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Nigerian and British Media Texts as the Result of Language and Culture Symbiosis

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Abstract. In modern contact linguistics there is a significant gap in the field of language variants functioning in texts of various genres. The specifics of British English adaptation as a means of global communication in the texts of foreign-language media are insufficiently studied. The aim of the research is to identify the linguistic and stylistic properties of Nigerian English on the example of media texts as compared to British English. The peculiarities of the content and linguistic aspects of newspaper publications are examined through comparative and contrastive analysis of British English and the Nigerian variant of English. A classification of Nigerian information sources is proposed, and key sections of Nigerian media texts are determined, including: Politics, Finance, Sport events, Healthcare, and other ones. The peculiarities of British English adaptation in media texts are identified, which include: lexical, grammatical and syntactic simplification resulting from the influence of autochthonous languages and cultures.

Keywords: British English, Nigerian English, comparative and contrastive analysis, mass media, mass media language

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Тексты нигерийских и британских СМИ: лингвокультурологический симбиоз

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Аннотация. В современной контактной лингвистике наблюдается существенный пробел в области функционирования языковых вариантов в текстах различных жанров. Недостаточно изученной является специфика адаптации британского английского языка как средства глобальной коммуникации в текстах иноязычных СМИ. Цель – выявление лингвостилистических свойств нигерийского варианта английского языка на примере текстов СМИ в преломлении к британскому английскому языку. Выявлены особенности содержательного и языкового аспектов газетных изданий посредством сравнительно-сопоставительного анализа британского английского языка и нигерийского варианта английского языка. Предложена классификация нигерийских СМИ,

выявлены ключевые рубрики текстов нигерийских СМИ, к ним относятся: политика финансы, спорт, здоровье. Определены особенности адаптации британского английского языка в текстах СМИ, к которым принадлежат: лексическая, грамматическая и синтаксическая симплификация, что обусловлено влиянием автохтонных языков и культур.

Ключевые слова: британский английский язык, нигерийский вариант английского языка, сравнительно-сопоставительный анализ, СМИ, язык СМИ

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Introduction

The language and culture interconnection issue was first raised by American linguists Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf in 1921 in the works “Language” and “Culture, Personality and Language”, where it is emphasized that language reflects cultural ideas and affects how people think and perceive the world, thus special cultural patterns of human’s behavior are formed. This means that specific linguistic features not only reflect cultural values, but also actively contribute to their formation, facilitating their passing down from generation to generation [Sapir, 1921].

Today mankind lives in the age of globalization, where English has become the dominant means of communication in all spheres of human activity, including politics and finance, medicine and technology. For these reasons, numerous variants of English have emerged. In addition, multiple language processes, including convergence and pidginization, have led to the active functioning of a series of dialects and sociolects [Voloshina, 2018]. These language processes can be clearly seen in the territories of former British and French colonies on the African continent. Colonizers in Africa implemented language discrimination policies and prohibited the local population from speaking in their native languages and teaching their children in educational institutions using their mother tongue. Such prohibitions led to the spread and assimilation of European languages, particularly English.

A significant scientific contribution to the study of the formation of Nigerian English (hereinafter referred to as NE) and its development has been made by many linguists, taking into account the influence of local languages, historical factors, colonial heritage, and socio-cultural context.

Professor Ayo Banjo, a renowned Nigerian scholar, researches various aspects of Nigerian English, including its role in the media, cinema, and literature. He analyzes how the local dialects influence NE and the ways people express their emotions and describe cultural realities using English as a non-native language [Banjo, 2005]. Herbert Igboanusi, a famous linguist in Nigeria, has compiled the territorial English dictionary, where the features of Nigerian English are recorded at all linguistic levels [Igboanusi, 2008].

In addition to foreign linguists, significant contributions to the study of Nigerian English have been made by Russian scholars. T.G Voloshina deeply researches the language and culture interconnection in Nigeria, the way they operate and influence the NE lexical composition [Voloshina, 2019]. The works by Y.S. Blazhevich provide a detailed description of language interaction problems in Cameroon, the peculiarities of English in Africa (Cameroon and Ghana), and the influence of local ethnic languages on it [Blazhevich, 2018]. E.A Bocharova’s works are devoted to South African English, the influence of European civilization on the anthroponymic system of African people [Bocharova, Langner, 2014].

