

Article

For-Verbs in Old English

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Abstract: All of the *for*-verbs in the Dictionary of Old English can have semantic features of ‘equal or emphatic’, ‘expanded or antonymous’, ‘rare’, ‘only in gloss’ and ‘poetic’, including overlapping types. Most *for*-verbs have a sense of emphasis in contrast to their non-prefixed counterparts; some mean almost the same as the non-prefixed ones, some seem to be always used with the *for*-prefix, and some cannot be precisely identified because of their very rare occurrences. In this paper, I classify Old English *for*-verbs with examples and try to show why they were chosen in contrast to their non-prefixed counterparts.

Keywords: Old English; prefix *for*-; Dictionary of Old English

In Modern German, three types of semantic differences can be identified among *ver*-verbs:

lassen : verlassen	almost equal or emphatic
kaufen : verkaufen	antonym
stehen : verstehen	quite different

Under the *OED* definition of the *for*-prefix¹, various meanings are listed: e.g., ‘away, off’ (*forcast*), ‘prohibition’ (*forsay*), ‘abstain from’ (*forgo*), ‘destructive effect’ (*fordo*), ‘in pieces’ (*forburst*), ‘all over’ (*forgrow*), etc. All the *for*-verbs in the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008) can have semantic features of ‘equal or emphatic’, ‘expanded or antonymous’, ‘rare’, ‘only in gloss’ and ‘poetic’, including overlapping types. ‘Emphatic’ includes ‘in pieces’ and ‘all over’, while ‘expanded’ may imply some semantic changes. Table 1 at the end of this paragraph shows these features with ticks. As meanings change according to contexts, ticks are added to more than one feature whenever necessary. Most *for*-verbs have a sense of emphasis in contrast to their non-prefixed counterparts; some mean almost the same as the non-prefixed ones, some seem to be always used with the *for*-prefix, and some cannot be precisely identified in sense because of their very rare occurrences. There are some verbs to which only the prefixed forms were attested (e.g., *foræggan*, *forpæran*, *forsetnian*). In this paper I classify Old English *for*-verbs in the following sections and try to explain why they were chosen in contrast to their non-prefixed counterparts.

Table 1. Semantic features of OE *for*-verbs.

For-Verb	Emphatic	Antonymous	Expanded	Only Once	Only in Gloss	Only in Poetry
forbærnan	v					
forbelgan	v			v		
for(e)beodan		v				
forberan			v			
forberstan	v					
forbigan			v			
forbindan	v					



Citation: Ogura, Michiko. 2024. *For-Verbs in Old English*. *Languages* 9: 124. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages9040124>

Academic Editor: Javier Martín Martín-Arista

Received: 23 January 2024

Revised: 2 March 2024

Accepted: 6 March 2024

Published: 1 April 2024



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Table 1. Cont.

<i>For-Verb</i>	<i>Emphatic</i>	<i>Antonymous</i>	<i>Expanded</i>	<i>Only Once</i>	<i>Only in Gloss</i>	<i>Only in Poetry</i>
forbitan	v			v		
forblawan	v		v			
forblindian			v	v	v	
forbreccan	v					
forbregdan	v		v			
forbrytan	v					
forbugan	v		v			
forbyrdian	v				v	
forbyrnan	v					
forceorfan	v					
forceowan	v			v		
forclæman	v				v	
forclingan	v				v	
forclyccan	v				v	
forclysan	v			v		
forcostian	v			v		
forcrafian	v			v	v	
forcuman			v			
forcunnian	v		v		v	
forcursian	v			v		
forcweþan		v	v			
forcwolstan	v			v		
forcwysan	v					
forcyrran			v			
forcyþan		v	v			
fordælan	v			v		
fordelfan	v			v		
fordeman		v	v			
fordemman	v				v	
fordician			v			
fordiligian	v					
fordimmian	v				v	
fordon		v	v			
fordræfan	v			v		
fordrencan	v					
fordrifan	v					
fordrincan	v					
fordrugian	v					
fordruncnian	v			v		
fordwinan	v					

Table 1. Cont.

<i>For-Verb</i>	<i>Emphatic</i>	<i>Antonymous</i>	<i>Expanded</i>	<i>Only Once</i>	<i>Only in Gloss</i>	<i>Only in Poetry</i>
fordwylman	v			v		
fordylmengan	v			v		
fordyttan	v					
forealdian	v					
forelcian	v			v		
forfaran		v	v			
forfeallan	v			v		
forferan		v	v			
forferian		v		v		
forfleon	v					
forflygan	v			v	v	
forfon	v					
forfyllan	v			v	v	
forgan	v		v			
forgangan	v		v			
forgægan	v					
forgælan	v			v	v	
forgearwian	v			v	v	
forglendrian	v		v			
forgnagan	v					
forgnidan	v					
forgrindan	v					
forgripan	v					
forgriwen (pp)	v			v		
forgrowan	v					
forgumian	v			v		
forgyfan		v	v			
forgyldan			v			
forgylpan	v			v		
forgyltan	v					
forgyman		v				
forgymelesian	v					
forgyrdan	v			v		
forgytan		v	v			
forhabban		v				
forhatan		v				
forhælan		v		v	v	
forhætan	v			v		
forhealdan		v	v			

Table 1. Cont.

<i>For-Verb</i>	<i>Emphatic</i>	<i>Antonymous</i>	<i>Expanded</i>	<i>Only Once</i>	<i>Only in Gloss</i>	<i>Only in Poetry</i>
forheardian	v					
forheawan	v					
forhelan	v					
forhelian	v					
forher(e)gian	v					
forhogian		v	v			
forhorwian	v				v	
for(e)hradian			v			
forhweorfan	v					
forhwyrfan			v			
forhycgan		v	v			
forhydan	v					
forhylman			v	v		v
forhynan	v		v			
forhyrdan	v					v
forlacan			v			v
forlædan		v				
forlæran		v				
forlætan	v		v			
forlæþan	v			v		
forlecgan	v			v		
forleogan	v					
forleon			v			
forleosan	v					
forlicgan			v			
forligrian			v		v	
forliþan			v			
forlorian	v			v	v	
forlosian			v			
formælan	v			v		
formeltan	v					
formengan	v			v		
formolsnian	v					
formyltan	v					
formyrþr(i)an	v					
fornæman	v			v		
forneþan	v			v		
forniman	v		v			
fornydan	v					
forpæran	v					

Table 1. Cont.

For-Verb	Emphatic	Antonymous	Expanded	Only Once	Only in Gloss	Only in Poetry
forpyndan	v			v		v
forrædan		v				
forreleasian	v			v		
forridan		v				
forrotian	v					
forsacan			v			
forsætian	v			v		
forsceadan	v					
forsceamian	v					
forsceorfan	v			v		
forsceotan	v		v			
forscrencan	v					
forscrifan		v				
forscrincan	v					
forscufan	v			v		v
forscyldigian	v					
forscyppan			v			
forscyrian			v	v		
forscyttan	v					
forsearian	v					
forsecan			v			v
forsecgan		v				
forsellan	v	v				
forsencan			v	v		
forsendan			v			
forseon		v	v			
forseoþan	v			v		
forsetnian	v				v	
forsettan			v			
forsittan			v			
forsipian			v	v		v
forslawian	v					
forslæwan	v					
forslean	v					
forsmiten (pp)	v			v	v	
forsmorian	v					
forsmorþrian	v			v		
forsorgian	v			v		
forspanan	v					
forspendan	v					

Table 1. Cont.

<i>For-Verb</i>	<i>Emphatic</i>	<i>Antonymous</i>	<i>Expanded</i>	<i>Only Once</i>	<i>Only in Gloss</i>	<i>Only in Poetry</i>
forspennan	v				v	
forspildan	v					
forspilian	v				v	
forspillan			v			
forsprecan		v				
forstalian	v					
forstandan		v	v			
forstelan	v					
forstoppian	v			v		
forstregdan	v			v	v	
forstyltan	v				v	
forstyntan	v					
forsucan	v					
fors(w)ui(g)ian	v					
forswælan	v					
forswapan	v					v
forswelan	v			v		v
forswelgan	v					
forsweltan	v					
forsweorcan	v					
forsweorfan	v				v	
forswerian		v				
forswigan	v					
forswiþan	v					
forsyngian	v					
fortendan	v					
forteon	v		v			
fortimbr(i)an		v			v	
fortogian	v			v		
fortredan	v		v			
fortreddan	v		v			
fortrendan	v			v		
fortruwian	v		v			
fortrymman	v			v	v	
fortyhtan	v					
fortyllan	v			v		v
fortynan	v					
forþeccan	v				v	
forþecgan	v			v		v
forþencan			v			

Table 1. Cont.

<i>For-Verb</i>	Emphatic	Antonymous	Expanded	Only Once	Only in Gloss	Only in Poetry
forþeofian	v			v	v	
forþeostrian	v				v	
forþerscan	v			v		
forþindan	v					
forþolian	v			v		v
forþræstan	v		v			
forþringan	v					
forþryccan	v					
forþrysm(i)an	v					
forþyldian	v					
forþyl(di)gian	v					
forþylm(i)an	v					
forwandian	v					
forwaxan	v			v		
forweallan	v			v		
forweaxan	v					
forweddian	v			v	v	
forwegan	v			v		v
forweornian	v					
forweorpan	v					
forweorþan		v	v			
forwisnian	v					
forwlencan	v					
forwracnian	v			v		
forwrecan	v					
forwregan	v					
forwreon	v			v	v	
forwritan			v	v		v
forwriþan	v					
forwundian	v					
forwyrca ¹		v	v			
forwyrca ²			v			
forwyrðan	v					
forwyrnan	v					
foryldan	v					
foryrman	v					

1. Emphatic (Including Almost Equal with the Non-Prefixed Counterpart)

Among 242 *for*-verbs in the *DOE* corpus, 167 verbs are used emphatically in contrast to their non-prefixed counterparts, although the degree of emphasis depends on each verb in each context. When 16 verbs which have both emphatic and expanded meanings and

one verb with emphatic and antonymous meanings are added, 76.0% of *for*-verbs can be used with emphatic meanings. As the space is limited, examples given here for each verb are restricted to those which represent its feature as clearly as possible. All the abbreviated titles of the texts used in this paper follows [Healey and Venezky \(1980\)](#).

1.1. *Forbærnan*

Forbærnan means ‘to burn up, scorch’ and appears in many texts. Its emphatic use can be seen when *F* in *Ps* 82.15 is compared with *A* and *D*; *forswælan* in *I* is another variant.²

(Editions of the psalter glosses are cited in the references with abbreviations. *A* is from [Kuhn \(1965\)](#), *D* from [Roeder \(\[1904\] 1973\)](#), *F* from [Kimmens \(1979\)](#) and *I* from [Lindelöf \(1909–1914\)](#)).

(1) Or 6 13.141.21³

Ŧ het forbærnan þæt gewrit þe hit on awriten wæs, hwæt mon on geare agiefan sceolde,
‘and (he) commanded the document, in which it was written what should be given each year, to be burnt’

(2) Ps 82.15⁴ [sicut ignis qui **conburit** siluas. uelut flamma **incendat** [Galician: **comburens**] montes]

A: swe swe fyr ðæt **forberneð** wuda swe swe leg **forberneð** muntas

D: swa swa fyr þe **forbærneð** wudas oþðe swa lez **onæle** muntas

F: swa swa fyr þe **bærneð** wuda swa swa leg **forbærnende** muntas

I: swaswa fyr þæt þe **forswælp** wudu swaswa liget **forswælende** duna

AV: As the fire burneth a wood: and as the flame setteth the mountaines on fire:

1.2. *Forbelgan*

Forbelgan ‘to become angry’, occurs only once, which shows its reflexive use.

(3) LS25 (MichaelMor) 37

þa **forbealh** he hine forþon þe þæt hryþer him þuhte on wedenheorte þe þær swa ferde geond þone widgillan munt.
‘then he was angry because, as it seemed to him, the bull had insanely gone over the spacious mountain’

1.3. *Forberstan*

Forberstan ‘to break apart’ appears as an emphatic variant of *berstan*, which survives into ModE *burst*. Here I give two often-quoted, well-known lines in poetry. For the presentation of the texts of Anglo-Saxon poems, I refer to [Krapp and Dobbie \(1931–1953\)](#).

(4) Beo 2680b⁵

Nægling forbærst,
geswac æt sæcce sweord Biowulfes,
gomol ond grægmael.
‘Nægling broke; Beowulf’s old and grey-coloured sword failed him in the struggle’.

(5) Phoen 568a

Me þæs wen næfre

forbirsteð in breostum, ðe ic in brego engla
forðweardne gefean fæste hæbbe.

‘The hope of this will never crumble in my heart, for I have secure an enduring joy in the Ruler of the angels’.

(tr. [Bradley \(\[1982\] 1987\)](#))

1.4. *Forbindan*

According to the *DOE* ([Healey et al. 2008](#)) counting, *forbindan* ‘to bind up’ occurs only three times. Here I give an earlier example.

(6) CP 16.105.7

Bi ðon wæs gecueden on ðære æ: Ne **forbinden** ge na ðæm ðyrstendum oxum ðone muð.
‘Of which was mentioned in the law: “Do not bind the mouth of the thirsting oxen.”’

1.5. Forbitan

Forbitan ‘to bite through’ occurs only once.

- (7) LS35 (VitPatr) 390
 þa ahleop þær an <leo eorðscraefes> þystrum and hio swengde on hine and **forbat** him þone sweoran.
 ‘then a lion leapt from the darkness of earth-dwelling and rushed on him and bit him through the neck’

1.6. Forblindan

Forblindan ‘to make blind’ occurs only once and only in gloss; here in *Ru2*, and the double gloss in *Li* and the past participle form of *ablendan* in *WSCp* should be compared. (For the versions of the Gospels, see [Morrell \(1965\)](#)).

- (8) Mk 6.52⁶ [non enim intellexerant de panibus erat enim cōr illorum **obcecatum**]
Li: ne forðon oncneawun of hlafum wæs forðon hearta hiora **fore-geblind** **ī fore-geðistrat**
Ru2: ne forðon oncneowun of hlafum wæs forðon heorta hiora **for-blindad**
WSCp: ne ongeton hi be þam hlafor; Soðlice heora heorte wæs **ablend**;
AV: For they considered not *the miracle* of the loaves, for their heart was hardened.

1.7. Forbreacan

Forbreacan ‘to break to pieces’ is used emphatically as a variant of other prefixed and non-prefixed verbs, as seen in the following examples. (See also Section 4.13. *Fortredan*).

- (9) CP 33.229.9
 ðylæs se lytega fiond æfter fierste suiður fægnige ðæt he hine mid his lotwrencium besuice, ðeah he hine ær openum gefeohte ofercome, & [him] ðone stiðan suiran **forbræce** [C: **fortræde**].
 ‘lest the wily foe after a time rejoice more in entrapping them with his artifices after they had overcome him in an open fight, and breaking their stubborn necks’
 (tr. [Sweet \(1871–1872\)](#))

- (10) Jn 19.31 [Iudaei ergo ... rogauerunt pilatum ut **frangerentur** eoram crura et tollerentur]
Li: iudeas ðonne ... gebédon ðone groefa þte **hia gebreco** **ī uoero tobrocene** hiora sciu ȝ uere genumeno
Ru2: iudæas forðon ... gibedun ðone groefa þte **gibrece** **ī tobrocen werun** sconce hiora ȝ ginumune werun
WSCp: Ða iudeas bædon pilatum þ man **for-bræce** hyra sceancan. and lete hi nyðer
AV: The Jewes therefore ... besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.

1.8. Forbrytan⁷

Forbrytan ‘to break, crush’ is used emphatically and can be used as an alternative to *tobrytan*, *brecan*, *tobrecan* and *forbrecan*, as seen in the following examples. In *Mt* 12.20 other *for*-verbs, *forweorpan* and *fordrifan*, can be seen in double gloss for *eiciat*.

- (11) Mt 12.20 [harundinem quassatam non **confrincet** et linum fumigans non extinguet donet eiciat ad uictoriam iudicium]
Li: gerd wácc ȝ bifiende ne **breceð** ȝ récende ȝ smécende ne drysnes wið forworpa ȝ fordrifa to sige dom
Ru1: hread þæt wagende ne **to-breceþ** ȝ flæx ȝ lin smikende ne adwæscet oþ þ ut ascendeþ to sigor in dome
WSCp: Tocwysed hreod hé ne **for-brytt**. ȝ smeocende flex hé ne adwæscþ. ærþam þe he aworpe dóm to sige.
AV: A bruised reed shal he not breake, and smoking flaxe shall he not quench, till he send forth iudgment vnto victory.
- (12) Ps 9.36 [**Conteris** brachium peccatoris et maligni requiretur delictum eius nec inuenietur]
A: **forðræst** earm ðes synfullan ȝ ðes awergdan bið soht scyld his ne bið gemoeted
D: þu **forbrytest** earm synfulles awyrzedes bið soht scyld his ne he met bið
I: **forbrec** **ī tobryt** earm ȝ anweald þæs synfullan ȝ þæs awirgedan byð gesoht syn his ȝ he ne byð gemet
AV: Breake thou the arme of the wicked, and the euill man: seeke out his wickednes, *till* thou finde none.

1.9. Forbyrdian

Forbyrdian ‘to endure, wait for’ occurs only in gloss. In the Psalter it is found as a single, gloss, double gloss, and with variants. *E* is from [Harsley \(1889\)](#) and *K* from [Sisam and Sisam \(\[1959\] 1969\)](#).

- (13) Ps 32.20 [Anima autem nostra **sustinet** dominum. quoniam adiutor et protector noster est.]
 A: sawul soðlice ur **abideð** dryht for ðon fultum 7 gescildent ur is
 D: sawl ure **forbyrdigað** dryhten zefylsta 7 zescyldend ure he is
 E: Soþlice ure sæule **forbyrdigað 7 geðolað** drihten forðon gefylsta 7 gescildend ure he is
 I: saw lure **anbidap** forþi þe he fultumiend 7 gescyldend ure is
 K: sawle ure **bewarað** drihten forðon fultum 7 frofer ure is
 AV: Our soule waiteth for the Lord: he is our helpe, and our shield.

1.10. Forbyrnan

Forbyrnan ‘to burn up completely’ is an emphatic form of *byrnan* (or *biernan*), occurring in various texts.

- (14) Beo 1616a
 Sweord ær gemealt,
forbarn brodenmæl;
 ‘The sword had already melted; the damasked blade had burnt up’.
- (15) GD4(C) 41.328.26
 forþon us is zeornlice to zepencanne, þeah þe þæt treow 7 þæt hiz 7 þæt healm **forbyrne** on þam huse, þæt þæt zold 7
 þæt seolfor 7 þa deorwyrðan stanas na ne **forbyrnað**;
 ‘therefore it is desirable for us to think, though the tree and the grass and the straw would burn at the house, that the gold and the silver and the precious stones never burn up’

1.11. Forceorfan

Forceorfan ‘to cut through’ is an emphatic form of *ceorfan*. The adjectival use of the past participle is seen in *ÆLS* (Martin) 72. In *Lk* 13.7, it is used in *WSCp* but replaced by *forscrifan* in *WSH*. (See also Section 2.11. *forscrifan*).

- (16) *ÆLS* (Martin) 69, 72
 He gelahte ða his sex. and **forcearf** his basing. and sealde healfne dæl þam gesæligan þearfan. and þone healfan dæl
 he dyde on his hricg. þa hlogon his geferan þæs **forcofenan** basinges.
 ‘Then he drew his knife, and cut in two his cloak, and gave the half part of it to the happy poor man, and put the other half on his own back. Then his comrades laughed at the cut cloak’.
- (17) Lk 13.7 [**succidite** ergo illam ut quid etiam terram occupant]
 Li: ic **hrendas 7 scearfað** forðon ðailca 7 hia to huon uutedlice eorðo gi-ónetað 7 gemerras
 Ru2: **ceorfas 7 rendas** forðon ðailco þte hwon 7 wutudlice eorðo gi-onetað
 WSCp: **For-ceorf** hine hwi of-þricð he þ land;
 WSH: **For-scrif** (*sic*) hine hwy ofer-stricð (*sic*) he þæt land⁸
 AV: cut it downe, why cumbreth it the ground?

1.12. Forceowan

Forceowan ‘to bite off’ occurs only once.

- (18) Bo 16.36.23
 Þa he ða beforan ðone <graman> cyning gelæd wæs, & he hine het secgan hwæt his geferan wæron ðe mid him ymbe
 sieron, þa **forceaw** he his tungan & wearp hine mid ðære tungan on þæt neb foran.
 ‘When he was led before the cruel king, and he commanded him to tell what were his comrades who plotted with him,
 he bit off his tongue and cast himself with the tongue in the face’.

1.13. Forclæman

Forclæman ‘to plaster up, close up (ears or throats)’ occurs twice only in gloss: *CorpGl2* 13.100 *obturat folclaemid* and 13.186 *oplauit forclaemde*. As the non-prefixed *clæman* occurs in *Lch* and *Med*, these verbs seem to be adopted as a rendering of Latin medical contexts.

1.14. Forclingan

Forclingan ‘to shrink up’ is used only in gloss. Examples are *CorpGl2* 16.192 *rigentia forclingendu* and *VSa1* 1 17.4 on *forclungenum treow*.

1.15. *Forclyccan*

Forclyccan ‘to shut up’ occurs only in psalter glosses. In *Ps* 57.5, it is chosen in *D*; *fordemman* is chosen in *E*, *fordyttan* in *A*, and *dyttan* in *P* (from O’Neill (2001)). (Cf. Section 1.24. *fordemman* and Section 1.36. *fordyttan*).

- (19) *Ps* 57.5 [Ira illis secundum similitudinem serpentis sicut aspides surde. et **obdurantis** aures suas.]
A: eorre him efter gelicnisse nedran swe nedran deafe 7 **forduttænde** earan hire
D: yrre him 3elicnesse nædran swa nædran ... 7 **forclyccende** earan heora
E: yrre him efter gelicnesse nedræn swæ nedræn deafe 7 **fordemmende** eæran hira
P: Yrre heom becume anlic nædran, ða aspide ylde nemnað; seo hi deafe deð, **dytteð** hyre earan,
AV: Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deafe adder that stoppeth her eare:

1.16. *Forclysan*

Forclysan ‘to shut up ears’ occurs only once.

- (20) *PeriD* 17.11.20
 ad aures: þis <seal> to þan earan, þe wind oþþer wæter **forclyst**.
 ‘this should be to the ears, which wind or water closes up’

1.17. *Forcostian*

Forcostian ‘to tempt’ occurs only once.

- (21) *HomU* 1 59
 Bér þá tó him þa ylce costungæ þe hé þá ereste men Adam 7 Euam mid **forcostode** 7 biswáac, 7 his wylles weald on him æhte;
 ‘Then he brought to him the same temptations with which he tempted and deceived the first human beings, Adam and Eve, and had power over them as he wished’.

1.18. *Forcrafian*

Forcrafian ‘to ewquire, compel’ occurs only once and only in gloss, *BenRGI* 48.82.3 [exegerit] *giforcrafað*, which is emended as *gifforcrafað*.

- (22) *BenRGI* 48.82.3 [Si autem necessitas loci aut paupertas **exegerit** ut ad fruges colligendas per se occupentur non contristentur] neodbehefnes stowe oððe þearflices <gif> **forcrafað** wæsmas to-gegadrigenne þurh hi þæt hi beon gebisgode hi nab eon gedrefede
 ‘in a place of necessity or poverty, if they require plants to be gathered by those who are employed, they are not in trouble’

1.19. *Forcursian*

Forcursian ‘utterly accursed’ occurs only once. In the following example, it occurs in the past participle with two other verbs. (See also Section 2.13. *Forswerian* and Section 1.68. *Forleosan*).

- (23) *ChronE* 1137.49
 Þe biscopes 7 lered men heom cursede æure, oc was heom naht þarof, for hi uueron al **forcursæd** 7 forsuoren 7 forloren.
 ‘The bishops and the clergy were forever cursing them, but that was nothing to them, for they were all excommunicated and forsworn and lost’.

1.20. *Forcwolstan*

Forcwolstan ‘to swallow down’ is used only once in a medical context.

- (24) *Lch* II (1) 4.6.11
 eft ffileafan seawes þry bollan fulle lytle sceal **forcuuolstan**
 ‘again three bowel-full of cinquefoil sap (one) must swallow down for a while’

1.21. *Forcwysan*

Forcwysan ‘to crush utterly’ is used in psalter glosses. In *Ps* 109.6, it appears in *D*, which can be compared with *tocwysan* in *I*.

- (25) Ps 109.6 [**conquassauit** capita multa in terra copiosa]
 A: **gescænæd** heafud monigu in eorðan genyhtsumre
 D: he **forcwysde** heafdu manego on eorðan
 E: **gebrietæþ** heafdo monega on eorðæn genihtsume
 I: he **tocwyseð** heaffu on eorðan
 AV: he shall wound the heads ouer many countries.

1.22. Fordælan

Fordælan ‘to deal out’ occurs only once in *WSCp*; *Li* chooses *from-salde* and *Ru2* *for-salde*. It is likely that words in *WSCp* and glosses may differ, but it is noticeable that the word choice of *Ru2* can be different from that of *Li*. (See Section 6. *Forsellan*).

- (26) Lk 8.43 [et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodicim quae in medicos **erogauerat** omnem substantiam suam nec ab ullo potuit curari]
Li: 7 wif sum wæs in flowing blodes *from* wintrum twoelfum ðio on lecum **from-salde** all feh hire ne *from* ænigum mæhte gelecnaege 7 wosa gelecned
Ru2: 7 wifum ðæm ðe wæs in flowing blodes *from* wintrum twelfum ðio in lecum **for-salde** all feh hire ne in ængum mæhto gihæla 7 lecniga
WSCp: Ða wæs sum wif on blod-ryne twelf gér; Seo **for-dælde** on læcas eall þ heo ahte. 7 ne mihte þeah of ænegum beon ge-hælyd;
 AV: And a woman hauing an issue of blood twelue yeres, which had spent all her liuing vpon Phisitions, neither could be healed of any.

1.23. Fordelfan

Fordelfan ‘to dig up’ occurs only once in a charter.

- (27) Ch 298 3
 ðonne on ðone dic ðær Esne ðone weg **fordealf** ðonon of dune on ðæs wælles heafod.
 ‘then in the ditch where the slave dug up the way from there out of the hill on the river’s head’

1.24. Fordemman

Fordemman ‘to shut up’ is found only in gloss. In *Ps* 57.5, *E* shows the form *fordemmende* as a rendering of *obdurantis*. (See also Section 1.15. *Forclyccan* and Section 1.36. *Fordyttan*).

1.25. Fordiligian

Forfiligian ‘to devastate, do away with’ is often used in *Bede*, in which the pair of *for*-verbs can be seen (cf. Section 5.4. *Fordon*). Another example is given from *BenR*.

- (28) Bede 3 18.234.27
 se ðe þæt on his mode gehogod 7 geteod hæfde, þæt he wolde ealle his þeode *from* þæm geongrum oð þa ylðran forðon 7 **fordilgian**,
 ‘he who had thought in his mind and determined that he wished to destroy and annihilate all his people from the young up to the elders’
- (29) BenR 59.105.1
 Syn ealle þa æhta, þe þam cilde zebyrien, swa **fordylezade** and todælede, þæt him nan hyht beon ne þylfe,
 ‘May all the possessions, which befit to the child, be abolished and dispersed, so that no hope should be required to him’

1.26. Fordimmian

Fordimmian ‘to make (something) utterly dim’ occurs only in gloss.

- (30) LibSc 25.18 [In uita partum dicitur. qui amat argentum non uidebit scientiam. et qui congregat illud **obscurabitur**];
 on life ylðryna ys gecweden se þe lufað seolfor he na gesihð ingehyd 7 se þe gaderað þæt biþ **fordimmod oððe apystrod**
 ‘It is said in the life of ancestors; he who loves silver will not understand consciousness, and he who gathers it will be becloud or obscured’.

