18) Hittite *dāri(ya)nu-* 'to weary; to importune' — In *NABU* 2015/3: 116 Oğuz Soysal published a new, augmented edition of part of CTH 311.2.B (Naram-Sin in Asia Minor). Soysal (2020: 104–6) presented a newer version with a further additional join and crucially more ample context of the episode of interest here. I follow his readings entirely, but to save space give the text continuously in bound transcription:

KBo 3.17+18+19+DBH 43/2.232+CHDS 3.115+Bo 7303 iii 9–17 (OH/NS)

^{m}*NARAM-*^{d}*SÎN-aš ANA* ^{d}*IŠTAR wēškeuwan* [(*dāiš*)] *zik=mu taršikeši dankuwaya=wa* KUR-*e*
kišširi=tta teḫḫi ^{d}*IŠTAR-š=a=šši ā*[*p*]*pa taraškezzi īt šuppiyaḫḫ*[(*ut*)] *šuppayaš* ^{GIŠ}N[(Á-*aš*)] *šeškiaḫḫuti*
DINGIR.MEŠ=*K*[(*A*)] *dārinut nu* [(DINGIR.MEŠ=*KA m*)]*ugāi*
^{m}*NARA*[(*M-*^{d}*SÎN-naš*)] *šuppiyaḫḫ*[(*ati šuppay*)]*aš* ^{GIŠ}NÁ-[(*aš*)] *š*[*e*]*iškiške*[(*uwan d*)]*āiš* DINGIR.M[EŠ=*Š*]*U*
dārinut [(*n*)]*u* DINGIR.MEŠ=*ŠU mukiškewan d*[(*āi*)]*š*

"Naram-Sin began to wail to Ishtar: 'You kept saying/promising to me: "I will put the dark lands in your hand."' But Ishtar kept replying to him: 'Go! Purify yourself! Repeatedly sleep on a pure bed. *Dārinu-* your gods and rouse your gods to action!' Naram-Sin purified himself, began to sleep on a pure bed, *dārinu*-ed his gods, and began to rouse his gods to action."

In both works cited, Soysal follows the standard view and translates *dārinu-* as 'to implore, beseech, *yalvar*', characterizing *dārinu-* as a "secondary verbal root *darinu-* beside *dariyanu-*" (similarly Mouton 2007: 110 'appeler').

For understandable reasons, the correct analysis of *dāri(ya)nu-* by Gurney (1940: 49, note 3) has been entirely overlooked and forgotten (as has my passing mention in Melchert 2010: 211): "*dariyanu-*, which is also associated with *muga-* (see previous note), and which was supposed by Götze (*Hatt*. 100) to mean 'invoke' solely on the basis of *KBo*. III.16 rev. 10 ff., is shown by *Taw*. II 57 to imply a request. If it is the causative of *tariya-* 'grow weary' (on which see below, p. 99 ff.), perhaps the literal meaning is 'importune'." The fully restored Naram-Sin passage entirely affirms Gurney's insight. I stress the repeated use of *-ške-* forms and the historical present: it is clear that Ishtar, wearied by Naram-Sin's repeated pestering of her, tells him to go importune his own gods. Further confirmation comes from the coupling with *mūgā(i)-*, which with Laroche is *not* a *verbum dicendi*, but means to induce (with considerable effort) *absent* gods to return to their temples and resume their activities (see my full argumentation in Melchert 2010): one cannot "invoke" gods who are not present to hear a plea. And as seen by Gurney, in the passage in the "Tawagalawa Letter" the Hittite king is expressing his concern that the insolent and indefatigable Piyamaradu will importune the king of Ahhiyawa with a request that he be allowed to visit the Hittite king (see for the text Heinhold-Krahmer and Rieken 2020: 30–31 and compare the inconclusive commentary ibid. 193–4).

Final confirmation for Gurney's analysis comes from the form of the stem in the Naram-Sin text, which as an Old Hittite composition might be expected to preserve an archaism, even in a NS copy. As per Oettinger (1979: 474–5), Kloekhorst (2008: 833–5), et al., the intransitive base verb *tarai-* is originally a "*ḫi*-verb in *-i-*" that only secondarily is inflected as *tariya-*^{ḫḫi} and then *tariya-*^{mi} (see also pret. 3rd sg. *taraiš* in KUB 36.83 i 20&23 and pres. 3rd sg. *darāi* ibid. i 24&27). This is now corroborated by the transitive *dārinu-*, which is built in regular fashion on the *weak* stem of the *ḫi*-verb, just like *ḫuinu-* 'to move' (tr.) < *ḫuwai-*^{ḫḫi} 'to move' (intr.), *pittinu-* 'to cause to run away' < *pittai-*^{ḫḫi} 'to run', and *zīnu-* 'to cause to cross' < *zai-*^{ḫḫi} 'to cross'. In sum, there can be no doubt that the verb 'to importune' is the same verb as *dariyanu-* 'to make weary' attested in a physical sense in KUB 17.29 ii 11–12 (see Tischler 1993: 174).

