

PORTUGUESE *SAUDADE* AND OTHER EMOTIONS OF ABSENCE AND
LONGING

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8.1 INTRODUCTION

Saudade is a quintessential Brazilian and Western Iberian emotion concept. The word does not exist in Spanish, except in some translations of Portuguese works and perhaps in the form *soledad* ‘solitude’, which apparently could at one time be used in a way similar to *saudade* (Vasconcellos 1914: 67-72). *Saudade* does, however, occur in Galician, with a meaning much like that of the Portuguese cognate (Piñeiro 1953, García 1985).¹ Expressing sentiments shared by many who have studied this word, the 19th century Portuguese poet Almeida Garrett declares in a note on his epic poem *Camões* that *saudade* is the sweetest, most delicate, and most expressive word of Portuguese and that, although this emotion is surely felt in other cultures, having a specific word for it “não o é de outra nenhuma linguagem senão da portuguesa” (‘is the case for no other language but Portuguese’; Castro 1980: 8). *Saudade* constitutes a salient theme in Portuguese poetry, from Luís de Camões to Fernando Pessoa, and pervades the lyrics of Brazilian bossa nova and the popular novels of Jorge Amado. Being at least equally common in routine informal discourse, it is among the most frequent emotion words in the Portuguese language.

The following piece of natural discourse (a letter to a loved one posted on the internet) contains some typical examples of the way this term is used colloquially and succinctly and neatly reveals some key notions related to the prototypical scenario associated with *saudade*, viz. separation and distance from someone who is dear, longing to be together again with this person, and heart-felt pain:

(721) Estou com saudades de você. Há algum tempo não te vejo. A distância tem nos impedido de estarmos juntos, e meu coração muito apegado não consegue estar alegre. Me sinto às vezes muito só, sem a sua presença e isso não tem sido muito agradável. (...) É sempre muito bom quando estamos juntos, e quero voltar a ter esses momentos. Estou com saudades, muitas saudades e espero que breve possamos estar juntos novamente. (<http://www.emocoeseclarinhos.hpg.ig.com.br/estoucomsaudade.htm>)
 ‘I’m feeling *saudades* for you. It’s been a while since I’ve seen you. The distance has kept us from being together, and my heart is all tied up and can’t manage to feel joy. I sometimes feel so alone, without your presence and this hasn’t been very pleasant. (...) It’s always so good when we’re together, and I want to go back to these moments. I’m feeling *saudades*, lots of *saudades*, and I hope that we can be together again soon.’

It is difficult to translate *saudades de você* into English, not only because of the lack of an English word for *saudades* but also because of the imperfect correspondence between English and Portuguese prepositions and their semantic vagueness and/or polysemy in both languages. Although *de* is fundamentally ablative, it is difficult to pinpoint a clear semantic contribution for it in many cases, including when it is used with certain emotion words, as in the case of *Eu gosto de você* ‘I like you’ (see Farrell 2004). In general, *for* will be used in attempts at idiomatic English translations, even though it is not basically an ablative preposition. The reason is simply that *for* is the preposition of choice for the emotion nouns in English that are semantically closest to *saudade*, as in the case of *homesickness* or *nostalgia for* – but not **of*, **about* or **from – you*.

Homesickness is one English term that is sometimes used to translate *saudade*. Although ‘I’m feeling homesick for you’ is a conceivable translation of the first sentence of the passage above, homesickness is not a feeling that is routinely focused on people and this translation fails to convey the same kind of intimacy. Even an expression like *I get homesick for those times we had together* lacks the interpersonal resonance of *saudade*. Another common translation is ‘longing’.

However, *I'm longing for you* focuses on the 'desire' part of the experience and lacks the complexity of *Estou com saudades de você*. Only by combining *longing* with other words explicitly expressing some of the conceptual content embedded in *saudade* is it possible to approximate the meaning, as in *I'm longing for you to be back with me now*. Probably the simplest and most common English translation of *Estou com saudades de você* is 'I miss you'. Yet, if one were given the task of translating *I miss you* into Portuguese, regardless of context, both of the following would be possible:

(722) Eu sinto falta de você.

(lit.) 'I feel lack of you.'

(723) Eu estou com saudades de você.

(lit.) 'I am with *saudades* of you.'

On the assumption that (2) and (3) have the same meaning, the English verb *miss* could be said to have this meaning as one of its own. On the contrary assumption that these two sentences have different meanings, it is difficult to see how the meaning of *I miss you*, which is apparently unambiguous, could be equivalent to both. Even if the meaning of *I miss you* could be said to be general enough to encompass both, this would not constitute equivalence.

In order to sort such matters out, it is necessary to specify with precision the meanings of such expressions as *sentir falta*, *saudade*, *missing*, *longing*, and *homesickness*, independently of each other. Given that such expressions designate subtle and complex matters of human experience that are not directly observable, it should be clear that specifying their meanings is a non-trivial task. Traditional dictionary definitions are of limited use, since these typically depend on language-specific concepts which in many cases are themselves equally complex and in need of explication. The *Dicionário Universal da Língua Portuguesa*, for example, provides the following definition for *saudade*:

(724) lembrança triste e suave de pessoas ou coisas distantes ou extintas, acompanhada do desejo de as tornar a ver ou a possuir; pesar pela ausência de alguém que nos é querido; nostalgia.

‘sad and pleasant memory of distant or extinct persons or things, accompanied by desire to see or have them again; sorrow caused by the absence of someone who is beloved to us; nostalgia.’

Although this is in certain respects an insightful and useful attempt at a definition, for reasons to which I return below, it depends on such concepts as *triste* ‘sad’, *suave* ‘pleasant’, *pesar* ‘sorrow, grief’, *querido* ‘dear’, and *nostalgia* ‘nostalgia’, whose meanings are not obvious and may only correspond approximately to the English glosses I have chosen.² The difficulty of providing a precise, accurate, and satisfying definition becomes quite clear when one considers the definitions attempted for these other terms. *Pesar*, for instance, is defined simply with a list of quasi-synonyms, including *tristeza* ‘sadness’ and several of the quasi-synonyms that figure in the definition of *tristeza*, such as *melancolia* ‘melancholy’. Similarly, the definition of *nostalgia* depends on *tristeza* and *melancolia*, as well as *saudade*. There are no doubt shared features among e.g. *saudade*, *nostalgia* and *tristeza*; but it is far from clear that one actually experiences either *tristeza* or *nostalgia* when one feels *saudade* and therefore unclear whether a definition of *saudade* that depends on these other concepts is accurate. In the following excerpt (<http://www.supertextos.com/Texto.asp?texto=269>), the respondent clearly distinguishes the feeling of *saudade* from that of *tristeza*. The context is a discussion of the respondent’s brother, who recently died.

