

Oba ní kôró (The king has coronavirus): Lexical Innovations and Yoruba Naming Strategies in the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

COVID-19, a worldwide pandemic since 2019 influenced individual and collective behaviours and practices. Consequently, existing words and expressions in the Yoruba vocabulary were used to convey new thoughts and perceptions. Using the corpus planning framework of language expansionism, this study investigates the lexical innovations of Yoruba speakers in their reactions to COVID-19 as shown in the lexical expressions developed to describe their perceptions and experiences about the pandemic. Their lexical innovations are reflected in the naming of the disease and the pandemic outcomes through punning devices. Data were obtained through participant observation and questionnaires administered to 200 randomly selected respondents in Southwest Nigeria to harvest their expressions about the pandemic. Key informant interviews were also conducted with officials from the Africa Centre of Excellence for the Genomics of Infectious Diseases, Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. The study identifies several lexical innovations such as kóbûdì, kófûdì, kòróbíyí, kòrómúyìwá, kòrólà, etc. which present the naming strategies of the Yoruba people of Southwest Nigeria of the pandemic. The study revealed that other lexical innovations in the Yoruba language such as, korofirosi, ironikoro, Oba ni koro, amplify the beliefs of some Nigerians that COVID-19 is an elitist disease, hence, a societal low rate of compliance to the prevention protocols. The study however concludes that COVID-19 is not elitist and has no regard for social status.

Keywords: Covid-19 prevention protocols, pun and punning, lexical innovations, Yoruba naming strategies, Covid-19 perception, elitist disease

Introduction

COVID-19, a disease that originated in Wuhan, China in 2019 hit the entire globe with tragedies, devastations, and colossal damages. The record of deaths arising from COVID-19 globally grew rapidly to over 6 million, with the United States alone accounting for over one million deaths (www.statista.com). The tragedy was immense and it threw the entire world into a panic mode. The world of science took up the challenge and began explorations into strategies aimed at altering the course of the pandemic. The World Health Organization (WHO) initially brought up several non-medical COVID-19 prevention protocols such as the use of face masks, constant handwashing with soap or hand sanitizers as well as the maintenance of social distancing in public places.

As time passed, efforts also went into the production of vaccines, and with the administration of the COVID-19 vaccination, tens of millions of lives have been saved globally, although the impact of the vaccination is still lagging in low-income countries as a result of inadequate access to the vaccines (Watson et al.). These efforts and strategies by both governmental and non-governmental

organizations have indeed led to a nose-diving of the tragic effects of the pandemic across the globe. Although the rate of COVID-19 infections has massively reduced across countries and in fact, some are already insinuating a post-covid era, it is pretty much difficult to refer to these times as post-covid, as it is being opined that COVID-19 has come to stay and there are still cases of the infections across the globe, though now reduced due to vaccination.

The effect of the pandemic was quite different in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in Nigeria. The death rate was remarkably low, contrary to predictions by Melinda Gates that dead bodies might litter the streets of Africa. Probably due to the low rate of infections among the people, the general approach to the pandemic was calm. During the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, people reacted to the pandemic in diverse ways. Their religion, philosophy, arts, music, and even language use patterns felt the impact of the pandemic and it was quite obvious that COVID-19 impacted almost every facet of human life.

As the pandemic continued to bite harder on the people, the Yoruba people of Southwest Nigeria brought up several lexical innovations to capture their feelings and conditions about the pandemic. Quite a number of these lexical innovations in Yoruba presented the experiences of the people about the pandemic. Although some of them were humorous, a closer look at these concepts reveals the deep and inner thoughts of the people about the entire COVID-19 palaver. An understanding of the punning strategies and lexical innovations that amplify the thoughts and beliefs of the people about the pandemic will aid policymakers in unmasking the underlying reasons behind the low compliance rate to the COVID-19 prevention protocols to reverse the trend and subsequently other pandemics that may arise in future.

