is envisaged. Secondly, there are no Cameroonian professionals practicing this mode on any of the TV channels. This is because the construction of a dubbing studio and training in dubbing is very expensive, very demanding, and time consuming as compared to subtitling. Due to the above difficulties, many students shy away from carrying any research on this AVT mode and there are so far, barely a few studies as indicated in Table 1.

**Problems faced by the national media in practicing AVT**

There are several reasons why AVT in general, and dubbing in particular may still be lagging behind other forms of translation in Cameroon:

i) Despite its importance and the significance it has on development in the country, Cameroonian television channels face problems especially at the level of content, professional management, procurement of programmes, satellite bandwidths, adaptation to new economic norms, and availability of professional human resources. This makes it difficult for these channels to produce their own AVT programmes. With regards to deficiencies in professional human resources, Cameroon mostly draws its AV professionals from the few private professional and public training institutions such as the National Advanced School of Posts and Telecommunications (NASPT), the National Advanced School of Engineering, the University Institute of Technology (UIT), the Advanced School of Mass Communication
Although these institutions train professionals for the AV sector, it is obvious that following the rapid changes which are sweeping over the information landscape, especially at the level of technological innovation, considerable efforts have to be made so as to adapt these human resources to the new challenges. Examples of these adaptations include the introduction of AVT in ASTI since 2005. This option is very promising in terms of job creation because with about 280 local languages in Cameroon, this country would have been a natural fertile ground for AVT. Unfortunately, the stakeholders are not encouraging dubbing and other translation modes. Teaching AVT in universities is simply not enough, the government, the TV stations and other stakeholders have to contribute. Furthermore, the Cameroonian television stations broadcast mostly foreign dubbed films/programmes and ought to encourage local producers by broadcasting locally dubbed films or by broadcasting foreign films dubbed in local languages.

ii) The problems of professionalism and quality still persist and as more actors get involved in this budding sector, the issue becomes increasingly pressing. In this light, there is still the difficulty and urgent “need to guide all actors towards the production of content that meets ethical, moral and technical standards” (Obia, 2010). Lack of professional training leads to the production of poor AVT programmes. Given that, the viewers’ increasing needs for more interesting programmes is almost equally matched by the increasing number of broadcasting companies in the country, the various existing and future television stations will have to work harder to satisfy the demands of the public. Consequently, some of these companies broadcast all sorts of AV programmes ranging from feature films through music, documentaries and news articles to adverts,

Table: A Compilation of research studies on dubbing

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<td>1</td>
<td>Soh Tatcha Charles (2006)</td>
<td>Le texte de doublage cinématographique: une hétérogénéité à interroger.</td>
<td>Article</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Soh Tatcha Charles (2009)</td>
<td>Doublage cinématographique et audiovisuel : équivalence de son, équivalence de sens</td>
<td>Article</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Soh Tatcha Charles (1997)</td>
<td>Sens et doublage cinématographique : étude de doublage de &quot;Gone with the wind&quot; (David O. Selznick et Victor Fleming, 1939), d’après le roman de Margaret Mitchell, traduit et doublé en français sous le titre &quot;Autant en emporte le vent&quot;.</td>
<td>PhD Thesis</td>
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mostly of foreign production and often supplemented by a few locally produced programmes within the same range (Nfor, 2011).

iii) Although the only two institutions that offer professional training in AVT in the country are ASTI and ISTI, the CRTV stations do not utilise the AVT professionals who graduate from these institutions. Thus, most programmes broadcast on CRTV are dubbed by foreign companies and this automatically slows down the production of local programmes for the local viewers.

iv) Funding is a major problem [Niba (2002), Olinga (2004), Senngwa (2007), Ndoumbè (2008), Olinga (2008)]. Funding is difficult, and causes the making of a film following filmmaking norms difficult (Ndoumbè, 2008). Dubbing itself is a very costly procedure and thus requires enough funds for production. This is even compounded by non-professionals of the domain who make things difficult for the filmmakers by trying to add their own influence to the production of the film (Senngwa, 2007).

v) There is also the Anglophone–Francophone dichotomy that pushes citizens from the French-speaking part of the country to consider the Cameroonian from the English-speaking region as the ‘other’ and vice versa. This feeling has not only hampered unity, but also seems to plague the Cameroonian film and dubbing industry where films are generally produced and marketed as if the country was monolingual and monocultural. This can be seen through the numbers of published lists of Cameroonian films (Nfor, 2011), and other communication media and channels which generally feature only films in English or in French depending on the linguistic and cultural inclination of the communication media/channel in question. Moreover, despite the positive effect that AVT could have on the sale and distribution of AV products in general, very few Cameroonian film producers consider translating their films for audiences of a different linguistic and/or cultural background from that in which the film was produced.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated from this study that dubbing as an AVT mode, has been assessed within the Cameroonian context and with reference to published information on the subject which clearly highlights the fact that different AVT modes are specific for each country especially in cases wherein the practice of AVT has a long history. Dubbing mode is still partially at an embryonic stage, and is reported to be mostly practiced by amateurs in the profession of journalism rather than by well-trained audiovisual translators. The outcome of this study has accordingly demonstrated that Cameroon is still to choose and then promote its AVT mode. It is conclusive from this study that, the way forward in this sector lies with all the major stakeholders: the media, the Cameroon audience, the teachers, the learners and most importantly the government.

Recommendations

The government should create or activate an AVT unit or sector and recruit AVT professionals to work at CRTV so that local programmes can be dubbed on the spot. The Universities and other higher learning institutions should take this issue as a challenge and train more students in this area who in turn will train others.

The Cameroonian media should educate the public on the importance of AVT modes so that it should be more welcoming and receptive of dubbed programmes broadcast on TV. By carrying out this exercise, CRTV will eventually know which mode is most suited for the Cameroonian audience. CRTV should recruit experts in this domain and use them effectively and efficiently.
The government should institute laws that advocate and promote the practice of dubbing as an AVT mode in the country, especially because the benefits of AVT are enormous. A follow up of this recommendation is imperative.

Dubbing studios should be built in the country so that more audiovisual translators could be trained in AVT in general, and in dubbing mode in particular. This requires the government intervention in terms of funds and control and execution.

The way forward lies in all the stake holders such as the Government, the Universities, Business people and other interested parties to work together and ensure that dubbing is advertised, taught and shown on the media (TV, Radio and Newspapers) so this domain is not only known and understood, it should also reach or get down to all levels of the Cameroonian people.

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