1.27. *Fordræfan*

Fordræfan ‘to drive, compel, bring forcibly’ occurs only once.

- (31) LawIneRb 62
 be þon þe mon to ceace [MS ceape] **fordræfe**
 ‘by which one brings forcibly to kettle (cattle?)’

1.28. *Fordrencan*

Fordrencan ‘to make (someone) drink’ is transitive in contrast to *fordrincan* (see Section 1.30. *Fordrincan*) and can be used reflexively. (*Gen* is from Crawford ([1922] 1969)).

- (32) Gen 19.32
 Uton **fordrencean** urne fæder færllice mid wine, ⁊ uton licgan mid him, þæt sum laf beo hys cynnes.
 ‘Let us make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, so that we may preserve seed of our father’.
- (33) ChrodR 1 60.31
 Manege synt, þæt gyt wyrse is, þæt na þæt an hi sylfe **fordrencað**, ac eac oðre halsiað þæt hi mare drincan þonne him framige.
 ‘Many are, what is still worse, that they themselves not only become drunk, but also others swear that they drink more than it avails them’.

1.29. *Fordrifan*

Fordrifan ‘to drive out’ was used up to the early sixteenth century (see *OED* **fordrive** v.: OE to 1513), and the non-prefixed *drive* survived and is used in present-day English. In *Mt* 21.12, *Ru1* as well as *WSCp* uses the verb-adverb combination in contrast to the prefixed verb in *Li*.

- (34) ChronE 927.1
 Her Æpelstan cyning **fordraf** Guðfrið cyng.
 ‘In this year Athelstan drove out king Guthfrith’.
- (35) Mt 21.12 [Et intrauit iesus in templum dei et **eiciebat** omnes uendentes et ementes in templo]
Li: ⁊ in-eade ðe hælend in temple godes ⁊ **fordraf** alle bebohton ⁊ bohyon in temple
Ru1: ⁊ eode se hælend in tempel godes ⁊ **wearp ut** ealle þa sellende ⁊ gebycgende in þæm temple
WSCp: þa se hælend into þam temple eode he **adraf** út ealle þa þe ceapodun innan þam temple
AV: And Iesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the Temple,

1.30. *Fordrincan*

Fordrincan ‘to drink excessively’ is emphatically used in many texts. *GD* is from Morricca (1924). (For variants, see Section 1.125. *Forswigan* and Section 4.10. *Forniman*).

- (36) CP 40.295.6
 Forðæm [ðæt] wif ðe Ab[i]gall hatte suiðe herigendlice forsuigode ðæt dysig hiera **fordruncnan** hlafordes, se wæs haten Nabal,
 ‘Therefore, the woman called Abigail very laudably concealed the folly of her drunken lord, who was called Nabal’
- (37) GD4(C) 33.308.15
 ⁊ he þa on æfenne æfter þam fæstene wæs Ʒecyrred ham to his huse ⁊ wearð þa mid mycclum wine **fordruncen** [O: fornunen]
 ‘and in the evening after the fast he was back home to his house and became drunk by too much wine’

1.31. *Fordrugian*

Fordrugian ‘to become dry up’ can be emphatically used for non-prefixed *drugian*. (See also Section 1.91. *Forscrincan*).

- (38) Met 20 104a
 gif þ nære, þonne hio wære
fordrugod to duste, ⁊ todrifan siððan
 wide mid winde, swa nu weorðeð oft
 axe giond eorðan eall toblawen.
 ‘if it were not, then it (the earth) would be dried up to dust, and then driven widely with wind, as now the ash were often all blown away throughout the world’

Cf. Bo 33.80.18

forþam gif þ wæter hi ne geðwænde, þonne drugode hio ⁊ wurde todrifan mid þam winde swa swa dust oððe axe
 ‘therefore, if the water did not moisten it, then it (the earth) dried up, and would be dispersed with the wind as dust or ash’

- (39) Lk 8.6 [et aliud cecidit supra petram et natum **aruit** quia non habebat umorem]
Li: ⁊ oðer feall ofer stan ⁊ þ brord † **awisnade † fordrugade** forðon ne hæbde wetnise
 [*Ru2*: *lost*]
WSCp: And sum feoll ofer þæne stán ⁊ hit **for-scranc** forþam þe hit wætan næfde;
AV: And some fell vpon a rocke, and assoone as it was sprung vp, it withered away, because it lacked moisture.

1.32. Fordruncnian

Fodruncnian ‘to be made drunk’ occurs only once. (See also Section 4.5. *Forgan*).

- (40) Conf 2.1(O) 61
 & ælce dæge grreordige him to middæges, buton Wodnesdæge & Frigedæge, þonne he sceal fæstan to nones, & forgan flæsc & wine, þæt is ælces cynnes drinc þe man mæge **foredruncnigan** [*Conf 2.1*: **foredruncen beon**; *Y*: **ofdruncen beon**]
 ‘and each day he feasted himself till midday, except Wednesday and Friday, when he must fast till noon, and abstain from flesh and wine, that is drink of any kind that one could be made drunk’

1.33. Fordwinan

Fordwinan means ‘to disappear’. In Lk 14.34, *forðineð* occurs in *Ru2* as a variant of this verb, and the *DOEC* (Healey et al. 2009) has it; and it occurs in the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008); the manuscript (MS Auct D.2.19) has the same, with a minor space between *for* and *ðineð*. There is a verb *ðinan* ‘to grow moist’ but no *forðinan* in the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008).

- (41) Lk 14.34 [Bonum est sál si autem sál quoque **euanuerit** in quo condiatur]
Li: god is se salt gif ðonne se salt æc ðon **forðuinde † forðineð** in ðon † in ðæm bið besmitten † gehyded
Ru2: god is ðæt salt gif wutedlice salt ec ðonne **forðineð** in ðon † ðæm bismitten bið
WSCp: Gód ys sealt gif hit **awyrð** on þam þe hit gesylt bið.
AV: Salt is good: but if the salt haue lost his sauour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?

- (42) ÆLS (Maur) 315

Hwæt ða se sceocca sona **fordwán** of his gesihðe. mid swiðlicum reame.

‘So then the devil straightway vanished out of his sight with a mighty outcry’.

1.34. Fordwylman

Fordwylman ‘to confound’ occurs only once.

- (43) Bo 5.14.4
 Of ðæm ðonne onginnað weaxan þa mistas ðe þ mod gedrefað, ⁊ mid ealle **fordwilmað** ða soðan gesihðe swelce mistas swe[[l]ce nu on þinum mode sindon.
 ‘Then among them the mists begin to grow, which stir up the mind, and altogether confuse the true sense of sight, as mists are now in your mind’.

1.35. Fordylmengan

Fordylmengan ‘to dissemble’ occurs only once. (See also Section 1.11. *Forceorfan*).

(44) ChrodR 1 8.11

ƿ þara gymeleasra ƿ þæra prutra ƿ þæra modigra gyltas þreage man sona ƿ gerihte, ƿ ne **fordilemenge** hi, ac sona swa hi up sprincgen, swa forceorfe ma hi ƿ heora wyrtruman eal ætsamne,
'and sins of the careless and the proud and the arrogant are rebuked and amended and never ignored, but as soon as they spring up, they are cut off and their root altogether'

1.36. Fordyttan

Fordyttan 'to block' survived up to 1400 (see *OED* **fordit** v). (See also Section 2.1. *For(e)beodan* and Section 2.14. *Fortimbr(i)an*).

(45) Gen 8.2

ƿ ða wylspringa(s) ðære miclan nywelnyssse wurdon **fordytte** ƿ ðære heofonan wæterðeotan, ƿ se ren wearð forboden.
'(AV) The fountains also of the deepe, and the windowes of heauen were stopped, and the raine from heauen was restrained'.

(46) Ps 62.12 [laudabuntur omnes qui iurant in eo. quia **obstructum est** ós loquentium iniqua]

A: bioð hereð alle ða ðe swergað in hine for ðon **fortimbred is** muð spreocendra ða unrehtan

D: herizað ealle þa ðe swerizað on him **fordytt** muð spreocendra unrihtu

E: herigað ealle ðæ þe sweriað on hine fordæn **fordett is** muð spreocendra unriht

I: beoþ geherode ealle þa þe sweriað on hine forþi þe **is fordyt** muð spreocendra unrihte þing

AV: euery one that sweareth by him shall glorie: but the mouth of them that speake lies, shall be stopped.

1.37. Forealdian

Forealdian 'to grow very old' is an emphatic form of *ealdian* 'to grow old' (cf. Mercian *aldian*, ModE *old*). (See also Section 1.95. *Forsearian* and Section 5.15. *Forweorþan*).

(47) Bo 39.131.7

ƿ hi eft gehyt ƿ gehelt þonne hit **forealdod bið** ƿ forsearod, ƿ eft geewð ƿ geedniw[að] þonne þonne *he wile*.

'and again hides and keeps them (creatures) when it (divine providence) gets old and withered, and again reveals and renews as it would'

(48) Solil 1 10.3

Ac cumað oðre for hy, swa swa leaf on treowum; and æpla, (and) gears, and wyrtnan, and treoweu **foraldiað** and forseriað; and cumað oððer grenu:

'But others come instead, as foliage on trees; and fruits, grass, and wort, and trees delay and wither, and come other green things'.

(49) Ps 101.27 [Ipsi peribunt. tu autem permanes. et omnia sicut uestimentum **ueterescent**. et sicut opertorium mutabis eos et mutabuntur.]

A: hie forweorðað ðu soðlice ðorhwunas ƿ alle swe swe hregl **aldiað** ƿ swe swe wrigels onwendes hie ƿ hie bioð onwende

D: hy forweorþað þu soþlice þurhwunast ƿ ealle swa swa hræzl **ealdiaþ** ƿ swa swa blidd þu awentst hy ƿ hy beoð awende

I: hig forwyrðað ƿ losiaþ þu soðlice þurhwunast ealle swa swa scrud ƿgegyrlu ƿ hi **forealdiað** ƿ swaswa oferbrædedls ƿ wæfeis þu awentst hig ƿ hig beoð awende

AV: They shall perish, but thou shalt indure, yea all of them shall waxe old like a garment: as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shalbe changed.

1.38. Forelcian

Forelcian 'to delay' occurs only once.

(50) Eluc 1 84

beon þurh heora deað afyrhte & gemanede to Godes þenunga þe heo **forelcan**

'be afraid by their death and mindful of the service to God, which they put off too long'

1.39. Forfeallan

Forfeallan 'to fall upon excessively' occurs only once.

(51) Alex 30.12

ða ic þa unmætnisse & micelnisse ðæs snawes geseah, ða þuhte me þæt ic wiste þæt he wolde ealle þa wicstowe **forfeallan**;

'When I saw the excessive greatness of snow, it seemed to me that I wished that it would overwhelm all the dwelling-place'.

1.40. *Forfleon*

Forfleon 'to escape' is used as an emphatic form of *fleon* 'to fly from, flee'. (See also Section 3.14. *Forliþan*).

(52) ApT 48.19

Mid þam þe ic þæt **forfleah**, þa wearð ic on sæ forliden and com to Cyrenense.
'When I escaped that, I became shipwrecked in the sea and came to Cyrene'.

(53) ÆCHomI, 39 521.53

Uton for þi ælc yfel **forfleon**: 7 gód be ure mihte gefremman.
'Therefore let avoid every evil, and let make ood through our might'.

1.41. *Forflygan*

Forflygan 'to put to flight (licentiousness)' occurs only once and only in gloss.

(54) Abbo 110.10

aginat uenerum, portat anaboladia he **forflycð** galscipe he byrð linnenne wæuels
'he puts to flight the wantonness, he bears linen clothing'

1.42. *Forfon*

Forfon 'to seize' is an emphatic form of *fon* and appears often in poetry. (See also Section 5.14. *Forstandan*).

(55) Jul 284a

Forfoh þone frætgan ond fæste geheald.
'Seize the perverse creature and hold tightly on to him'.

(56) Dan 613a

Ða for ðam gylpe gumena drihten
forfangen wearð and on fleam gewat,
ana on oferhyd ofer ealle men.

'Then on account of that boasting the lord of men suffered a seizure and went fleeing away, alone in his pride above all men'.

(57) LawIne 62

Gif hine forðnele forstandan se ðe him ær ceap fore sealed, & he hine þonne **forfehð**, þolige þonne his ceapes se, ðe he him ær fore sealed.

'If he who had given him cattle before will not further defend him, and he (the accuser) arrests him (the accused), then he should lose the cattle which he had given him before'

1.43. *Forfyllan*

Forfyllan 'to fill up' occurs only once and only in gloss.: *CIGI* 4621 obstictas **forfyldan**.

1.44. *Forgægan*

Forgægan 'to transgress' is a *for*-verb without a non-prefixed counterpart and synonymous with *ofergægan*. In *Ps* 118.119, where each gloss shows a variety of renderings, this verb is used in *I* as a second gloss. *L* is from Lindelöf (1909).

(58) ÆHom 27 109

Þa cwæð Ambrosius, Hwi come þu hider? wilt þu **forgægan** Godes æ nú, and mid þinum riccetere wéndan ongean God?

'Then Ambrosius said: Why did you come hither? now do you wish to transgress God's law and turn against God with your tyranny?'

(59) *ÆCHomI,7* 237.154

Ac þa ða hi godes bebod **forægdon**. 7 þæs awyrigedan deofles lare gehyrsumodon.

'But when they transgressed God's command and followed the teaching of the accursed devil'

(60) Ps 118.119 [*Preuaricantes reputai omnes peccatores terre.*]

A: **oferliorende** ic getalde alle synfulle eorðan

D: **wemmende** ic tealde ealle synfulle eorðan

I: **æslitendras 7 forægende** ic talode ealle þa arleasan on eorþan

L: **oferleorende 7 oferfarende** ic getealde ealle synfulle eorþan

P: Ic **oferhylmend** ealle getealde, þa on eorðan her yfele wæron,

AV: Thou putttest away all the wicked of the earth *like* drosse:

1.45. *Forgælan*

Forgælan 'to avoid' occurs only once and only in gloss.

(61) *LkArgGl(Li)* 8 [**uitauimus** publicam curiositatem ne non tam uolentibus deum uideremur quam fastidientibus prodisse]

we **forægdon** [MS: f'gældon] 7 gesægdon 7 þæt bærlíc ferwitgiornes nere suiðor wilnendum God þætte we gesegen ðon [-].

'we avoided or cursed to settle that open curiosity were not so much desirable for God that we observe ...'

1.46. *Forgearwian*

Forgearwian 'to set free' occurs only once and only in *Ru2*. (See also Section 5.7. *Forgyfan*).

(62) *Mk* 15.6 [*Per diem autem festum dimittere* solebat illis unum ex uinctis quem-cum-que petissent.]

Li: ðerh ðone dæge ðonne symbel **for-geafa** gewuna wæs him enne 7 an of ðæm gebundenum ðone suæ huælcne hia gegiuodon

Ru2: ðerh ðone dæg ðonne symbles **forgeorwiga** giwuna wæs him enne 7 an of ðæm gibundennum swa hwelcne swa hia ge-giowadun

WSCp: On symmel-dæge wæs his gewuna þ he him **for-geafe** ænne gebundenne. swa hwylcne swa hi bædon;

AV: Now at that Feast he released vnto them one prisoner, whomsoeuer they desired.

1.47. *Forgnagan*

Forgnagan 'to gnaw to pieces' is an emphatic form of *gnagan* 'to gnaw'.

(63) *Exod* 10.5

ge on treowum ge on æcerum ge on eallum growendum ðingum, hi **forgnagað**.

'not only on trees, in the fields, but in all growing things, they (locusts) eat'

(64) *ÆCHomII,12.1* 112.70

þæt eahteoðe wite wæs. þæt gærstapan ofereodon eall þæt land. swilce swa næfre ær ðan næron. ne eft næfre ne gewurðað. and hī **forgnagon** swa hwæt swa se hagol belæfde. oððe on treowum. oððe on oðrum wæstnum;

'the eighth plague was that locusts overran all the land, as if it had never been before or never will be again, and they gnawed whatever the hail left, either on trees or on other plants'

1.48. *Forgnidan*

Forgnidan 'to crush, break to pieces' is an emphatic form of *gnidan*. In glosses, each version uses different rendering. *G* is from [Rosier \(1962\)](#) and *J* from [Oess \(1910\)](#). (See Section 7. *Forbrytan* and Section 4.16. *Forþræstan*, and also Section 1.91. *Forscrincan*).

(65) Ps 3.8 [*Quoniam tu percussisti omnes aduersantes mihi sine causa dentes peccatorum conteruisti*]

A: for ðon ðu sloge alle wiðerbrocan me butan intingan toeð synfulra **ðu forðræstes**

D: forðon ofsloge ealle wiþerzende intinȝan teþ synfulra **þu forbryttest**

E: Forðæm þu ofsloge 7 smite ealle wiðergiende me butan intynȝan 7 þæra synfulra teð **þu abrutetest**

G: forþam þe þu ofsloge ealle þa wiðerwerdan [] butan intingan toðes synfullra **þu geþreadest**

I: forðan þe þu ofsloge ealle þa wiðrigendan me butan intingan teþ synfulra **þu forgnide 7 þu tobryttest**

J: forþon þe þu ofsloge ealle þa wiðerwardan me buton intingan toþas 7 teþ synfulra **þu geþreadest 7 tobrittest**

AV: for thou hast smitten all mine enemies *vpon* the cheeke bone: thou hast broken the teeth of the vngodly.

- (66) Mk 9.18 [qui ubiqumque eum adpraehenderit **adlidit** eum et spumat et stridet dentibus et arescit]
Li: seðe sua-huér hine gegripes **gebites** **ī toslites** hine 𐌲 fæmeð 𐌲 gristbitteð mið toðum 𐌲 scrinceð
Ru2: se ðe swa hwær hine ge-gripes he **bites** 𐌲 **slites** hine 𐌲 fæmeð 𐌲 grist-bites mið toðum 𐌲 serepes
WSCp: se swa hwær swa he hine gelæcð **forgnit** hine. 𐌲 toðum gristbitað 𐌲 for-scrinçp.
AV: And wheresoeuer he taketh him, he teareth him, & he fometh, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away:

1.49. Forgrindan

Forgrindan ‘to grind down’ occurs in poetry and glossaries (see *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008)).

- (67) Beo 2335a
 Hæfde ligdraca leoda fæsten,
 ealond utan, eorðweard ðone
 gledum **forgrunden**;
 ‘With flaming dragon had wasted with fire the stronghold of the people, the land by the sea, all that region of earth’.
 (tr. Clark Hall ([1911] 1972))

- (68) Phoen 227b
 Þonne clæne bið
 beorhtast nesta, bæle **forgrunden**
 heaþotfes hof;
 ‘Then the brightest of nests, the house of the brave bird, is entirely destroyed by fire’.

1.50. Forgripan

Forgripan ‘to seize, grasp’ is an emphatic form of *gripan* ‘to seize’.

- (69) Bede 5 17.456.3
 Ac þæt hwæþere swa wesan ne mihte, forðon se bysceop wæs **forgripen** mid wællbreowe deaðe,
 ‘But yet this might not be, for the bishop was seized by a cruel death’
- (70) Phoen 507a
 þonne fyr briceð
 læne londwelan, lig eal þigeð
 eorðan æhtgestreon, æpplede gold
 gifre **forgripeð**, grædig swelgeð
 londes drætwe.
 ‘when the fire breaks the land’s frail wealth, and flame devours wholly earth’s possessions, and eagerly grasps
 apple-shaped gold, and greedily swallows the treasures of the world’
 (tr. Gollancz ([1895] 1958))

1.51. Forgriwen

Forgriwen, past participle of *forgriwan* ‘to sink (in vice)’, occurs only once. (See also Section 1.143. *Forþryccan*).

- (71) HomU 9 (Verc 4) 39
 Þa ðe her swiðost galpettað 𐌲 on unriht[ti]dum on oferfyllo bioð **forgriwene**, þa bioð þær on mæstum
 hungre forþrycced.
 ‘Those who boast most strongly here and are sunken unrighteously in gluttony, they will be there oppressed in
 great hunger’.
 (tr. Nicholson (1991))

1.52. Forgrowan

Forgrowan ‘to grow to excess’ occurs only twice, one of which is in *The Riming Poem* and interpreted with difficulty, and the other appears in the thirteenth-century manuscript.

(72) Rim 46b⁹

Gewiteð nihtes in fleah

se ær in dæge wæs dyre, scribed nu deop in feore

brondhord geblowen, breostum in **forgrownen**, flyhtum toflowen.

‘What was precious in the day flees away in the night; deep, now, in the self, grown, alas, in the breast, a bloom of riches has burned—and fled, melted away’.

(tr. Macrae-Gibson ([1983] 1987))

(73) TrinHom 129.24

for þi is þis western **for-grouen**. mid brimbles. and mid þornes and mid iuele wiedades.

‘therefore this wilderness is overgrown with brambles and with thorns and with evil weeds’

1.53. *Forgumian**Forgumian* ‘to neglect’ occurs only once.

(74) LawRomscot 2

gif hit [romgescot] hwa **for gumie**, gylde LX scillinga & be twelffealdan agief þene Rompeningc

‘If anyone ignore the payment, pay sixty shillings and pay the Roman penny by twelve-fold’.

1.54. *Forgylpan**Forgylpan* ‘to boast of’ occurs only once, in the past participle used as an adjective.

(75) HomU37 56

ne recð God ælmihtig þære **for golphenan** ælmešan ne ðæs gymeleasan gebedes

‘God Almighty cares neither boastful alms nor careless prayer’.

1.55. *Forgyltan**Forgyltan* ‘to become guilty’ is an emphatic form of *gyltan* ‘to be guilty’ and often used reflexively.

(76) HomU35.2 61

forþon þe hie hæfdan hie sylfe swiþe stranglice wiþ god **for gelte** and wiþ ealle his halgan,

‘because they themselves had become so strongly guilty against God and against all his saints’

(77) WHom 15 3

þa men þe mid openan heafodgyltan hy sylfe **for gyltað**

‘when men who themselves become guilty by evident deadly sins’

1.56. *Forgymeleasian**Forgymeleasian* ‘to disregard’ appears in various texts, while non-prefixed *gymeleasian* occurs only twice (see DOE (Healey et al. 2008)). (See also Section 1.166. *Foryldan*, Section 3.6. *Forgyldan*, and Section 5.15. *Forweorþan*).

(78) Deut 8.19

Gyf ge ðonne **for gymeleasiað** Drihtnes bebod, eowres Godes, ⁊ fyliað fremdum godum, ic secge eow to soðan ðæt ge forwurðað mid ealle.

‘If you ignore the command of the Lord your God, and follow other gods, I say to you truly that you shall die all together’.

(79) CP 63.459.23

Forðæm wæs eac beboden ðurh Moyses, gif hwa adulfe pytt, & ðonne **for giemeleasode** ðæt he hine betynde, & ðær ðonne befeolle on oððe oxa oððe esol, ðæt he hine scolde forgielðan.

‘Therefore it was also commanded through Moses, that if anyone dug a pit, and neglected to enclose it, and an ox or an ass fell into it, he was to pay for it’.

(80) HomS49 194

Ʒa Ʒe foryldað & **forgymeleasiað** Ʒæt hi nellað hira bearn to Ʒam fullwihte & to Ʒære onasettednysse Ʒæs biscopes bleitunga bringan gif him under Ʒam forðsið getimað, witun hi Ʒæt hi befeallað on swiðe hefige synne wið god ælmihtigne, forƷam hi **forgymeleasedun** Ʒæne man Ʒe hi to gode gestrynan scealdan, & hi sceolun Ʒære sawle gescead agyldan on domesdæge beforan gode butun hi hit ær mid micelre dædbote her gebetan.

'Those who pay for and neglect so that they do not wish to bring their sons to the baptism and to the placement of bishop's favour if it happens to them under the decease, let them fall in such a heavy din against God Almighty, because they neglect the man whom they must beget to God, and they must yield the separation of soul on doomsday before God, except they formerly repair it here with great repentance'.

1.57. *Forgyrdan*

Forgyrdan 'to encircle entirely' occurs only once.

(81) ChronC 189.1

Her Seuerus onfeng rice, Ʒ he rixode .xvii. gear, se Brytenland mid dœi'c **forgyrde** [A: begyrdde] fram sæ oƷ sæ.

'In this year Severus succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned seventeen years; in Britain he carried an earth work from sea to sea'.

1.58. *Forhætan*

Forhætan 'to make too hot' occurs only once.

(82) Lch II(2) 36.1.26

hat lyft & swolga bringað adle on ðam milte Ʒonne se mon wyrð to swiƷe **forhæt**.

'hot and burning air brings disease in the spleen when the man gets too overheated'

1.59. *Forheardian*

Forheardian 'to become very hard' is an emphatic form of *heardian* which is used in *Lch*.

In *Ps* 89.6, *A* and *I* render Latin *induret* faithfully. (Cf. MnE *hard*, *harden*, and see also Section 1.31. *Fordrugian* and Section 1.156. *Forwisnian*).

(83) HomS2 (Verc 16) 91

Ʒ hine Ʒonne hwæðre ða **forhardydan** heortan Iudeas hine ne woldon ongitan, ac hie wæron heardran Ʒonne ænige stanas,

'And Him, then, however, those very hardened hearts of Jews wished not to recognize, and they were harder than any stones;'

(tr. Nicholson (1991))

(84) *Ps* 89.6 [Mane sicut herba transeat. mane floreat et pertranseat. uespere decidat **induret** et arescat.]

A: on marne swe swe wyrft leoreð on marne bloweð Ʒ ðorhleoreð on efenne gefalleð **forhardað** Ʒ adrugað

D: on merzen swa wyrft zewiteð bloweð Ʒ fareð on æfen afylð **astipað** Ʒ adruwað

F: on merzen swa wyrft gewiteð on merzen bloweð Ʒ fareð on æfen afylð **astigaƷ** Ʒ drugað

I: on ærne morgen swaswa gærs gewiteƷ morgen blewð Ʒ gewiteƷ æfen niƷerfylð he **forhardaƷ** Ʒ fordurgaƷ

AV: in the morning they *are* like grasse *which* growth vp. In the morning it flourisheth, and growth up: in the euening it is cut dowme, and withereth.

1.60. *Forheawan*

Forheawan 'to cut down' is an emphatic form of *heawan*. (See also Section 1.11. *Force-orfan*).

(85) Mald 288b

Raðe wearð æt hilde Offa **forheawen**;

'Offa was rapidly hacked down in the battle'.

- (86) Ps 128.4 [Dominus iustus **concidet** ceruices peccatorum.]
 A: dryht rehtwis **ceorfeð** swirban synfulra
 D: rihtwis **forheawð** hnollas synfulra
 E: drihten soðfest **æciorfe** swioræn firenfulræ
 I: drihten se rihtwisa **forheawewð f forcyrfð** hnollas synfulra
 L: drihten rihtwis **forceorfeð** sweorban synfulra
 AV: The Lord *is* righteous: hee hath cut asunder the cordes of the wicked.

- (87) Ps 73.6 [**exciderunt** ianuas eius in idipsum. bipenne et ascia deiecerunt eam]
 A: **curfun** dura his in ðæt ilce twibille 7 eadesan awurpun ða
 D: hy **aheowon** dura his on þæt selfe of matucce 7 adesan hy utawurpon hy
 E: hy **æcurfon** duræ his on þæt selfe mid twibille 7 adese hy æwurpon hy
 G: hy **aheowon (f acurfon)** dura his on þæt selfe on twibyle 7 adesa [] hy utawurpon hy
 K: **forheowan** dyra his on þæt sylfe on mattucce 7 adesan hi vtawvrppan hi
 AV: But now they breake downe the carued worke thereof at once, with axes and hammers.

1.61. Forhelan

Forhelan ‘to conceal’ is an emphatic form of *helan*. (See also Section 5.8. *Forgytan*).