Therefore, we believe that the formation and the principles of Nigerian English development on the African continent have been sufficiently studied by linguists, but the subject remains relevant because of the constant interaction of different ethnic groups within the country and beyond its borders, and as a consequence, there might be evolutionary changes in English.



Our study analyzes the specificity of Nigerian English. Certainly, the linguistic situation in Nigeria is such that local people communicate not only in English, but also in local ethnic languages such as Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo, which allows us to conclude that multilingualism is spreading among the indigenous population of the country [Voloshina, 2021].

This phenomenon is primarily due to the fact that Nigeria is home to over 250 ethnic groups, each of which prefers to speak their unique traditional language. Today English has become a Lingua Franca, which is preferred among the local elite, administration and media in Nigeria [Baghana et al., 2020].

There is also a question, whether a foreign language (English for Nigerians) is capable of effectively conveying the cultural realities of the nation and how the culture influences the structure of that language. In this case, the analysis of the written form of the language serves as the best option, providing an opportunity for visualization and specification of the problematic area.

Therefore, this paper employs the comparative and contrastive method of analyzing newspaper sources from the British and Nigerian press, specifically addressing the structural component of the news blocks, stylistic, syntactic, grammatical and lexical features of the print sources.

Methods

Our research employs general scientific methods and methods of linguistic research. General scientific methods include generalization, abstraction, formalization, analysis, and synthesis.

The purpose of comparative language research is to consistently identify contrasts and differences between different languages. This method is a set of procedures for comparing English and Nigerian languages and cultures in order to identify similarities and differences.

In our research, we use the methodology of comparative and contrastive analysis including the following processes: analysis and description of British and Nigerian written form of language in online newspaper sources and identifying their grammatical, syntactic, stylistic, and lexical features.

Results and discussion

Before delving into a detailed analysis of the linguistic features of the Nigerian and British media, we will provide a general characteristic of the newspapers published in these two countries and attempt to classify them. For this research, we have chosen the Nigerian daily newspaper “Punch”, as one of the influential newspapers in Nigeria, and “The Guardian”, a well-known British newspaper that covers a wide range of topics, distinguished by its analytical depth and attention to social and economic issues.

The Nigerian newspaper “Punch” was founded in 1971 and has since undergone significant changes, the main ones being a shift in the focus of news from that dictated by the British government to intra-national issues [Umuerr, 2018].

First and foremost, when studying Nigerian news sources, we should pay attention to the visual aspect, which includes the use of images of people's faces in the foreground. There may be several reasons: to attract readers' attention; to increase the credibility of the newspaper, allowing the publication of photos of interviewees, participants of events; inviting the readers to identify themselves with the events or characters discussed in the material (Fig. 1).

As for the British newspaper, people are depicted. They are not the center of the illustration, which may indicate that the national issues are not concentrated on certain people but depend on many factors and circumstances (Fig. 2).

Analyzing “Punch” news source, it is reasonable to structure columns based on their fragmentation. Also, it is unclear why certain topics are situated in unsuitable sections. The information content structure that appears dominant is described below.