A review of the literature showed that studies around language use during the COVID-19 pandemic focused on the reactions of people during the lockdown and their lived experiences as expressed in their language use. Among the younger generation, there was massive use of internet memes and humorous content in social media to relay their experiences (Sule; Adamu and Ekele) These memes were used albeit humorously to foreground their underlying thoughts, beliefs, fears, and frustrations about COVID-19. Most of the research around language use patterns focused on a pragmatic/discourse analysis. Pura et al. produced a word list of pandemic new words and neologisms in the English language. The study notes that using different word formation processes, people do produce these neologisms as coping strategies meant to overcome stressors and express their pandemic-related experiences. On their part, Al-Heeh et al. examined the words and phrases that speakers of English have innovated during the pandemic. The study mainly identified the morphological process for the derivation of the words and phrases as well as the reasons behind the usage of the lexical items. Furthermore, Fabunmi and Adejumo examined the COVID-19 lexemes from a pragmatic approach and highlighted the pragmatic use of language during the pandemic.

Kupolati et al. explored the lexical innovations and lexemes formed by speakers of Nigerian English in Southwest Nigeria during the pandemic. The study notes that several new words in Nigerian English peculiar to COVID-19 have found their way into different sectors of society and are now being used in day-to-day Nigerian English. The study describes the contextual usage of the lexemes and also highlights the morphological processes for the derivation of the new lexemes. The study concludes that the list of words generated indicated that COVID-19 has significantly influenced the vocabulary of Nigerian English irrespective of the social and educational status of the speakers of Nigerian English in Southwest Nigeria. Research around language use in Nigeria during the pandemic focused on the English language, with little attention paid to the impact of the pandemic on the lexicon of the Yoruba language, hence this study.

Research Objectives and Methodology

This study aimed at interrogating the consequence of COVID-19 on existing words and expressions in the Yoruba vocabulary which convey the thoughts and perceptions of the people about the disease. The specific objectives of the study were to find answers to the following research questions:

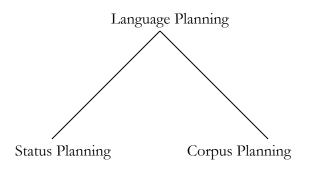
- (i) What are the naming strategies or words, phrases, and statements in Yoruba that have taken on new or additional meanings in the aftermath of COVID-19?
- (ii) How do the lexical innovations and punning strategies amplify the thoughts and beliefs of the people of Southwest Nigeria about the COVID-19 pandemic?
- (iii) Is it true that COVID-19 is an elitist disease in Southwest Nigeria as being amplified by the punning of *Oba ni koro (the king has Coronavirus)*?

The research employed a mixed methods approach. Questionnaires were administered to 200 respondents randomly selected within Southwest Nigeria both physically and through online Google forms to harvest the lexical innovations about COVID-19. Qualitative data was obtained from interviews conducted with individuals on their views about COVID-19 as well as participant observations of the narrations of the people about their pandemic experiences. Ethical approval was obtained from the Osun State Ministry of Health, Osogbo, after which key informant interviews were conducted with officials from the Africa Centre of Excellence for the Genomics of Infectious Diseases (ACEGID), Redeemer's University, Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. The Centre was actively involved in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic, as it was the testing site of samples across the entire Osun State and even the Southwestern part of Nigeria. This was to ascertain from the health officials the social status of patients with the samples that turned out to be positive for COVID-19. This provided very useful information needed to ascertain whether COVID-19 was an elitist disease or not. The data obtained were analyzed using content analysis from a sociolinguistic and morphological point of view.

Conceptual Framework

Corpus Planning: Language Engineering and Accommodation

The dynamism of human language gives room for the expansion of the vocabulary of a language to cater to emerging needs and issues. This concept of language expansionism falls within one of the sub-themes of language planning known as corpus planning which forms the framework of this study. Language planning has been classified by scholars into two aspects as presented in the diagram below:



While status planning deals with the decisions surrounding the selection of a particular language for particular purposes in a multilingual setting, corpus planning is concerned with the development of a language to accommodate emerging concepts. Some scholars refer to corpus planning as language development. Within the framework of corpus planning, the vocabulary of a language becomes expanded as the need arises and new words are formed while existing words take on new or additional meanings. This falls within the purview of language engineering (Owolabi, *Nigeria's Native* Language; "Using Africa's Indigenous Languages"; Yusuff) which foregrounds the dynamic nature of language in terms of lexical expansionism. Language engineering brings to the fore the capacity of indigenous languages to handle modern and scientific concepts. Various morphological strategies were engaged by the Yoruba people of Southwest Nigeria for the fabrication of lexical terms to capture their pandemic experiences and perceptions of COVID-19. The Yoruba people have their way of naming persons, places, things, and situations under the concept of onomastics which is well captured in Ogunwale.