- (88) Bo 17.40.27
 Forþy ic wilnode andweorces þone anweald mid to reccenne, þ mine cræftas 7 anweard ne wurden forgitene
 7 **forholene**.
 ‘Therefore I wish material power to wield with, so that my skill and power would not be forgotten and concealed’.
- (89) Lk 8.17 [Non enim est occultum quod non manifestitur nec **absconditum** quod non cognoscatur et in palam ueniat]
 Li: ne forðon is degle þte ne bið æd-eawad ne **gehyded f forholen** þte ne on-cnauen f ongetten bid 7 on eawung cymed
 [Ru2: lost]
 WSCp: Soðlice nis nán ðing digle þ ne sy geswutelod. ne **behydd**. þ ne sy cuþ. 7 open;
 AV: For nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest: neither any thing hid, that shall not be knowen, and come abroad.
- (90) ChronE 1137.76
 Wenden ð it sculde ben **forholen**. oc ure Dryhtin atywede ð he was hali *martyr*.
 ‘They thought that his death would be concealed, but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr’.
 (tr. Garmonsway ([1953] 1972))

1.62. Forhelian

Forhelian ‘to cover’ is an emphatic form of *helian*. (Cf. Section 1.61. *Forhelan*; see also Section 1.121. *Forswelgan*).

- (91) ThCap2 32.361.1
 Hingriende synt to gefyllanne, þyrstende to drencanne, nacode to **forhelianne**, untrume *and* þa þe on cwærterne beoð
 to geneosianne, *and* cumin in to gelaðianne,
 ‘The hungry are to be filled, the thirsty to be drunk, the naked to be clothed, the sick and those who are in prison to be found out, and strangers to be invited’.
- (92) Ps 105.17 [Aperta est terra et degluttiiuit dathan. et **operuit** super synagogam abiron.]
 A: ontyned wes eorðe 7 forswalg 7 **oferwrah** ofer gesomnunge abirones
 E: geoponod is eorþe 7 forswylhð dætæn 7 **onttnde** ofer gesæmnunge æbyron
 K: anopenod is eorþe 7 forsweahl 7 **forhelede** ofer 3ezaderun3e abirones
 AV: The earth opened and swallowed vp Dathan: and couered the company of Abiram.

1.63. Forher(e)gian

Forher(e)gian ‘to lay waste’ is an emphatic form of *hergian* (cf. MnE *harrow*).

- (93) Bede 4 16.298.14
 Ða he ða þæt onfond, þæt his cirice eallum hire æhtum wæs bereafod 7 **forhergad**, þa cerde he to Seaxwulfe
 Mercna bioscope:
 ‘When he found that his church was robbed and despoiled of all its possessions, he went off to Seaxwulf, bishop of Mercia’

(94) ChronA 887.11

᠋ tu folc gefeoht gefuhton, ᠋ þæt lond oft ᠋ gelome **forhergodon**, & æghwæþer oþerne oftrædlice ut drædfe;
'and (they) fought two pitched battles, often and many a time laid that land waste, and each frequently drove out the other'

1.64. Forhorwian

Forhorwian 'to become defiled' occurs only twice in gloss. (See also Section 1.85. *Forrotian*).

(95) MonCa 3 1.9 [confusus est libanus et **absorduit**]

wæs gedrefed se holt & **forhorwade** [*MonCa 1*: forrotede]
'the wood was afflicted and defiled'

(96) Ps 8.3 [ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem: Propter inimicos tuos. ut destruas inimicum **et defensorem** [*Gallican*: **ultorem**]]

A: of muðe cilda ᠋ milcdeondra ðu gefremedes lof fore feondum ðinum ðæt ðu toweorpe feond ᠋ **gescildend**

G: [] muðe on cilda ᠋ meolciendra þu gefremedest lof for feondum ðinum þætte þu toweorþ[] [] d ᠋ **þone gescyldend**
᠋ þone forhosedan

I: of muþe cildra ᠋ sucendra þu fulfremedest lof for þinum feondum þæt ðu toweorpe feond ᠋ **wrencend ᠋ ᠋ scildend**

AV: Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies, that thou mightiest still the enemy and the avenger.

1.65. Forhweorfan

Forhweorfan 'to overthrow' is an emphatic form of *hweorfan* and occurs only twice. *Ps* 16.13 includes many *for-* and *fore-*verbs in gloss; in the *DOE* headwords (Healey et al. 2008), *fore-* means 'before' but *for(e)-* may denote emphasis and/or expanded meanings as well as 'before'; therefore, I classify *forestæppan* in *I* into *fore-*verbs. *Ferhweorf* in *D* is an attested spelling variant. *C* is from Wildhagen ([1910] 1964). (See also Section 3.3. *Forcuman*, Section 3.4. *Forcyrran*, and Section 3.7. *For(e)hradian*).

(97) HomU 32 (Nap40) 18

And on þam dæge on þam fyrenan wylme sæ **forhwyrfed** and eorðe mid hyre dunum and heofonas mid heora tumglum,

'And on that day the sea came to an end in the boiling of fire and the earth with its mountains and heavens with their stars'

(98) Ps 16.13 [Exsurge domine preueni eos et **subuerte** [*Gallican*: **subplanta**] eos eripe animam meam ab impio frameam]

A: aris dryht forecym hie ᠋ **forcer** hie genere sawle mine fram ðæm arleasan sweorde

C: aris drihtyn forecum hie ᠋ **forceorf** hie genere sawle mine fram [] arleasum suurde

D: aris forecum hy ᠋ **ferhweorf** hy alys sawle mine fram arleasum flane

I: arise ala drihten forestæpe ᠋ forhrada hine ᠋ **understappla ᠋ forscrænc** hine alys sawle mine fram arleasum þin sweord ᠋ flana þine

AV: Arise, O Lord, disappoint him, cast him downe: deliuer my soule from the wicked, *which is thy sword*:

1.66. Forhydan

Forhydan 'to conceal completely' is an emphatic form of *hidan* (cf. MnE *hide*). (See also Section 1.61. *Forhelan*).

(99) CP 49.377.6

Hu nytt bið se forholena cræft oððe ðæt **forhyd[d]e** gold?
'Of what use is the concealed art or the hidden gold?'

(100) PPs 139.5 3a

Þa on hyge þohtan þæt hi ahyltan me
and minne gang georne swylce,

forhyddan oferhygde me inwitgyrene,

wraðan wealsadan wundnum rapum;

'Then the proud thought in mind, that they would trip me up and hide treacherous snare, hostile cord, eagerly in my way, with wound ropes'

Cf. PsGID 139.5-6 [Qui cogitauerunt subplantare gressus meos. **absconderunt** superbi laqueos mihi.] ða þohton beswican stæpan mine **hyddon** ða ofermodan 3rinu me
‘they thought to betray my steps; the proud hid snare from me’

1.67. Forhyrdan

Forhyrdan ‘to harden’ occurs only in poetry.

(101) PPs 94.8 3a

Gif ge to dæge drihtnes stefne
holde gehyran, næfre ge heortan geþanc
deorce **forhyrden** drihtnes willan.

‘If you hear the voice of the Lord faithfully today, you will never harden the thinking in your heart wickedly to the will of the Lord’.

Cf. A in Ps 94.8 [hodie si uocem eius audieritis nolite **obsurare** corda uestra] to dege gif stefne
his ge geherað nyllað **aheardian** heortan eowre
‘today if you hear his voice you will not harden your heart’

1.68. Forlæþan

Forlæþan ‘to hate utterly’ occurs only once.

(102) WHom 20.1(H) 108

and þurh þæt ðe mon swa deþ, þæt mon hyrwæð þæt mon sceolde herian & **forlæþeð** [B: to forð laðeð] þæt mon
sceolde lufian, þurh þæt mon bringæð alles to monige on yfele þance & on undæde, swa þæt heom ne scamæð na, þeah
heo singian swiðe

‘and by which one does so that one condemns which must be praised and hates utterly which must be loved, by which
one brings all too many in evil thought and in wicked deed, so that it is not shameful to them though they sin
very much’

1.69. Forlecgan

Forlecgan ‘to cover up’ occurs only once.

(103) LchII(1) 25.2.2

wið foredum lime lege þas sealfe on þæt forode lim & **forlege** mid elmrinde, do splic to, eft simle niwa oþþæt
gehalod sie.

‘against worn-out gluten, cover up the ointment on the worn-out gluten, and cover up with elm-bark, put splint to,
again always anew until is ordained’

1.70. Forleogan

Forleogan ‘to testify falsely’ is an emphatic form of *leogan*.

(104) ÆLS (Book of Kings) 196

þa dydon þa heafod-menn swa swa þæt hetelice wif him on gewrite bebead. and budon him to gemote. Fundon ða
lease gewitan þe **forlugon** naboð.

‘Then the chief men did even as the hateful woman had bidden them in the writ, and summoned him to a meeting, and
found the false witnesses who belied Naboth’.

(105) ÆCHomI,3 198.20

þa setton hi lease gewitan þe hine **forlugon**: ̅ cwædon þ he tallice word spræce be moysen. ̅ be gode;
‘then they appointed false witnesses who testified him falsely and said that he spoke words reprehensively about
Moses and about God’

1.71. Forleosan

Forleosan ‘to lose utterly’ is used with prefix. (See also Section 2.13. *Forswerian*).

(106) Beo 2145b

Nealles ic ðam leanum **forloren** hæfde,
mægnes mede,

‘By no means did I lack the rewards, the meed of might’.

(tr. Clark Hall ([1911] 1972))

(107) ChronE 1137.11

Hi hadden him manred maked 7 athes suoren, ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden; alle he wæron forsworen 7 here treothes **forloren**,
 ‘They had done him homage and sworn oaths of fealty to him, but none of their oaths was kept; they were all forsworn and their oaths broken’.

1.72. *Forlorian*

Forlorian ‘to lose (an animal)’ occurs only once and only in gloss. (See also Section 1.71. *Forleosan*).

(108) Lk 15.4 [quis ex uobis homo qui habet centum oues et si **perdiderit** unam ex illis]¹⁰

Li: huolec from iuh monn seðe hæfeð hundrað scíp 7 gif **forlorað** 7 **losað** enne of ðæm

Ru2: hwelc of iowih mon seðe hæfeð hundreð scipa 7 gif **for-leaseð** an of ðæm

WSCp: Hwylc man is of eow þe hæfð hund sceaþa. 7 gif he **for-lyst** [*WSH*: **leost**] án of þam.

AV: What man of you hauing an hundred sheepe, if he loose one of them,

1.73. *Formælan*

Formælan ‘to transfer (by mutual agreement)’ occurs only once.

(109) Ch Thomas 8

and <gif> ani man **formaele** hine sylfne of biscepes scire innan kynges scire,
 ‘and if anyone negotiate himself from bishop’s see inside king’s see’

1.74. *Formeltan*

Formeltan ‘to melt away’ is an emphatic form of *meltan* (cf. ModE *melt*).

(110) And 1146b

Het wæpen wera wexe gelicost
 on þam orlege eall **formeltan**,

‘He commanded men’s weapons to melt away completely like wax in the fight’

(111) ÆLS (Agatha) 224

and ethna up ableow swyðe egeslice ontendnysse. and arn be þam munte on flodes gelicnysse. and **formulton** þa stanas.

‘and Etna exploded with a very fearful burning, and ran down the mountain even like a flood, and the stones melted’

1.75. *Formengan*

Formengan ‘to associate with’ occurs only once.

(112) CP 51.395.4

he mæg ðeah hine **formengan** to ðæm ecum mid his willan,
 ‘it (mind) can yet associate with the eternal with its aspirations’

1.76. *Formolsnian*

Formolsnian ‘to decay’ is an emphatic form of *molsnian*.

(113) ÆLS (Æthelthryth) 108, 110

Hit is swutol þæt heo wæs ungewemmed mæden. þonne hire lichama ne mihte **formolsnian** on eorðan. and godes miht is geswutelod soðlice þurh hi. þæt he mæg aræran ða **for-molsnodon** (*sic*) lichaman.

‘It is evident that she was an unspotted virgin, since her body was not suffered to moulder in the earth, and in her, God’s power is verily manifested, namely, to raise up corruptible bodies,’

(114) HomU6 (Verc 15) 21

7 þa halignessa beoð þonne **formolsnode**.
 ‘And all justice will have ceased’.

1.77. *Formyltan*

Formyltan ‘to melt away, become liquefied’ can be identified with *formeltan* (cf. Section 1.74), though it is less frequent and used especially in ÆLS and ÆGram.

(115) ÆGram 185.16
liquor ic formylte

(116) ÆELS (Thomas) 409

Ʒa eode se deofol of Ʒære anlicnysse ut. and towende hí sona swa swa wex **formylt**. swa Ʒær ne beláf hire an lim ge-sund.

‘Then came the devil out of the image, and destroyed it instantly, even as wax melteth away, so that not one limb of it remained whole.’

1.78. *FormyrƷr(i)an*

FormyrƷr(i)an ‘to kill’ is used in the prefixed form (cf. *morƷor* ‘murder’).

(117) HomU26 104

Ʒær swutelað ælc cild, hwa hit **formyrðrode**.

‘where reveals every child, who murdered it’

(118) Conf 4 21.148

gyf wif hyre cild **formyrðrige** innan hire oððe siððan hit forðcume mid dræncum oððe mid mistlicum Ʒingum, fæste X gear.

‘if a woman killed her child inside her or after it came forth with drinking or with displeasing things, fast ten years’

1.79. *Fornæman*

Fornæman ‘to wear out’ occurs only once.

(119) GD3(C) 34.245.2

Ʒ Ʒonne heo byð mid lanƷre nearonesse Ʒære ƷnornunƷe forth Ʒ Ʒeswanced Ʒ **fornæmed**, Ʒonne æt nehstan byƷ acænned of bælede forƷifnesse sorhleasnes,

‘and when she is afraid of sorrow with long distress and afflicted and worn out, then at last (she) is brought forth sorrowlessness from strong forgiveness’

1.80. *ForneƷan*

ForneƷan ‘to risk one’s life’ occurs only once.

(120) Or 5 3.117.4

Ʒa besæt Scipia hie healf gear on hiera fæstenne Ʒ hie to Ʒon gebrocode Ʒæt him leofre wæs Ʒæt hie hie seolf **forneðdon** Ʒonne hie Ʒa iermƷo leng Ʒrowoden.

‘Then Scipio besieged them half a year in their fortress and afflicted them to an extent that they preferred that they risked their lives when they should suffer miseries for long’.

1.81. *Fornydan*

Fornydan ‘to compel’ is an emphatic form of *niedan*. (See also Section 1.167. *Foryrman* and Section 5.13. *Forseon*).

(121) WHom 20(BH) 37–38

Ʒ godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swiðe forsawene; Ʒ wydewan **fornydde** on unriht to ceorle, Ʒ to manige foryrmede, Ʒ earne men beswicene Ʒ hreowlice besyrwde,

‘and divine races were now neglected for long, and widows compelled wrongly to men, and brought low to many, and poor men betrayed and deceived pitifully’

1.82. *ForƷæran*

ForƷæran ‘to destroy’ is used in the prefixed form. (See also Section 1.106. *Forspendan* and Section 3.7. *For(e)hradian*).

(122) CP 39.287.4–5

Ongean ðæt is to cyðanne ðæm ðe beoð to hrade, ðonne hie forhtadigað ðone timan godes weorces, ðæt hie **forƷærað** ðæm edleane, & oft befeallað on micel yfel,

‘On the other hand, those who are too hasty are to be told, that when they anticipate the time of a good work, they lose their reward, and often fall into great evil,’

- (123) *ÆCHomII*,13 129.65
 Wite gehwa se ðe oðerne to leahtrum forspenð. þæt he is manslaga. þonne hé ðæs oðres sawle **forpærð**. þurh his yfelum tihtingum;
 ‘Be aware of anyone who leads the other to sins; that he is a murderer, when he turns other’s soul away through his evil thoughts’.

- (124) *ÆLS* (Christmas) 71
 His we magon wundrian. and wé ne magon. ne ne motan. ná furðor embe þis smeagen. gif we nellað us sylfe **for-pæran**.
 ‘we may wonder at Him, but we may not, and must not, enquire further concerning this, if we would not lose ourselves’.

1.83. *Forpyndan*

Forpyndan ‘to do away with’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

- (125) *ChristA* 97b
 ac Crist onwrah
 in Dauides dyrre mægan
 þæt is Euan scyld eal **forpynede**,
 wærgða aworpen,
 ‘but Christ revealed in David’s dear kinsman that the sin of Eve is entirely set aside and the curse averted’

1.84. *Forreleasian*

Forreleasian ‘to neglect’ occurs only once.

- (126) *HomU* 55 (Thorpe) 49
 Eala hu earne & hu ungesælige þa beoð þe hig sylfe swa Godes bebodu **forreleasiað** þæt hig þisne egeslican cwide gehyran sculon.
 ‘Alas, how wretched and how unhappy are those who (they themselves) neglect God’s commands so that they must follow this dreadful speech’.

1.85. *Forrotian*

Forrotian ‘to rot away’ is an emphatic form of *rotian*. (See also Section 1.37. *Forealdan*).

- (127) *Exod* 7.21
 7 þa fixas ðe wæron on þam wætere, wurdon deade, 7 ðæt wæter **forrotede** 7 ða Egyptiscan ne mihton drincan þæt wæter, for þam heora wætera wæron geworden to blode.
 ‘and the fishes that were in the river died: and the river rotted away, and the Egyptians could not drink the water of the river, because the waters came to blood’
- (128) *CP* 17.125.11
 Ðis is ðearf ðæt se [ðe] wunde lacnigean wille giote win on, ðæt sio reðnes ðæs wines ða **forrotedan** wunde suge & clænsige, & eft ele, ðæt se hie lieðe & gehæle.
 ‘He who desires to heal a wound must pour in wine, that the harshness of the wine may penetrate and cleanse the corrupted wound, and afterwards oil, to soften and heal it’.
- (129) *Ps* 48.15 [Et obtinebunt eos iusti in matutino. et auxilium eorum **ueterescet** [*Gallican*: **dominabuntur** eorum] in inferno. et a gloria sua expulsi sunt.]
 A: 7 bigetað hie ða rehtwisan in margentid 7 fultum heora **aldað** in helle 7 from wuldre his on weg adrifene sind
 D: oferswiþað hy ryhtwise on 3læterunza 7 fultum heora **forrotað** on helle 7 fram wuldre heora anydde hy synt
 F: 7 oferswiþað heora rihtwise on uhttide 7 fultum heora **forrotap** 7 **ealdað** on helle fram wuldre heora
 P: And sona on þam ylcan morgene þa rihtwisan heora wealdað, and hyra fultum and hyra anweald **forealdað** on helle, for þæm hy beoð adrifene of heora wuldre.
 AV: and the vpriht shall haue dominion ouer them in the morning, and their beauty shall consume in the graue, from their dwelling.

1.86. *Forsætian*

Forsætian ‘to catch (an army) by lying in wait’ occurs only once (cf. *besætian* ‘to lay wait for’, which is also found only once).

(130) Or 3 11.79.10

Ʒa geascode Ʒæt Umenis Ʒ **forsætade** hie Ʒær Ʒær hie gepoht hæfdon Ʒæt hie hiene besætedon, Ʒ hie begen ofslog Ʒ Ʒa oƷre gefliemde.

‘Then Eumenes found that and caught them in an ambush where they had thought that they besieged him and he slew them both and put the other to flight’.

1.87. *Forsceadan*

Forsceadan ‘to scatter, disperse’ is an emphatic form of *sceadan*. (See also Section 1.71. *Forleosian*).

(131) GuthA 478a¹¹

Ge sind **forscadene**, on eow scyld siteð!

‘You are utterly estranged; guilt remains upon you!’

(132) CPEp 29a

Gif her Ʒegna hwelc Ʒyrelne kylle
brohte to Ʒys burnan, bete hine georne,
Ʒy læs he **forsceade** scirost wætra,
oððe him lifes drync forloren weorðe.

‘If any servant brought a fire-pan full of holes here to this stream, beat him well, lest he disperse clear water, or the drink of life should be lost for him’.

1.88. *Forsceamian*

Forsceamian ‘to be greatly ashamed’ is an emphatic form of *sceamian*. (See also Section 1.148. *Forwandian*).

(133) LS13 (Machurus) 16v.3

Ʒam yfelum monnum & Ʒon ungeleaffullum he na ne **forsceamode** to mislicianne.
‘he was not ashamed to displease evil men and the unbelieving’

(134) Ps 24.4 [Confundantur iniqui facientes uana]

A: **sien gescende** Ʒa unrehtwisan donde Ʒa idlan

D: **syn zescende Ʒ forscamode** Ʒa unryhtwisan donde idelu

P: **Scamien** heora ealle Ʒa unrihtwisan Ʒe idelnesse wyrcað.

AV: let them be ashamed which transgress without cause

(135) Ps 39.15 [Auertantur retrorsum et **erubescant** qui cogitant mihi mala]

A: sien forcerred on bec Ʒ **scomien** Ʒa Ʒencað me yfel

D: syn zecyrred underbecling **ablysien Ʒ forscomien** Ʒa Ʒe Ʒohton me yfelu

E: Sien gecirrede under becling Ʒ **forscæmien Ʒ ablysien** Ʒæ æe me ƷencæƷ yfeles

AV: let them be driuen backward, and put to shame, that wish me euill

1.89. *Forsceorfan*

Forsceorfan ‘to gnaw off’ occurs only once.

(136) Or 5 4.119.16

Ʒa Ʒa Marcus Flaccus wæs consul, comon gærstapan on Affrice Ʒ ælc wuht **forscurfon** Ʒæs Ʒe on Ʒæm lande wæs weaxendes Ʒ growendes.

‘When Marcus Flaccus was consul, locusts came in Africa and gnawed off everything which was growing in the land’.

1.90. *Forscrencan*

Forscrencan ‘to supplant, overthrow’ is an emphatic form of *screncan*.

(137) ÆCHomI,38 512.164-5

Ʒ se bið unleas **forscrencend** Ʒe mid gleawnyse his flæsclican leahtras Ʒ deofles tihtinge **forscrencƷ**;

‘and he is a true supplanter who supplants his carnal crime and devil’s enticement’

- (138) Ps 17.40 [et precinxisti me uirtute ad bellum. **Subplantasti** omnes insurgentes in me subtus me]
 A: Ț ðu bigyrdes me mid megne to gefehte Ț **gescrentes** alle arisende in me under me
 D: Ț ðu bezyrdest me of mæzene to zefeohte ðu **underplantudest** ealle onarisende on me underneopan
 E: and megne þu me begierdes to gefiohte þu **underwyrwæledæst** ealle onarisende on me under me
 I: Ț þu ymgyrdest mid strengþe to gefehte Ț ðu **beswice Ț underdulfe Ț** ðu **forscræntest** onarisende on me under me
 J: Ț begirdest me mid mægne to gefehte þu **forscrængtest** þa arisendan on me under me
 AV: For thou hast girded mee with strength vnto the battell: thou hst subdued vnder me, those that rose vp against me.

1.91. Forscrincan

Forscrincan ‘to shrink, dry up’ is an emphatic form of *scrincan* (cf. MnE *shrink*). (See also Section 1.156. *Forwisnian*).

- (139) Gen 32.32
 For þam nellað Israhela folc etan sine gyt oð ðisne dæg, for þam ðe heo **forscranc** on Iacobes ðeo Ț astifode.
 ‘Therefore the children of Israel would not eat of the sinew till this day, because it shrank in Jacob’s thigh and became stiff’.

- (140) Ps 128.6 [Fiant sicut foenum aedificiorum [Gallican: tectorum]. quod priusquam euellatur **arescit** [Gallican: **exaruit**]].
 A: sien swe swe heg timbra ðæt ær ðon sie utalocen **adruġiað**
 E: wese swæ heg getymbriendræ þet ærðæm utæluceþ **forwisneþ**
 F: hi syn swa swa hig þecena þæt ærðam utalocen sy **forscrang Ț adruwode**
 J: hi sin swaswa hig þecena þæt ærþam utlocen sy adruwod Ț forscranc
 AV: Let them bee as the grasse *vpon* the house tops: which withereth afore it growth vp:

1.92. Forscufan

Forscufan ‘to repel utterly’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

- (141) Ex 204b
 Flugon frecne spel, feond wæs anmod,
 werud wæs wigblac, oðþæt wlance **forsceaf**
 mihtig engel, se ða menigeo beheold,
 ‘Brave speeches fled, the enemy was resolute, the army was bravely caparisoned, until the mighty angel who guarded the multitude thrust in front of the arrogant’.

1.93. Forscyldigian

Forscyldigian ‘to find guilty; (past part) wicked’ is an emphatic form of *scyldigian* (cf. *scyldig*). (See also Section 4.10. *Forniman*).

- (142) ÆLS(Agnes) 89
 Þa ge-seah sympronius hyre soþan anrædnysse. and cydde hire freondum. þæt heo **for-scylogod** (*sic*) wære for hire cristen-dome: þe se casere onscunode
 ‘Then Sempronius saw her true constancy, and told her friends that she would be accused for her Christianity, which the emperor abhorred’.

- (143) ÆLS(Chrysanthus) 319
 Hwæt ða clelrinus se **forscyldegoda** gerefa mid fyrhte wearð for-numen. and ferde to þam casere. and sæde him be endebyrdnysse þa syllican tacne.
 ‘Whereupon Celerinus, the vicious prefect, was seized with terror, and went to the emperor, and related to him in order the wonderful signs’.

1.94. Forscyttan

Forscyttan ‘to shut off’ is an emphatic form of *scyttan*. *Forestæppan* in the second gloss of I in Ps 58.11 is classified into *fore*-verbs (see DOE (Healey et al. 2008)). (See also Section 3.3. *Forcuman*).

- (144) Ps 58.11 [deus meus misericordia eius **preueniet** me]
 A: god min mildheortnis his **forecymeð** mec
 G: god min mildheortnesse his **forcumeð** me
 I: min god mildheortnys his **forscytte ƿ forestepð** me
 AV: The God of my mercy shall preuent me;

- (145) ÆCHomI,36 487.49
 Hi heofodon folces synna. ƿ heora wrace mid him sylfum **forscyttan**;
 ‘They lamented people’s sins and prevented their revenge by themselves’.

1.95. Forsearian

Forsearian ‘to dry up’ is an emphatic form of *searian*. (See also Section 1.1. *Forbærnan* and Section 1.11. *Forceorfan*).

- (146) CP 45.341.10
 forðæm [ðe na] se ðorn ðære gitsunga ne wyrð **forsearod** on ðæm helme, gif se wyrtruma ne bið færcorfen oððe forbærned æt ðæm stemne.
 ‘because the thorn of greed never withers in the crown, unless the root has been cut off or burnt at the stem’
- (147) Ps 36.2 [Quoniam tanquam foenum uelociter **arescent**. et sicut holera herbarum cito cadent.]
 A: for ðon swe swe heg hreðlice **adruǵiað** ƿ swe swe leaf wyrta hreðe fallað
 I: forðon þe swaswa hig hræðlice hi **adruwiað ƿ forseariaþ** swaswa wyrta felda ƿ blæda wyrtena hwætlice hi feallaþ ƿ hreosað
 P: for þæm swyþe hraþe **forseariað** swa fileðe, and hy gefeallað swiðe hræðlice swa swa wyrta leaf oþþe blostman
 AV: For they shall soone be cut downe like the grasse; and wither as the greene herbe.

1.96. Forseoþan

Forseoþan ‘(past participle) consumed’ occurs only once.

- (148) ÆCHomI,5 220.107
 Hi sind gehatene martyra blostman. for ðan ðe hi wæron swa swa upaspringende blostman. on middeweardan cyle ungeleaffulnysse swilce mid sumere ehtrnysse forste **forsodene**;
 ‘They are called blossom of martyr, because they were just as upspringing blossom in the middle of cold unbelief as withered by frost of midsummer persecution’.