(725) Q: Mas você não está triste por isso?

‘But you’re not sad because of this?’

A: Estou com saudade, não triste.

‘I’m feeling *saudade*, but (am) not sad.’

Portuguese-English dictionaries are of even less help. For *pesar*, for example, they simply give long lists of possible translations, such as *chagrin*, *pain*, *sorrow*, *regret*, *grief*, *sadness*, *woe*, etc.

Most linguistic theories of conceptual semantics (e.g. Jackendoff 1990; Langacker 1987-1991; Talmy 2000) are of similarly limited use, as they have focused largely on specifying the meanings of verbs in terms of the number of participants in the event type that they designate and such matters as the force dynamics between the participants, how a participant moves from or to a place or a state, whether there is resistance or cooperation among the participants, and so forth. For verbal expressions such as *estar com saudades* and *miss*, which designate states of affairs not primarily characterized by motion, change of state, or force-dynamic action, not much can be said about their meaning beyond ‘*X* is in a state characterized by *saudade/missing*’. There is no obvious decomposition of the words *saudade* or *missing* with a corresponding predicate-calculus or image-schematic representation for the meat of the concepts.

In this paper I attempt to explain the concept *saudade*, posit an explication for it in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework developed by Anna Wierzbicka and colleagues, and compare it with certain other similar concepts in Portuguese and, to some extent, English. The goals are, on the one hand, to test the ability of NSM to capture the meaning of this concept and appropriately differentiate it from similar concepts and, on the other, to provide a basis for determining the extent of its culture-specificity. I approach the problem of discovering the meaning of *saudade* by considering what has been claimed in previous studies and investigations; relevant aspects of the word’s grammar and its distributional properties; evidence from actual use, both in literary works and in the vast and rich corpus provided by the internet; native-speaker intuitions concerning the possibility and appropriateness of constructed expressions employing the word in different ways; and contrasts with respect to these matters between *saudade* and other linguistic expressions for similar emotion concepts. This approach to *saudade* differs from that of most previous studies not only in its use of NSM but also in its heavy reliance on distributional evidence and colloquial corpora. Other work has relied mostly on evidence from literary examples and has been primarily philological and/or introspective and philosophical in its orientation.

Although Brazilian Portuguese figures heavily in the investigation, particularly in the constructed examples and examples found in internet discourse, such as (1), no attempt is made here to either specifically exclude or include evidence from

other dialects of Portuguese or to systematically make explicit whatever cross-cultural differences may exist with respect to the distributional or conceptual features of *saudade* or other emotion words to be considered.³

8.2 KEY FEATURES OF *SAUDADE*

Certain important aspects of the *saudade* concept are pointed to in the definition in (4). They include the following:

- *saudade* is primarily an afflictive feeling (as it involves or resembles sorrow and sadness);
- it is stimulated by a distant loved one (or thing);
- it involves wanting this distance to be removed.

In this section I elaborate on these aspects of the concept and provide evidence for their importance. I also comment on the relevance of certain other aspects of the concept, viz.:

- It is typically an intense feeling.
- It is a feeling that is thought to occur in the *coração* ‘heart’.
- It can be an edifying feeling.

8.2.1 *SAUDADE as emotional affliction*

The dictionary definition in (4) associates *saudade* with the word *pesar*, which is a noun zero-derived from the verb meaning ‘weigh’ and can, figuratively, mean ‘burden, sorrow, sadness, grief’, etc. Poets are more likely to use words such as *dor* ‘pain, affliction, sorrow’ (< Lat. *dolore* ‘pain’) and *mágoa* ‘bruise, hurt, anguish, sorrow, grief, pain’ (< Latin *macula* ‘spot, stain’) which more fully evoke what I consider to be the afflictive character of *saudade*. Inherent in the common expression *matar saudades* ‘kill *saudades*’ (as in *Para matar as saudades eu olho para sua foto* ‘To ease my *saudades* I look at a photo of you’) is the notion that *saudade* is something that people want to do something about so that they can cease to experience it or lessen its intensity.

That *saudade* can be construed as a life-threatening affliction is evident in literary characterizations, as exemplified in the following popular Portuguese and Brazilian verses dedicated to *saudade*:

(726) Todos os males se curam Com remédios da botica. Só as saudades não saram, Quem as tem, com elas fica. (Castro 1980: 33)	‘All bad things are cured With medicine from the pharmacy Only <i>saudades</i> don’t heal, Whoever has them, keeps them.’
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(727) Saudades que trago n’alma saudades que me maltratam Se não matar as Saudades estas Saudades me matam. (Albano Lopes de Almeida; Pându 1968: 56)	‘Saudades that I carry in my soul, <i>saudades</i> that mistreat me If I don’t kill the <i>saudades</i> these <i>saudades</i> will kill me.’
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(728) A saudade nas noites de frio Em meu peito vazio virá se aninhar A saudade é dor pungente, morena A saudade mata a gente. (Antônio Almeida & João de Barro; from the song “A Saudade Mata a Gente”)	‘ <i>Saudade</i> on cold nights In my empty chest will come back to nest <i>Saudade</i> is a bitter pain, girl <i>Saudade</i> kills us.’
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Saudade is also used in routine discourse, in ways that provide additional evidence for claiming that it is conceptualized as a kind of emotional affliction. As it is a noun that is not derivationally associated with a verbal form,⁴ it belongs to a class of nouns designating feelings (e.g. *vontade* ‘desire’, *medo* ‘fear’, *raiva* ‘anger’, *compaixão* ‘compassion’, and *fome* ‘hunger’) that can be used by a speaker to describe a particular instance of the experience in question only in combination with a verb or verbal phrase. The most common conventional constructions for this purpose, which differ only subtly in their meanings, are illustrated by the following examples:⁵

- (729) Eu sinto medo / raiva / saudade de meu irmão.
(lit.) ‘I feel fear / anger / *saudade* of my brother.’
- (730) Eu estou com medo / raiva / saudade de meu irmão.
(lit.) ‘I am with fear / anger / *saudade* of my brother.’
- (731) Eu tenho medo / raiva / saudade de meu irmão.
(lit.) ‘I have fear / anger / *saudade* of my brother.’

Although the construction shown in (9) is less common with *saudade* than the other two,⁶ it is the only one of the three that is available for *falta*, with the emotional meaning of missing. If *falta* appears in the other two constructions, a non-emotive ‘lack’ meaning is what shows up:

- (732) Eu sinto falta da minha mãe.
‘I miss my mother.’
- (733) Eu estou com falta de ar / desejo / dinheiro.
‘I’m lacking air / desire / money.’
- (734) Eu tenho falta de dentes / energia / tempo.
‘I’m lacking teeth / energy / time.’

