Using conversational corpora drawn from 70 television drama series and 142 audio-recorded natural conversations, I demonstrate that the Korean connective construction **ha-ko-nun** (‘do’-‘and’-topic marker), which contains **ko** ‘and’ and indicates a sequential precedence (see (1)), has developed into a final particle that denotes the speaker’s disapproving stance of complaint and criticism (2a and 3a). I explain this development using the theoretical frameworks of insubordination (Evans 2007, Evans and Watanabe 2016) and (inter)subjectification (Traugott 2010, 2014), and present it as a case study that illustrates the dynamic interplay between usage and grammar. McGloin and Konishi’s (2010) similarly showed that Japanese **shi** ‘and’ developed into a final particle which expresses a speaker’s negative stance (2b and 3b). I argue that the development of **hakonun** shares similarities with that of **shi** in its source construction, mechanism of change and resulting function.

According to König (1988:153-154), a temporal connective with an emphatic particle such as English **also** or **even** is one of the most common sources of concessive markers. Concessive markers assert the co-occurrence of two incompatible events against the speaker’s expectation, and thus often include an emphatic particle that asserts the “remarkable” nature of the co-occurrence. Similarly, the combination of the temporal connective **ko** ‘and’ and the topic marker **nun** (functioning as an emphatic particle) has been routinely used to express concessive meaning, and in conversations, speakers often utilize **ha-ko-nun** in challenging others—i.e., having done NP, the subject’s doing the next action contradicts the speaker’s expectation or norm (e.g., ‘having said you would surely finish it, you didn’t’). Through these uses, the sense of blame and charge became semanticized. (4) shows the intermediate stage which contributed to the transformation of **hakonun** into a final particle. Here, the **hakonun**-clause ‘having a complete beggar’s kkol’ is in turn-final position, can be construed both as a connective construction and a final particle, and carries three functions: a) it provides a reason or support for the preceding main clause (‘how can you say you are fine?’); b) it signals its concessive relation with the main clause; and c) it challenges and criticizes the interlocutor. (5) presents the developmental stages of **hakonun** that I propose in this study.

In the history of Korean, it is not unusual that the light verb **ha** ‘do’ is incorporated in emerging grammatical constructions, as in the quotative **ko** (originally **ha-ko**), conditional **myen** (originally **ha-myen** Nam 2009), and comitative **ha-ko** ‘with’ ‘and’. The semantics of **ha** become bleached over time; in some cases **ha** later disappears altogether. Such semantic bleaching of **ha** also takes place with the final particle **hakonun**.

McGloin and Konishi (2010) similarly suggest that due to its use in counter-expectation contexts, the Japanese connective **shi** ‘and’ extended into a final particle that signals the speaker’s negative stance. Counter-expectation and concessivity are similar as both encode occurrences that go against a speaker’s expectations or norms (Traugott 1999, König1991).

I demonstrate that **hakonun** has been established as an insubordinated final particle. First, out of 162 tokens of final **hakonun** found in my data, 38% were used without any negative or derogatory expressions; **hakonun** alone can denote the stance of disapproval. Second, Praat analysis of its prosody (see (6) for an example) shows that final particle **hakonun** carries unique prosodic features distinctive from its connective use: out of 20 tokens examined, 50% carry a HL% (high-low) boundary tone, 15% carry a HLHL% (high-low-high-low) boundary tone, and 35% carry a L% (low) boundary tone. In addition, as speakers use final **hakonun** to indicate their upset and annoyed feelings, they sometimes elongate the last syllable **nun** to emphasize such feelings. The connective construction **hakonun** neither falls as low nor becomes elongated as long as the final particle **hakonun**.
(1) mokyok-ul ha-ko-nun kolatteley-ess-e. (from ‘MRs. Ye’) 
  bath-ACC do-ko-nun fall.asleep-PAST-IE ‘After having a bath, I fell asleep’

(2) Complaining about the speaker’s own problem
a. (During a card game, Hee received a bad hand) Korean
Hee:  phay kkolaci-hakonun:
       hands ugly.look-hakonun ‘The ugly look of (my) hand-hakonun.’ (High Kick ep. 119)

b. (Post of a blogger who does not want to study for an exam.) Japanese
Maji iya da shi.
truly dislike COP-shi ‘I really don’t like it-shi.’ (McGloin and Konishi 2010: 564)

(3) Criticizing the addressee
a. (Criticizing his girlfriend for having chosen a bad location for a date) Korean
Jun:  (0.4) .h hayekan cango kolu-nun  sense-hakonun:
       always location choose-REL  sense-hakonun
‘Always, (your) location-choosing sense -hakonun.’ (Boys over Flowers ep. 10)

b. (Criticizing her friend for being angry over a little thing) Japanese
B:  okotteru shi.
    be angry ‘You are angry shi.’ (McGloin and Konishi 2010: 566-567)

(4) (Mother challenges her daughter who says she is fine in spite of her dirty look.)
MW-ka KWAYNchanh-a::?  phoksak keci-kkol-ul hakonun!
what-NOM fine-IE?  complete beggar-kkol-ACC hakonun
‘How can you say you are fine? Having a complete beggar’s kkol (appearance)?’

(5) Stage 1: Connective construction ha-ko-nun
a. ‘Having the ugly look of unwashed hair-hakonun, how can you go to school?’

Stage 2: Intermediate stage (reversed order; both connective and final construal possible)
b. ‘How can you go to school, having the ugly look of unwashed hair-hakonun?’

Stage 3: Final particle hakonun
c. ‘The ugly look of unwashed hair-hakonun.’