1.97. Forsetnian

Forsetnian ‘to beset’ occurs only in gloss. Here in Ps 21.13, D and G choose the verb.

- (149) Ps 21.13 [Circumdedederunt me uituli multi: tauri pingues **obsederunt** me.]
 A: ymbsealdon me calfur monig fearras fætte **oferseton** me
 D: ymbsealdon cealfu menige fearras fætte **forsætnodon**
 G: utan ymbsealdon me cealfra mænige fearras fætte **forsætnodon (ƿ ofsætton)** me
 I: ymhwurfon ƿ ymbsetton ƿ ymbtrymdon me cealfas mænega fearras fætte **ofsettun ƿ ymbseaton** me
 AV: Many bulles haue compassed me: strong *bulles* of Bashan haue beset me round.

1.98. Forslawian

Forslawian ‘to be sluggish, hesitate’ is an emphatic form of *slawian*.

- (150) CP 39.283.1-2
 Forðæm, ðonne we **forslawiað** ðone gecopestan timan, ðætte we ðonne ne beoð onælde mid ðære lustbærnesse ures modes, ðonne bistilð sio slæwð ón us,
 ‘Therefore, when we put off the fittest time, so that we are not inspired with a hearty desire, sloth steals on us,’
- (151) Bo 10.22.7
 forðon ðe ic wat þ ðu auht ne **forslawode** þte þu þin agen feorh for hine ne sealdest gif þu hine gesawe on hwelcum earfoðum,
 ‘because I know that you ought not to hesitate to give your own life if you saw him in any hardship’

1.99. *Forslæwan*

Forslæwan ‘to be sluggish’ occurs only twice.

(152) CP 39.285.3–4

& *donne* he wendð ðæt he funden hæbbe hwæt he ryhtlice óndræde, ðonne wile he gerecccean ðæt he noht unryhtlice hit ne **forslæwde**, ðonne him ðyncð ðæt he ryhte lade funden hæbbe.

‘and when he thinks he has found what he can rightly dread, he tries to prove that he did not wrongly procrastinate it, when he thinks he has found a good excuse’

(tr. Sweet (1871–1872))

(153) LibSc 66.7 [Cum lugentibus ámbula non té **pigeat** uisitáre infirmum.]

mid heofigendum ga na þe **forslæwe** geneosian untrumne

‘go lamenting, do not delay visiting the sick’

1.100. *Forslean*

Forslean ‘to cut through, strike’ is an emphatic form of *slean*. (cf. *ofslean*; see also Section 1.63. *Forher(e)gian*).

(154) GD1(C)9.57.3

∇ se þa sume dæge wæs **forslazen** ∇ forherzod mid onhreoendum hægle,
‘and which was destroyed and devastated some day with falling hail’

(155) LawAf 1 50

gif monnes ceacan mon **forslihð**, þæt hie beoð forode, gebete mid XV scillingum
‘if one devours man’s jaws, so that they are broken down, pay with fifteen shillings’

1.101. *Forsmiten*

Forsmiten ‘(past part) smeared’ occurs only once and only in gloss.

(156) CollGl 16.3 37

interlitas besmerede, besylede † **forsmitene**
‘defiled, stained or smeared’

1.102. *Forsmorian*

Forsmorian ‘to smother, choke’ occurs in similar contexts concerning the seed that fell among the thorns; cf. the next verb. (See also Section 1.144. *Forþrysm(i)an* and Section 4.16. *Forþræstan*).

(157) ÆCHomII,6 55. 94, 95, 97 (95 has *forsmorþrian* as a variant)

Hwene ár we spræcon be ðæm sæde. þe betwux þam ðornum sprang. and mid heora wæstmæ forðrysmoð wearð; Drihten sylf trahtnode be ðisum. þæt ða sind þe godes wórd gehyrað. ac hí sind gebysgode mid heora welum. and mid heora lifes lustum **forsmorode**. and ne beraðnanne wæstm; Woruld cara and welan. and flæsclice lustas **forsmoríað** [C: **forsmorþriað**] ðæs modes ðrotan. and ne geðafiað góðne willan infaran to his heortan. swilce hí ðone lífican blæd forðræstne acwellon;

‘A little while ago we spoke about the seed, which sprang among the thorns and became choked with its fruit; the Lord himself commented on this: that those who hear God’s words but are occupied with their properties and choked with their life’s desires and not bearing offspring; Worldly cares and properties and carnal lusts choke the threat of mind, and do not allow God’s will to enter his heart, as they destroy their vital spirit suppressed;’

1.103. *Forsmorþrian*

Forsmorþrian occurs only once, as a manuscript variant of *forsmorian*. See the preceding example in Section 1.102. *Forsmorian*.

1.104. *Forsorgian*

Forsorgian ‘to be utterly despondent’ occurs only once.

(158) WHom 10C.82

Ne ænig ðurh worldhoge **forsorgie** to swyðe, ac hihte on his Drihten.
‘Do not despond too much by worldly care, but trust in his Lord’.

1.105. *Forspanan*

Forspanan ‘to entice, seduce’ is an emphatic form of *spanan*. (See also Section 2.7. *Forlædan*).

(159) GenB 350b

Wæs ær godes engel,
hwit on heofne, oð hine his hyge **forspeon**
and his ofermetto ealra swiðost,
þæt he ne wolde wereda drihtnes
word wurðian.

‘Once he had been an angel of God, bright in heaven, until his ambition and his presumption most of all deluded him so that he was not willing to respect the word of the Lord of the multitudes’.

(160) CP 36.249.20

& on ðone ilcan deað hie wilniað eal moncynn tó **forspananne** & to forlædanne.
‘and to the same death they wish to allure and seduce all mankind’

(161) ÆCHomI,21 351.172

Se þe bið **forspanen** to forlire 7 þeahhwæðere ne bið gebiged to ðære fremminge. he drincð unlybban ac hit him ne derað gif he mid gebedum to gode flihð;
‘He, who is misled to destruction and moreover is not turned to the progress, drinks poisonous drug but it does not hurt him if he flies to God with prayers’.

1.106. *Forspendan*

Forspendan ‘to spend completely’ is used in the prefixed form. In the following examples, especially in *Seven Sleepers*, *for*-verbs are accumulated to emphasise the content. (See also Section 1.1. *Forbærnan*, Section 2.3. *Forgyman*, Section 5.10. *Forhogian* and Section 5.13. *Forseon*).

(162) Or 1 1.17.29

7 þonne hys gestreon beoð þus eall aspended, þonne byrð man hine ut 7 forbærneð mid his wæpnum 7 hrægle, 7 swiðost ealle hys speda hy **forspendað** mid þam langan legere þæs deadan mannes inne
‘and when his treasures are all spent in this way, then they carry him out and burn with his weapons and garments, and especially they use up all his wealth with the long lying of the dead man inside’

(163) LS(SevenSleepers) 304

we þin cynelice gebod nahwær ne forgyndon. ne we ða weorðlican godas næfre ne for-hogodon; hwi wilt þu us leof witnian for oðra manna þingon þe þin gebod for-sawon. and ure sceattas **for-spendon** geond ealle eorðan.
‘we never neglected anywhere thy kingly commands, neither despised we ever the worthy gods; why wilt thou, lord, punish us for the sake of other men who contemned thy command and spent our treasures all over the earth?’

(tr. Skeat (1881–1900))

1.107. *Forspennan*

Forspennan ‘to entice, allure, seduce’ is “attested only as pres. part.” and occurs three times “in glosses to Aldhelm” (see DOE (Healey et al. 2008), and also Section 1.105. *Forspanan*).

(164) AldV 13.1 3190: *incelebroso* bepæcendre, **forspennendre**AldV 1 4507: *lenociantes illecebras maculantes seductions* **forspennende forspenningce**1.108. *Forspildan*

Forspildan ‘to destroy’ is an emphatic form of *spildan*.

(165) CP 58.441.32

Ic hæbbe ðe nu todæg gesetne ofer rice & ofer ðioda ðæt ðu hi toluce & toweorpe & **forspilde** & tostence & getimbre & geplanrige.

‘I have set thee today over kingdoms and nations, to pluck out, and destroy, and dissipate, and scatter, and built, and plant them’.

- (166) Ps 142.12 [et in misericordia tua **disperdes** inimicos meos. et **perdes** omnes qui tribulant animam meam]
 A: 𐀀 in mildheortnisse 𐀃nre **tostences** feond mine 𐀀 **forspildes** alle 𐀃a 𐀃e swencað sawle mine
 D: 𐀀 on mildheortnesse 𐀃nre **þu forspillest** fynd mine 𐀀 **þu forspilst** ealle 𐀃a 𐀃e swencað sawle mine
 I: 𐀀 on mildheortnesse 𐀃nre **þu forspilst 𐀀 𐀃u adwæsctest** feond mine 𐀀 **þu forspilst 𐀀 𐀀 𐀃u amyrst** ealle 𐀃a 𐀃e swencaþ sawle mine
 L: 𐀀 on mildheortnesse 𐀃nre 𐀃u **forspildst** fynd mine 𐀀 𐀃u **forspildest** ealle 𐀃a 𐀃e swencaþ sawle mine
 AV: And of thy mercy cut off mine enemies, and destroy all them that afflict my soule:

1.109. *Forspilian*

Forspilian ‘to sport, play’ is an emphatic form of *spilian*, only two occurrences in *AldV* (see DOE (Healey et al. 2008)).

- (167) AldV 13.1 4165: *parasitorum* gliwra, cnihta, **forspillendra** þena.

1.110. *Forstalian*

Forstalian ‘to steal away’ occurs only twice in *Law*.

- (168) LawIne 24
 gif witeðeow Englisc mon hine **forstalie**, ho hine mon & ne gylde his hlaforde
 ‘if an English man reduced to slavery steal away from him, he should be hanged and his lord should not be punished’

1.111. *Forstelan*

Forstelan ‘to steal’ is an emphatic form of *stelan*. (See also Section 1.137. *Forþeofian*).

- (169) GenA 1579a
 Þa com ærest Cam in siðian,
 eafora Noes, þær his alдор læg,
 forhðe **forstolen**.
 ‘Then Ham, the son of Noah, went in first where his lord lay, deprived of consciousness’.

- (170) Bo 32.71.15
 hwæt þu þonne mæne mid <þære> gidsunge þæs feos, nu þu hit nahu elles begitan ne miht buton þu hit **forstele** oððe gereafige oððe abeþecige?
 ‘what would you mean, then, with the covetousness of property, now that you cannot get it in any other way, except you steal or rob or get by asking it?’

1.112. *Forstoppan*

Forstoppan ‘to stop up’ occurs only once.

- (171) LchII (1) 3.10.1
 eft wið þon ilcan genim grenne æscenne stæf, lege on fyr, genim þonne þær seaw þe him of gæþ, do on þa ilcan wulle, wring on eare & mid þære ilcan wulle **forstoppa** þær eare.
 ‘with the same condition, take green staff of ash-wood, lay on the fire, then take the sap that comes out of it, put on the same wool, wring on the ear and with the same wool close the ear completely’

1.113. *Forstregdan*

Forstregdan ‘to destroy’ occurs only once and only in gloss. In *Ps105.23, B* (from Brenner (1908) has one example of this verb for one of the two Latin verbs of the same form. (See also Section 3.25. *Forspillan*).

- (172) Ps 105.23 [Et dixit ut **disperderet** eos si non moyses electus eius stisset in confractioe in conspectu eius. ut auerteret iram ab eis. ne **disperderet** eos.]
 A: ȝ cwæð ðæt he **tostrugde** hie gif no moyses se gecorena his stode in gebroce in gesihðe his ðæt he forcerde eorre his ȝ he ne **tostrugde** hie
 B: ȝ cwæð ðæt he **tostruzde** hie zif no se zecorena his stode on zebroce on zesihðe eius ðæt he forcerre eorre his ðy læs he **forstruzde** hie
 C: ȝ cwæð þæt he **tostencte** hi zef ne moyses se zecoryna his stode on zebroce on zesihþe his þæt he acyrde yrrre from him þylæs he **tostencte** hi
 D: ȝ he cwæð þæt he **forspille** hy zif na zecoren his stode on zebrice on zesihðe his þæt hy acerde eorre fram him þylæs he **forspilde** hy
 AV: Therefore he said that he would destroy them, had not Moses his chosen stood before him in the breach: to turn away his wrath, lest hee should destroy *them*.

1.114. Forstyltan

Forstyltan ‘to be astonished’ occurs only in gloss.

- (173) Mk 5.42 [et confestim surrexit puella et ambulabat erat autem annorum duo-decim et **ob-stupuerunt** stupor maximo]
 Li: ȝ sona aras þ mægden ȝ ge-eode ȝ geongende wæs wæs uutedlice wintra tuelfo ȝ *fore-styltdon* feer-suiga mið ðær maaste
 Ru2: ȝ sona aras ðæt mægden ȝ eode ȝ gongende wæs. wæs wutudlice wintra twelfe ȝ **for-styltun** swigunge micelre
 WScp: ȝ heo sona aras ȝ eode; Soðlice heo wæs twelf winter. ȝ ealle hi **wundredon** mycelre wundrunge.
 AV: And straightway the damosell arose, and walked, for shee was of the age of twelue yeeres: and they were astonished with a great astonishment.

1.115. Forstyntan

Forstyntan ‘to blunt, crush’ is an emphatic form of *styntan*.

- (174) Let 1 140
 and he sæde þæt him wurde for þisse micclan beorhtnesse his eageana gesihð **forstynted**, þæt he nænig þinga locian ne mihte on þa beorhtnesse.
 ‘and he said that his eyesight became blunted because of this great brightness, so that he could not see anything in the brightness’

1.116. Forsucan

Forsucan, *forsugan* ‘to suck; (past part) sucked in’ is an emphatic form of *sucan*.

- (175) Lch II (2 Head) 7
 læcedomas wið adeadodum magan & gif he **forsogen** sie & tacn adeadodes magan, hu þæt ne gemylt þæt he þigeþ, VI læcedomas.
 ‘the medicine against failing stomach and if it is sucked in and sign of failing stomach, is it not melt what is taken, six medicines’

1.117. Fors(w)ui(g)ian

Fors(w)ui(g)ian ‘to pass over in silence’ is an emphatic form of *swigian* (cf. Section 1.125. *Forswigan*).

- (176) Bede 4 33.380.28
 Nis ðæt eac swylce to **forswugienne**, ðætte nu ær þrim gearum þurh his reliquias geworden wæs, ȝ me nu neowan þurh ðone sylfan broðor gecuðode, in ðæm þe hit geworden wæs.
 ‘We must not also pass over in silence a cure, which took place just three years ago by means of his relics, and lately made known to me by the same brother, in whose case it was performed’.

(tr. Miller ([1891] 1959))

- (177) ÆLet 5 10
 ac we sceolon seczan and **forswizian** ne durron þa halzan lare, þe hælend tæhte:
 ‘but we must tell and dare not to conceal by silence the holy teaching, which the Lord taught’

1.118. *Forswælan*

Forswælan ‘to burn up’ is an emphatic form of *swælan*. In *ChronE* 1006.18, MS has *forspeldon*, *E forsweldon* (f. *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008)), *C forswældon*, *D forswælldon*, *F forbernde*. It is quite likely that the runic wynn was confused with <p> (see Plummer ([1892] 1952, the first edition) 137.3). (See also Section 1.1. *Forbærnan*, Section 1.91. *Forscrincan*, Section 1.108. *Forspildan*).

(178) *ChronE* 1006.18

ƿ ferdon þa to Wealingaforda. ƿ þet eall <**forsweldon**>
‘they went to Wallingford and burnt it to the ground’

(179) *Mk* 4.6 [et quando exortus est söl **exaestuauit** eo quod non haberet radicem exaruit]

Li: ƿ ða arisen wæs ƿ ða upp-eode sunna **ge-drugade ƿ forbernde** forðon næfde wyrtruma gedrugade

Ru2: ƿ ða aras ƿ up-arnende wæs sunne ƿ **drygde ƿ forbernde** ƿ forðon ne hæfde wyrtruma adrugade

WSCp: þa hit up-eode. Seo sunne hit **forswælde**. ƿ hit forscranc. forþam hit wyrtruma næfde.

AV: But when the Sunne was up, it was scorched, and because it had no roote, it withered away.

1.119. *Forswapan*

Forswapan ‘to sweep away’ occurs only in poetry.

(180) *GenB* 391a

Hafað us god sylfa

forswapen on þas sweartan mistas;

‘God himself has swept us into these black mists’.

(181) *Beo* 477b

Is min fletwerod,

wigheap gewanod; hie wyrð **forsweop**

on Grendles gryre.

‘My hall-company, my warrior-band, is diminished; Fate has swept them away under Grendel’s terror’.

(182) *Beo* 2814b

“Þu eart endelaf usses cynnes,

Wægmundinga. Ealle wyrð forsweop

mine magas to metodsceafta,

eorlas on elne; ic him æfter sceal.”

‘You are the last survivor of our race, the Wægmundings; Fate has swept away all my kinsmen, those bold earls to their destiny. I must go after them’.

1.120. *Forswelan*

Forswelan ‘to burn up’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

(183) *Phoen* 532a

Þæt þa æþelan sind

wyrta wynsume, mid þam se wilda fugel

his sylfes nest biseted utan,

þæt hit færinga fyre byrneð,

forsweleð under sunnan, ond he sylfa mid,

‘These are those noble and delightful herbs with which the wild bird encompasses his own nest so that it suddenly burns into fire and burns up under the sun and he himself with it;’

1.121. *Forswelgan*

Forswelgan ‘to swallow entirely’ is an emphatic form of *swelgan*.

(184) *Sea* 95a

Ne mæg him þonne se flæschoma, þonne him þæt feorg losað,

ne swete **forswelgan** ne sar gefelan,

ne hond onhreran ne mid hyge þencan.

‘Then, when life fails him, his body will be unable to taste sweetness or feel pain or stir a hand or think with the mind’.

(185) Rid 47 3a

Moððe word fræt. Me þæt þuhte
 wrætlicu wyrð, þa ic þæt wundor gefrægn,
 þæt se wurm **forswealg** wera gied sumes,
 þeof in þystro, þrymfæstne cwide
 ond þæs strangan stapol. Stælgieost ne wæs
 wihte þy gleawra, þe he þam wordum swealg.

‘A moth ate words. That seemed to me a curious occurrence when I heard of that marvel, that this worm gulped down the utterance of a certain man, this thief in the dark his illustrious discourse and its tough foundation. The pilfering visitor was not a whit the wiser because he had gulped in those words’.

(186) Ps 123.3 [forsitan uiuos **deglutissent** nos: Dum irasceretur animus eorum aduersum nos.]

A: woeninga cwide **forswelgað** usic. ðonne ersade mod heara wið us

D: wenunza lifiende hy **forswulzon** us ða eorsade mod heora azean us

E: ic ðies wen lifiende **to beswelgenne** æh næ us Midti bið irsiendæ sæwlæ hiræ wið us

AV: Then they had swallowed vs vp quicke: when their wrath was kindled against vs.

1.122. Forsweltan

Forsweltan ‘to die, disappear’ is an emphatic form of *sweltan*.

(187) Bo 31.70.21

ac ðeah manige bearn bioð gestrined to heora <eldrena> forwirde, forðæmpe manig wif **forswilt** [B: swelt] for hire bearne ær heo hit brengan [B: forðbringan] mæge.

‘but yet many sons are begotten towards their chief’s destruction, because many women die on behalf of their sons before they could bring forth’

(188) ÆCHomI,30 437.251

‡ iulianus þa mid anþræcum hream **forsweolt**;

‘and Julianus died with formidable outcry’

1.123. Forsweorcan

Forsweorcan ‘to darken, obscure’ is an emphatic form of *sweorcan*. (See also Section 3.23. *Forsittan*).

(189) Beo 1767a

oððe eagenas bearhtm
 forsited ond **forsworced**; semninga bið
 þæt ðec, dryhtguma, deað oferswyðeð.

‘or the sparkle of your eyes will grow dim and become extinct; suddenly it will come about that death overpowers you, the warrior’

(190) JDay II 108a

þonne stedelease steorran hreosað
 and seo sunne **forswyrceð** sona on morgen;
 ne se mona næfð nanre mihte with
 þæt he þære nihte genipu mæge flecgan.

‘Then the stars, displaced, will fall and the sun will become immediately dark in the morning; nor will the moon have any power at all to banish the darkness of the night’.

(191) Mt 24.29 [Statim autem post tribulationem dierum illo tempore sol **obscurabitur** et luna non dabit lumen suum]

Li: sona soðlice æfter costunge dagana ðara sunna **ofer-geðiostrad bið** ‡ mona ne sellað leht his

Ru1: ræpe þonne æfter ðrycnissum dagana þara sunne **apiostrap** ‡ mona ne seleþ his leoht

WSCp: Sona æfter þæra daga ge-drefydnesse seo sunne **byð for-sworcen** ‡ se mona hys leoht ne sylð

AV: Immediatly after the tribulation of those dayes, shall the Sunne be darkned, and the Moone shall not giue her light,

1.124. Forsweorfan

Forsweorfan ‘to polish off (by filing), demolish’ occurs only in gloss. (See also Section 1.48. *Forgnidan*).

(192) HIGI D 157

demolitur .i. exterminator deletur bið forsworfen 1 forgniden dissipatur.

1.125. *Forswigan*

Forswigan ‘to conceal, pass over in silence’ (cf. Section 1.117. *Fors(w)ui(g)ian*).

(193) GD4(C) 57.344.3

ne wene ic eac, Petrus, þæt þæt sy to **forswiǵenne**, þe ic zeman þæt zedon wæs nu for þrym zærum in minum mynstre.
‘I also do not think, Peter, that it should be concealed by silence, which I remember that was done for three years now in my monastery’

(194) ApT 14.10

Beah he hit silf **forswige**, his gegirla hine geswutelað.
‘Though he himself conceal it, his garment reveals him’.

1.126. *Forswiþan*

Forswiþan ‘to overcome’ is an emphatic form of *swiþan*. (See also Section 3.3. *Forcuman*).

(195) Jn 16.33 [in mundum pressuram habebitis sed confidete ego **uici** mundum]

Li: in middangeorde ofersuiðnise 1 ofersuiðung 1 ofercostung gie habbað 1 ah getreuað 1 gelefeð 1 getrycrað þte ic **forcuom** 1 ðone middangeord

Ru2: on middengeord oferswiðnisse ge habbað ah gitriowað ic forðon (*sic*) on ðone middengeord

WSCp: Ge habbað hefige byrðene on middan-earde. ac getruwiað ic **for-swiðde** [*WSH*: **ofer-swiððen** (*sic*)] middan-earde;

AV: in the world ye shall haue tribulation: but be of good cheare, I haue ouercome the world.

(196) DurRitGl 1 28.1 [carissimi omne quod natum est ex deo **uincit** mundum et hæc est uictoria quæ **uincit** mundum fides nostra]

leafa ælc þæt acenn’ is from Gode **f’suiðeð** middang’ & ðios is þæt sig ðio **f’suiðeð** middan’ gileafa vsra
‘each belief which is produced by God overcomes the world, and this is the victory that overcomes the world of our belief’

1.127. *Forsyngian*

Forsyngian ‘to sin, make (someone) sinful’ is especially used in the *Homilies of Wulfstan* (abbreviated as *WHom*).

(197) WHom 15 42

be ðære bysne we eac nyðað ut þa **forsyngodan** of Godes cyrican
‘following the example we also force the sinful out of the church of God’

(198) WHom 18 81

And gif he þonne þurh deofles lare hine sylfne wið God **forsyngað** 1 leahtras lufað, þonne forlæt se Halga Gast þa onwununge, 1 þær sona wyrð deofol inne.

‘And then if he himself sins against God through devil’s teaching and loves vice, then the Holy Ghost loses the dwelling place and soon the devil comes therein’.

1.128. *Fortendan*

Fortendan ‘to burn away’ is used in the prefixed form.

(199) Or 1 10.29.33, 35

1 þæm mædencildum hie **fortendun** þæt swiðre breost foran þæt hit weaxan ne sceolde, þæt hie hæfden þy strengran scyte. For þon hi mon hæt on Crecisc Amazanas, þæt is on Englisc **fortende**.

‘and they burned off the right breast of the girls in front so that it should not grow up, so that they would have stronger shoots. Therefore, they are called the Amazons, which is burnt in English’.

1.129. *Fortogian*

Fortogian ‘(of sinews) to contract’ occurs only once.

(200) PeriD 52.33.17

æfter þan ealle þa <ædran> slapað and þa sina **fortogiað** and eal se lichama byþ faþ and þa earde sæргеaþ and se sculdraþ teoþ togadere
 ‘after all the sinew slept (and) the eyes contract and all the body are joined and the condition suffers and the shoulder pulls together’

1.130. *Fortrendan*

Fortrendan ‘to block (by rolling a stone)’ occurs only once.

(201) HomS 18 261

and hi namon swiðe micelne stan and **fortrendon** þære byrgenne duru
 ‘and they took a very big stone and blocked the door of the grave’

1.131. *Fortrymman*

Fortrymman ‘to declare in public’ occurs only once and only in gloss (*DOE* (Healey et al. 2008) cites *Ru2*).

(202) Jn 13.21 [Cum haec dixisset *iesus* turbatus est *spiritu* et **protestatus est** et dixit]

Li: miððy ðæs gecuað se hælend gestyred I wæs mið gaste 7 **foretrymmede I getrymed wæs** 7 cuað

Ru2: miððy ðis cwæð se hælend gestyred wæs in gaste 7 **fortrymede I gitrymed wæs** 7 cwæð

WSCp: Ða se hælend þas þing sæde he wæs gedrefed on gaste 7 **cyðde** 7 cwæð.

AV: When Jesus had thus sayd, hee was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said,

1.132. *Fortyhtan*

Fortyhtan ‘to lead astray’ occurs only twice, in poetry and in gloss. (See also Section 2.8. *Forlæran*).

(203) El 208b

swa se ealda feond

forlærde ligesearwum, leode **fortyhte**,

Iudea cyn, þæt hie god sylfne

ahengon, herga fruman.

‘as the ancient enemy with his deceitful wiles seduced the Jewish nation and led the people astray so that they hanged God himself, the Creator of the multitudes’

1.133. *Fortyllan*

Fortyllan ‘to seduce’ occurs only once and only in poetry. (See also Section 4.12. *For-teon*).

(204) ChristA 270a

þonan us ær þurh synlust se swearta gæst

forteah ond **fortylde**, þæt we, tires wone,

a butan ende sculon ermþu dreogan,

‘whence the evil spirit had seduced and misled us in our desire to sin, so that we, bereft of glory, will have to suffer misery forever without end’

1.134. *Fortynan*

Fortynan ‘to cut off entirely’ is an emphatic form of *tynan* ‘to enclose’.

(205) CP 38.275.22

Ne bæd he no ðæt he hine elle **fortynde** mid gehalé mage, ac he bæd dura to, ðæt he meahte hwilum ontynan, hwilum betynan.

‘He did not pray him to enclose him entirely with a whole wall, but he prayed that a door might be added, that he might sometimes open, sometimes shut’.

- (206) Mt 13.15 [incrassatum est enim cōr populi huius et auribus audient et oculos suos **cluserunt**]
Li: ðicce ƿ hefig is forðon hearta folces ðisses ƿ mið earum ƿislice ƿ hefiglice geherdon ƿ ego hiora **getyndon**
Ru1: gefætted is forþon heorte folcs þisses ƿ earum heora hefiglice geherdon ƿ egu heora **fortyndon**
WSCp: Soþlice þises folces heorte is ahyrd. ƿ hig hefelice mid earum gehyrdon. ƿ hyra eagan **beclysdon**.
AV: For this peoples heart is waxed grosse, and their eares are dull of hearing, and their eyes they haue closed,

1.135. *Forþeccan*

Forþeccan ‘to cover in front’ occurs only in gloss (here in *J*).