Presumably, the core meaning of the noun *falta* is conceptually supplemented by *sentir* ‘feel’ in such a way as to evoke the emotion concept. However, the emotive meaning of *falta* does not require the presence of the verb *sentir*. For example, a relatively common alternative way of saying *I miss you* is *Você me faz falta* ‘You make *falta* to me.’ Another factor is that the *estar com* ‘be with’ construction seems to be most felicitous with emotions that are conceived of as afflictions, as evidenced by the fact that it is incompatible with *felicidade* ‘happiness’, *alegria* ‘joy’, and *compaixão* ‘compassion’, for example:

- (735) Eu sinto felicidade / alegria / compaixão.
‘I feel happiness/joy/compassion.’

(736) *Eu estou com felicidade / alegria / compaixão.

(lit.) 'I'm with happiness / joy / compassion.'

(737) Eu tenho felicidade / alegria / compaixão.

(lit.) 'I have happiness / joy / compassion.'

Native speaker judgments match the evidence from internet searches, which find lots of sentences like (15) and (17), but none like (16).

An analysis of 200 randomly chosen results (second and fifth sets of 100 pages) from Google searches for the phrase *estou com* shows that it occurs most often (49% of examples) in expressions of non-emotional affliction or difficulty, such as 'problems, cavities, depression, cancer, hunger, fatigue, doubt' etc. Expressions of emotion (29%) are the next most common; and these are restricted to *medo* 'fear', *raiva* 'anger', and especially *saudade*.⁷ Expressions of accompaniment (13%), for example, *Estou com Marcos* 'I'm with Marcos', and expressions of desire (7%), particularly *vontade* 'wanting' and *desejo* 'desire', account for most of the remaining examples. In fact, desire can plausibly be considered emotional affliction, inasmuch as it entails the concepts WANT and NOT HAVE. This interpretation is supported by the fact that these nouns occur quite frequently in the *morrendo de* 'dying of' construction discussed below. It seems reasonable to suppose that *saudade*, on the other hand, is at home in the *estar com* construction because it shares conceptual features with such words as *fome* 'hunger', *medo*, and *raiva*.

Nostalgia and *falta* seem to contrast with *saudade* in this respect. As noted, the emotional sense of *falta* is incompatible with the *estar com* construction. *Nostalgia* is at least not very comfortable there. A web search for *sentir/estar com/ter nostalgia* 'feel/be with/have nostalgia' constructions with 1st and 3rd person singular present tense verb forms yielded a total of 197 web pages. *Estar com* occurred on only 4 of these. It appears that although the *estar com* + N construction has a number of possible uses, the prototypical scenario is one in which the N designates an affliction, ailment or difficulty. The fact that the *estar com* construction is frequently used with *saudade* suggests that the experience that it designates is conceived of as an emotional affliction in a way that *nostalgia* and *falta* are not.

Further distributional evidence for this claim comes from the metaphorical *morrendo de* ‘dying of/from’ construction illustrated by the following examples.

(738) A minha irmã está morrendo de vontade de conhecer ele.

(lit.) ‘My sister is dying from wanting to meet him.’

(739) Eu estou morrendo de fome / cansaço.

‘I am dying of hunger / fatigue.’

In spite of the fact that this is a relatively flexible metaphor, used to indicate the intensity of a feeling or sensation, it is felicitous to varying degrees with different emotional and cognitive experiences:

(740) Eu estou morrendo de raiva / inveja / saudades (de você).

(lit.) ‘I’m dying of anger / jealousy / *saudades* (of you).’

(741) *Eu estou morrendo de fé / paz / nostalgia / compaixão.

‘I am dying of faith / peace / nostalgia / compassion.’

(742) ?Eu estou morrendo de alegria / felicidade.

‘I am dying of joy / happiness.’

As might be expected, one can be conceived of more easily as dying from intense emotions, especially those that are readily thought of as afflictive. Interestingly, based on how frequently *saudade* appears in the *morrendo de* construction in internet discourse, this emotion appears to be more “life-threatening” than hunger or, as far as I can tell, any other emotion or non-emotive ailment.⁸ A Google search found the phrase *morrendo de saudade(s)* on 8,530 Portuguese-language pages, which is considerably more than was found for the *morrendo de X* construction containing any of the following nouns of emotion or affliction: *fome* ‘hunger’ (4,270), *medo* ‘fear’ (2,430), *vontade* ‘wanting’ (1,760), *inveja* ‘envy’ (1,100), *raiva* ‘anger’ (573), *alegria* ‘joy’ (31), *solidão* ‘solitude’ (22), *falta* ‘lack, missing’ (8), and *nostalgia* (0).⁹ This effect cannot be attributed to differences in overall frequency. If for each noun the number of pages on which it occurs in the *morrendo de X* construction is divided by the number of pages that it was found to

occur on overall, *saudade(s)* (4.9%) turns out to have a higher ratio than any of the others: *fome* (3.7%), *medo* (3.0%), *vontade* (0.6%), *inveja* (2.5%), *raiva* (1.0%), *alegria* (0.02%), *solidão* (0.05%), *falta* (0.0002%), *nostalgia* (0%). Notably, the same emotions that are likely to occur in the *estar com* construction and which can be easily conceived of as afflictions occur much more often in the *morrendo de* construction than do other emotions. Moreover, it seems pretty clear that *saudade* is conceived of as much more afflictive than *nostalgia* and *falta*. Indeed, of the few cases where *morrendo de falta* was found to occur, only two were cases of emotive “missing” (e.g. *estou morrendo de falta dela* ‘I’m dying from missing her’). The other cases involved such metaphorical and literal expressions as *morrendo de falta de CDs* ‘dying from a lack of CDs’ and *morrendo de falta de ar* ‘dying from a lack of air’.

8.2.2 SAUDADE vs. SAUDADES

As should be clear from several of the examples discussed above, the plural form *saudades* is often used. When used as a kind of synonym for the nouns *cumprimentos* or *saudações* ‘greetings, salutations’, which are essentially always plural, *saudades* is required, as in (23).¹⁰ It is also very frequently employed in formulaic letter closings, as in (24), which may be similarly salutatory.

(743) A Paula manda saudades.

‘Paula sends *saudades*.’

(744) Muitas saudades. Beijijos.

‘Lots of *saudades*. Kisses.’

Although *muita saudade* ‘lots of *saudade*’ would be possible in (24), the plural form is highly preferred. But it is also preferred whenever people reveal that they are feeling *saudade* about anyone or anything. The phrase *estou com saudades de* ‘I’m feeling *saudades* for’, which occurs in all kinds of narrative discourse, shows up on 1,400 Portuguese language pages; the same phrase with singular *saudade* shows up on only 320. The singular form is more likely to occur in cases where

the concept itself is being discussed in the abstract (e.g. *A saudade é uma emoção* ‘*Saudade* is an emotion’) or when the object of affection is not identified, for whatever reason, as in (8) – although, as can be seen from (6) and (7), this is a tendency at most.