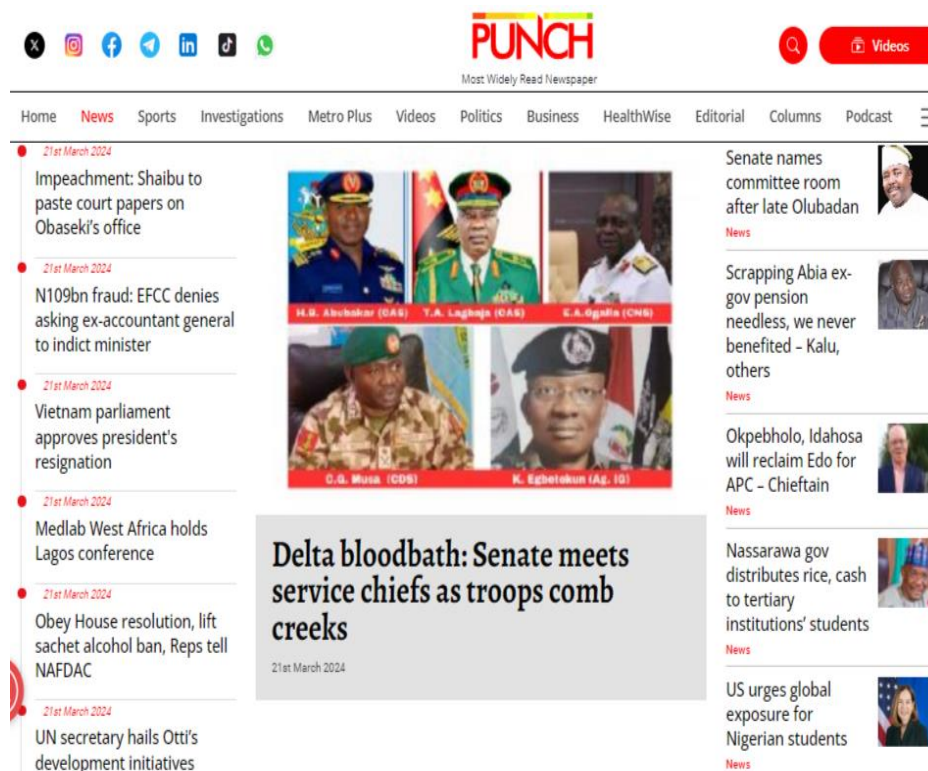


Fig. 1. Headings in Nigerian Media
Рис. 1. Заголовки нигерийских СМИ

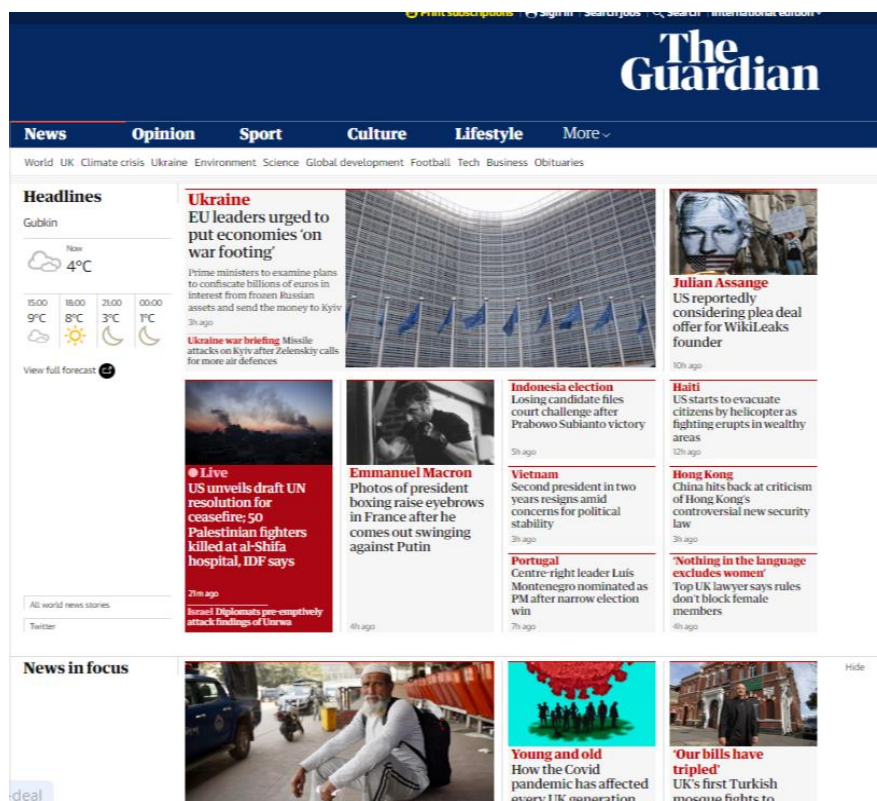


Fig. 2. Headings in British Media
Рис. 2. Заголовки британских СМИ



I. Politics is one of the most informative sections. It is obvious that Nigerians are interested in political events in the country, what cannot be said about the interest in foreign policy:

1) Foreign and domestic politics: *“Three killed in Afghanistan suicide bombing attack”* [Apanpa, 2024];

2) Internal military conflicts: *“Suspected Benue war veteran, farmer's killers remanded after PUNCH report”* [Apanpa, 2024];

3) Nigerian leaders and their activities: *“APC South East zone affirms federal character commissioner's suspension”* [Apanpa, 2024];

4) Legislative developments (with one block allocated to this section): *“Lawmakers' search for improved governance in parliamentary system”* [Apanpa, 2024].

Political news is contained in the following sections: News, Investigations, Metro Plus, Politics, Business.