- (207) Ps 19.2 [Exaudiat te dominus in die tribulationis: **protegat** te nomen dei iacob.]
A: gehere ðe dryht in dege geswines **gescilde** ðe noma godes iacobes
D: zehyre on dæze zeswines **zescylde** noma ƿodes iacobes
J: gehir þe drihten on dæge geswines **forþecce** þe naman godes iacobes
AV: The Lord heare thee in the day of trouble, the Name of the God of Iacob defend thee.

1.136. *Forþecgan*

Forþecgan ‘to consume’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

- (208) Seasons 214a
sona hie on mergan mæssan syngað
and **forþegide**, þurste gebæded,
æfter tæppere teoþ geond stræta.
‘immediately they sing mass in the morning and consume, oppressed by thirst, after the tapster go over the street’

1.137. *Forþeofian*

Forþeofian ‘to steal’ occurs only once and only in gloss (cf. Section 1.111. *Forstelan*).

- (209) Mk 10.19 [praecepta nosti né adulteris né ocidas **né fureris**]
Li: ða bebodo wast ðu þ ðu ne dernelice þ ðu ne of-slae þ ðu **ne forstele ƿ ne forðiofe**
Ru2: ða bibodu wastu ðæte dernelice ðætte ðu ne ofslæ ðætæ ðu **ne stele**
WSCp: Canst þu ða bebodu. ne unriht-hæm þu. ne slyh þu. **ne stel** þu.
AV: Thou knowest the Commandments, Doe not commit adulterie, Doe not kill, Doe not steale,

1.138. *Forþeostrian*

Forþeostrian ‘to overshadow’ occurs only in gloss (here in *I*, the first gloss).

- (210) Ps 104.28 [Misit tenebras et **obscurauit** eos. quia exaceruauerunt sermones eius.]
A: sende ðeostru ƿ **aðeostrade** hie for ðon onscunedun word his
D: he sende þystro ƿ **foreþystrede** hy forðon hy tyrzdon spræca his
I: he asende þeostru ƿ **forþeostrade ƿ swearc** ƿ he ne tyrigde spræca his
AV: Hee sent darknesse, and made it darke: and they rebelled not against his word.

1.139. *Forþerscan*

Forþerscan ‘to break down’ occurs only once. Cf. GD1(C) 9.57.3 in Section 1.100. *Forslean*.

- (211) GD1(H) 9.57.3
he heafde ænne wingearð, se sume dæg wearð <**forðorscen**> [MS forðorcean] mid onreasendum hetolum hazole & awæstod
‘he had a vineyard, which one day was beat down with falling severe hail and laid waste’

1.140. *Forþindan*

Forþindan ‘to swell up’ occurs three times in *Lch*.

- (212) *Lch* II (3 Head) 69
wiþ þam gif men sie maga asurod & **forþunden** & wiþ magan wærce & gif man biþ aþunden.
‘concerning that if men are become sour in stomach and swollen up and against stomach pain, and if one is swollen’

1.141. *Forþolian*

Forþolian ‘to endure the absence of’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

(213) Wan 38b

Forþon wat se þe sceal his winedryhtnes
leofes larcwidum longe **forþolian**,
ðonne sorg ond slæp somod ætgædre
earnne anhogan oft gebindað.

‘Therefore he is aware, who has to endure the absence of his beloved Lord’s teachings, when sorrow and sleep often fetter together the wretched solitary man’.

1.142. *Forþringan*

Forþringan ‘to displace, thrust aside’ is an emphatic form of *þringan*.

(214) BenR 63.115.5

on nanum stowum ne sy endebyrdnes be nanre ylde gefadod, ne seo ylde þa geogoðe ne **forþringe**,
‘in any places no rule should be arranged for the elder, nor the elder should displace the youth’

(215) Beo 1084b¹²

Wig ealle fornam
Finnes þegnas nemne feaum anum,
þæt he ne mehte on þæm meðelstede
wig Hengeste with gefeohtan,
ne æa wealafe wige **forþringan**
þeodnes ðegna [MS: ðegne];

‘Warfare had taken off all Finn’s retainers save only a few, so that he might not in any way fight against Hengest, the prince’s general, at that meeting-place, nor dislodge the sad survivors by fighting’

(tr. Clark Hall ([1911] 1972))

1.143. *Forþryccan*

Forþryccan ‘to press, oppress’ is an emphatic form of *þryccan*.

(216) GuthB 1198a

Ða wearð modgeþanc miclum gebisgad,
þream **forþrycced**, þurh þæs þeodnes word,
onbehtþegne,

‘Then the servant’s mind was greatly afflicted and crushingly oppressed at his master’s words’

(217) Lk 11.53 [cooperunt pharisaei et legis periti grauitur insistere et ós eius **opprimere** de multis]

Li: ongunnun ða ældu 7 æs uuto pislice 7 hefiglice wið-stonda 7 muð his **for-ðrycga** of monigum

Ru2: on-gunnun ða ældu 7 æs witgu pislice wið-stonde 7 muð his **for-ðrycca** of monigum

WSCp: þa on-gunnun ða farisei 7 þa ægleawan hifilice him agen standan 7 his muð **dyttan**

AV: the Scribes and the Pharisees began to vrge *him* vehemently, and to prouoke him to speake of many things:

1.144. *Forþrysm(i)an*

Forþrysm(i)an ‘to suffocate’ is used in the prefixed form (cf. *þrosm* ‘smoke’). In the following examples of the Gospels, *WSCp* alone chooses this verb in almost the same context. (See also Section 5.4. *Fordon*).

(218) Mt 13.7 [alia autem ceciderunt in spinas et creuerunt spinae et **suffocauerunt** ea]

Li: oðro uutedlice gefeollon in ðornum 7 in hrygum 7 woxon ða ðornas 7 hrygas 7 **underdulfon** ða

Ru1: sume þonne gefetun in þornas 7 wexon þa þornas 7 **smoradun** hiæ

WSCp: Soþlice sume feollon on þornas. 7 þa þornas weoxon 7 **for-þrysmodon** þa

AV: And some fell among thorns: and the thornes sprung vp, & choked them.

- (219) Lk 8.7 [et aliud cecidit secus spinas et simul exortae spinas **suffocauerunt** illud]
Li: ȝ oðer gefeall æt ðornum ȝ ongelic arison ðornas **under-dulfon ȝ fordydon** þ
[Ru2: lost]
WSCp: ȝ sum feoll on þa þornas. ȝ þa þornas hyt **forþrysmodon**;
AV: And some fell among thornes, and the thornes sprang vp with it, and choked it.

1.145. *Forþyldian*

Forþyldian ‘to bear patiently’ occurs mainly in glosses (for other examples, see *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008)).

- (220) BenRGI 4.20.11 [Malum pro malo non reddere. Injuriam non facere. sed et factam patienter **sufferer**;
 yfel for yfele debemus agildan tregan debemus gedonne dæde geþyldelice ah **forþyldian**.
 ‘Evil against evil we have to pay, to pay for trouble we have to pay, but for the deed done, to endure patiently’.

- (221) LibSc 2.3 [quae enim gloria est si peccantes colafizati **suffertis**
 hwylc soðlice wyrþscype ys gif syngiende gefystlude ge **forþyldiaþ**
 ‘truly anyone is worthy; if the sinner strike with fist you endure’

1.146. *Forþyl(di)gian*

Forþyl(di)gian ‘to bear patiently, endure’ is an emphatic form of *þyldian* or *þyld(i)gian*.
H in Ps 68.8 is from Campbell (1974). (See also Section 3.1. *Forþeran*).

(222) ÆCHomI,36 494.241

Nis to ondrædenne þwyrra manna ehtnys: ac ma to **forþyldgienne**.
 ‘It is not to be afraid of persecution of adverse men, but to wait more patiently’.

- (223) Ps 68.8 [[Quoniam propter te **subportau**i inproperium [*Gallican*: **sustinui** obprobrium] operuit reuerentia [*Gallican*:
 confusion] faciem meam.]
A: for ðon fore ðe ic **aber** edwit oferwraah mid scome onsiene mine
D: fore ic **forbær** hosp oferwraah forwandunȝ ansyne mine
F: forðon þe for ðe ic **forðyldegode** hosp oferwraah sceamu ansyne mine
H: for þe ic **forþylgode** hosp oferwhraah gescyndnys mine
AV: Because for thy sake I haue borne reproach: shame hath couered my face.

1.147. *Forþylm(i)an*

Forþylm(i)an ‘to enwrap, cover’ occurs only eight times but in various texts. (See also Section 1.123. *Forsweorcan*).

- (224) Jud 117a
 Ne ðearf he hopian no,
 þystrum **forðylmed**, þæt he ðonan mote
 of ðam wyrmslele,
 ‘Never would he have cause to hope, enwrapped in darkness, that he might get out of that snake-hall’

- (225) Phoen 284b
 He his sylfes þær
 ban gebringeð þa ær brondes wylm
 on beorhstede bæle **forþylmde**,
 ascan to eacan.
 ‘There he brings his own bones which once the billowing of fire engulfed with flame upon the funeral mound, and the ashes too’.

- (226) Ps 138.12 [Quia tenebrę eius non **obscurabuntur** abs te. et nox sicut dies inluminabitur.]
A: for ðon ðeostru ne **bioð aþeostrade** from ðe ȝ neht swe swe deg bið inlihted
D: forðon þystro na **forþystrad bið** butan ðe ȝ niht swa swa dæg onliht bið
I: forðon þe þeostru ne **beoð forþylmode ȝ forsweorcene** to [a] þe ȝ niht swaswa dæg bið onlihted
AV: Yea the darknesse hideth not [Heb.: darkeneth not] from thee, but the night shineth as the day:

1.148. *Forwandian*

Forwandian ‘to be in awe of’ is an emphatic form of *wandian*.

- (227) Mk 12.6 [quia **reuerbuntur** filium meum]
Li: forðon ƿ þte hia **gefræppegedon** sunu minne
Ru2: forðo hia ƿ **ge-fræpegadun** sunu minne
WSCp: Witodlice minne sunu hig **for-wandiað**
AV: They will reuerence my sonne.

- (228) Ps 69.3 [Confundantur et **reuerantur** inimici mei. qui querunt animan meam]

A: sien gescende ƿ **onscunien** fiond mine ða ðe soecað sawle mine
D: zescamizen ƿ **forwandien** fynd þa ðe secað sawle mine
E: Sien gesciende ƿ **forwandian ƿ scunian** fiend mine, þa ðæ secað sæule mine
L: sien gescynde ƿ **ascamien** fynd mine þa þe secæað sawle mine
AV: Let them be ashamed and confounded that seeke after my soule:

1.149. *Forwaxan*

Forwaxan ‘to wash away’ occurs only once. (See also Section 1.74. *Formeltan*).

- (229) HeptNotes 15
 þa ane se flod ne mihte **forwæhshe** þa odra feer ne formelta.
 ‘the flood could not wash the one away nor the fire could melt the other away’

1.150. *Forweallan*

Forweallan ‘to boil away’ occurs only once.

- (230) Lch II(2) 41.3.1
 oferwylle eft oþ þæt eced sie **forweallen**
 ‘boil down again until the vinegar should be boiled away’

1.151. *Forweaxan*

Forweaxan ‘to grow to excess’ is an emphatic form of *weaxan*. (See also Section 1.95. *Forsearian*).

- (231) CP 40.293.6

Sume he carf ðonne him ðuhte ðæt hie to suiðe weoxsen, ðylæs hie to ðæm **forweoxen** ðæt hie forseareden, & ðy unwæstumbærran wæren.
 ‘Some he pruned, when they seemed to grow too luxuriantly, to prevent them growing so much as to wither away and become unfruitful’.

- (232) Lch I (Herb) 2.4

eft wið þon þe man on wambe forweaxen sy, seoð þonne þa wegbrædan swyþe & ete þonne swyþe.
 ‘again on condition that one should be grown too much in stomach, then boil plantain very much and eat very much’

1.152. *Forweddian*

Forweddian ‘to pledge (something); of property or money: *forweddod feoh* pledge, surety’ occurs only once and only in gloss: *AntGl 2 388 fiducia forweddad feoh*.

1.153. *Forwegan*

Forwegan ‘to kill’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

- (233) Mald 228a

þa he forð eode, fæhðe gemunde,
 þæt he mid orde anne geræhte
 flotan on þam folce, þæt se on foldan læg
forwegen mid his wæpne.

‘Then he moved forward and turned his attention to revenge, so that with his spear he struck a seaman among the army so that he lay dead to the ground, destroyed by his weapon’.

1.154. *Forweornian*

Forweornian ‘to wither away’ is an emphatic form of *weornian*. (See also Section 1.155. *Forweorpan* and Section 5.5. *Forfaran*).

(234) BenRW 7.31.16

swa swa þæt suceling, þe his moder hafod forworpan, forfærð & **forweornad**, ellswylc edlean on mine sawle becume
‘as an infant, who cut its mother’s head, perishes and decays, anything else of reward would come into my soul’

(235) MSol 316a

Solomon cwæð: Lytle hwile leaf beoð grene
ðonne hie eft fealewiað, feallað on eorðan
and **forweorniað**, weorðað to duste.

‘Solomon said: A little while leaves are green; then they wither again, fall on earth and dry up, come to dust’.

(236) ÆCHomI,11 268.55

gif se lichama næfð mete. oððe ne mæg mete þicgean. þonne **forweornað** he & adeadað
‘if the body does not have food, or cannot take food, it withers away and decays’

1.155. *Forweorpan*

Forweorpan ‘to throw forth’ is an emphatic form of *weorpan*. (See also Section 2.7. *Forlædan* and Section 2.8. *Forlæran*).

(237) GenB 691b

leode hogode
on þæt micle morð men **forweorpan**,
forlæran and forlædan,
‘he strive to throw men forth into the great deadly sin, misguide and mislead (them)’

(238) CP 44.325.4

Heald ðine ælmessan, ðylæs ðu hie **forweorpe**.
‘Keep your alms, lest you should throw them away’.

1.156. *Forwisnian*

Forwisnian ‘to wither, waste away’ is an emphatic form of *wisnian*. (See also Section 1.59. *Forheardian*, Section 1.154. *Forweornian*, Section 1.164. *Fprwyrðan*, and Section 4.9. *Forlætan*).

(239) Soul I 18b

Hwæt, durh ðu dreorega, to hwan drehtest ðu me,
eorðan fulnes eal **forwisnad**, [*Soul II*: forweornest]
lames gelicnes!

‘Listen, dreary dust! Why have you, a foul thing on earth, afflicted me, you, a semblance of clay, will rot wholly away’.

(240) HomU 7 (VercHom 22) 178

For þan þeah þe we hie forlæten, we ne sculon ure heortan eft to him hweorfan, for þam þe ða welan forwyrðað ⁊ ðæt
wuldor forwyrð ⁊ sio fægernes **forwisnað**.

‘Though we release them, we must not turn our heart again to him, because the rich die and the glory die and the beauty decay’.

(241) PPs 89.6 4a

Morgen gewiteð swa gemolsnad wyrnt;
oðre morgene eft gebloweð
and geefneð swa, oþþæt æfen cymeð,
þonne **forwisnað**, weorðeð to duste.

‘Morning passes as the wort decayed; another morning it flourishes again and grows towards the evening, until evening comes, then it dries up, turns to dust’.

1.157. *Forwlencan*

Forwlencan ‘to make (someone) excessively proud’ is an emphatic form of *wlencan*.

(242) CP 26.183.17

Ac sua micle liðelecor he sceal olecan ðæm welegan eaðmodan sua he ongiet ðæt he eaðmodra bið, ðonne hine ne magon ða welan forwlencean, ðe ælcne ofermodne oðhebbað.

‘But the more gently he must soothe the rich and humble man the more humble he sees that he is, when the riches which puff up all proud men are not able to make him proud’.

(tr. Sweet (1871–1872))

(243) LS 25 (MichaelMor) 40

Þa gesamnode he mycel weorod his manna & hwearf æfter wegum ge buton geond þone wudu, & sohton þæt **forwlente** hrypær.

‘Then he gathered together a great host of his men, and turned his course through the woods and sought for the proud bull;’

1.158. *Forwraclian*

Forwraclian ‘to be an exile’ occurs only once.

(244) BenRWells 53.80.20

ic wæs Cuma and ge me underfendon; beo eallum cumin þæslic and gedafenlic wurðmynt gegearwod, swa ðeah swiðost þam rihtgelyfedum urum gehadum and þam **forwraclian** elpeodigum

‘I was a stranger and you welcomed me; be ready suitable and becoming honour for all strangers, yet especially for our orthodox races and the exiled wanderers’.

1.159. *Forwrecan*

Forwrecan ‘to drive away’ is an emphatic form of *wrecan*. (See also Section 1.60. *Forheawan* and Section 3.2. *Forbigan*).

(245) Beo 109b

ne gefeah he þære fæhðe, ac he hine feor **forwraec**,
metod for þy mane, mancynne fram.

‘he had no joy of that feud, but the Creator drove him far from mankind for that misdeed’

(tr. Clark Hall ([1911] 1972))

(246) Wid 47a

Hroþwulf ond Hroðgar heoldon longest
sibbe ætsomne suhtorfædran,
siþþan hy **forwraecon** wicinga cynn
ond Ingeldes ord forbigdan,
forheowan æt Heorote Heaðobeardna þrym.

‘Hrothwulf and Hrothgar, nephew and uncle, kept peace together for a very long time, after they had driven off the tribe of the Wicingas and humiliated the vanguard of Ingeld and cut down the host of the Heathobardan at Heorot’.

(247) Lk 24.18 [tú solus **peregrinus** és in hierusalem]

Li: ðu ána **fremðe ƿ ellðiodig** arð in hierusalem

Ru2: ðu ana **færende ƿ ellðiodig** arð in

WSCp: Eart þu ána **forwrecen** on hierusalem.

AV: Art thou onely a stranger in Hierusalem,

1.160. *Forwregan*

Forwregan ‘to accuse’ is an emphatic form of *wregan*.

(248) Bede 5 17.458.28-29

ƿ þæs þe his intinga wæs geondsote beforan Agathone þam papan ƿ manegum byscopum, ƿ ealra heora dome he unscyldig ƿ butan leathrum wæs clæne gemeted þara þinga, þe hine mon **forewregde** ƿ onstælde;

‘And when his cause was enquired into before pope Agatho and a number of bishops, in the judgement of all he was found to be innocent and pure, without offence in those matters which were brought forward and alleged against him;’

(249) Nic(C) 3

And he wæs god were and rihtwis, and næs næfre his willes, þær me þone Hælend **forwreigde** [A: wregde] on nanen gemange.

'And he was a good and righteous man, and was never be desirous, where he did not accuse the Lord in the midst of anyone'.

(250) ChronE 1048.48

Ða wæron þa wælisce men ætforan mid þam cyngre. 7 **forwregdon** ða eorlas. þet hi ne moston cumin on his eagon gesihðe.

'Then the foreigners beforehand with the king and accused the earls that they were not allowed to come into his eyesight'.

1.161. *Forwreon*

Forwreon 'to cover in darkness' occurs only once and only in gloss (here in *Ru2*).

(251) Lk 23.45 [et **obscuratus** est sol Et uelum temple scissum est medium]

Li: 7 **fore-awrigen** 1 wæs sunna 7 waghrael tempeles to slitten wæs on middum

Ru2: 7 **for-wrigen** wæs sunne 7 wag-hrægl temples tosliten wæs on middum

WSCp: 7 sunne wæs **apystrod** 7 þæs temples wahryft wearð tosylten on middan;

AV: And the Sunne was darkened, and the vaile of temple was rent in the mids.

1.162. *Forwriþan*

Forwriþan 'to bind up' occurs three times, all in *Lch*.

(252) Lch II(2) 22.2.8

ac þonne þu hit tostinge oþþe sniþe þonne hafa þe linenne wætlan gearone þæt þu þæt dolh sona mid **forwriðe**

'but when you thrust or cut it off, then have linen bandage ready so that you may bind up the wound quickly with it'

1.163. *Forwundian*

Forwundian 'to wound grievously' is an emphatic form of *wundian*. (See also Section 1.100. *Forslean*).

(253) ÆLS (Sebastian) 431

þa com sum wudewe. þe wæs anes martyres láf. on þære ylcan nihte. þær he læg **forwundod**. wolde his lic bebyrgan. and gemette hine libbendne.

'Then came a widow, who was a martyr's relict, in the same night, when he lay sorely wounded, desiring to bury his body, and found him living'

(254) ChronA 882.3 (=ChronD)

7 þa ilcan gearre for Ælfred cyning mid scipum ut on se 7 gefeaht wiþ feower sciphlæstas deniscra monna 7 þara scipa tu genam, 7 þa men ofslægene wæron þe ðeron wæron, 7 tuegen scipheras him on hond eodon, 7 þa wæron miclum forslægene 7 **forwundode** ær hie on hond eodon.

'And the same year king Alfred went out to sea with ships and fought against four ships' companies of Danes, and captured two of the ships, and the men aboard were slain; and two ships' companies surrendered to him, and they were badly cut about and severely wounded before they surrendered'.

1.164. *Forwyrdan*

Forwyrdan 'to corrupt' is an emphatic form of *wierdan*.

(255) HomS 25 426

Uton þancian þam ælmihtigum drihtne ure alysnysse, and tilian þæt we næfre mid synnum **forwyrde** þa gife ure alysnysse.

'Let us thank the Almighty Lord for our remission, and try that we never destroy the gift of our remission with sins'.

(256) GD3(O) 14.201.15-16

& swa se haliga mann forhtade, þæt he forlure ða gymeleaste his ðearfednesse, swa ða weligan & ða gitseras gewuniað healdan hyra **forwyrdendan** [C: weorðendan] welan, þæt hy ða ne forleosen

'and as the holy man was dead that he lost the carelessness of his poverty, so the rich and the miser dwell to hold their corrupting prosperity, so that they may not lose them'

1.165. *Forwyrnan*

Forwyrnan ‘to refuse, deny’ is an emphatic form of *wiernan*.

(257) GuthA 164a

þa him gæst onwrah
lifes snyttru, þæt he his lichoman
wynna **forwyrnde** ond woruldblissa,
seftra setla ond symbeldaga,
swylce eac idelra eagena wynna,
gierelan gielplices.

‘when the spirit has revealed to him a prudent understanding of the mortal existence, so that he denied his body pleasures and worldly delights, comfortable residences and days of feasting, likewise too the eyes’ vain pleasures and ostentatious dress’

(258) CP 49.379.2

Ðæt is ðonne ðæt mann **forwierne** his sweorde blodes, ðæt hwa **forwirne** his lare ðæt he mid ðære ne ofslea ðæs flæscas lustas.

‘Keeping one’s sword from blood is withholding one’s instruction, and not slaying with it the lusts of the flesh’.

(tr. Sweet (1871–1872))

(259) ÆHomM2 259

ac him wæs þæs wætan **forwyrnd**, swa swa he **forwyrnde** ær þa crumen þam earmæn Lazare.

‘but drink was refused to him, as he had refused the crumb to the poor Lazare’

1.166. *Foryldan*

Foryldan ‘to put off’ is an emphatic form of *ieldan*.

(260) CP 39.283.25

Ofst se slawa, ðonne he agæld & **forielt** ðæt weorc ðe him niedðearf wære to wyrceanne, ðonne ðynceað him sumu weorc swiðe hefug,

‘Often the slow man, when he hinders and delays the work he ought to do, thinks some works very arduous’

(261) Bede 5 14.440.19

Ond þa hreowe ða he to medmicelre tide mid forgifnisse wæstmæ **forælde** doan, þa he witum underðeoded butan wæstmæ in ecnesse doð.

‘And the repentance, which he had delayed to practice for a short time with fruits of forgiveness, he now carries out in eternity without fruit and subject to punishment’.

1.167. *Foryrman*

Foryrman ‘to make miserable’ is an emphatic form of *ierman*. (See also Section 4.10. *Forniman* and Section 4.13. *Fortredan*).

(262) Bede 1 9.44.23

Ða þæt ða ongeaton ða ærran gewinnan þæt se Romanisca here wæs onweg gewiten, ða coman hi sona mid sciphre on heora landgemðre, ⁊ slogan eall ⁊ cwealdon þæt hi gemetton; ⁊ swa swa ripe yrð fortredon ⁊ fornamon, ⁊ hi mid ealle **foryrmdon**.

‘But when their former adversaries saw that the Roman army had gone away, they proceeded at once with a fleet to the British borders, slew and murdered all they met, and, as if it were a ripe field of corn, trod them under foot, and made havoc, and utterly ruined all’.

(tr. Miller ([1891] 1959))

(263) WHom 20.2.39

⁊ godcunde hadas wæron nu lange swiðe forsawene; ⁊ wydewan fornydde on unriht to ceorle, ⁊ to manige **foryrmdæ**, ⁊ earne men beswicene ⁊ hreowlice besyrwde,

‘and divine races were now neglected for long, and widows compelled wrongly to men, and brought low to many, and betrayed poor men and deceived pitifully’

2. Antonymous

There are at least 14 *for*-verbs which can be said to be antonymous to their non-prefixed counterparts; in addition, 16 *for*-verbs have antonymous and expanded meanings and, as has been said, 1 verb has antonymous and emphatic meanings; in total, 12.8% of *for*-verbs can be used with antonymous meanings. It is very difficult to define “antonymous”, though. *Lædan* ‘to lead’ and *forlædan* ‘to mislead’ can be defined as antonymous, as can *læran* ‘to teach’ and *forlæran* ‘to lead away’; but are *cweðan* ‘to say’ and *forcweðan* ‘to reproach’, or *deman* ‘to judge’ and *fordeman* ‘to condemn’, antonymous? As well as antonymous nuance, some semantic expansion can be found in these verbs. Sometimes a prefixed and non-prefixed pair can be distinguished contextually, when a negative clause follows the verb and makes its meaning antonymous, e.g., *cyðan* ‘to make known’ and *forcyðan* ‘to reprove’. Some verbs with both antonymous and expanded senses, therefore, are classified into Section 5. Antonymous and Expanded.

2.1. For(e)beodan

For(e)beodan ‘to forbid, prohibit’ is antonymous to *beodan* ‘to announce’. The meanings of the two verbs can be made the same, as seen in the examples of the Gospels, when *beodan* is negated or takes a *þæt* clause with negation (also cf. *bebeodan* ‘to announce’).

(264) CP(C) 11.72.17

Swa hwelc ðonne swæðissa uncysta hwelcre underðieded bið, him bið **forboden** ðæt he offrige Gode half,
‘Whoever, then, is subject to one of these vices is forbidden to offer bread to God’

(265) Mk 7.36 [et **praecipit** illis né cui dicerent Quanto autem eis **praecipiebat** tanto magis plus praedicabant.]

Li: 7 **bebead** ðæm ilcom þte ne ænigum men hia g[e]cwoede 7 ne gesæde sua suiðe uutedlice him **fore-bead** swa swa
suiðor mara forðor hi bodadon

Ru2: 7 **bibead** ðæm ilca ðæt he ænigum men gi-sægde swa swið wutudlice him **forbead** swa swiðor mara forðor
hiæ bodadun

WSCp: And he **bead** him þ hi hit nanum men ne sædon; Soplice swa he him swiþor **bebead**. swa hi swiðor bodedon.

AV: And he charged them that they should tell no man: but the more hee charged them, so much the more a great deale they published it’

(266) Mk 8.30 [et **comminatus est** eis né cui dicerent de illo]

Li: 7 **forbead** 7 **stiorde** 7 **stiorend wæs** him ne ænigum gecuedon hia of him

Ru2: 7 **for-beod** 7 **stiorde** him ne ængum gicwede of him

WSCp: 7 ða **bead** he him. þ hi nænegum be him ne sædon;

AV: And he charged them that they should tell no man of him.

2.2. Forferian

Forferian ‘to cause to die’ occurs only once (cf. *ferian*, *feran*, *faran*).