Human Health-Seeking Behaviour

Human health-seeking behaviour which is well captured within the Health Belief Model (HBM) is largely predicted by six variables namely risk susceptibility, risk severity, benefit to action, barriers to action, self-efficacy and cues to action (Glanz and Bishop). According to the HBM, these variables are very central to the health-seeking behaviour of individuals and have a strong impact on the wellness practices of people. From this theory, it is believed that the perception, knowledge and awareness of the level of susceptibility of an individual to disease will affect the behaviour of an individual towards embarking on means to prevent contracting such disease. Also, the perception of the risk of how severe a disease could affect the individual will determine the amount of effort that will be put towards preventing such disease or seeking medical care.

Furthermore, the theory posits that an individual would weigh the benefits of an action aimed at either the prevention or treatment of a disease as well as the barriers to such action before the individual embarks on such actions. The self-efficacy of the actions to be taken towards disease prevention and treatment as well as the cues or predictors of the need to embark on such actions also determine how much resources would be put into such ventures. Since peoples' wellness practices and health-seeking behavior are often the outcomes of their underlying beliefs and thoughts, the rate of compliance to the COVID-19 prevention protocols in Southwest Nigeria can be said to be closely tied to their thoughts about the disease which becomes fore-grounded in the lexical innovations used to describe their pandemic experiences.

The Yoruba People of Southwest Nigeria

Although the term 'geo-political zone' has not been officially admitted into the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the term has come to stay and it is severally used in Nigeria. There are six geo-political zones in Nigeria. They are the North-West, North-East, North-Central, South-West, South-East and South-South. The Yoruba people are largely domiciled in the Southwest zone of Nigeria. There are six states which make up the Southwest zone in Nigeria, namely: Oyo, Osun, Ogun, Ondo, Lagos, and Ekiti. The dominant language spoken in the six states in the Southwest is the Yoruba language which is classified under the West Benue-Congo languages. The language also has several dialects spoken in different communities. However, apart from the six states in the Southwest, other states where the Yoruba language is spoken are Edo, Kogi and Kwara states. The Yoruba race also exists outside the shores of Nigeria. In Benin Republic, formerly called Dahomi, the Yoruba race

there, is referred to as Ànagó. Also, the Yorùbá language is spoken in countries like Togo, Cuba, and Brazil. (Fabunmi).

Data Presentation and Analysis

COVID-19, Lexical Innovations, and Yoruba Naming Strategies

The impact of COVID-19 can be felt in the lexicon of the Yoruba language. Since the advent of COVID-19, several words have either taken on new or additional meanings. Lexical innovations during the pandemic began right from the naming of the coronavirus virus which never existed before. The naming of the disease brings to the fore the concept of language engineering in corpus planning which highlights the ability of the Yoruba language to bring up new words to account for emerging issues and concepts. Among Yoruba speakers, the virus is popularly named *àrun kòró* or simply *kòró*. *Kòró* is a word that has taken on additional meaning. This is a case of meaning extension which is a strategy employed in language engineering. An example of the usage of the word is in the sentence below:

Isele naa soju mi koro. (Literally meaning - I witnessed the event)

Here, *kòró* is an adverb that emphasizes the fact that one witnessed an event. It is obvious that *kòró* initially did not correlate whatsoever with the coronavirus, but because the word sounds like a clipped form of *corona*, Yoruba speakers conveniently named coronavirus as *àrun kòró*.

Several other names were given to COVID-19 by Yoruba speakers. The majority applied the concept of ear-loan to give out names to the disease. Ear-loan is a pattern of borrowing which is also a word formation process in the Yoruba language. In ear-loan, the word is borrowed from a source language into a target language based on the pronunciation of the borrowed word. Yoruba speakers employed the concept of ear-loan to name the disease as *kófîidì* or *kofiidi-19*. Here, the speakers simply borrowed the word from English and adapted it to conform to the phonological pattern of Yoruba. Borrowing is one of the word formation techniques in a language in which the borrowed word takes on the features of the language into which it is loaned. In *kófîidì* or *kofiidi-19*, there is a vowel insertion at the final syllable of the English word COVID for it to conform with the Yoruba syllabic structure which bars a consonant-final syllable in a word. Also, the voiced labio-dental fricative sound /v/ in COVID which does not exist in Yoruba is replaced with the voiceless counterpart /f/. Furthermore, rather than naming it *kófīidì*, some Yoruba speakers merely choose to replace the voiced labio-dental fricative sound /v/ in COVID with the voiced bilabial plosive sound /b/ before inserting a vowel at the syllable-final position to make it conform to the Yoruba phonological pattern.