It is unexpected, in some sense, that the plural form is used so frequently, given that most other emotion nouns occur only or virtually always in the singular. One exception is *ciúme* ‘jealousy’. *Estou com ciúmes* ‘I’m jealous’ is at least as common as *Estou com ciúme*. Moreover, in Brazilian Portuguese, at least, plurality tends to be avoided in favor of singular nouns with a mass construal (Farrell 1998, 2000). A plausible explanation is that plurality symbolizes intensity and *saudade* is an intensely felt emotion and people want other people to know how much they feel it. That is, plurality is preferred with *saudade* essentially for the same reason that *saudade* is more likely to occur in the *morrendo de* construction than other emotion nouns and for the same reason that it frequently occurs in discourse contexts such as the following:

(745) Amor tô morrendo de saudadesssss ... Te amo te amo te amo ...

(<http://www.scriptmaster.com.br/asp/gb/readgb.asp?memberid=140>)

‘Dear I’m dying of *saudadesssss* ... I love you I love you I love you ...’

(746) Amor escrevo, aqui, para que todos saibam que te amo mais que tudo nessa vida. E que ja estou morreeeeeeeeendo ... de saudades.

(<http://www.usjt.br/servicos/mural/mensagens/>)

‘Write (to me) dear, here, so that everyone will know that I love you more than anything in this life. And that I’m already dyyyyyyyyyyying ... of *saudades..*’

Incredibly, I found 59 pages with the word *saudadesssss*, with exactly 5 instances of the letter ‘s’ at the end, and 21 with 7 instances.

8.2.3 *What stimulates SAUDADE*

It is possible to omit the complement of *saudade* and conceptually background the stimulus – as, for example, in the verses in (6)-(8). However, in a discourse in which the speaker reveals a personal experience of *saudade*, the stimulus is usually expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by *de* ‘of, from’ – as, for example, in (2)-(3) and the first sentence of (1) – or is recoverable from the discourse context. In (25)-(26), for example, it is clear that *saudades* unambiguously means *saudades de você* ‘*saudades* for you’. The dictionary definition in (4) is accurate in pointing out that *saudade* can be focused on persons or things, but also in implying that it is primarily person-focused. Echoing Francisco Manuel de Melo’s famous *Amor e ausência são os pais da saudade* ‘Love and absence are the parents of *saudade*’ (from “Epanáforas de Vária História Portuguesa”, Lisboa, 1676; cited in Castro 1980: 25), the Brazilian poet Oscar Batista notes that *A saudade é a companheira do amor, da ausência e da mágoa* ‘*Saudade* is the companion of love, absence and pain’ (Pându 1968: 48). *Amor* in this context, and indeed by default, refers to an interpersonal emotion. The prototypical experience of *saudade* is that of the mother remembering her son who is away at sea, the widower thinking about his beloved wife who he believes awaits him in heaven, or the lover pining for a boyfriend exiled in another country, i.e. emotional affliction caused by the absence of a loved one. The song “Pedaço de Mim” by the contemporary Brazilian artist Chico Buarque provides a good example of how love for another, separation and pain are integral to the *saudade* concept. The author asks the loved one, experienced as a piece of him that has been torn asunder, to make it impossible for him to bring her to mind, because the *saudade* is too much to bear:

(747) Oh, pedaço de mim	‘Oh, piece of me
Oh, metade afastada de mim	Oh, half broken off of me
Leva o teu olhar	Take away your gaze
Que a saudade é o pior tormento	Because <i>saudade</i> is the worst torment
...	
Oh, pedaço de mim	Oh, piece of me
Oh, metade adorada de mim	Oh, half adored by me

Leva os olhos meus	Take away my eyes
Que a saudade é o pior castigo	Because <i>saudade</i> is the worst punishment

The centrality of the person concept to *saudade* can be glimpsed from an analysis of what occurs after the preposition *de* in the expression *estou com saudades de* ‘I’m feeling *saudades* for’. In the examples in a random set of 200 of the 1,240 pages found to contain this phrase in an internet search, 88% had the stimulus of *saudades* as a specific person or set of people.¹¹ Many of the other examples had the stimulus as a person or people via metonymy in one of two ways: a part of the person (2%), as in (28), or an activity associated with a person or people (4%), as in (29). The only other significant stimulus category was a cherished place (5%), particularly a city of residence or homeland, as in (30).

(748) Estou com saudades de teu olhar carinhoso / seu beijo.

‘I feel *saudades* for your loving eyes / your kiss.’

(749) Estou com saudades de visitar os amigos / ouvir você falar.

‘I feel *saudades* for visiting my friends / hearing you talk.’

(750) Estou com saudades da minha cidade / de você Brasil.

‘I feel *saudades* for my city / for you, Brazil’

Given that it is possible to feel for all kinds of things what one typically feels for people that have been part of a significant relationship, the stimulus of *saudade* can, in principle, be almost anything. In poetry at least, it is possible, for instance, to say things like *Da saudade tem-se tal necessidade que até a gente na vida tem saudade da saudade* ‘Of *saudade* we have such need that in this life we even feel *saudade* for *saudade*’ (Aderbal Melo, in Pându 1968: 61). At the same time, given the characteristic intensity of the feeling and the prototypicality of a distant significant person in the *saudade* scenario, it is not surprising that the following types of sentences border on the absurd.

- (751) *Estou com saudades de uma pessoa que possa me ajudar com a tarefa.
‘I feel *saudades* for a person that might be able to help me with my homework.’
- (752) *Estou com saudades do dedo que eu perdi.
‘I feel *saudades* for the finger that I lost.’
- (753) *Estou com saudades da funcionalidade do Windows.
‘I feel *saudades* for the functionality of Windows.’

The problem with (31) is that an unspecified person that one does not even know and with whom there has been no relationship cannot give rise to *saudades*. In the case of (32), the situation is one of separation from a known entity; but, it is hard to imagine a significant, loving relationship with one’s own finger, although there could certainly be a relationship of utility or need. Similarly, with (33), it is hard to conceive of the functionality of a computer operating system that is no longer used being sufficiently like a distant loved person as to evoke the same feelings.

Sentir nostalgia ‘feel nostalgia’ and *sentir falta* ‘miss’ differ from *estar com saudades* with respect to the centrality of the person concept. *Nostalgia* focuses on a temporal domain in the past and associated experiences, whereas *falta* is less restricted as to the nature of the stimulus. The phrase *nostalgia do passado* ‘nostalgia for the past’ occurs on 214 Portuguese language web pages; *nostalgia de / por você* ‘nostalgia for you’ occurs on only one. From 197 pages containing *sentir / ter / estar com nostalgia* ‘feel / have / be with nostalgia’ (with the verb showing present tense and 1st or 3rd person subject agreement), only one had an example of a (figurative) person stimulus (*Cada alma sente nostalgia de Deus* ‘every soul feels nostalgia for God’). The typical scenario involves evoking memories of the past and wanting to experience the same things again, as in the following examples:

(754) Sinto nostalgia pelos guias de TV do passado, quando o número de canais era baixo.