(267) LawAF 1 17

gif hwa oðrum his unmagan oðfæste, & he hine on ðære fæstinge **forferie**, getriowe hine facnes se ðe hine fede, gif hine
hwa hwelces teo

‘if anyone commit his dependent to others, and he cause him to die in the guardianship, believe him in crime who feed
him, if anyone accuse him of anything’

2.3. Forgyman

Forgyman ‘to neglect’ is antonymous to *gieman* ‘to take heed to’. (See also Section 4.9. *Forlætan*, Section 5.8. *Forgytan* and Section 5.10. *Forhogian*).

(268) Beo 1751a

ond he þa forðgesceaft

forgyteð ond **forgymeð**, þæs þe him ær god sealed,

wuldres waldend, weorðmynda dæl.

‘and he forgets and neglects the world, as God, the ruler of glory, had given him, the share of honours’

(269) Exod 9.21

ƿ se ðe Drihtnes word **forġymde**, he forlet his men ƿ his nytenu ute.

‘(AV) And he that regarded not the word of the Lord, left his seruants and his cattell in the field’.

(270) Mt 15.3 [quare et uos **transgredimini** mandatum dei propter traditionem uestram]

Li: forhuon ƿ gie **oferġaað ƿ forhogas** bebod godes fore selenise ƿ setnise hire

Ru1: forhwon ƿ ge ek **ofer-gæþ** bebod godes for gesettnisse eowre

WSCp: ƿ hwi **forġyme** gé godes bebod for eowre lage.

AV: Why doe you also transgresse the Commandement of God by your tradition?

2.4. Forhabban

Forhabban ‘to abstain, hold back’ is antonymous to *habban* ‘to have’. In *Ps* 33.14, the difference in Latin between Roman and Gallican texts reflects the choice of the renderings in each version, especially in *I*. (See also Section 2.1. *For(e)beodan*).

(271) Ex 488a

Wlance ðeode

ne mihton **forhabban** helpendra pað,

merestreames mod,

‘Those arrogant people could not hinder the saving path, the power of the sea’

(272) *Ps* 82.2 [Deus quis similis erit yibi. ne taceas neque **conpescaris** deus.]

A: god hwelc gelic bið ðe ne swiġa ðu ne **biwere** god

D: hwylc zelic bið þe ne swiġa ðu ƿ ne þu ne **forhafa**

H: god hwilc gelic bið þe ne swiġa þu ƿ na þu **forhafa**

I: hwa gelic biþ þe ne swiġa þu ne þu ne **beo gestild**

AV: Keepe not thou silence, O God: hold not thy peace, and be not still, O God.

(273) *Ps* 33.14 [**Cohibe** [*Gallican*: **prohibe**] linguam tuam a malo. et libia tua ne loquantur dolum.]

A: **bewere** tungan ðine from yfle ƿ weolure ðy læs sprecen facen

I: **forbeod ƿ forhafa ƿ bewere** tungan þine fram yfle weleras þine þæt hig ne sprecon faken

J: **geheald** tungan þine fram yfele ƿ weleras þine pilæs þe hi sprecon yfel ƿ facn

P: **Forbeode** his tungan ælc yfel and his weolorum, þæt hi ne sprecon nan facn.

AV: Keep thy tongue from euill, and thy lippes from speaking guile.

2.5. Forhatan

Forhatan ‘to renounce, forswear’ is antonymous to *hatan* ‘to bid, promise’ (though *hatan* itself is a verb of multiple senses).

(274) GenB 609b¹³

þa se **forhatena** spræc

þurh feondscipe (nalles he hie fremre lærde):

‘Then the apostate spoke out of his malevolence (he did not teach her anything of profit at all)’

(275) CP 51.401.35

forðæm hit is awriten ðæt hit sie betere ðæt mon gehiewiġe ðonne he birne, forðæm butan sinne he mæg gehiwian, gif he hit ær ne **forhét**.

‘for it is written that it is better to marry than to burn, because they can marry without sin, unless they had previously renounce it’

(tr. Sweet (1871–1872))

2.6. Forhælan

Forhælan ‘to make infirm(?)’ occurs only once and only in gloss: *CIgI* 1 4649 *offensa forhælde*.

2.7. Forlædan

Forlædan ‘to mislead’ is antonymous to *lædan* ‘to lead’ and often found in poetry, especially in scenes of the devil misleading men. (See also Section 2.8. *Forlæran*).

(276) GenB 452a

wolde dearnunga drihtnes geongran,
mid mandædum men beswican,

forlædan and forlæran, þæt hie wurdon lað gode.

‘he wished secretly to deceive, mislead and misguide with wicked deeds Lord’s followers, men, so that they would be loathsome to God’

(277) GenB 728b

Men synt **forlædde**,

Adam and Eue.

‘Men, Adam and Eve, are deceived’.

(278) Beo 2039a

oððæt hie **forlæddan** to ðam lindplegan
swæse gesiðas ond hyra sylfra feorh.

‘until they had led to destruction in the fatal play of shields their dear companions and their own lives’

2.8. Forlæran

Forlæran ‘to lead astray’ is antonymous to *læran* ‘to teach’ and often used in pair with *forlædan*. (See Section 3.10. *Forlacan*, Section 2.7. *Forlædan* and Section 2.1. *For(e)beodan*).

(279) And 614a

Hie seo wyrd beswac,

forleolc ond **forlærde**.

‘The fate deceived them, misled and misguided’.

(280) WHom 6 46

Þa beswac deofol ꝛ **forlærde** his wif ærest ꝛ heo hine syððan þæt hy abræcan Godes bebod ꝛ ætan of ðam
forbodenan wæstmne.

‘Then the devil deceived and misguided his wife first, and then she him, so that they broke God’s command and eat of the forbidden fruit’.

(281) Mt 24.11 [et multi pseudo-prophetae surgent et **seducent** multos]

Li: ꝛ monigo lease witgo arisað ꝛ **swicað** monigo

Ru1: ꝛ monige lyge ꝛ lease witga arisaþ ꝛ **forlæreþ** monige

WSCp: ꝛ manega lease witegan cumað ꝛ **beswicað** manega.

AV: And many false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceiue many.

2.9. Forrædan

Forrædan ‘to plot against’ is antonymous to *rædan* ‘to advise’.

(282) ÆGram(T) 277.6

seduce ic bepæce ꝛ **forræde**

‘I seduce or plot against’

(283) WHom 6 181

Iudeisc folc þurh deofles lare hine **forrædde**, ꝛ an his agena cnihta hine belæwde to deaþe.

‘Jewish people plotted against him through Devil’s teaching, and one of his servants betrayed him to death’.

2.10. Forridan

Forridan ‘to cut off, intercept by riding before (f. *CHM* (Clark Hall 1960))’ occurs seven times in *Chron*.

(284) ChronA 893.96

hie ... besæton þeah þæt geweorc utan sume twegen dagas, ꝛ genamon ceapes eall þæt þær buton wæs, ꝛ þa men
ofslogon þe hie foran **forridan** [*D*: ofridan] mehton butan geweorce,

‘but they besieged the fort from outside some two days, and seized all the cattle outside, and slew all the men whom they could intercept outside the fort’

2.11. *Forscrifan*

Forscrifan ‘to proscribe’ is antonymous to *scrifan* ‘to prescribe, ordain’. In *Lk* 13.9, *forscrifan* appears in the thirteenth century MS Hatton 38 (*WSH*).

(285) Beo 106b

fifelcynnnes eard
wonsæli wer weardode hwile,
siþðan him scyppend **forscrifen** hæfde
in Caines cynne.

‘for a long time the unhappy creature had inhabited the territory of a species of water-monsters, since the Creator had proscribed him along with the race of Cain’

(286) *Lk* 13.9 [et si-quidem fecerit fructum sin autem in futurum **succides** eam]

Li: 7 gif soðlice gedoeð wæstm gif ne doeð uutedlice in ðæm toward ger **ge-scearfa** ðu hia

Ru2: gif soðlice ge-doað wæstem gif ne doeð wutudlice in ðæm to-worda **giceorf** ða 7 hia

WSCp: 7 witodlice he wæstmas bringeð; Gif hit elles hwæt byð **ceorf** hine syððan;

WSH: 7 witodlice he wæstmnes bringeð. Gif hit elles hwæt beoð. **for-scrif** hine syððan.

AV: And if it beare fruit, *Well*: and if not, then after that, thou shalt cut it downe.

2.12. *Forsprecan*

Forsprecan ‘to speak against’ is antonymous to *sprecan* ‘to speak’. (See also Section 1.125. *Forswigan*).

(287) *ÆCHomII*,38 285.210

Forsprecað hí foran to ðisum folce, þæt swa hraðe swa hí becomað to ðyssere byrig.
‘They speak opposite to these people as soon as they arrive at this city’.

(288) *LawVI As* 8.9

& ne sy **forsprecan** ne forswigod, gif ure hlaford oððe ure gerefana enig us ænigne eacan geþancean mæge to urum firðgildum, þæt we þærto lustlice fon

‘and should not be spoken against or passed over in silence, if our lord or any of our reeves could think of us any advantage to our peace-gilds which we also gladly take’

2.13. *Forswerian*

Forswerian ‘to commit perjury’ is antonymous to *swerian* ‘to swear’. (See also Section 1.70. *Forleogan*).

(289) Beo 804b

ac he sigewæpnum **forsworen** hæfde,
ecga gehwylcre.

‘but he had made victorious weapons, every edge of them, useless by enchantment’

(290) *WHom* 20.1 82

manige synd **forsworene** & swiðe forlogene, & wedd synd tobrocene oft & gelome
‘many are committed perjury and lied very much, and pledges are often broken up’

2.14. *Fortimbr(i)an*

Fortimbr(i)an ‘to block up’, antonymous to *timbr(i)an* ‘to build’, occurs only in gloss.

(291) *Ps* 62.12 [laudabuntur omnes qui iurant in eo. quia **obstructum est** ós loquentium iniqua]

A: bioð hereð alle ða ðe swergað in hine for ðon **fortimbred is** muð spreocendra ða unrehtan

D: herizað ealle þa ðe swerizað on him **fordytt** muð sprecendra unrihtu

I: beoþ geherode ealle þa þe sweriað on hine forþi þe **is fordyt** muð sprecendra unrihte þing

AV: euery one that sweareth by him shall glorie: but the mouth of them that speake lies, shall be stopped.

3. Expanded

Many verbs have various meanings. In total, 28 *for*-verbs can be said to have expanded meanings in contrast to their non-prefixed counterparts, and, as mentioned earlier, 16 *for*-verbs have emphatic and expanded meanings, and in addition, 16 *for*-verbs have antony-

mous and expanded meanings; that is, 24.8% of *for*-verbs can be used with expanded meanings.¹⁴

3.1. *Forberan*

Forberan is used in various senses like ‘to bear, endure; restrain; spare’. The multiple glosses in *Ps* 24.21, *D* and *G*, show the possible choice of renderings among the synonyms.

(292) ChronE 1137.45, 47

for ouersithon ne **forbaren** hi nouthter circe ne cyrceiaerd. ... Ne hi ne **forbaren** biscopes land ne abbots ne preostes, ac ræueden munekes ⁊ clerekes, ⁊ æuric man other þe ouermyhte.
‘Contrary to custom, they spared neither church nor churchyard ... They spared not the lands of bishops, nor of abbots, nor of priests, but plundered the monks and the clergy, and every man who could robbed his neighbour’.
(tr. Garmonsway ([1953] 1972))

(293) CP 51.397.5, 6

Ða gesinhiwan mon sceal manian, & eac gehwelcne mon, ðæt hie nō læs ne ne geðencen hwæt oðre men him **forberað** & geðafiað, ðonne hie geðenceað hwæt hi oðrum monnum **forberað**;
‘The married, and also everyone else, are to be admonished not to think less of what other men bear with and tolerate in them, than of what they bear with in others;’
(tr. Sweet (1871–1872))

(294) *Ps* 24.21 [Innocentes et recti adhererunt mihi, quoniam **sustinui** te domine.]

A: unscæððende ⁊ rehtwise ætfelun me for ðon **ic aræfnde** ðe dryht
D: unscyldige ⁊ ryhtwise togeþeoddon **ic forbær ⁊ geþyldgode ⁊ geanbidude**
G: unscyldig († unscæðful) ⁊ rihtwise togeþeoddan me forþam þe **ic forbær ⁊ geanbidude ⁊ geþyldigode ⁊ ic aræfnde**
I: þa unscæðþigan ⁊ ða rihtan geðeodlæhtun ⁊ tocleofedon ⁊ geþeoddon me forðan þe **ic geanbidode** þe
AV: Let integritie and vprightnesse preserue me: for I wait on thee.

3.2. *Forbigan*

Forbigan ‘to bend; humble’ appears especially in poetry. (See also Section 1.3. *Forberstan* and Section 1.7. *Forbreacan*).

(295) GenA 70b

wæs him gylp forod,
beot forborsten, and **forbiged** þrym,
wlite gewemmed.
‘their bragging was broken, their boasting shattered, their splendour humbled and their beauty blotted’

(296) Hell 35a

Fysde hine þa to fore frea moncynnes;
wolde heofona helm helle weallas
forbreacan ond **forbygan**, þære burge þrym
onginnan reafian, reþust ealra cyninga.
‘Then the Lord of mankind hastened to his journey; the heavens’ protector would demolish and lay low the walls of hell and, most righteous of all kings, carry off the stronghold’s populace’.

3.3. *Forcuman*

Forcuman is used in various senses like ‘to seize; conquer; destroy’. (See also Section 1.29. *Fordrifan*, and *oferswīpan* ‘to overcome’).

(297) ChristB 561a

Nu sind **forcumene** ond in cwicsusle
gehynde ond gehæfte, in helle grund
dugupum bidæled, deofla ceman.
‘Now the devil’s champions are overcome and humiliated and fettered in living torment, deprived of strength in the abyss of hell’.

- (298) Mk 16.14 [nouissime recumbentibus illis undecim appruit et **exprobauit** incredulitatem eorum et duritiam cordis illorum]
Li: æt nesta ƿ lætmest hlinigendum ƿ ræstendum ðæm yuoelfum æt-eaude ƿ **for-cuom ƿ for-draf** ungeleaffulnise hiora ƿ stiðnise heartes hiora
Ru2: æt nesta ƿ lætimest hlionigendum ðæm twelfum æt-eowde ƿ **forcom ƿ fordraf** ungeleoffulnisse hiora ƿ stiðnisse heorta
WSCp: Ða æt nehstan he ætywde him twelfum þar hi æt-gædere sæton. ƿ **tælde** hyra ungeleaffulnesse. ƿ hyra heortan heardnesse.
AV: Afterward he appeared vnto the eleuen, as they sate at meat, and vp-braided them with their vnbeliefe, and hardnesse of heart,
- (299) Jn 3.14 [et sicut moyses **exaltauit** serpentem in deserto ita **exaltari** oportet filium hominis]
Li: ƿ suæ moises **gefeade ƿ forcuom** ða ðe nédrae on woestern suæ **gefeage ƿ ofersuiða** gedeafnað is sunu monnes
Ru2: ƿ swa **gifeade ƿ forcom** ða ðe nedre on ðæm westenne swa **gifeage ƿ ofer-suiðe** gidæfnað sunu monnes
WSCp: ƿ swa swa moyses þa næddran **up-ahóf** on þam westene. swa gebyrað þ mannes sunu **beo úp-a-háfen**.
AV: And as Moses lifted vp the serpent in the wilderness: euen so must the Sonne of man be lifted vp:

3.4. Forcyrnan

Forcyrnan means ‘to avoid; turn away; pervert’. (See also Section 1.90. *Forscrencan* and cf. *foreleoran* ‘to go before, go past’).

- (300) Ps 45.3 [Propterea non timebimus dum conturbabitur [Gallican: turbabitur] terra. et **transferentur** montes in cor maris.]
A: for ðon we ne ondredað ðonne bið gedroed eorðe ƿ **bioð forcerred** muntas in heortan sæs
E: Forðæn we ne ondredað þonne beoð gedrefed eorðe ƿ **bioð ofer-farende ƿ borene** dunæ on heortæn sæs
I: forðan we us ne ondrædaþ þænne byð astyrod seo eorðe ƿ þonne **beoð geferede** muntas ƿ duna on heortan sæs
J: forþam we ne ondrædaþ þonne biþ eorþe ƿ **beoþ forcired ƿ forlorene ƿ for lætene beoþ**¹⁵ muntas on heortan sæs
AV: Therefore will not we feare, though the earth be remoued: and though the mountaines be caried into the midst of the sea
- (301) Ps 69.4 [**Auertantur** retrorsum. et erubescunt qui cogitant mihi mala. **Auertantur** statim et erubescunt. qui dicunt mihi euge euge.]
A: **sien forcerde** on bec ƿ scomien ða ðe me yfel **sien forcerred** sona ƿ scomiende ða ðe cweoðað me weolga weolga
B: **sien forcirde** on bæc ƿ scamizen ða ðe ðencað me yfel **sien forcerde** sona scamiende ða ðe cwæð to me welza welza
I: **gecyrnan** on bæcling ƿ scamian þa þe willaþ me yfelu **syn afyrsade** þærrihte scamiende þa þe secgaþ me eala eala
AV: let them be turned backward, and put to confusion, that desire my hurt. Let them be turned backe for a reward of their shame, that say, Aha, aha.

3.5. Fordician

Fordician ‘to block off’ is antonymous to *dician* ‘to make a dike’ and occurs twice in *CP*.

- (302) CP 49.383.23
 Ongean ðæt sint to manianne ða ðe nabbað nawðer ne ildo ne wisdom to ðon ðæt hie mægen oððe cunnen læran, & hi æeah forhradiað ðæt hie hit ongiennað, ðylæs hie himselfum **fordikigen** ðone weg ðære bote, ðe him on fierste becuman meahte,
 ‘On the other hand, those who have neither age nor wisdom enough to be able or know how to teach, and yet hasten to undertake it, are to be warned not to block up for themselves the way of reformation, which might in time come to them’

3.6. Forgyldan

Forgyldan ‘to pay for, repay; recompense’ is used widely in poetry, in early and later prose as well as in *Law*.

(303) Beo 1054a
 ond þone ænne heht
 golde **forgyldan**, þone ðe Grendel ær
 mane acwealde,
 ‘and he commanded to recompense with gold for the one whom Grendel had killed in his wickedness’

(304) ÆHomM7 2.28, 31
 bihet þæt he wolde al his feoh him **forzeldæn**. ... oððet he him **forzylde** unðances his feoh.
 ‘he promised that he would repay him all his money ... until he repay him his money unwillingly’

3.7. For(e)hradian

For(e)hradian ‘to make haste; anticipate’ is used in an expanded sense of *hradian* ‘to hasten’. (See also Section 3.3. *Forcuman*).

(305) Ps 118.147 [**Preueni** in maturitste et clamaui. et in uerbum tuum speraui [*Gallican*: supersperaui].]
 A: **ic forecom** in ripunge ȝ cleopede ȝ in worde ðinum ic gehyhte
 D: **ic forecom** on ripunza ȝ ic clypode ȝ on word þin ic hyhte
 I: **ic forecom ȝ ic forhradode** on ripunga ȝ on ripnyse ȝ ic cleopede on wordum þinum ic swyðe truwade
 AV: I preuented the dawning of the morning, and cried: I hoped in thy word.

(306) ÆCHomI,40 530.179
 Bugað fram yfele ȝ doð god: ȝ ge beoð swa micclum orsorgran on tocyme þæs ecan deman: swa micclum swa ge nu
 his strecnysse. mid ege **forhradiað**;
 ‘Depart from evil and do good, and you are so much unconcerned with arriving the eternal judge, so much so that you
 now anticipate his rigour with fear’.

3.8. Forhwyrfan

Forhwyrfan or *forhwierfan* ‘to turn; change; prevent’ is used in an expanded sense of *hwierfan* ‘to turn, move’ (cf. Section 1.65. *Forhweorfan*).

(307) ChristA 34b
 Forþon secgan mæg, se ðe soð spricedð,
 þæt he ahredde, þa **forhwyrfed** wæs,
 frumcyn fira.
 ‘He who speaks the truth can therefore say that he saved many a race, when it had been led astray’.

(308) Deut 27.17
 Sy se man awyrgeð ðe **forhwyrfe** his freondes landgemæru. ȝ eall folc cwyð, Amen.
 ‘(AV) Cursed be he that remoueth his neighbours land-marke: and all the people shall say, Amen’.

(309) Ps 17.27 [et cum electo electus eris: et cum **peruerso subuerteris** [*Gallican*: **peruerteris**]]
 A: ȝ mid ðy upahefenan upahefen ðu bist ȝ mid ðy ðweoran ðu **bist forcerred**
 D: gecoren ðu bist mid **ferhwyrfedum** ðu **forhwyrfed bist**
 I: ȝ mid gecorenun gecoren þu byst mid **wyþerwerdum ȝ mid þweorum** ȝ þu byst **behwyrfed ȝ miswend**
 P: and gecoren wið þa gecorenan, and **hwyrf** þe wið **þa forhwyrfdan**
 AV: With the pure thou wilt shew thy selfe pure, and with the froward thou wilt shew thy selfe froward.

3.9. Forhylman

Forhylman ‘to neglect’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

(310) And 735a
 Ne dorste þa **forhylman** hælendes bebod
 wundor fore weorodum,
 ‘Then the marvellous thing did not dare to disregard the Saviour’s command in front of the crowds’

3.10. Forlacan

Forlacan ‘to lead astray’ occurs only in poetry. (See also Section 2.8. *Forlæran* and Section 3.21. *Forsendan*).

(311) And 1364a

Hwæt, ðu leoda feala

forleolce ond forlærdest! Nu leng ne miht

gewealdan þy weorce.

'What a multitude of people you have deceived and misled! Now you will not be able to carry on this work any longer'.

(312) Beo 904a

He mid Eotenum wearð

on feonda geweald forð **forlacen**,

snude forsended.

'Along with the giants he was seduced into the power of devils and was swiftly sent to perdition'.

3.11. *Forleon**Forleon* 'to avoid' has only two occurrences (cf. Section 1.40. *Forfleon*).

(313) ChronE 1086.124

Ðas þing we habbað be him gewritene, ægðer ge god ge yfele, þet þa godan men niman æfter þeora godnesse 7 **forleon** mid ealle yfelnesse 7 gan on ðone weg þe us lett to heofonan rice.

'We have set down these things about him, both the good and the evil, so that men may cherish the good and utterly eschew the evil, and follow the path that leads us to the kingdom of heaven'.

3.12. *Forlicgan**Forlicgan* 'to fornicate' occurs as a variant of *forligrian* (see Section 3.13. in *B* of *Ps* 72.27). (See also Section 3.1. *Forberan*).

(314) ÆLS (Eugenia) 186

cwæð þæt heo eode to hyre licgendre. on læces híwe. and hí wolde **for-lycgan**. gif heo þæt bysmor forberan wolde.

'saying, that she (Eugenia) came to her as she lay in bed in a physician's garb, and desired to lie with her, if she would put up with that shameful deed'

3.13. *Forligrian**Forligrian* 'to commit fornication' occurs only in gloss (here in *D* of *Ps* 72.27 and cf. Section 3.12. *Forlicgan*; see also Section 3.25. *Forspillan*, Section 5.4. *Fordon* and Section 5.15. *Forweorþan*).(315) *Ps* 72.27 [Quia ecce qui elongant se a te peribunt. perdes omnes qui **fornicantur** abs te.]*A*: for ðon sehðe ða afirrað hie from ðe forweorðað ðu forspildest alle ða **dernliggað** from ðe*B*: forðon sehðe þa afirrað hie fram ðe forweorðað þu forspildest ealle þa ðe **forliczað** fram ðe*D*: forðon efnenu þa ðe afeorriað hy fram þe hy forweorþað þu forspilst ealle þa ðe **forlizriað** fram ðe*I*: forþi þe eofne þa þe fyrsiaþ hig fram þe losiaþ þu fordydest ælcne man se þe **hæmþ** butan 7 fram þe*AV*: For loe, they that are farre from thee, shall perish: thou hast destroyed all them that goe a whoring from thee.3.14. *Forliþan**Forliþan* 'to suffer shipwreck' is used especially in *ApT* in adjectival use of the past participle. (See also Section 1.40. *Forfleon*).(316) *ApT* 22.7ic lufige þone **forlidenan** man ðe wæs þurh ungelymp beswicen.

'I love the shipwrecked man who was betrayed by misfortune'.

(317) *ApT* 49.9-10þu eart se **forlidena** man ðe ic lufode na for galnesse ac for wisdom.

'You are the shipwrecked man whom I loved not for wantonness but for wisdom'.

3.15. *Forlosian**Forlosian*, 'to lose; destroy', often expands, as easily expected, the sense of just losing things. (See also Section 3.25. *Forspillan* and Section 5.4. *Fordon*).

- (318) *ÆLS* (Vincent) 320
 ðe þe his sawle lufæð, he **forlosæð** heo witodlice; and þe ðe his sawlæ hatað on þissere weorulde, he healt hire soðlice on þam ecan life
 ‘he who loves his soul loses it truly; and he who hates his soul in this world holds it truly in the eternal life’

- (319) Mt 2.13 [futurum est enim ut herodes quaerat puerum **ad perdendum** eum]
Li: geworden wæs 1 woen is forðon þ herodes soecas ðone cnæht **to fordoanne 1 to forlosanne**
Ru1: forþon ðe toward is soþlice þte herodes soecaþ þone cneht **to ofslæanne** hine
WSCp: Toward ys. þ herodes secð þ cild **to forspille**ne;
AV: for Herode will seeke the young childe, to destroy him

3.16. *Forsacan*

Forsacan ‘to refuse; disregard’ has an expanded sense of *sacan* ‘to dispute, accuse’.

- (320) *WaldA* 28a
Forsoc he ðam swurde and ðam syncfatum,
 beaga mænigo,
 ‘He refused the sword and precious cups and many rings’
- (321) *ChronD* 1037.1 (=ChronC)
 Her man geceas Harold ofer eall to kyninge, 7 **forsoc** Harðacnut, for þam he wæs to lange on Denmarcon.
 ‘In this year they chose Harold everywhere as king, and forsook Harthacnut, because he remained too long in Denmark’.
- (322) *BenR* 43.69.20, 22
 Gif hwam fram his ealdore geboden sy to ðigene, and he hit mid gebelge **forsake**, ne sy him to gewilnedum mæle nanre oðere þigene getiðod, buton þæs ilcan, þe he ær **forsoc**, oðþæt he mid þæslicre dædbote gebete. [*BenRGI* 43.78.3: wiðsæcð ... wiðsoc]
 ‘If anything be offered to a servant from his elder and he rejected it with arrogance, it should not be given to any other servant at his desirable time, except the same one, which he formerly rejected, until he amends with suitable atonement’.

3.17. *Forscyppan*

Forscyppan ‘to change; transform’ is often used in the description of the transformation of angels into devils.

- (323) *GenB* 308b
 Feollon þa ufon of heofnum
 þurhlonge swa þreo niht and dagas,
 þa englas of heofnum on helle, and heo ealle **forsceop**
 drihten to deoflum.
 ‘Then they fell from above out of heavens as long as three nights and days, those angels from heavens into hell, and the Lord transformed them all into devils’.
- (324) *HomU* 26 10
 and uton eallon mægne us scyldan wið ofermodignesne, forðam þe hy awurpon iu englas of heofonum, and hi wurdon þærrihtes to deoflum **forsceapene**.
 ‘and let us defend all our strength against pride, because they had thrown angels out of heavens, and they were immediately transformed into devils’

3.18. *Forscyrian*

Forscyrian ‘to separate (the body and soul)’ occurs only once.

- (325) *HomS* 3 (*VercHom* 8) 35
 Arisaþ nu ealle þa **forsciridan** 7 gehyrað dryhtnes stemne.
 ‘Now arise all the dead and listen to the voice of the Lord’.

3.19. *Forsecan*

Forsecan ‘to seek with hostile intent’ occurs only twice, only in poetry.