One other interesting name given to COVID-19 was $k \partial r \delta l \lambda$. On the surface, this is derived from borrowing the word *corona* in English. The borrowing is done in such a way that the alveolar consonant /n/ in *corona* is replaced with a lateral consonant /l/ in the Yoruba version $k \partial r \delta l \lambda$. However, the naming of COVID-19 as $k \partial r \delta l \lambda$ expresses the hidden perception of the entire COVID-19 pandemic by some who opined that the pandemic merely served as a means to enrich the pockets of certain individuals or government officials. The verb $l \lambda$ means to profit. It is believed by some that COVID-19 named $k \partial r \delta l \lambda$ was an avenue to make a profit. Truly, the pandemic served as an avenue to enrich certain governmental officials in Nigeria. During the pandemic, a total national lockdown was declared. The lockdown which was one of the non-pharmaceutical strategies to reduce the spread of the virus kept people at home and away from their business for days and weeks. The result of the lockdown was several job losses, massive economic losses, and rampaging hunger in the land. During this period, the governments of nations across the world thought it fit to distribute aid to the people in the form of both edible and non-edible items. In Nigeria, several forms of palliatives were meant to be distributed to the masses to cushion the effect of the economic losses. However, there were reports that the palliatives were cornered by certain officials leading to protests in some states. *Kòrólà* therefore highlights the politicking of the pandemic which foregrounds profiting from the pandemic by some.

Although the Nigerian government with support from some corporate organisations made provisions for the distribution of palliatives to the people, especially those whose livelihoods were greatly affected, only a few people received certain meagre food items, just enough for a single meal for an individual, during the pandemic-forced lockdown. Again, the people humorously gave names to these items. They named the palliatives *erukofiidi*. The naming here is derived through compounding, which involves conjoining two free morphemes together. *Eru* means 'goods'. Therefore, *erukofiidi* meaning 'COVID-19 goods' was humorously derived to name the poorly packaged palliatives given as cheap handouts to the masses that were nowhere near the handsome packages handed over to individuals in some other countries.

Some even doubted the existence of COVID-19 and even saw it as a hoax. Such people expressed their views by tagging the entire COVID-19 palaver as *ironikoro*, literally meaning *COVID-19 is a lie*. Another similar term coined to express the doubts of some about the pandemic is *korofirosi*, literally meaning *COVID-19 has been tainted with lies*. These terms express the underlying beliefs of some that COVID-19 never existed or that perhaps it only existed in the West. This belief is further reinforced perhaps by the low prevalence, mortality, and morbidity rate of the virus in Nigeria which runs contrary to the predictions of Melinda Gates of an impending COVID-induced mass tragedy in Africa.

Furthermore, several other lexical innovations and punning strategies came up through which Yoruba speakers described their pandemic experiences. The pandemic-occasioned lockdown forced everyone to remain at home and one impact was an increase in pregnancies. As babies were given birth to during the period, Yoruba speakers humorously gave names to the newborn babies such as *Kòróbíyí* (loosely translated as *Covid gave birth to this*), *Kòrómúyìwá* (loosely translated as *Covid brought this*). These lexical innovations were strategies used to laugh off the effects of the pandemic. The Yoruba people normally bear names such as Olúwábíyí, Ògúnbíyí, Olúmúyiwá, etc., to reveal their religious inclinations. Naming a child *Kòróbíyí* or *Kòrómúyìwá* was simply humorous and followed the Yoruba naming pattern. Rather than the regular attachment of the names to the Supreme Being or the different deities which they believe in, such as *Ògún, Ifá, Èsù*, etc, to derive names such as *Ògúnbíyí, Esùbíyí*, respectively, they simply humorously attach the names to COVID-19 named *Kòró* to derive names such as *Kòróbíyí*.