II. Finance also occupies a significant part of the informational space in the newspaper, illustrating financial problems and changes in the country:

1) Business: *“Private firm withheld FG's N32bn metre fund for 20 years – Adelabu”* [Apanpa, 2024];

2) Economic problems of countries: *“Excess cash in circulation may worsen inflation – MPC members”* [Apanpa, 2024].

Economic news can be found in the headings: News, Investigations, Metro Plus, Business.

III. Sports is a less informative section, dealing mainly with Nigerian sport events:

1) Sports events of the country: *“African Games silver thrills Itsekiri, eyes Olympic spot”* [Apanpa, 2024];

2) Sports personalities: *“Thank you, Bright!”* [Apanpa, 2024].

IV. Health is one of the extensive sections, narrating not about keeping or maintaining health, but about health issues in various areas, from the lack of ambulance services to the development and use of medicine, but most of the content is devoted to men's health and fertility:

1) Healthcare in the country: *“Lagos hospital struggles with old structures, obsolete facilities 131 years after establishment”* [Apanpa, 2024];

2) Male health, specifically of sexual nature: *“Why poor sperm quality leading cause of male infertility – Gynaecologists”* [Apanpa, 2024];

3) Maternity: *“Experts advise pregnant women with heart disease, diabetes to undergo ANC in teaching hospitals”* [Apanpa, 2024].

The Health block is allocated in a separate source “Healthwise”, where the following headings are presented: General Health, Investigations, Maternal Health, Genders, Sexual Health, Mental Health, Environment.

V. Other. In this section it is possible to find various news of different topics:

1) Construction: *“Otti commissions 30km road for rehabilitation”* [Apanpa, 2024];

2) Podcasts;

3) Video content.

Considering the content of “The Guardian” newspaper, one can clearly see a wide and diverse range of news blocks which cover different aspects of life in Great Britain and around the world. We do not find it appropriate to classify the news sections of the British press (like we did with the sections of the Nigerian newspaper). Instead, we propose to examine some of the sections in detail:

I. News is the main section, which publishes the latest news from the UK and around the world on politics, economics, culture and society, science and technology, and environmental issues:

“Indonesia election: losing candidate files court challenge after Prabowo Subianto victory” [Slater, 2024].

“Medics design AI tool to predict side-effects in breast cancer patients.” [Slater, 2024].

“A mecca for rewilders: the community-led project restoring Scotland's southern uplands.” [Slater, 2024].

II. The **Culture** section contains reviews of films, books, exhibitions, music, and other cultural events, as well as interviews with artists, writers, directors, and musicians:

“Julia Louis-Dreyfus returns with more words of wisdom from women.” [Slater, 2024].

“How is this David Tennant's first ever nomination? The rights and wrongs of the TV Baftas shortlist.” [Slater, 2024].

III. The **Sports** section is devoted to sports events and news from the world of sports:

“Susie Wolff files criminal complaint against Formula One governing body” [Slater, 2024].

“Quiz time: can you name these nations' most-capped female footballers” [Slater, 2024].

IV. The **Lifestyle** block contains information about food and recipes, love, health and beauty, travelling, and other aspects of everyday life.

Thus, our analysis shows that the British news source is more comprehensive and versatile compared to the Nigerian newspaper which is focused on the internal political and economic problems of the country. The news publications of the two countries fully personify their culture and the interests of their readers, which is evident in the topics of the sections, their structure and lexical units.

Not only the structural analysis of Nigerian and British newspaper publications proves the influence of culture on the objects of the world around us and the way people interact with them, but the language itself reflects this interaction, which is used in the creation of written sources.

This is why it is reasonable to conduct a comparative and contrastive analysis of the syntactic, grammatical, and lexical constructions of British and Nigerian media.

The syntactic aspect of Nigerian news is characterized by the complexity of sentence structure, with its rather long constructions and direct speech, which is not always closed by quotation marks, with the use of compound and subordinate conjunctions, introductory words and phrases, as well as quite a considerable number of repetitive ideas and lexical units:

“Our lives in danger, farmers lament bandits attacks. The group lamented that countless number of farmers have lost their lives, and many have allegedly been kidnapped on the farms after bandits attacks across the country.” [Apanpa, 2024].

“Speaking in Akure, Ondo State capital, on Monday, the National President of Cocoa and Plantain Farmers Association of Nigeria, Mr Ayodele Ojo, lamented the incessant killing of farmers and destruction of their farmlands.” [Apanpa, 2024].