(326) GuthA 377a

Ʒeah Ʒe ge hine sarum **forsæcen**, ne motan ge mine sawle gretan,
ac ge on betran gebringað.

‘Though you may seek it (body) with afflictions, you are not allowed to attack my soul but you will lead it (soul) to a better state’.

(327) El 932a

ond Ʒec Ʒonne sendeð in Ʒa sweartestan
ond Ʒa wyrrestan witebrogan,
Ʒæt ðu, sarum **forsohht**, wiðsæcest fæste
Ʒone ahangnan cyning, Ʒam ðu hyrdest ær.

‘and then he will deliver you up to the blackest and vilest horrors of torture so that, probed with pains, you will quickly renounce the crucified king whom once you obeyed’

3.20. *Forsencan*

Forsencan ‘to cause to sink; reject’ occurs only once. (See also Section 3.16. *Forsacan*).

(328) CP(H) 47.345.13

Se ðe ðonne ne giemð hwæðer he ða sibbe healed, ðonne **forsencð** [C: forsæcð] he ðone wæstm his gæstes.
‘He, then, who does not care to keep peace, rejects the fruit of his spirit’.

3.21. *Forsendan*

Forsendan ‘to send forth; send into exile’ is used in an expanded sense of *sendan* ‘to send’. (See also Section 1.100. *Forslean* and Section 3.22. *Forsettan*).

(329) Or 3 7.63.25

Ac he ealle Ʒa rīcstan forslean het Ʒ Ʒa oðre sume on wræcsið **forsende**, sume on oðra mearca gesette.
‘But he commanded all the most powerful to be inflicted heavy casualties and some others to be banished into exile, some to be set in other territories’.

(330) ChronD 1057.3

Ʒisne æpeling Cnut cyng hæfde **forsend** on Ungerland to beswicane,
‘This prince king Cnut had banished into Hungary to be put out of the way’

3.22. *Forsettan*

Forsettan ‘to stop up; oppress’ has an expanded sense of *settan* ‘to set’. (See also Section 1.134. *Fortynan*).

(331) Bede 3 14.212.16

Ʒa fliton him on Ʒa wergan gasas Ʒ Ʒa mid gelomlicum oncunniſsum teledon, Ʒæt heo him Ʒone heofonlican weg **forsette** Ʒ fortynde;
‘The accursed spirits fought against him, and by frequent accusations strove to shut up and cut off from him the road to heaven;’

(332) GD4(C) 16.285.3

forƷon Ʒe heora eazan seo mycclē fyrhto **forsette**, Ʒ eac seo beorhtnes swa mycles leohtes hi zeswæncte.
‘because the great fear oppressed their eyes, and also the brightness afflicted them with such great light’

3.23. *Forsittan*

Forsittan ‘to obstruct; neglect’ is used in various contexts. (See also Section 1.97. *Forsetnian*).

(333) GenA 2860a

Ne **forsæt** he Ʒy siðe, ac sona ongann
fysan to fore.

‘He did not delay by making a journey but immediately began to ready for going’.

- (334) Ps 21.3 [Circumdederunt me uituli multi: tauri pingnes **obsederunt** me.]
 A: ymbaldon me calfur monig fearras faette **oferseton** me
 D: ymbsealdon cealfu menize fearras faette **forsætnodon**
 F: hy ymbtrymdon me calfru manige fearras faette **forsæton** me
 G: utan ymbsealdon me cealfra mænige fearras faette **forsætnodon (f ofsæton)** me
 I: ymhwurfon f ymbsetton f ymbtrymdon me cealfas mænega fearras faette **ofsettun f ymbsæton** me
 AV: Many bulles haue compassed me: strong *bulles* of Bashan haue beset me round.

- (335) Lch II(2) 18.1.1
 wiþ þære lifre swile oððe aþundenesse, gif se utgang **forsitte**, him is on fruman blod to forlætenne on ædre on þa winestran healfe.
 ‘against the liver swelling or tumour, if the exit obstructs, at first release the blood in vein on the left side’

3.24. *Forsipian*

Forsipian ‘to perish’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

- (336) Beo 1550a
 Hæfde ða **forsiðod** sunu Ecgþeowes
 under gynne grund, Geata cempa
 nemne him heaðobyrne helpe gefremede,
 geweold wigsigor;
 ‘Then the son of Ecgtheow, the hero of the Geats, would have perished under the deep abyss, had not his corslet, his strong coat of mail, supported him with help’

3.25. *Forspillan*

Forspillan ‘to waste, destroy, kill’ is also used in the sense ‘to disperse’. (See also Section 1.1. *Forbærnan* and Section 5.4. *Fordon*).

- (337) WHom 19 68

Land hy awestað f burga forbærnað f æhta **forspillað**, f eard hy amyrrað.
 ‘They lay lands waste and burn cities and ruin possessions, and they destroy the country’.

- (338) Ps 105.27 [et ut deiceret semen eorum in nationibus, et **dispergeret** eos in regionibus.]
 A: f ðæt he awurpe sæd heara in cneorissum f **tostrugde** hie in londum
 B: f ðæt he awurpe sæd hira on cneorissum f **tostrugde** hie on londum
 D: f þæt he awurpe sæd heora on cynnum f **forspilde** on ricum
 E: f þette towurpe sæd hiræ on gekiðnessum f þette hi **tostencte** on hiræ londum
 AV: To ouerthrow their seed also among the nations, and to scatter them in the lands.

3.26. *Forþencan*

Forþencan ‘to despair’ expands the negative sense of thinking.

- (339) Bo 8.19.29, 30, 31
 þ is nu giet þinne unrihtwisnesse þ ðu eart fulneah **forþoht**. Ac ic nolde þ þu þe **forþohte**, ac ic wolde þ ðe sceamode swelces gedwolan; forðæm se se ðe hine **forþencð** se bið ormod, ac se se ðe hine sceamað se bið on hroewsunga.
 ‘It is still your wickedness that you are almost in despair. But I did not wish you to despair yourself, but I wished you to be ashamed of such heresy; because he who despairs himself is despondent, but he who is ashamed of himself is in repentance’.

- (340) LS23 (Mary of Egypt) 477

hwæt mæg ic earm **for-ðoht** mare geðencan oððe areccan.
 ‘What more can I, a despairing wretch, think or tell of?’

3.27. *Forwritan*

Forwritan ‘to cut through’ occurs only once and only in poetry.

- (341) Beo 2705a

forwrat Wedra helm wrym on middan.
 ‘the protector of the Geats cut through the serpent in the middle’

3.28. *Forwyrcean*²

*Forwyrcean*² ‘to obstruct; bar; stop up’ is used in the prefixed form. (Cf. Section 5.16. *Forwyrcean*¹).

(342) CP 42.307.1

Forðy [ús] is to wietanne ðæt we magon hie sua iðesð mid ðreaunga gebetan, gif we ðone bitteran wille æt ðæm
æsprynge **forwyrceað** & adrygað,
‘Therefore it is to be known that we can most easily reform them with reproof, if we stop the bitter spring at the source,
and dry it up’

(343) LS 34 (SevenSleepers) 758

þa Decius se casere hét þæt scræf **forwyrcean** swá we áer beforan rehton.
‘when Decius the emperor bade the cave to be built up, as we related earlier before this’

4. **Emphatic and Expanded**4.1. *Forblawan*

Forblawan means ‘to blow violently; become turbulent’.

(344) Jn 6.18 [mare autem uento magno flante exsurgebat]

Li: ðe sæ uutudlice winde miclum **forblauene** ofstod † aras
Ru2: ðe sæ wutudlice winde miclum **for-bleow** ofstod † aras
WSCp: mycel wind **bleow** † hit wæs hreoh sáe;
AV: And the sea arose, by reason of a great winde that blew.

4.2. *Forbregdan*

Forbregdan means ‘to drag around; ruin; cover completely; transform’.

(345) Ps 54.10 [**Precipita** domine et diuide linguas eorum quoniam iniquitatem et contradictionem in ciuitate]

A: **forbregd** dryht † todæl tungan heara for ðon ic gesæh unrihtwisnisse † wiðcwedenisse in cestre

C: **forbred** frihtyn † todæl tungan hyra forþon ic zeseah unrihtwisnyse † wiðcwedynysse on ceastre

D: **afyl † ahylð** † todæl tunzas heora ic zeseah unrihtwisnesse † wiþercwedulnisse on ceastre

I: **ascuf** † todæl heora tungan forþan þe ic geseah unrihtwisnyse † wiðercwydelnyse on ceastre

AV: Destroy, O Lord, and diuide their tongues: for I haue seene violence and strife in the citie.

(346) Jul 470b

Oft ic syne ofteah,

ablende bealoþoncum beorna unrim

monna cynnes, misthelme **forbrægd**

þurh attres ord eagna leoman

swærtum scurum,

‘Often I have taken away the sight and blinded with wicked thoughts a countless men of human race, and obscured the light of their eyes with a covering of mist by means of venomous spears in dark showers’

4.3. *Forbugan*

Forbugan means ‘to avoid physical contact with; evade’.

(347) Mald 325b

Næs þæt na se Godric þe ða guðe **forbeah**

‘He was not that Godric who fled from the battle’.

(348) ÆCHomII,15 156.201-202

Ne mænde crist ðone deað þe nán man **forbugan** ne mæg.

‘Christ did not mention the death which no one can escape’.

- (349) Lk 10.31-32 [accidit *autem* ut sacerdos quidam descenderet eadem uia et uiso illo **praeteriuit** similiter et leuita cum esset secus locum et uideret eum **transit**]
Li: gelamp ðonne þte sacerð sum foerde ðalica woeg e 7 gesene hine **bi-wærld**e ongelíc 7 se diacon miððy wæs neh þ stou 7 gesege hine **ofer-foerde**
[Ru2: lost]
WSCp: Ða gebyrode hit þ sum sacerð férd e on þam ylcan wege 7 þa he þ geseah he hine **for-beh**. 7 eall-swa se diácon. þa he wæs wið þa stówe 7 þ geseah he hyne eac **for-beah**;
AV: And by chance there came downe a certaine Priest that way, and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Leuite, when hee was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

4.4. Forcunnian

Forcunnian ‘to tempt’ occurs only in gloss.

- (350) Mt 22.18 [cognita *autem* *iesus* nequitia eorum ait quid me **temptatis** hypochritae]
Li: ongeten wæs 7 ongæt soðlice ðe hælend wo es 7 wohfulnise hiora cueð huæt meh ge **forcunnas** la legeras
Ru1: ongetende þa se hælend hete heora cwæþ forwon ge min **costigað** licetteras
WSCp: þa se hælend hyra facn gehyrde þa cwæð he la licceteras hwi **fandige** ge min
AV: But Iesus perceiued their wickednesse, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites?

4.5. Forgan

Forgan ‘to forgo; forfeit; pass over’ seems to have a wider sense of the word than MnE *forgo*.

- (351) CP 23.179.5
 & no oðre wisan ða ðe ða lytlan scylda oftrædlice wyrceað, on oðre wisan ða ðe ða lytlan **forgåð**, & ðeah hwilum ða maran wyrceað;
 ‘in one way those who often commit small sins, in another those who forgo the small sins and yet sometimes commit the greater’
- (352) Mt 5.18 [donec transeat caelum et terra iota unum aut unus apex **non praeteribit** a lege donec omnia fiant]
Li: wið ða hwile liores heofon 7 eorðo foruord 7 pricle an 7 enne 7 enne pricle 7 stæfes heafod **ne foreade 7 ne forgæs** from ae wið ða huile alle sie
Ru1: oþþæt geleoreþ heofun 7 eorþe an 7 eþþa an holstæfes **ne gelioreþ** from ae ærþon all þus geweorþe
WSCp: ærþam gewite heofon 7 eorðe án .i. oððe án prica. **ne gewit** fram þære .æ. ærþam ealle þing gewurðan;
AV: Till heauen and earth passe, one iote or one title, shall in no wise passe from the law, till all be fulfilled.

4.6. Forngangan

Forngangan ‘to forgo; refrain from’ is used in much the same meaning with *forgan*. (See Section 4.5. *Forgan* and Section 4.9. *Forlætan*).

- (353) GD2(C) 36.174.29
 ac sume his wisan fyrwetgeornlice ic **forzanze** 7 forlæte, for ic þæncende efste to þam dædum 7 wundrum oþra æþelra wera.
 ‘but I let go and pass over some of his way, because I hasten thinking to the deeds and miracles of other noble men’
- (354) ÆCHomI,1 181.78
 Nast þu þ ic eom þin hlaford 7 þ ðu eart min þeowa buton ðu do þ ic ðe hate. 7 **forngang** þ ic ðe forbeode.
 ‘You do not understand that I am your lord and that you are my servant, unless you do what I command you and neglect what I forbid you’.

4.7. Forglendrian

Forglendrian ‘to devour; consume’ seems to have a wider sense than *glendran* ‘to devour’ and *geglendrian* ‘to precipitate’. (See also Section 1.1. *Forbæran* and Section 1.121. *Forswelgan*).

- (355) Ps 43.25 [Quoniam humiliata est in puluere anima nostra **adhesit** [*Gallican*: **conglutinated est**] in terra uenter noster.]
 A: for ðon geeaðmodad is in dusðe sawul ur **ætfaþh** in eorðan womb ur
 D: geeaðmed is on duste sawl ure **zeclýfode** on eorðan innoð ure
 E: Forðæn geeaðmæd is on duste sæule ure **etfýlhð þ clyuode** on eorðæn wamb þ innoð ure
 I: geeaðmeded is to duste þ to eorðan ure sawl **gebíged þ forglendrad þ gelimod is** to eorðan wambe ure
 J: forðon geeaðmodod is on dust þ on myl sawle ure **forswolgon is** on eorþan wambe ure
 AV: For our soule is bowed downe to the dust; our belly cleaueth vnto the earth.

- (356) HomU 19 34
 þonne gelimpeð þæt eft æfter fwawum dagum oþþe feawum gearum, þæt se ilca lichoma byð on byrgenne from
 wýrmum freten & **forglendred**.
 ‘but it shall happen, after a few days or a few years, that the same body shall be in the tomb, eaten and devoured
 by worms’

- (357) HomU 32(B) 27
 and, swa hwæt manncynnes swa eorðe ær forsweahl odðe fyr forbærnde [*B*: **forglendrede**] and sá besencte and wilde
 deor fráeton and fugelas tobæron, eall þý dæge arised.
 ‘and as whosoever mankind on earth formerly swallowed or devoured by fire and sunk to the sea and eaten by wild
 animals and carried off by birds, all arises on the day’

4.8. Forhýnan

Forhýnan ‘to humiliate’ has various meanings as well as the non-prefixed *hienan*. (See also Section 1.100. *Forslean* and Section 5.4. *Fordon*).

- (358) Or 3 7.65.12, 17
 Æt þæm cirre wurdon Ahteniense swa wælhreowlice forslagen ʒ **forhiened** þæt hie na siþþan nanes anwaldes hi ne
 bemætan ne nanes freodomes. Æfter þæm Philippus gelæddefird on Læcedemonie ʒ on Thebane ʒ hi miclum tintrade
 ʒ bismrade, oþ hie mid ealle wæron fordon ʒ **forhiened**.
 ‘At that time the Athenians became beaten up and humbled so cruelly that they never considered any power or freedom
 afterwards. After that Philip brought army in to the Lacedaemonians and in to the Thebans and tormented them
 greatly and put them to shame, until they were destroyed and humbled completely’.

- (359) Ps 81.3 [Iudicate pupillo et egeno **humilem**. et pauperem. iustificate.]
 A: doemað feadurleasne ʒ wæðlan **heanne** ʒ ðearfan gerehtwisiað
 D: demað steopcilde ʒ wæðlan **eaðmodne** ʒ þearfan zerihtwisiað
 I: demaþ þam wæðlan ʒ steopcilde þone **forhýndan** ʒ þearfan gerihtlæcaþ
 AV: Defend the poore and fatherlesse: doe iustice to the afflicted and needie.

4.9. Forlætán

Forlætán ‘to let, allow; leave; forsake’ has various shades of meaning and is used in various texts. The contrast of “double prefix (or adverb + prefix) + verb” and “for-verb + adverb” in *CP* is worthy of notice. (See also Section 5.7. *Forgyfan* and also Ogura (1991)).

- (360) GuthA 3a
 Ofgiefep hio þas eorþan wynne,
forlæted þas lænan dreamas, ond hio wiþ þam lice gedæleð.
 ‘It (soul) resigns these earthly pleasures, forsakes these transient joys, and parts from the body’.

- (361) Met 5 28b
 Þu scealt eac yfelne ege an **forlætán**,
 woruldearfoða,
 ‘You must also leave evil fear, one of the worldly troubles’

- (362) Mk 15.9 [uultis **dimittan** uobis regem iudaeorum]
Li: wallað gie þ gif gie wælle ic **forgefe þ forlete** iuh cynig iudeana
Ru2: wallas ge ic **forgefe þ forlete** iow cynig iudea
WSCp: Wylle ge þ ic eow **forgyfe** iudea cyning.
AV: Will ye that I release vnto you the King of the Iewes?

(363) CP 38.279. (12), 13, (17)

Be ðæm wæs suiðe wel gecweden ðurh ðone wisan Salomon, ðætte se se ðæt wæter **utforlete** wære fruma ðære towesnesse. Se **forlæt ut** ðæt wæter, se ðe his tungan stemne on unnyttum wordum lætt toflowan. Ac se wise Salomon sæde ðætte suiðe deop pól wære gewered on ðæs wisan monnes móde, & suiðe lytel unnyttas utfleowe. Ac se se ðe ðone wér bricð, & ðæt wæter **utforlæt**, se bið fruma ðæs geflites.

'Of which was very well said through the wise Solomon, that he who lets out the water is the cause of discord. He lets out the water, who allows the voice of his tongue to be dissipated in useless words. The wise Solomon said that a very deep pool is weired in the wise man's mind, and very little of what is useless flows out. He who breaks the weir and lets out the water is the cause of strife'.

(tr. Sweet (1871–1872))

4.10. Forniman

Forniman 'to take away; seize; destroy' has senses of emphasis and expansion of *niman*; see also Section 1.63. *Forher(e)gian* and Section 5.4. *Fordon*.

(364) Bede1 18.92.5

Se me allum Ongolcynnum ȝ aldormonnum Bretta þeode **fornom** ȝ forhergade,
'He destroyed and wasted the Britons more than all the English and their chiefs'

(365) Jn 8.4 [magister haec mulier modo **deprehensa est** in adultwrio]

Li: laar ðios uif nú **benumen is** in derne-legerscip (*sic*)

Ru2: larow ðis wif nu **for-numen is** in derne-giligro

WSCp: Láreow. þis wif **wæs afundyn** on unriht-on hæmede;

AV: Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act.

(366) Lk 9.42 [et cum accederet elisit illum daemonium et **dissipauit** et increpauit]

Li: ȝ miððy geneolecde agroette hine se diowl ȝ **losade** ȝ ȝ geðreade

Ru2: ȝ miððy gineolicadeagroette hine ðe diowul ȝ **giðreade** ȝ ðreade

WSCp: And þa he hyne lædde him to. se deofol hine **for-nam** ȝ fordyde [*WSH*: **nam** ȝ for-dyde].

AV: And as he was yet a comming, the deuill threw him downe, and tare him:

4.11. Forsceotan

Forsceotan 'to rush before; forestall' emphasises and expands the sense of *sceotan* 'to shoot'.

(367) Bo 39.124.11

Walawa þ ða ungesæligan men ne magon gebidon hwonne he him to cume, ac **forsceotað** hine foran, swa swa wilde deor willnað oðer to acwellenne. (cf. *Met* 27.19a foran to sciotan)

'Alas that these unhappy men cannot wait when he would come to them, but prevent him beforehand, as wild animals want to kill others'.

(368) ÆCHomI,34 470.159

ða mid þam þe petrus wolde befrignan þam hælende. þa **forsceat** se hælend hine þe ealle þing wat þus cweðende;
'when Peter intended to ask the Lord, then the Lord who knows all things anticipated him, saying thus'

4.12. Forteon

Forteon 'to pull; cover; mislead' is used in various senses, though it occurs only seven times.

(369) *Met* 22 34a

mid gedwolviste dreorigne sefangecerdo

fortihð mod foran manna gehwelces,

'with the mist of error (the sin) leads the sorrowful mind of everyone astray beforehand'

(370) *Lch* II(2) 36.1.1

be miltewærce ... þa men beoð mægre & unrote, blace on onsyne þeah þe hie ær fætte wæron ... & fnæstiað swiþe, beoþ **fortogene**.

'about the pain in the spleen ... these men are lean and sad, pale in face though they had been fat, ... and breathe very hard, and subject to sudden pain'

4.13. Fortredan

Fortredan ‘to tread under foot; crush’ emphasises and expands the sense of *tredan* ‘to tread’.

- (371) Mt 7.6 [ne forte **conclucent** eas pedibus suis et conuersi dirumpant uos]
Li: ðy læs hia **getrede** ða ilco mið fotum hiora 7 gewoendo 7 gecerdo toslitas iuh
Ru1: þyles hia **tredan** ða heora fotum 7 gehwerfæþ to slite eowic
WSCp: þe læs hig mid hyra fotum hig **fortredon**. 7 hig þonne ongean gewende eow tosliton;
AV: lest they trample them vnder their feete, and turne againe and rent you.

- (372) Ps 90.13 [Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et **conculcabis** leonem draconem]

A: ofer nedran 7 fagwyrn gongs 7 **trides** leon 7 dracan

D: ofer nædran 7 nædran þu zæst 7 þu **fortritst** leon 7 dracan

J: ofer næddran 7 næddran mid þu gæst 7 þu **fortretst** leon 7 dracan

AV: Thou shalt tread vpon the Lion, and adder: the yong Lion and the dragon shalt thou trample vnder feete.

4.14. Fortreddan

Fortreddan ‘to trample; despise’ has a more expanded sense than *fortredan*. (See also Section 1.167. *Foryrman* and Section 4.10. *Forniman*).

- (373) Bede 1 9.44.23

Ða þæt ða ongeaton ða ærran gewinnan þæt se Romanisca here wæs onweg gewiten, ða coman hi sona mid sciphere on heora landgemæro, slogan eall 7 cwealdon þæt hi gemetton; 7 swa swa ripe yrð **fortreddon** 7 fornamon, 7 hi mid ealle foryrmdon.

‘But when their former adversaries saw that the Roman army had gone away, they proceeded at once with a fleet to the British borders, slew and murdered all they met, and, as if it were a ripe field of corn, trod them under foot, and made havoc, and utterly ruined all’.

(tr. Miller ([1891] 1959))

- (374) Ps 138.11 [Et dici forsitan tenebre **conculcabunt** me. et nox inluminatio mea in deliciis meis]

A: 7 ic cweð woeninga on ðeostru **bitreodað** mec 7 naeht inlihtnis min in wistum minum

J: 7 ic cwæþ wenunga þistro **fortredaþ** me 7 niht min onlihtnes on bleofæstnessum minum

K: 7 ic cweþe wenunga þystro **fortreddað** me 7 nihta anlyhtnes on bleofæstnes minum

AV: If I say, Surely the darkenes shall couer me: euen the night shall bee light about me.

4.15. Fortruwian

Fortruwian ‘to presume; be over-confident’ emphasizes and expands the meaning of *truwian* ‘to trust’. (See also Section 5.1. *Forcweþan* and Section 5.13. *Forseon*).

- (375) CP 44.327.14-15

Ne **fortruwige** he hiene æt ðære cipinge, ne wene he no ðæt Godes ryhtwisnes sie to ceape,
 ‘Let them not be too confident of their bargain, nor think that God’s righteousness is for sale’

- (376) CP 32.209.5

Ða fortruwodan, ðonne hie him selfum to suiðe truwiað, hie forsiðð oðre men, & eac forcueðað.

‘The presumptuous, when too confident in themselves, despise and revile others’.

- (377) HomU8 (Verc 2) 5

ac we nu þam geliccost **fortruwode** þe he us no to ne cyme
 ‘but we now most likely trusted that he will not come to us’

4.16. Forþræstan

Forþræstan ‘to crush; stifle’ has emphatic and expanded senses of *þræstan* ‘to twist’. (See also Section 1.48. *Forgnidan*, Section 1.102. *Forsmorian*, Section 5.10. *Forhogian*, Section 5.11. *Forhycgan* and Section 5.13. *Forseon*).

- (378) *ÆCHomII,6(C)* 55.94
 Woruldcara and welan. and flæsclice lustas forsmoriað ðæs modes ðrotan. and ne geðafiað góðne willan infaran to his heortan. swilce hí ðone líflican bláed **forðræstne** acwellon;
 ‘worldly care and riches and carnal lusts choke the throat of mind and do not allow God’s will to enter his heart, in such a way that they kill the living spirit affected’
- (379) *Ps 50.19* [Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus cor **contritum** et humiliatum. deus non spernit [*Gallican*: despicias].]
A: onsegdnis gode gas geswenced heorte **forðrested** 7 geeaðmodad god ne forhogad
C: onsæzdniss zode zást zeswincys heorte **forþræst** 7 zeadmedd zod ne forhozað
D: onsæzdniss zást zeswenced 7 zeunrotsod heortan **forznidene** zeeaðmedde na forhyzeð
I: onsægdness gode gast geunrotsad 7 gedrefed heortan þa **tobryttan** god ne forhyge þu 7 þu ne forsihst
AV: The sacrifices of God *are* a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

5. Antonymous and Expanded

5.1. *Forcweþan*

Forcweþan ‘to reproach; refuse’ is antonymous and somewhat expanded in the sense of *cweþan* ‘to say’.

- (380) *CP 5.43.6*
 Gif ðonne seo feding ðara sceapa bið ðære lufan taken, hwi **forcwið** ðonne se ðe him God suelce cræftas giefð ðæt he ne fede his heorde, buton he cueðan wielle ðæt he ne lufige ðone Hlaford & ðone hean Hierde eallra gesceafta?
 ‘If, then, the feeding of the sheep is the sign of love, why does he, to whom God has given such qualities, refuse to feed his flock, unless he would wish to say that he does not love the Lord and high Shepherd of all creatures?’
- (381) *Mk 7.2* [et cum uidissent quosdam ex discipulis eius communibus id est non lotis manducare panes **uitu-perauerunt**]
Li: 7 miððy gesegon sume oðero from ðegnum his gemænelicum mið hondum þ is un-ðuegenum eata hlafo **forcuoedon**
Ru2: 7 mið-ðy gisegun sume oðre of ðegnum his gimetelicum mið hondum ðæt is un-ðwægnum eotas hlafas **for-cwedun** hiæ
WSCp: 7 þa hi ge-sawon sume of his learning-cnihton besmitenum handum þ is ún-þwogenum handum etan. hi **tældon** hi 7 **cwædon**;
AV: And when they saw some of his disciples eate bread with defiled (that is to say, with vnwashen) hands, they found fault.

5.2. *Forcyþan*

Forcyþan ‘to rebuke; blame’ shows a similar development of the meaning of *cyþan* ‘to make known’ as *forcweþan* to *cweþan*. (See also Section 3.3. *Forcuman*).

- (382) *MSol 176a*
 Hæfde ða se snotra sunu Dauides
 forcumen and **forcyðed** Caldea eorl.
 ‘The clever son of David had overcome and rebuked earl of Chaldea’.
- (383) *MtHeadGI (Li) 80* [Item arguit phariseos aedificantes sepulchra prophetarum]
 ec **forcyðas** 7 geðreatas þ hia getimbredon byrgenna þara witgena
 ‘they also rebuke (pharisees) that they built sepulcher of the prophets’

5.3. *Fordeman*

Fordeman ‘to condemn; sentence’ is used in the sense of condemnation in most instances. (See also Section 5.4. *Fordon*).

- (384) *CP 49.377.16*
 Forðæm he for ðære anre scylde ðære swigan bið awierged & **fordemed** from ðæm folce, forðæm he manigne gelæran meahte, gif he wolde.
 ‘He is accursed and condemned by the people for the one sin of silence, because he could have taught many, if he would’.