One outstanding way by which pun was used as a naming strategy during the pandemic was the punning of *Qbanikoro*, a personal name. The name has an entirely different translation and has nothing to do with coronavirus. Although it was difficult to establish the original meaning of the name, findings showed that the name was a shortened form of *Qba ni lkorodu* literally meaning *The king in Ikorodu*. Ikorodu is a large city in the Northeastern part of Lagos State, Nigeria.

Since COVID-19 came, and with COVID-19 named koró, the personal name *Qbanikoró*, is now being translated punningly as *the king has coronavirus* by deliberately reducing the sentence *Qba ni koró* to a single word *obanikoró*. This is a translation manipulation strategy for comic purposes. However, the fact that the personal name *Qbanikoró* has taken on a new translation as *the king has coronavirus* seems to foreground the beliefs of some that COVID-19 is an elitist disease. The *king* as used here is representative of the rulers, leaders, and the elites. Quite a number of the masses believe that COVID-

19 was brought into the country by the elites who travelled from cold regions in Europe, Asia, and America. They also believe that the poor masses have some form of natural immunity against the virus due to their daily activities which makes them sweat profusely under the scorching sun and the heat of the day and that only the elites can be infected. The generality of the people therefore believe that they cannot contract the disease, hence there was a seemingly low rate of compliance to the COVID-19 prevention protocols. During the peak of the pandemic, most people in Southwest Nigeria were seen as continuously disregarding and ignoring the COVID-19 prevention protocols which include the use of face masks, regular handwashing with alcohol-based hand sanitizer and observance of social distancing in public spaces. This could be attributed to the fact that they believed that COVID-19 is strictly an elitist disease which cannot infect them.

The COVID-19 pandemic brought in several words in the English lexicon which also either took on new or additional meanings. Some of these terms that were commonly used during the pandemic were *face mask/nose mask, lockdown, isolation, quarantine, social distancing*, etc. As these terms were frequently used, the Yoruba people also applied language engineering to name these expressions. The regular use of face masks/nose masks in public was one of the key COVID-19 prevention protocols recommended by the World Health Organisation (WHO). Face mask/nose mask was named *ibòmú/ibòmú -bojú* by Yoruba speakers. *Ìbòmú* in Yoruba normally could be anything that covers the nose, but the word took on an exclusive meaning during the pandemic as it particularly referred to face mask or nose mask.

During the peak of the pandemic, a lockdown was declared which required that everyone stay indoors. The Yoruba lexicon did not have the term *lockdown*. What came close to it is the term used for *curfew* which is *kóníléógbélé*, an explanatory word derived from collapsing a sentence into a word, which is also a word-formation strategy in Yoruba. The Yoruba people named lockdown *isemole* which is derived from the prefixation of the prefix *i*- to the verb phrase *se mo ile* literally meaning *shut up at home*, while some people prefer to name lockdown as *ideramole*. which is also a prefixation of *i*- to the verb phrase *dera mo ile*. *Isemole* was also used loosely for *isolation* and *quarantine*.

Implications of the lexical innovations on thoughts about the pandemic

The various lexical innovations of the Yoruba people of Southwest Nigeria about the COVID-19 pandemic project the perceptions of the people about the pandemic. The lexical items used in describing the pandemic amplify their thoughts and views about the whole COVID-19 palaver. Quite a number of the terms are expressive of their doubts about the reality of the disease. Among those who believe that the disease is real, some believe that it is elitist. In line with the Health Belief Model, some of the variables that are predictors of human health-seeking behaviour are risk susceptibility and risk severity (Glanz and Bishop). When individuals recognize that they are highly susceptible to a disease, there is a tendency for them to take adequate steps required to protect themselves from contracting such disease. This includes complying adequately with the prevention protocols. Furthermore, when people realize that there is a tendency for them to manifest severe forms of illness after contracting a disease, they always tend to adjust their health-seeking behaviour as appropriate.