(<http://www.uol.com.br/mundodigital/colunas/parem/para1506.htm>)

‘I feel nostalgia for the TV guides of the past, when the number of channels was small.’

(755) Ando pelas ruas e é claro que sinto nostalgia, mas o que podemos fazer. Temos que olhar adiante, temos que reconstruir nossa cidade.

(http://www2.uol.com.br/JC/_1999/0703/in0703a.htm)

‘I walk in the streets and of course I feel nostalgia, but what can we do. We have to look in front of us, we have to rebuild our city.’

That *sentir falta* is less person-centered than *estar com saudades* is evident from the fact that (32) and (33) would be fine with *sinto falta* (*Sinto falta do dedo que eu perdi* ‘I miss the finger that I lost’; *Sinto falta da funcionalidade do Windows* ‘I miss the functionality of Windows’). Indeed, of the examples from a random set of 200 of the 7,740 Portuguese language pages containing the phrase *sinto falta*, only 22% had a person or people as stimulus. The remaining examples included a large variety of stimuli, many of which would be odd – if not impossible – with *saudades*, such as *droga* ‘drugs’, *sol* ‘sunlight’, *criatividade* ‘creativity’, *poder usar relógio* ‘being able to use a watch’, *a coragem que eu tinha* ‘the courage that I had’ and *o cheiro de sangue em minha lâmina de barbear* ‘the smell of blood on my razor’.

8.2.4 Where SAUDADE is felt

It has long been recognized that *saudade* is associated with the feeling part of people conceptualized as the *coração* ‘heart’ (Castro 1980: 8). This is implied in the passage from the song “A Saudade Mata a Gente” in (8), which talks of *saudade* coming to nest in an empty chest. Not only in poetry but in informal discourse as well, it is easy to find evidence that people think of *saudade* as occurring in the *coração*. In the letter to a distant loved one in (1), for example, the

author associates inability to feel joy with a *coração muito apegado* '[a] heart all tied up' because of *saudades*.

When one is overwhelmed by certain feelings, one can be said to have *o coração cheio de* 'the heart filled with' them. Presumably, only feelings that occur in the heart are likely to be thought of as filling it. It is clearly acceptable to talk about a heart filled with *amor* 'love', *alegria* 'joy', and *saudades*, whereas it is not possible to talk about a heart filled with *ideias* 'ideas', *monotonia* 'boredom', or *tesão* 'sexual desire', for example. 1,013 pages were found in a Google search for the phrase *coração cheio de* occurring with a selection of 35 feelings, including all of those identified by native speakers as likely to be used in this expression. *Amor* is by far the most frequent (41%). *Saudade* (5%), is among the top seven, which also includes *alegria* 'joy' (13%), *angústia* 'anguish' (7%), *esperança* 'hope' (6%), *ódio* 'hatred' (4%), and *fé* 'faith' (4%). *Saudade* contrasts with such feelings as *nostalgia* and *falta* 'missing', which do not occur at all and which strike native speakers as inappropriate in this construction. The association of *coração* and *saudade* is not surprising, given that *saudade* is intimately connected with *amor*, and *amor* appears to be what the *coração* is principally devoted to.

The *alma* 'soul' is another possible locus of *saudade*, as evidenced for example by the poem in (7), in which the author speaks of the *saudades* that he carries in his soul. In general, however, feelings that can be thought of as occurring in the *coração* can also be thought of as occurring in the *alma*. A person that seemingly feels no emotions can be described as follows:

(756) Parece uma máquina (...) um robô ou um trator, sem alma, sem coração.

(http://www.vaniadiniz.pro.br/ka_anjosedutor.htm)

'(He) seems like a machine ... a robot or a tractor, without soul, without heart.'

Not having an *alma* seems to go hand in hand with not having a *coração*. It would be incongruous to say that a person, like a machine or a robot, has no *alma* but has a *coração*. A natural account of the relationship between these concepts is that the *coração* (i.e. the place of feelings) is conceived of as part of the *alma*.

Hence, being thought of as occurring in the *coração*, *saudade* is also thought of as occurring in the *alma*. It follows from this account that feelings that figure prominently in religious discourse concerned with activities of the *alma*, including *amor* ‘love’, *alegria* ‘joy’, *esperança* ‘hope’, and *fé* ‘faith’, are also among the most frequent *coração*-filling feelings.

8.2.5 SAUDADE as an edifying emotion

Although *saudade* is primarily afflictive, it also typically involves feeling something good. Almeida Garrett in the first canto of *Camões* speaks of *saudade* as the *delicioso pungir de acerbo espinho* ‘[the] sweet prick of a wicked thorn’. This sweet (literally ‘delicious’) aspect of *saudade* is hinted at in the dictionary definition in (4), which calls it a memory that is both *triste* ‘sad’ and *suave* ‘pleasant, sweet, delicate’. It is also what presumably leads the poet Aderbal Melo to say that people feel *saudades* for *saudade* (see section 8.2.3) and what leads Geraldo Guimarães to say:

(757) Por mas que nos fira e doa	‘As much as it wounds us and hurts
a saudade um bem nos faz.	<i>saudade</i> does us some good.
É o resto da “coisa boa”	It is what remains of the “good thing”
que o tempo deixou para trás.	that time left behind.’
(Pându 1968: 66)	

In ordinary discourse, people commonly modify *saudade* with the adjective *gostosa* ‘wonderful (literally: tasty)’, as in the following internet greeting card:

(758) A saudade que eu sinto de você já se tornou parte de mim. Todos os dias eu sinto a sua falta (...) No fundo é uma saudade gostosa porque me lembra muito você.
(<http://www.emocoeseclarinhos.hpg.ig.com.br/saudqsinto.htm>)
‘The *saudade* that I feel for you has already become a part of me. Every day I feel your absence (...) Deep down it’s a wonderful *saudade* because it reminds me of you.’

As brought out in this example, one feels *saudade* in connection with thoughts of a distant loved one. Thinking of the loved one evokes good feelings (edification). Wanting this person to be near and knowing that this is not possible right now is what makes one feel something bad (affliction).