(385) ChronD 1076.37
 se kyngc wæs þa þone midwinter on Westmynstre, þær mon **fordemde** [E 1075.29: fordyde] ealle þa Bryttas þe wæron æt þam brydlope æt Norðwic,
 ‘the king spent Christmas at Westminster and there all the Britons who attended that bridal at Norwich were sentenced to punishment’

(386) ÆLS (AshWed) 241
 Heo nolde seccgan unsoð and hi sylfe **fordeman**. forðan þe se leasa muð ofslihð þæs mannes sawle.
 ‘She would not speak untruth of herself and condemn because a lying mouth destroys a man’s soul’.

5.4. Fordon

Fordon ‘to destroy; to put to death; corrupt’ is used in the sense of putting someone to death or something to ruin in most instances.

(387) ChronE 870.3
 þa Deniscan sige naman & þone cining oflogon & þet land eall geodon & **fordiden** ealle þa mynstre þa hi to comen.
 ‘the Danes won the victory and they slew the king and overran the entire kingdom and destroyed all the monasteries which they came to’

(388) ÆLS (George) 64
 For ðe geori ic begeat þisne dry. oferswyð his drycraeft oððe he þe oferswyðe. oððe he **fordó** þe oððe þu **fordo** hine.
 ‘For thee, George, I have procured this magician; overcome his magic, or let him overcome thee, either let him undo thee, or do thou undo him’.

(tr. Skeat (1881–1900))

(389) Mt 10.21 [et insurgent filii in parentes et morte eos **afficient**]

Li: 7 wið arrissas suna in áldrum 7 mið deaðe hia **ofslaes**

Ru1: 7 áriseþ suna wið freondum 7 deaþe hiae **cwelmaþ**

WSCp: 7 bearn arisaþ ongen magas 7 to deaþe hí **fordoþ**.

AV: and the children shall rise vp against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.

5.5. Forfaran

Forfaran ‘to perish; destroy’ can be compared with the non-prefixed counterpart *faran* ‘to go’ in its meaning.¹⁶ (See also Section 3.15. *Forlosian*, Section 3.25. *Forspillan* and Section 5.4. *Fordon*).

(390) ChronE 1096.21
 ac þes folces þe be Hungrie for, fela þusenda þær & be wæge earmlice **forforan**,
 ‘but many thousands of those who went by Hungary perished miserably there and on the way’

(391) Mt 10.39 [Qui inuenit animam suam perdet illam et qui **perdiderit** animam suam propter me inueniet eam]
Li: seðe begettes 7 ðe infindes sauel his loseð 7 fordoeð hia 7 ða 7 seðe welle **losige 7 loses 7 fordoes 7 forfæras** sawel his fore meh onfindes hia 7 ða ilco
Ru1: seþe gemoete saule 7 ferh his forleose þæt 7 seþe **forleoseð** ferh his for mec he gemoeteþ þæt
WSCp: Se þe ge-met hys sawle se for-spilþ hig. 7 se þe **for-spilþ** hys sawle for mé hé ge-mét hi;
AV: He that findeth his life, shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it.

5.6. Forferan

Forferan ‘to perish; go astray’ has much the same sense as *forfaran* and can be compared with the non-prefixed counterpart *feran* ‘to go’. (See also Section 5.15. *Forweorþan*).

(392) ChronF 1016.5
 se cing Ægelred ær forðferde ær þa scipan coman; he **forferde** [E: geendode his dagas] on sancta Georgies mæssedæg æfter miclum geswince & earfoðnissum his liues
 ‘King Æthelred passed away before the ships arrived; he perished on St. George’s day, after a life of much hardship and many difficulties’.

(393) ÆCHomI,24 374.106

nigon engla werod þær wæron to lafe, & þær teoþe **forferde** [H: forweard].

‘nine hosts of angels there were to remain, and the tenth went astray’

5.7. Forgyfan

Forgyfan ‘to give in response; give up; forgive’ has various senses like ‘to give, give up, forgive’ and has an additional semantic expansion according to the context.

- (394) ÆGram 139.6
seo feorðe PRAETERITVM gæð þus: ... *do* ic gyfe, *dedi* ic geaf, *datum* **forgyfen**.
ÆGram 167.6
tribuo ic sylle oððe **forgyfe**

- (395) And 1586b
Geofon swaðrode
þurh aliges hæs, hlýst yst **forgeaf**,
brimrad gebad.
‘The sea became calm by the saint’s command, the storm gave up hearing (by men), the course of flood remained still’.
- (396) GenB 662a
Gif þu him heodæg wuht hearmes gespræce,
he **forgifð** hit þeah, gif wit him geongordom
læstan willað.
‘Even if you speak today anything of result for him, he will forgive it, if we two intend to perform service for him’.
- (397) ChronD 925.1
her Æþelstan cyning & Sihtric Norðhymbra cyng heo gesamnodon æt Tameweorðpige III kalendas Februarius, &
Æþelstan his sweostor him **forgeaf** [C: geaf].
‘In this year King Athelstan and Sihtric, king of Northumbria, met at Tamworth on 30 January, and Athelstan gave him his sister in marriage’.
- (398) ÆLS (Lucy) 9.136¹⁷
Swa swa seo catanenscisce burh binnan hire weallum hæfð minre swyster agathen. miccle fore-þingunga.
swa **ic eom forgyfen**. fram þam ælmihtigan gode nu þyssere byrig. siracusanan. eow to geþingienne. gif ge
foð to geleafan.
‘Even as the city of Catana within its walls has the powerful intercessions of my sister Agatha, so am I
allotted by Almighty God now to this city of Syracuse, to intercede for you, if ye receive the faith’.
(tr. Skeat (1881–1900))

5.8. Forgytan

Forgytan ‘to forget; neglect’ shows antonymous and expanded senses of *gytan* ‘to get’, which has only four occurrences in glosses (f. DOE (Healey et al. 2008); also cf. *ofergietan* ‘to forget’).

- (399) CP 3.35.6
On ðære gesundfulnesse mon **forgiett** his selfes; on ðæm gesuincum he sceal hine selfne geðencean, ðeah he nylle.
‘In prosperity men forget themselves; in adversity they must remember themselves, even if they are unwilling’.
- (400) Bo 42.148.14
Ne ofman he næfre nane wuht, forðæm he næfre nauht ne **forgeat**.
‘He never remembers anything, because he never forgot anything’.
- (401) Ps 43.21 [Si **obliti sumus** nomen dei nostril et si expandimus manus nostras ad deum alienum]
A: gif **ofergeotulæ we sind** noma godes ures 7 gif we aðennað honda ure to gode ðæm fremðan
B: gif **oferžitelende we beoð** noman 3odes ures 7 gif we aðennað hand aura to zode ðæm fremdan
F: gif **we ofergeaton** naman godes ure 7 gif we aðeniað hand aura to gode ælfremedum
I: gif **we forgytaþ** naman godes ures 7 gif we astreccaþ handa ure to gode ælfremedum
AV: If wee haue forgotten the name of our God, or stretched out our hands to a strange God:

5.9. Forhealdan

Forhealdan ‘to withhold; neglect’ has antonymous and expanded meanings of *healdan* ‘to hold’. (See also Section 1.61. *Forhelan*).

(402) Beo 2381a
 hæfdon hy **forhealden** helm Scylfinga,
 þone selestan sæcyninga
 ‘they had rebelled against the protector of the Scylfings, the best of the sea-kings’

(403) WHom 20.2 55
 ac æghwilc ælmesriht þe man on Godes est scolde mid rihte georne gelæstan ælc man gelitlað oððe forhealdeð,
 ‘but each right of receiving alms, which one must follow everyone in God’s grace eagerly and properly, decreases or withholds’

(404) ChronE 1114.20¹⁸
 ða he to him com, þa neodde he him to þam biscoprice of Hrofeceastre, & þa arcebiscopes & biscopes & þet duguð þet wæs on Englalande forð mid se cyng; & he lange wiðstod, ac hit ne **forheol** naht.
 ‘When he (Abbot Ernulf) came to him (the king), he urged him to accept the bishopric of Rochester, and the archbishops, bishops, and the nobility of England supported the king; and he resisted for a long time, but it was of no avail’.

5.10. Forhogian

Forhogian ‘to scorn; neglect’ has antonymous and expanded meanings of *hogian* ‘to think, care for’. (See also Section 2.3. *Forgyman* and Section 5.11. *Forhyrgan*).

(405) And 1381a
 Þær ðu syððan a, susle gebunden,
 in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne,
 syððan ðu **forhogedes** heofoncynnes word.
 ‘There thou, ever after, bound in torments, suffered in exile, lost glory, when thou despised the word of heavenly king’.

(406) Mald 254b
 He ful yrre wod,
 feaht fæstlice, fleam he **forhogode**.
 ‘He advanced in full anger, and fought resolutely; he scorned flight’.

(407) Ps 101.18 [Et respexit in orationem pauperum [*Gallican*: humilium]. et non **spreuit** preces eorum]
 A: ȝ gelocað in gebeodu ðearfena ȝ ne **forhogað** bene heara
 D: ȝ he zelocade on zebed þearfana ȝ na he **forhyzde** bena heora
 E: ȝ forelocæþ on gebede þearfænæ ȝ ne **hyrweþ** bebod hioræ
 I: he beseah to gebede eadmodra ȝ he ne **forseh** ȝ **forhygde** bene heora
 L: ȝ gelocode on gebedo ðearfena ȝ ne **forhogode** bena hira
 AV: He will regard the prayer of the destitute, and not despise their prayer.

5.11. Forhyrgan

Forhyrgan ‘to scorn; despise’ has much the same meaning as *forhogian*; owing to their morphological resemblance, both verbs can be used alternatively in glosses.

(408) Jn 5.45 [nolite putare quia ego **accusaturus** sim uos apud patrem est qui **accusat** uos moyses in quo uos speratis]
 Li: nalle gie woenæ þte ic **forhygende** ȝ **sie** mið ðone fæder is seðe **forhyggað** iuih moises in ðæm gie hyhtas
 Ru2: nallað giwoena þte ic **for-hyccende** **sie** iowih mið ðone fæder is seðe **forhogað** iowih ... in ðone ge gi-hyhtas
 WScp: ne wene ge þ ic eow **wrege** to fæder. Se is þe eow **wregð**. moyses on þone ge ge-hyhtað;
 AV: Do not thinke that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, euen Modrd, in whom you trust?

(409) Ps 21.24-25 [uniuersum semen iacob magnificate [*Gallican*: glorificate] eum. Timeat eum omne semen israhel: quoniam non **spreuit** neque dispexit precem [*Gallican*: deprecationem] pauperum]
 B: eall sæd iacobes mioliað hine ondræde hine eall sæd israhela forðon ne **forhozde** ne forseh bene þearfena
 D: all sæd zetreowfulra zemiciað hine andræde hine eal sæd ealre zetreowfulnisse **forhyzede** ȝ ne forseah bene ðearfna
 G: eall sæd (ȝ cynn) getreowfulra ȝ iacobes gewuldriað ge hine ondræd(að) hine ealle sæd (ȝ cynn) israhela forþam þe he ne **ahyrweð** ȝ **forhogede** ȝ ne forsyhð (he) bene þearfæna
 I: eall ofspryng ȝ sæd ȝ cyn iacobes wuldriað hine ondræde hine eall sæd israheles forðan þe ne **awearp** for forseah halsunge ȝ gecleopunga ȝ bene þearfan
 AV: all yee the seede of Iacob glorifie him, and feare him all yee the seede of Israel. For he hath not despised, nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted;

5.12. *Forsecgan*

Forsecgan ‘to defame; accuse falsely’ is used in the sense of saying wrong or false things to put someone in a very difficult situation. (See also Section 1.70. *Forleogan*, Section 5.2. *Forcyþan*, and Section 5.5. *Forfaran*).

(410) ÆCHomI,3 201.9

Moyses .æ. tæhte þæt swa hwa swa oðerne to deaðe **forsæde**: sceolde wurpan þone forman stan: to ðam þe he ær mid his tungan acwealde
 ‘Moses’ law taught that whoever caused other’s death must throw the first stone to whom he had killed with his tongue’.

(411) ÆLS (BookofKings) 191

Habbað eow gemot. and to middes settað naboð eowerne nehgebúr. biddað lease gewitan þæt hi hine **forsecgan** on eowere gesamnunge ðus.
 ‘Hold ye a meeting and set Naboth in the midst, even your neighbour, and bid false witnesses so that they accuse him in your assembly thus’

(412) ÆLS (AshWed) 198

þu wast þæt ic ne wið-sace þæt ic sylf ne forfare. ac ic nelle secgan unsoð on me sylfe þæt ic wið þe ne syngie. gif ic me sylfe forleoge. Heo cwæð þa to ðam cnihte. eala þu forcuðost amna. hwi woldest þu **forsecgan** unc uncildige swa?
 “‘Thou knowest that I will not refuse for myself to die, but I will not speak untruth of myself, that I may not sin against thee, if I belie myself.’” She said then to the youth, “Oh thou wickedest of men! Why wouldst thou thus falsely accuse us guiltless ones?”

(tr. Skeat (1881–1900))

5.13. *Forseon*

Forseon ‘to despise; spurn; reject’ has antonymous and expanded meanings of *seon* ‘to see, look; observe; understand’. Since the non-prefixed *seon* has many meanings, senses of the prefixed counterpart are wider than expected (cf. *oferseon* ‘to overlook; despise’).

(413) ChronA 910.1

her bræc se here on Norðhymbrum þone frið, & **forsawon** ælc frið þe Eadweard cyng & his witan him budon & hergodon ofer Mercna lond
 ‘in this year the host in Northumbria broke the truce, and rejected with scorn every peace that king Edward and his councillors offered them, and harried across Mercia’

(414) Ps 53.9 [Quoniam ex omni tribulatione eripuisti me. et super inimicos meos. **respexit** oculus tuus]

A: for ðon of alre geswencednisse ðu generedes mec 7 ofer feond mine **gelocade** ege ðin

E: Forðæn of ællum eærfoþnesse 7 geswince ðu generedest me 7 ofer fiend mine **foreseah** eagæ ðin

F: forðam þe of eallum geswince þu generodest me 7 ofer fynd mine **beheold** eagen min

I: forðan of ælcere gedrefednyse þu generodest 7 ofer mine fynd **forseah** min eage

P: Forþon þu me alydest, lifes ealdor, of earfoðum eallum symble, ealle mine fynd eagam **ofersawe**.

AV: For hee hath deliuered me out of all trouble: and mine eye hath seene *his desire* vpon mine enemies.

(415) Mk 8.38 [Qui enim me **confusus fuerit** et mea uerba in generatione ista odultera et peccatrice et filius hominis **confidetur** eum]

Li: seðe forðon mec **ondetenta bið** 7 mino word in cneoreso ðas ðerne-leger 7 arg 7 sunu monnes **ondeteð** hine

Ru2: se ðe forðon mec **ondettende bið** 7 mine word in cneoreswum ðassum derne-giligru 7 arog-nisse 7 sunu monnes **ondeteð** hine

WSCp: Soðlice se þe me **for-syhð** 7 mine word on þisre unriht-hæmedan 7 synfulran cneorisse. ðone mannes sunu **for-syhþ**;

AV: Whosoever therefore shall be ashamed of me, and of my word in this adulterous and sinfull generation, of him also shall the Sonne of man bee ashamed,

5.14. *Forstandan*

Forstandan, ‘to stand in the way of; withstand; defend; avail; understand’ has various senses (cf. *G verstehen*), see also Ogura (1993).

(416) Beo 1549b

Him on eaxle læg
breostnet broden; þæt gebearh feore,
wið ord ond wið ecge ingang **forstod**.

'The woven hauberk lay upon his shoulder. That preserved his life, barred entry against point and edge'.

(tr. Clark Hall ([1911] 1972))

(417) Beo 2955b

hæfde Higelaces hilde gefrunen,
wlonces wigcræft, wiðres ne truwoðe,
þæt he sæmannum onsacan mihte,
heaðoliðendum hord **forstandan**,
bearn ond bryde;

'He had had knowledge of Hygelac's fighting powers, of the proud one's skill in war, and trusted not in resistance that he might withstand the sea-folk, and defend his treasures, children and wife from the ocean-farers;'

(tr. Clark Hall ([1911] 1972))

(418) GenA 2524a

Gif git þæt fæsten fyre willað
steape **forstandan**, on þære stowe we
gesunde magon sæles bidan,
feorh generigan.

'If ye will shield that lofty stronghold from the flame, we may abide there for a time secure, and save our lives'.

(419) GenB 769b

selfe **forstodon**

his word onwended.

'they (Adam and Eve) realised themselves that His word had been transgressed'

(420) CP 15.91.25

Gif ðonne se sacerð bið ungerad ðæs lareowdomes, hwæt **forstent** ðonne his gehlyd?
'But if the teacher is unskilled in instruction, what avails his cry?'

(421) Bo 5.12.29

Uneaþe ic mæg **forstandan** þine acsunga, ⁊ cwyst þeah þ ic þe andwyrðan scyle.
'I can scarcely understand your question and yet you say that I have to answer you'.

5.15. *Forweorþan*

Forweorþan 'to perish; deteriorate' is antonymous to *weorþan* 'to be, become' and expands its meaning according to the context. (See also Section 1.71. *Forleosan*).

(422) ApT 2.14

soðlice on me earmre is mines fæder nama reowlice **forworden** and me nu forðam deað þearle gelicað
'indeed my father's name is grievously destroyed in accordance with my wretchedness, and therefore now, death is very much pleased for me'

(423) CP 59.541.33

Ðonne **forwyrð** ðin broður for ðinum ðingum, for ðone ær Crist geðrowade.
'Then thy brother will perish on thy account, for whom Christ formerly suffered'.

(424) Mt 15.24 [non sum missus nisi ad oues quae **perierunt** domus israhel]

Li: nam ic gesended buta to scipum ða ðe **deade weron** hus israheles
Ru1: ne ic wæs asended nymþe to scipum þæm þe **forloren wyrðon** huses israheles.
WSCp: ne eom ic asend. buton to þam sceapum. þe **forwurdon** of israhela huse;
AV: I am not sent, but vnto the lost sheepe of the house of Israel.

5.16. *Forwyrðan*¹

*Forwyrðan*¹ 'to do wrong; destroy; make guilty' has antonymous and expanded meanings in contrast with the non-prefixed *wyrðan* 'to do, make, deserve'.

- (425) GenB 837a
 Nis me on worulde niod
 æniges þegnscipes, nu ic mines þeodnes hafa
 hyldo **forworhte**, þæt ic hie habban ne mæg.
 ‘Not for me will there be the joy of rendering any service in the world now that I have forfeited the favour of my prince,
 so that I may not enjoy it’.
- (426) ÆCHomI,20 343.243
 ac se deofol forwyrhte hine sylfne þa ða he thhte þæt iudeisce folc to þæs hælendes selge.
 ‘but the devil destroyed himself when he accused the Jewish people as the Lord’s slayer’
- (427) WHom 15 37
 and gif hwylc man þonne Godes lage swa swyðe abrece þæt he hine sylfne openlice wið God forwyrce mid
 healice misdæde,
 ‘and if anyone break God’s law so severely that he commit a crime against God openly with great misdeed’

6. Emphatic and Antonymous

Forsellan

Forsellan ‘to give up; lose’ is antonymous to the non-prefixed counterpart *sellan* ‘to give’ and used emphatically in the passive or reflexive construction.

- (428) ÆLet 3 141
 wa ðam, ðe for sceattum **forsyhþ** [*B*: sylæð] hyne silfne and awent soð to leasum and leas to soðum
 ‘woe to the one, who gives up himself for money and changes truth to lie and lie to truth’
- (429) Ps 30.13 [excidi [*Gallican*: obliuioni **datus sum**] tamquam mortuus a corde. et factus sum. sicut uas perditum]
A: ic gesnerc swe swe dead from heortan ȝ geworden ic eam swe swe fet forloren
G: forgytelnesse **forgifen ȝ forsealde ic eom** swaswa dead fram heortan worden ic eom swaswa fæt forloren
I: forgytelnesse **geseald ic eom** swaswa se deada fram heortan geworden ic eom swaswa fæt forspilled ȝ forloren
AV: I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind: I am like a broken vessel.
- (430) Ps 72.27 [Quia ecce qui elongant se a te peribunt. **perdes** [*Gallican*: **perdidisti**] omnes qui fornicantur abs te]
A: for ðon sehðe ða afirrað hie from ðe forweorðað ðu **forspildes** alle ða dernliggað from ðe
D: forðon efnenu þa ðe afeorriað hy fram þe hy forweorþað þu **forspilst** ealle þa ðe forligliað fram ðe
G: forþan efne nu þa þe afeorriað hy fram þe forweorðað þu **forsealdest** ealle þa þe forligriað fram þe
I: forþi þe eofne þa þe fyrsiaþ hig fram þe losiaþ þu **fordydest** ælcne man se þe hæmþ butan ȝ fram þe
AV: For loe, they that are farre from thee, shall perish: thou hast destroyed all them that goe a whoring from thee.

7. Only One Occurrence

There are 66 *for*-verbs which occur only once in the whole Old English corpus. Some occur only two or three times, but it is difficult to use the term “rare” for them, when the possibility of future findings can be considered.

7.1. In Gloss

When a verb occurs only once in a gloss, it is quite likely that the verb is a Latin rendering. In total, 31 *for*-verbs occur only in gloss, and 14 of them occur only once.

7.2. In Only One Text

Sometimes only one text contains a particular *for*-verb. *Leechdom* or *Law*, for instance, may have technical terms for its own field. There is also a case that shows only one occurrence of a *for*-verb in ordinary prose, although the context may reveal a strong influence of the Latin original.

8. Only in Poetry

It seems important to stress the examples that occur only in poetry, especially when there is the only one instance; 14 *for*-verbs occur only in poetry, and 10 of them are attested only once, i.e.: *forhylman*, *forpyndan*, *forscufan*, *forsipian*, *forswelan*, *fortyllan*, *forþecgan*, *forþolian*, *forwegan* and *forwritan*.¹⁹

9. Mainly in the Past Participle (Including the Present Participle, in Adjectival Use)

Since the participles, both present and past, can be used as adjectives, participles of *for*-verbs occur with that function. In some *for*-verbs, however, this seems to be the main function in the extant Old English texts (e.g., *forgríwen* and *forsmiten*).

10. Summary

10.1. *For*-verbs are used emphatically in most instances, but some verbs have expanded and antonymous meanings. It is often difficult to define two meanings clearly. *For*-verbs that can be used mostly in an antonymous sense to their non-prefixed counterparts are *for(e)beodan*, *forgyfan*, *forgyman*, *forgytan*, *forlædan*, *forlæran*, *forsellan* and *forswerian*.

10.2. *For*-verbs are often found in gloss, *Law* and *Leechdom*, as well as in ordinary prose and in poetry. This means that some of them are used for technical terms which are rarely found outside of legal and medical fields, but others are not made for special uses only. In gloss, *for*-verbs are often chosen as an alternative to their non-prefixed counterpart in the same context.

10.3. In poetry, the prefix *for*- is a non-alliterating syllable, but two *for*-verbs are often in pair in a half-line. Such pairs are often seen in prose as well.

10.4. *For*-verbs are used as variants of both non-prefixed verbs and other prefixed verbs. This use makes the semantic definition of some *for*-verbs disputed.

10.5. When a *for*-verb occurs only once, it can be a translation of a particular Latin word and/or a choice of a particular scribe. If there is no Latin, the meaning should be conjectured from the context.

10.6. The past participle form of *for*-verbs appears in adjectival use in many texts and contexts; some *for*-verbs are especially found performing this function.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: For the data in this paper, please refer to the Dictionary of Old English (Healey et al. 2008).

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Notes

- ¹ References are the *OED*, the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008), *Bosworth-Toller* (*BT*: Bosworth and Toller [1898] 1972); *BTS*: Supplement by (Toller [1921] 1973), Clark Hall & Meritt (*CHM*: Clark Hall 1960), the *MED* (Kurath et al. 1956–2000), and glossaries in some editions. Abbreviated titles are those used in the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008).
- ² Modern translations are mine unless otherwise stated. For Psalms, Gospels and some examples of Hexateuch, the Authorized Version is given as an early Modern translation.
- ³ Boldface is mine to highlight *for*-verbs and Latin verbs to be glossed. Line number shows the line where the verb appears, not as the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008) system where the beginning of the sentence is indicated.
- ⁴ For the examples of the Psalms, I quote some versions other than the version in question to show the different choices of verbs. Editions of the psalter glosses in the examples are all checked and cited in the references.
- ⁵ For examples from poems, I use ASPR presentation to show where the verb in question is placed in the verse line.
- ⁶ For the examples of the Gospels, I quote Li, Ru and WSCp versions for comparison. For details of the versions, see Morrell (1965).
- ⁷ The infinitive form can be written as *forbrytan*, *forbritan*, *forbryttan* or *forbrytian*. See *CHM* (Clark Hall 1960).
- ⁸ This line is quoted from Skeat ([1871] 1970, [1874] 1970, [1878] 1970, [1887] 1970), but I checked MS Hatton 38 and the two words, *For-scrif* (space after *For*) and *ofer-stricð* (line changed after *ofer*), are identified. My cordial thanks to Prof. Stephen Pelle and Dr Deanna Brooks in the Dictionary of Old English Project for their help of letting me get access to the manuscript in March 2023. For the dates of manuscripts, I follow Ker ([1957] 1977).
- ⁹ See *BT* (Bosworth and Toller [1898] 1972) *for-grówan*: “copper was dear in [that] day, now it circulates wide and far, an ardent treasure flourishing, grown up in the hearts.”

- 10 Cf. *Lk* 15.8, where the same Latin verb *perdiderit* is rendered into *losað* in *Li* and *Ru2*, while *WSCp* has *forlyst* and *WSH* *for-leost*.
- 11 For this example, *CHM* (Clark Hall 1960) adds the sense “damn, condemn? Gu 449 (*sic*).”
- 12 Here the *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008) has the explanation: “proposed interpretations include ‘to dislodge, force out, expel (someone acc’., press closely, oppress, overwhelm (someone acc’., if the object *wealfae* refers to the Danes” (f. *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008), for-þringan, Vb., st. 3, 2).
- 13 See *DOE* (Healey et al. 2008) for-hatan 2. “of the Devil: *se forhatena* ‘? the forsworn one, the proscribed one; the reprobate’ with sense of renunciation of the Devil by the Christian audience; emendation to otherwise unattested **forhwātena* ‘accursed one’ has been proposed; ...”.
- 14 To sum up statistically, even though the definitions of antonymous and expanded are not so clear-cut, here I give the following table.

emphatic	antonymous	expanded	emphatic & expanded	antonymous & expanded	emphatic & antony- mous	Total
167	14	28	16	16	1	242

There is one *for*-verb, which is not in *DOE CD-ROM A-M* (Healey et al. 2008): *forslitan* ‘to consume, devour’, an expanded sense. *DOEC* (Healey et al. 2009) has it. *CHM* (Clark Hall 1960) has it with the place it occurs: *PPs* 77.46. Since I use the *DOE CD-ROM* (Healey et al. 2008) in this paper, I do not add it here in this summarising table.

- 15 \Uparrow for *lætene beoþ* is “über den vorhergeh. Glossen” (Oess 1910, p. 88).
- 16 For the semantic similarity and differences of *faran* and *feran*, see Ogura (1997).
- 17 This syntax of *forgyfan* in a ‘personal passive’ caused a long discussion. See Ogura (1986, pp. 185–86).
- 18 The form *forheol* was mistaken as that of *forhelan* ‘to protect; avail’. See *DOE forhealdan*.
- 19 Other four verbs which occur only in poetry but not in only one occurrence are *forhyrdan*, *forlacan*, *forsecan* and *forswapan*.

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