It is therefore noteworthy that the perceptions of quite some people about the COVID-19 pandemic clearly showed their doubts about their risk susceptibility and risk severity of the disease. Their expressions indicate their perception of the disease as elitist in nature, hence they believe that they are not susceptible to the disease. Even those who believe that they could contract the disease still feel that their risk severity of COVID-19 is low. Some feel that by drinking hot water regularly or engaging in some other traditional methods, they could treat COVID or be immune to the disease. In light of

this, the rate of compliance with the COVID-19 prevention protocols was perceived to be very low. Most people did not comply with the use of facemasks, regular handwashing with sanitizers as well as the observance of social distancing which were all measures aimed at reducing the spread of the disease.

Is COVID-19 truly an elitist disease?

Findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data showed that COVID-19 is certainly a disease that affects all categories of people irrespective of race, ethnic group, age, gender, social class, educational and financial status in society. The quantitative analysis of the data showed that only 8 (4%) of the 200 respondents reported having tested positive for COVID-19 during the peak of the pandemic. This showed that there was a very low rate of infection among the people as also affirmed by the statistics from the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC). By implication, however, although most of the respondents fall within the low and middle class, there were still some who contracted COVID-19. In other words, those who came down with COVID-19 could be found among the elites, the high, medium, and low classes of the people.

The Africa Centre of Excellence for the Genomics of Infectious Diseases (ACEGID), located in Ede, Osun State, Southwest Nigeria played a key role in the management of the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria. During the peak of the pandemic, the Centre was actively involved in the analysis and carrying out of tests on samples collected. The Centre was renowned for confirming the first case of COVID-19 in Nigeria. The sample of the index case of COVID-19 was analysed at the Centre and was first found positive. Findings from the key informant interviews conducted with the Directors of the Africa Centre of Excellence for the Genomics of Infectious Diseases (ACEGID), Ede, Osun State clearly showed that COVID knows no class, gender, status, race or colour. One possible reason given for the seemingly low rate of reported cases of COVID-19 infection among the lower class of society was the possible underreporting of the cases among the masses. There is the possibility that there are people who were ill and died of COVID during the pandemic but were never officially reported.

Furthermore, contrary to the predictions that Africa might record a very devastating fatal mortality rate due to COVID-19, the reported cases in Nigeria were far from being massive. Although there is currently no well-established proof that the genetic make-up of Africans built some form of immunity or resistance to the disease, findings from the key informant interviews conducted however showed the possibility that Nigerians had antibodies that fought against COVID-19. This could be because quite some Nigerians had been exposed to other similar coronaviruses, such as SARS Cov-1 before the advent of COVID-19. As a result, the immune system could have built up over time and antibodies developed which served as natural cross-protection for most Nigerians, except for those with co-morbidities during the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Conclusion

Among other lexical innovations which this study identified in the Yoruba language, *Oba ni koro (the king has Coronavirus)*, amplifies the beliefs of some Nigerians that COVID-19 affects only the elites and not the common people hence, there was a societal low rate of compliance to the COVID-19 prevention protocols. The lexical innovations encapsulated in the punning of the Yoruba personal name *Qbanikoro* by humorously translating it into *Qba ni koro* literally meaning *the king has Corona Virus,* captured the mindset of a significant number of people that COVID-19 is not a threat to them at all. From personal observation, it was obvious that the majority did not see the coronavirus as a threat to

them at all. To some, especially among the masses, their underlying thoughts and perception of COVID-19 is that the disease is elitist. They therefore disregard the prevention protocols. Some even believed that since the disease was not of African origin, it thrives mainly in the West and Africans seemed to have some form of natural immunity to the disease. Some even believed that the disease is entirely a hoax that only exists in the minds of the government whom they conclude politicized the COVID-19 pandemic for certain ulterior reasons.

These skewed thoughts and perceptions of the people of Southwest Nigeria about COVID-19 ultimately contributed significantly to the low rate of compliance with the WHO-recommended COVID-19 infection prevention and control protocols. Although the production of vaccines has now reduced drastically the morbidity and mortality effects of COVID-19, these skewed thoughts and perceptions of the people in Southwest Nigeria about the pandemic have made mass vaccination difficult in Nigeria as there are quite several people who still feel COVID-19 was a hoax, hence they do not need to be vaccinated. It is therefore important to make conscious efforts to erase this negative perception about COVID-19 in the minds of the people to keep Nigeria in particular and Africa in general safe from COVID-19 and subsequent pandemics that may arise in the future.

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