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19) Elamite *tap* — In some Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid Elamite texts various lexemes occur that have *tap* as final element. These are *hazatap*, *kigaltap*, *mulatap* and *pirtap*, to which also the proper name *Šimut-tap* may be added. One time, in *tapmikilkira*, *tap* seems to be the initial element. This short study will analyse these six expressions and try to give an adequate translation for the element *tap*.

1. *Haza-tap* (ha-za-tap): this lexeme is regularly attested in the Achaemenid Fortification Texts (PF 1956:38, 1957:41, 1958:20, 1959:19, 1960:34; PFNN 535:29, 577:23, 728:38, 762:38, 2040:45, 2290:43, 2337:47, 2344:32, 2370:43, 2487:39) and is beyond any doubt a professional designation. It always appears in the formula PN_1 *hazatap* PN_2 *anmantaš* GUD *tupema nutika* "It (i.e. grain) was set aside for cattle in the possession of PN_1 the *hazatap* and PN_2 the *anmantaš*", which suggests that the lexeme has something to do with grain for cattle (Hallock 1969, 696). Koch (1980, 131 n. 138) sees in the *hazatap* a person who provided cattle as draught animals for the cultivation of the land and compares him with the NP expression *gāwband*, who provided a tenant with teams and sometimes also seed. Hinz & Koch (1987, 653) propose a literal translation "cattle – keeper" and equate this word with Old Iranian **upavatguš* "cattle assistant" (Tavernier 2007, 433 no. 4.4.7.114). The general meaning would then be "landlord, lessor". Despite the attractivity of this idea, the exact meaning of the Elamite word *hazatap* is not certain.
   Anmantaš itself (El. an-man-taš and an-nu-man-da), also a professional designation, may render **anvanta-*. In some texts, a word an-mi-ud-da/an-mi-ut-taš is written instead of an-man-taš. This could be a rendering of Old Ir. **anvita-*. Hinz & Koch (1987, 59 and 60) propose "stable master, equerry" for both words, whereas Koch (apud Hinz & Koch 1987, 59 and 60) prefers "tenant". Nevertheless, there is no plausible Iranian etymology for **anvan-* "stable" (El. an-nu-man) and **anvanta-* "stablemaster" (Tavernier 2007, 503-504 no. 5.3.4.5 and5.3.4.7), although both words (*anmantaš* and *anmitta*) must belong to the same semantic field.
2. KI.GAL-*tap* (KI.GAL-tap): this is a Sumerian-Elamite compound. Hinz & Koch (1987, 464) translate Sum. KI.GAL by "cult platform, cult pedestal" (cf. also Attinger 2021, 608). In Hittite texts KI.GAL may also mean "throne; residence" and even "ruler's dignity, rulership" (Rüster & Neu 1989, 247 and 330; Tischler 2008, 265; Vanséveren 2016, 515). This of course opens a wide range of possible meanings.
   The expression is attested once, in the Neo-Elamite administrative text MDP 9 161:6, where a certain Huban-tuniš is called a KI.GAL-*tap* (^{be}hu-ban-du-nu-iš KI.GAL-tap-na "from Huban-tuniš, the *kigaltap*"). Scheil (1907, 143) reads ki.gal tab-na, while Jusifov (1963, 224) presents his reader the very unlikely reading ^{be}hu-ban-du-nu-iš <gal ki>-man-na. He does not translate the text.
3. *Mula-tap* (mu-la-tap and mu-la-tab-be): this lexeme occurs three times in the Persepolis Fortification Texts and clearly denotes an occupational designation. In PF 864:18 one *mulatap* (^{hal}mu-la-tap) receives 3 BAR of grain. In PF 865:17 three *mulatap* (^{hal}mu-la-tab-be) each receive 3 BAR of grain. Finally, in PF 866:13, the number of *mulatap* (^{hal}mu-la-tap$^{!}$) is broken, but it must be more than one, since the text says that each *mulatap* receives 3 BAR of grain. This implies, contrary to what Hallock (1969, 734) and Hinz & Koch (1987, 951) believe, that the spellings mu-la-tap and mu-la-tab-be may both indicate the plural form, in other words, that the singular and plural forms of this lexeme are identical.
   In these three texts the *mulatap* appear always before "boys" (*puhu*) in the ration list. Two times they follow makers of furniture, one time wood-carriers.
   Whereas Hallock (1969, 734) does not venture a translation, Hinz (1971, 266; also Hinz & Koch 1987, 951) proposes for *mula-tap* a meaning "domestic servant, valet", but he admits (Hinz 1971,