The edification part of *saudade* distinguishes it from most other afflictive emotions. Lacking some special set of circumstances, it is odd to talk of *raiva* ‘anger’, *tristeza* ‘sadness’, or *ódio* ‘hatred’ as being *gostoso* or *gostosa* ‘wonderful’, for example. Unlike the expression *saudade gostosa*, which can be found on more than 100 Portuguese language pages on the internet, *ódio gostoso* and *raiva gostosa* show up on none and *tristeza gostosa* on only one. *Falta* ‘lack, missing’, likewise is infelicitous with *gostosa* (*a falta [*gostosa] que eu sinto de você* ‘the [*wonderful] missing that I feel for you’). *Nostalgia*, on the other hand, inasmuch as it is evoked by pleasant memories of the past, is typically associated with good feelings and can be modified by *gostosa*:

(759) O romantismo e a nostalgia gostosa que o trem ou o bonde despertam nas pessoas (...)

(http://www.lothequipamentos.com.br/pr_home.htm)

‘The romanticism and wonderful nostalgia that trains and trolley cars awaken in people ...’

8.3 NSM AND SAUDADE / NOSTALGIA / FALTA

In Natural Semantic Metalanguage, *saudade* can be explicated as follows.

SAUDADE (*Eu estou com saudades de você*)

- (a) sometimes a person (X) thinks about someone else (Y):
- (b) Y is like a part of me
- (c) because of this I feel something very good when Y is near me
- (d) I very much want Y to be near me now
- (e) I know that Y cannot be near me now

- (f) when X thinks this X feels something very bad
- (g) I feel like this
- (h) because I think something like this about you

(Portuguese version)

- (a) às vezes alguém (X) pensa de outra pessoa (Y):
- (b) Y é como uma parte de mim
- (c) por causa disso eu sinto algo muito bom quando Y está perto de mim
- (d) eu quero muito que Y esteja perto de mim agora
- (e) eu sei que Y não pode estar perto de mim agora
- (f) quando X pensa isso X sente algo muito ruim
- (g) eu me sinto assim
- (h) porque penso algo assim de você

The person-focus of the *saudade* scenario is expressed by the constraint in (a) on what a person that feels *saudade* thinks about. That the prototypical person stimulating *saudade* is a loved one is expressed by (b) and (c). (b) borrows the idea from Chico Buarque's song in (27) that the stimulus of *saudade* is thought of as a part of the experiencer. The way people commonly talk about relationships involving *amor*, as in the examples taken from internet discourse in (40)-(44), provides evidence for such an underlying concept.

(760) Sem você eu ...

'Without you I ...'

não existo / me sinto vazio / sou metade / sou nada / sou un navio sem velas / sou uma estrela sem luz / sou noite sem madrugada

'don't exist / feel empty / am half / am nothing / am a ship without sails / am a star without light / am night without dawn'

(761) Você me completa. (194 web pages)

'You complete me.'

(762) Você é meu coração / alma. (104 web pages)

'You are my heart / soul.'

(763) você no meu coração (163 web pages)

‘you in my heart’

(764) Você é / faz parte de mim. (147 web pages)

‘You are / make up a part of me.’

One cannot feel *saudades* for someone sitting beside them, under normal circumstances. The requisite separation that gives rise to *saudades* is expressed by (e). (d) expresses the longing part of the concept, the desire that the loved one not be separate. The intensity of the *saudade* experience is expressed by the intensifier VERY associated with the bad feeling that the thinking script evokes (f) as well as the intensifiers associated with the feelings in the thinking script. Presumably, thinking about feeling something entails feeling it, at least in some way. The edification aspect of the concept can be attributed to (c) and (d): the memory of feeling something very good and the thought of feeling the same thing now. Although the thinking script is constrained by the prototypical scenario, the possibility of feeling *saudades* for places and things is left open: if one thinks *like* this about anyone *or* anything one can experience *saudades*. The fact that *saudades* is less often felt for possessions, for example, than for currently distant places with which one has had a significant relationship (*saudades do Brasil* ‘*saudades* for Brazil’, for example) follows from the ease with which such places can be conceived of as being like people. As one of my informants suggests, it is possible to feel *saudades* for Brazil because Brazil has an *alma* ‘soul’.

What is not directly expressed in the explication is the association of *saudade* and *coração* ‘heart’ (and *alma*). Although one could add to (f), for example, the locative phrase *in his/her coração* (where *coração* is a molecular rather than an atomic concept), I assume that this association in effect follows from *saudade* involving feeling something with person-focus and *coração* being conceived of as the usual locus for this kind of feeling, *amor* ‘love’ being the prototype. I suggest that the meaning of *coração* is essentially as follows – with *alma* being a semantic molecule (Goddard & Peeters, this volume; Wierzbicka, in press) that could be explicated along lines suggested for the English word *soul* in Wierzbicka (1992).

CORAÇÃO

- (a) a part of the body
- (b) people cannot see this part
- (c) because of this part people can live
- (d) sometimes people think:
- (e) this part is a part of my 'alma'_M
- (f) because of this part I can feel many things
- (g) because of this part I can feel things for other people

(Portuguese version)

- (a) uma parte do corpo
- (b) as pessoas não podem ver esta parte
- (c) por causa desta parte as pessoas podem viver
- (d) às vezes as pessoas pensam:
- (e) esta parte é uma parte de minha alma_M
- (f) por causa desta parte eu posso sentir muitas coisas
- (g) por causa desta parte eu posso sentir coisas por outras pessoas

Nostalgia is a concept similar to *saudade* in that it involves separation from something that evokes good feelings, wanting there to be no separation, and feeling something bad as a result. The main differences are that the thinking associated with *nostalgia* focuses on past experience rather than on a person or people and the feeling is much less intense (although the feeling is bad, it is odd to talk about dying from it, for example). I suggest the following meaning for this concept.

NOSTALGIA (Eu sinto nostalgia (de Y))

- (a) sometimes a person (X) thinks:
- (b) things happened some time ago
- (c) because of this I felt something good
- (d) I think I will feel something good if these things happen now
- (e) I want these things to happen now
- (f) I know that these things cannot happen now

- (g) when X thinks this X feels something bad, not very bad
- (h) I feel like this
- (i) because I think something like this (because of Y)

(Portuguese version)

- (a) às vezes alguém (X) pensa:
- (b) aconteciam coisas algum tempo atrás
- (c) por causa disso eu sentia algo bom
- (d) eu penso que vou sentir algo bom se estas coisas acontecerem agora
- (e) eu quero que estas coisas aconteçam agora
- (f) eu sei que estas coisas não podem acontecer agora
- (g) quando X pensa isso X sente algo ruim, não muito ruim
- (h) eu me sinto assim
- (i) porque penso algo assim (por causa de Y)

Sentir falta is somewhat harder to understand than either *saudade* or *nostalgia*. The reason for this is that there are fewer constraints on the stimulating factor. The key components of the meaning of *falta*, which alternates between noun and verb, are NOT and HAVE, as evidenced by the following typical examples:

(765) A causa mais comum da anemia é falta de ferro.