“According to him, as a result of the alleged attacks, most farmers had abandoned their farms over fear of being killed or kidnapped while the kidnappers and bandits have taken over their farms and security operatives seem to be helpless.” [Apanpa, 2024].

In the given example we can see tautological mistakes with multiple repetition of words: *lament, allegedly, kidnapped, farm/farmers*, the so-called emphasis, the use of which stresses the importance or seriousness of the reported information and helps attract the readers' attention, or adds an emotional connotation to the text.

In the next example, closing quotation marks at the end of direct speech are missing, commas are omitted before the conjunctions *that* and *while*, and some grammatical mistakes are present. For instance, there is an incorrect use of the verb *to be* with the subject *produce*, which is singular and requires *is* instead of *are* (this kind of mistake is quite common in the Nigerian media: *“while under-five deaths is 128 per 1,000 live births”*) [Apanpa, 2024]. Some lexical inaccuracies may be found, namely, the omission of the particle *to* after *access*, the use of the lexically incorrect phrase *due for* in the context of the word *harvest*, when Oxford Learner's Dictionary defines the use of this phrase with the tax collection, and the use of an informal word, or rather slang: *hoodlooms – hooligans, gangsters* [Oxford Learner's..., 2024].

“Ojo said, ‘We don't know what is happening. The insecurity in the land is getting out of hand, we want Mr. President to look into it as a matter of urgency. Farmers cannot access their farms to harvest their farm produce despite the fact that the produce are due for harvest.” [Apanpa, 2024].



“Bandits have harvested some of the farm products, they kidnap our members (farmers) while we also pay ransom for their freedom.” [Apanpa, 2024].

“Some of the hoodlums are now in control of the farms of some of our members, and we are in a very difficult situation now because we are not allowed to visit our farms again. Many of us have not been to the farms for weeks now because of the fear of being kidnapped.” [Apanpa, 2024].

Analyzing the next thematic headings, we also encountered the above-mentioned peculiarities of the language of this Nigerian newspaper. Apart from them, in the following examples, complex sentence constructions with the use of Participle I and Participle II are evident. This linguistic feature likely reflects the dynamic nature of Nigerians, which is characterized by activity and vigor not only in the pace of speech, but also in movements, as evidenced by lively gesticulation, as well as dynamic and rhythmic traditional dances and celebrations [Georgi, 2012]. Therefore, we can assume that overloaded sentences in Nigerian English, with the use of both subordinate and coordinate conjunctions and Participles, emphasize the dynamics of the events mentioned and described in the news, making the text more lively and engaging.

“Somorin in a statement made available to newsmen, added that the Office of the Senior Special Assistant to the President on Sustainable Development Goals donated 30 more tricycles while 10 more were donated by private donors to make a total of 90 tricycle ambulances” [Apanpa, 2024].

“In a video shared on Nike’s social media page, the Eagles’ jerseys were unveiled, ending speculations following the earlier leaked designs” [Apanpa, 2024].

“For their 2026 World Cup qualifying campaign, the Eagles will wear the new jerseys and for the first time the three-time African champions will wear white as their home kits, with the green jersey, traditionally their home kit, serving as the away kit” [Apanpa, 2024].

“Another notable feature on the new kits is the absence of the Eagles logo from the shirts, which only appeared on the shorts, while Nike’s logo is in red, deviating from the usual Eagles colour scheme” [Apanpa, 2024].

In the Nigerian news source, we noticed a deliberate or accidental omission of words:

“...Oke Mosan, noted that the government identified that 70 per cent of women who died during childbirth were a result of lack of access to intervention which usually arise due to lack of transportation and access from PHCs to general hospitals, saying the introduction of the tricycle ambulances would put an end to future occurrences” [Apanpa, 2024].

A possible continuation of the above sentence could be “[future occurrences] of maternal deaths and health emergencies”.

“Somorin explained that transportation challenges have been a major cause of the avoidable loss of lives of pregnant women and elderly persons” [Apanpa, 2024].

Perhaps it should be clarified what exactly Somorin explained: *“Somorin explained that transportation challenges have been a major cause of the avoidable loss of lives of pregnant women and elderly persons, emphasizing the importance of providing adequate transportation solutions”*

“... farmers have lost their lives, and many have allegedly been kidnapped on the farms after bandits attacks across the country” [Apanpa, 2024].