‘The most common cause of anemia is lack of iron.’

(766) A única coisa que me falta é dinheiro.

‘The only thing that I don’t have is money.’

It would seem that *sentir falta* must fundamentally mean to feel something because of not having something. Indeed, the stimulus of *sentir falta* is commonly something that people conceive of in terms of having, the only apparent constraint being that it must be wanted because of some kind of palpable good effect, as illustrated by the following examples.

(767) Ela sente falta de tempo para ler.

‘She misses (having) time to read.’

(768) Eu sinto falta de amigos.

‘I miss (having) friends.’

(769) Eu não deveria sentir falta de dinheiro.

‘I shouldn’t miss (having) money.’

(770) ?Ela sente falta de câncer.

‘She misses (having) cancer.’

(50) is odd because it is hard to imagine anyone wanting cancer or thinking that it does something good. I suggest that the emotion meaning of *falta* is as follows:

FALTA (Eu sinto falta de você)

- (a) sometimes a person (X) thinks about something (Y):
- (b) good things happened to me when I had Y some time ago
- (c) I think good things can happen to me if I have Y now
- (d) because of this I want to have Y now
- (e) I know that I cannot have Y now
- (f) when X thinks this X feels something bad
- (g) I feel like this
- (h) because I think something like this about you

(Portuguese version)

- (a) às vezes alguém (X) pensa de algo (Y):
- (b) me aconteceram coisas boas quando tinha Y algum tempo atrás
- (c) eu penso que podem me acontecer coisas boas se eu tiver Y agora
- (d) por causa disso eu quero ter Y agora
- (e) eu sei que não posso ter Y agora
- (f) quando X pensa isso X sente algo ruim
- (g) eu me sinto assim
- (h) porque penso algo assim de você

That *sentir falta* is conceived of as less intense and less afflictive than *saudade* can be attributed to the fact that (f) does not contain the intensifier VERY used in the corresponding component of the explication for *saudade*, as well as to the fact that the thinking script in (b)-(e) does not focus on intense or person-focused feelings, for which reason, presumably, this is also not typically a feeling of the *coração*. That *sentir falta*, unlike *saudade*, cannot be modified by *gostosa* ‘wonderful’ can be attributed to the fact that feeling something good is not an integral part of the *sentir falta* concept. That the stimulus of *sentir falta* can be lots of different things, including a person or people, follows from the ease with which the scenario of wanting to have something can be extended, i.e. presumably due to the same kind of metaphorical process that allows one to talk about wanting to *ter um namorado ou uma irmã* ‘have a boyfriend or a sister’ as easily as wanting to have a house or a car, for example.

8.4 THE CULTURE-SPECIFIC NATURE OF SAUDADE

There are undoubtedly complex emotion concepts that occur in various languages. The properties of *nostalgia* in English, for example, do not differ significantly from those of Portuguese *nostalgia*. I have encountered no cases where one would not be able to satisfactorily translate Portuguese sentences using this word with its English cognate, and vice-versa. I know of no reason not to claim that the word *nostalgia* designates the same concept in both languages. *Saudade*, on the other hand, appears to be a concept that is much more specific to Luso-Brazilian culture, as has often been claimed.

Being concerned with a kind of emotive “sickness” having to do with absence from home, which is a place associated with good feelings, English *homesickness* is obviously a concept like *saudade* in certain respects. It is as natural to speak of dying of homesickness as it is to speak of dying of *saudade*, for example. However, precisely because of the centrality of “home” in *homesickness*, there are significant differences. The phrase *be homesick*, unlike *estar com saudades*, does not require the expression of a stimulus in a complement or in the discourse context. No preceding discourse is required to understand what the stimulus of *I’m home-*

sick is. It is “home” by default. It is, of course, possible to specify a distinct stimulus, as in *I’m homesick for San Francisco*; but this is a marked option. Of 2,614 web English language web pages found in a Google search for the expression *I’m (feeling) homesick*, only 506, or 19%, were found to include a *for* phrase. Of those examples in a random subset of 200 of those pages containing *homesick for*, 88% had a place as the specified stimulus (e.g. *Ireland, my hills, the Old Twin Pines dairy, my school, the beach*). 8% had a person or people (e.g. *you, my old Pine-land friends, my relatives, my family*). The remainder had a variety of things (e.g. *a memory, the sand and shells beneath my feet, basic local food, 1982*). Thus, a key difference between *homesickness* and *saudade* appears to be this: whereas the prototypical stimulus of *homesickness* is home or a place like home (and one can feel this for other things, especially people), the prototypical stimulus of *saudade* is a loved person (and one can feel this about other things, especially places like home). Following from this difference, *saudade* is more a feeling of the heart than homesickness. An internet search for *heart filled with homesickness* and *homesickness in my heart* on English language pages only retrieved one example, which is much less than, say, for *love* in the same constructions (13,490) or *sorrow* (4,534). Although I won’t attempt an explication for *homesickness* here (see however Wierzbicka 1992: 122), it should be clear that it names a concept for which there is no word in Portuguese.

English *miss* (see Wierzbicka 1992: 123) corresponds much more closely to Portuguese *sentir falta* than to *saudade*. Apart from occurring much more frequently in internet discourse than *homesickness*,¹² *miss* seems to designate a less afflictive and less intense feeling than both *homesickness* and *saudade*. It is much less natural to speak of dying from missing someone or something (4 internet examples found) than it is to speak of dying of homesickness (22 internet examples found). It is also less natural to talk about suffering from missing someone or something (9 internet examples) than suffering from homesickness (160 internet examples). Furthermore, for most of the examples discussed in section 8.2 where *sentir falta* was found to be preferable to *estar com saudades*, it would be unproblematic to use *miss* in an English translation, for example:

(771) Sinto falta / *estou com saudades da funcionalidade do Windows.

‘I miss the functionality of Windows.’

(772) Sinto falta / *estou com saudades de tempo para ler.

‘I miss having time to read.’

(773) Sinto falta / *estou com saudades de poder usar relógio.

‘I miss being able to use a watch.’

This suggests that *miss* is not such an intense feeling as to be at all unnatural with an abstract stimulus. Although the stimulus of *miss* is commonly a person or people, this is not central to the concept *miss* in the way that it is to *saudade*. With *miss*, a person does not appear to be the default for a stimulus, as indicated by the fact that the question *What do you miss most?* occurs more frequently on the internet (found on 2,660 web pages) than the question *Who do you miss most?* (104 pages).

Although English *miss* and Portuguese *sentir falta* may differ in terms of certain precise details of their meaning, they are similar enough as to be essentially functionally equivalent. The meanings of *saudade* and *homesickness* are quite different, both from each other and from *nostalgia*, *sentir falta*, and *miss*. Just as English has no word that adequately translates *saudade*, Portuguese has no word that adequately translates *homesickness*.