It is obvious that after the word *many*, there might be extra information, but we observe an intentional omission of words. This is most likely due to the elimination of repetition and reduction of the sentence.

But despite skipping the words and some kind of understatement, Nigerian newspaper texts are defined by the complication of transmitted information and the use of intricate sentences:

“...since the present condition, nothing has been done for now” – the word group *for now*, in our opinion, is superfluous in the sentence, because Present Perfect is used, which is characterized by the completion of the action by the moment in the present [Apanpa, 2024].

In the following example, it is possible to simplify the phrase *“as you are seeing it over there”* to *“as you can see”*:

“We were happy when the government brought it, but as you are seeing it over there, it is just for decoration. We have never used it for a day” [Apanpa, 2024].

“So, for over a year that it has been brought here” – this expression also has redundant elements which can be simplified to *“So, for over a year since it was brought here”* [Apanpa, 2024].

The style of Nigerian news sources is mostly publicistic, official and conversational, with the latter prevailing. Speaking about stylistic devices, only epithets have been found in Nigerian articles.

The following example demonstrates the controversial style of speech:

“If you can just be patient, tomorrow you will get all the information you need”, but if the word “just” were absent in the sentence it would sound more formal [Apanpa, 2024].

In the following example, we consider it unacceptable to appeal to the President through the phrase we want: *“...we want Mr. President to look into it as a matter of urgency”* [Apanpa, 2024].

Lexically, the written newspaper source “Punch” contains a series of culturally labelled words. We have found the following examples in the articles:

“Having foods and other delicacies like suya (barbecued meat), packaged in newspapers or leaflets is the norm in Nigeria” [Apanpa, 2024].

“They came in large numbers of about 200 to 300 people with bikes and keke, carrying sticks and long knives” – keke – a three-wheeled vehicle [Apanpa, 2024].

The nativization of English in Nigeria can be traced not only in the syntactic, grammatical and lexical features, but also in the integration of the autochthonous languages of local ethnic groups into it. Nigerian media often resort to the technique of code switching, which involves changing between English and one of the local languages within the text, depending on the context and the readers. Regarding the chosen text published in “Punch”, this technique is observed in the video content of a news source, where we see the use of Nigerian English and Pidgin English interspersed with local ethnic languages, for example:

“...State Management Authority known as lasma now Punch Metro recently reported...” [Apanpa, 2024].

“...that took place in areas such as Eda iKaa Ag Yaba and Yoba the numerous drivers...” [Apanpa, 2024].

Thus, our analysis of Nigerian news publications confirms the fact of mutual influence of language and culture and clearly reflects the changes occurring in Nigerian English.

To identify the characteristic features of British English in the UK, we have studied “The Guardian”, a British news source.

We have found a feature distinguishing the use of a quote in the British news from that in the Nigerian source. Quotes in British articles are laconic, only short necessary parts are taken from the required source.

“The government has brought adult social care in England “to its knees” with years of uneven funding and a “woefully insufficient plan” to fill thousands of staff vacancies, MPs have said in a damning report on a system that provides long-term care for 835,000 people” [Slater, 2024].

Phraseological units are also used in British news, as we can see in the above example. The expression *to its knees* means “to bring someone/ something to their knees” (“to almost defeat someone, or to make them extremely weak”).

“We hear from people facing uphill battles to get access to care, to get their basic needs met or to have serious concerns with care resolved”, where *facing uphill battles* means facing a difficult task or challenge that requires great effort and perseverance to overcome [Slater, 2024].

Obviously, the British newspaper does not allow for any unreasonable repetition of words, phrases or ideas; statements are constructed logically using a preferably formal style (depending on the subject heading), supporting their seriousness with complex terms *DHSC* – Department of Health and Social Care”, quotes by representatives of various organizations such as Trades Union Congress and Homecare Association:



“Meanwhile, more than 150,000 care posts are vacant and “the DHSC has still not produced a convincing plan to address the chronic shortages”, the committee said” [Slater, 2024].

“Nadra Ahmed, chair of the National Care Association, which represents independent care providers, said: ‘The intent has been there but the implementation has been quite woeful. The sector continues to become ever more fragile despite the government having published a plan’.” [Slater, 2024].