There is no reason to believe that the concept that *saudade* designates is not lexicalized in other languages. However, how widely or even if it remains to be discovered. Spanish (and Catalán) *añoranza*, for example, seems much closer to *homesickness*, given that its stimulus when specified is much more commonly a place than a person and it is not routinely spoken of as something that can fill a *corazón* ‘heart’, unlike *love*, *hope*, and *joy*, for example. Vasconcellos (1914) and Castro (1980) have given good reasons to believe that such emotion words as German *Sehnsucht* and French *nostalgie* differ semantically from *saudade*. While claiming that *saudade* has no equivalent in other Romance languages or in Germanic, Castro also claims that Arabic *saudah*, which he argues is the etymological source, has the same meaning. Unfortunately, no evidence is given to substantiate this claim. Although an understanding of *saudah* must wait, it is clear what kinds

of evidence one might look for and how the meaning might be specified in a useful way in NSM. Of emotion words with NSM explications that I am aware of, the closest to *saudade* is Polish *tesknota* (Wierzbicka 1992: 121), which is characterized as an afflictive feeling caused by distance from someone for whom one feels something good, and which appears to differ from English *miss* and *homesickness* in much the same way that *saudade* does. A much closer look at *tesknota* would be needed to see how deep this apparent similarity is.

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NOTES

¹ The etymology of *saudade* remains controversial (Santos & Chagas 1992). The prevailing theory is that it derives from Latin *solitudo* ‘solitude’, which also yields Spanish *soledad* ‘solitude’ and which has a related Latin form which yields Portuguese *solidão* ‘solitude’. By normal phonetic processes the evolution is *solitudo* > *soletate* > *soledade* > *soedade* ~ *soidade*. The form *saudade*, it is claimed, involves “influence” of *saudar* ‘greet’, *saudação* ‘greeting’, and *saúde* ‘health, salvation (archaic)’ (< Lat. *salutare*) (cf. Vasconcellos 1914; *Dicionário Universal da Língua Portuguesa* [<http://www.priberam.pt/DLPO/>]). An alternative theory is that *saudade* originated as a borrowing of Arabic *saudah*, a word with essentially the same meaning (cf. Castro 1980).

² No attempt at glossing *saudade* will be made; glosses provided for other Portuguese words, particularly emotion words, are not intended to indicate that the English and Portuguese concepts are the same.

³ An anonymous reviewer notes that *saudade* in Portugal is a “deeper” emotion than in Brazil, associated both with Portuguese fatalism in general and the classical *fado* (< Lat. *fatum* ‘fate’) folksong, which has as its other salient recurring themes unrequited love, exile, sadness, and longing for bygone times, etc. There are undoubtedly at least some systematic and substantive differences not only between the Portuguese and Brazilian (and, for that matter, Galician) concepts of *saudade* but also between the concepts of the wealthy Brazilian urbanite and the poor rural worker in Brazil. The precise nature of such differences is an interesting question that leads well beyond the modest scope of this paper.

⁴ One might claim, on etymological grounds, that there is a derivational relationship between the verb *saudar* ‘greet’ and *saudade*. However, ‘greeting’ is at most a highly peripheral sense of *saudade* (cf. note 1); and *saudar* does not mean ‘feel *saudade*’.

⁵ I render *estar com* as ‘be with’ in literal translations. It would be more idiomatically rendered as ‘have’ in most cases, although when the object of *com* is a person (e.g. *Eu estou com você* ‘I’m with you’), it could only be rendered as ‘be with’ in English. It is also possible to make the experiencer of the emotion dative or accusative in a causative construction, such as *Aquilo me deixa com / dá / faz / causa saudades / medo* ‘That leaves me with / gives me / makes me / causes me *saudades* / fear.’ This is a less common strategy, especially with *saudades*. An internet search of Portuguese web pages, for example, showed 4,130 pages with at least one instance of *estou com saudades* and only 83 of *me dá / faz / causa saudades* (with the verbs in all possible present tense subject-agreement forms). The construction with *dar* ‘give’ has the highest frequency and is relatively common with some emotions.

⁶ A Google search for the phrases *sinto/estou com/tenho saudade(s)* turned up 16,140 pages. 39% of these had *estou com*, whereas 35% had *tenho* and 26% had *sinto*. The huge number of results gives another indication of how common this emotion word is. As noted below, a search for *nostalgia* with the same set of verbs but with both 1st and default singular agreement morphology only turned up 197 pages, reflecting the highly literary quality of this word. The common colloquial phrase *Estou triste* ‘I’m sad’ was found to occur on 5,200 pages.

⁷ Of course, although they did not appear in the examined sample, other emotion nouns that are easily conceived of as designating afflictions also occur in this construction, such as *ciúmes* ‘jealousy’ and *inveja* ‘envy’. Also, although the sample had no such examples, it is clearly possible to use *estar com* as an alternative to *ter* ‘have’ with nouns designating concrete objects (e.g. *Não estou com troco* ‘I don’t have change’). The key point is that when this construction is used with a feeling-denoting noun, there is a preference for the feeling to be of an afflictive kind.

⁸ Beyond the words considered in detail here, internet searches also show that the words for such diseases as cancer and AIDS and such afflictive emotions as *ciúme(s)* ‘jealousy’, *tristeza* ‘sadness’ and *pena* ‘grief’ don’t come close to occurring as often in the *morrendo de* construction as *saudade(s)* and have a general frequency of occurrence that is only somewhat lower than that of *saudade(s)*.

⁹ As noted below (section 2.2), *saudade* frequently occurs in its plural form, unlike the other items under consideration. Thus, both the singular and plural forms of only *saudade* were searched for. Since *falta*, unlike the other emotion words in this analysis, can also be a common verb form (3rd singular subject, present indicative), the searches for *falta* were limited to *falta de* ‘lack of’, which guarantees examples of the noun *falta*.

¹⁰ The *Dicionário Universal da Língua Portuguesa* adds the following to the definition shown in (4) (see also Castro 1980:18):

(no pl.) lembranças afectuosas a pessoas ausentes; (no pl.) cumprimentos.

‘(plural) affectionate remembrances to absent people; (plural) salutations.’

¹¹ I include the one occurrence of *Deus* ‘God’ in the count of person stimuli. The context is a religious text in which the author expresses a desire to return to an intimate relationship with God, through prayer.

¹² 45,500 pages were found with the word *homesickness* on them. More than 7,000,000 were found to have *missing*. A close examination of a random set of 300 of these revealed that about 2% of the cases involved emotive “missing”. Thus, emotive “missing” appears to occur about three times more often than *homesickness*.

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