The rich speech of the British media consists in a greater use of stylistic devices such as irony: *“Chelsea earned a commanding first-leg lead in their Champions League quarter-final with a controlled victory over Ajax in front of a record women’s football crowd in the Netherlands of 35,991”* – we find an ironic connotation here, as it was quite difficult for the team to win.

All kinds of epithets are used in the Nigerian press, as can be seen from the example: *thrilling, explosive, well managed: “After a thrilling 3-1 defeat of Arsenal at Stamford Bridge on Friday night, this was a less explosive performance but a well-managed one...”*. Metaphors are also used. In the example *“hammering an effort off the base of the post with Hannah Hampton beaten”*, the metaphor represents the player's effort as a hammer blow [Slater, 2024].

While Nigerian mass media use tautology to emphasize the information, in the British newspaper we can see examples of anaphora used for the same purpose: *“with Lauren James scoring the opener and Sjoeki Nüsken scoring twice, mirroring Friday night”, “served by an understaffed, underpaid and undervalued workforce.”* [Slater, 2024].

As for the syntax in the British press, we have not noticed any omissions of commas in compound and subordinate sentences, quotes in direct speech are closed, which cannot be said about the Nigerian media.

Thus, we have shown that British newspaper sources use the formal and literary style of the English language, which means the correct usage of grammatical and syntactic constructions, a wide vocabulary and formal expressions. In addition, various stylistic devices are used: epithets, metaphors, personification, anaphora, irony and sarcasm, which testifies to the rich British literary history and traditions that are reflected precisely in their native language – English. As for the Nigerian press, it is characterized by a rather meager vocabulary, revealed by a large number of repetitions of words and ideas.

Furthermore, a distinctive feature of Nigerian writing in “Punch” newspaper is the rather cumbersome news articles, with the use of direct speech, participles, comma omissions, grammatical inaccuracies, and cultural inclusions, making sentences difficult to read and less clear, which in turn emphasizes the influence of culture on the language.

Conclusion

The language and culture interconnection is a complex phenomenon that manifests itself in various aspects. Language, as a socio-cultural phenomenon, reflects the values, norms and features of culture, expressing them through lexical and phraseological units. Also, cultural peculiarities can be reflected in the grammar and phonetic structure of language. Besides, language norms are indicated in cultural customs and rules of behaviour. In addition, language plays an important role in the formation of cultural identity, allowing people to express their belonging in a particular culture or social group.

In the context of intercultural contact, language is subjected to the influence and adaptation of various cultural manifestations. Such a situation happened to English in Nigeria. A long interaction between British and Nigerian cultures has resulted in a symbiosis between the two cultures and languages, which we can observe today in the territory of modern Nigeria. English is no longer an alien language in Nigeria, but a full-fledged means of communication both within and outside small social groups. Apart from communication, it is also used in education, literature, and the media.

Thus, conducting a comparative and contrastive analysis of the written speech of the British and Nigerian press, we have established the differences between Nigerian English and British

English which are expressed in various levels of language. On the grammatical level, the sequence of tenses and the subject-verb agreement mistakes have been found, while on the lexical level we can see the use of culturally marked linguistic units characterizing the unique geographical, climatic and cultural reality. Speaking about the syntax, the use of word repetition, participial clauses, and complements is typical of Nigerians' speech, making it more dynamic.

Therefore, we have outlined the features of the British press, which have a clear and precise sentence structure, with few quotations and fewer participle clauses and complements than in the Nigerian newspaper. Moreover, we have not found any grammatical and stylistic mistakes in the British news. At the same time, the British publication is characterized by the use of stylistic devices such as metaphor, personification, sarcasm, which gives additional colouring to the sentences. In addition, we have categorized the headings of the Nigerian newspaper because of the inclusion of articles in inappropriate sections, which has not been observed in the British press.

The visual aspect of newspapers also differs in Nigerian and British news. We have found that Nigerian newspapers tend to publish important persons' portraits, while British media avoid this practice, using abstract photos instead. The content aspect of the Nigerian and British media clearly reflects the cultural specifics of the countries. The Nigerian media focus on the country's internal problems, military and economic crisis and the country's rising birth rate, while the British news is concentrated on foreign policy and global trends.

To summarize, we can conclude that though British and Nigerian newspapers are written in the same language – English, they have a number of unique features associated with the identity of the nation and the uniqueness of cultural and historical values of the country, which once again proves the inextricable link between language and culture.

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