Piotr Mamet | Anna Majer

The Discourse of M.: Managing British Intelligence in JAMES BOND Movies

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WYDAWNICTWO

Piotr Mamet – doktor habilitowany, profesor Politechniki Śląskiej, zajmuje się badaniem języka specjalistycznego, szczególnie języka biznesu, prawa, ekonomii, marketingu i reklamy, a także języka postaci filmowych. Badania te wiążą się z analizą gatunku, rejestru i językowego aspektu nazwy produktu. Zajmuje się także problematyką tłumaczenia języka specjalistycznego. Jest autorem następujących monografii: Język negocjacji handlowych (Katowice, 2004), Język z służbie menedżerów - deklaracja misji przedsiębiorstwa (Katowice, 2005) i Licence to Speak: The Language of James Bond (Częstochowa, 2014) oraz głównym edytorem monografii Języki specjalistyczne. Zagadnienia dydaktyki i przekładu (Katowice, 2003), a także autorem artykułów naukowych i referatów konferencyjnych. W latach 1985-1991 Piotr Mamet pracował w sektorze handlu zagranicznego, w tym w Polskiej Izbie Handlu Zagranicznego. Zgromadzone w tym sektorze doświadczenie umożliwia i ułatwia badanie języków specjalistycznych oraz prowadzenie zajęć z przedmiotów ekonomiczno-prawnych.

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Reviewer
Anna Bączkowska

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Introduction

The discourse of M, a fictional character from the James Bond film series, who originally appeared in Ian Fleming's series of books about a famous spy on Her Majesty's secret service, has turned out to be intriguing and multifaceted enough to merit a study from a linguistic perspective. Among various publications devoted to the main character and the series of books and films as such, this approach, scientific in its nature, is intended to depict the well-known stories from a different, sociolinguistic angle. Surprising though it may seem, it is not James Bond to whom attention is drawn in this book. It is primarily directed towards M, James Bond's supervisor, who is in charge of MI6.

Therefore, the fundamental aim of the research is a linguistic investigation of Ms' discourse throughout decades, in relation to James Bond as one of M's operatives on the one hand, and to M's supervisors on the other. The study substantially views M as a manager, and thus directs the scientific enquiry towards the linguistic manifestations of M's managerial responsibilities and competencies. It examines M's discourse as part of institutional discourse, embracing the issues indissolubly attributeable to it, including power relations characteristic for organisational hierarchies or pragmatic aspects such as the specificity of interactional frameworks and procedures within the institutional context.

Although, to some extent, the fictional stories are interpreted or retold once again here, the scientific approach is manifested by the composition of the book and by its content. Chapter 1 constitutes both a theoretical introduction and background for the considerations which follow. The theoretical part elaborates on the issues strictly connected with further analyses. It encompasses the concept of institutional discourse because M is a manager who operates in the MI6 organisational context. The research assumes a paradigm of discourse analysis, and consequently the aspects the authors have decided to focus on, such as the pragmatic dimension of discourse, or the matter of

gender-related and context-related language differences, are mentioned as well.

The theoretical background allows to establish a methodological framework for the further discussed analysis. It is described in the last section of Chapter 1 which focuses on the research material and the methodology applied for the investigation of M-Bond encounters.

Chapter 2 discusses the results of the analysis of M's discourse, primarily of the character's interactions with Bond, but also with others. The discourse of M is presented diachronically, which has two underlying advantages. Firstly, adopting such a paradigm allows to analyse whether and how the discourse of M evolves, and how the M-007 interactions change over time within the context of the fictional stories. Secondly, it makes it possible to observe the tendencies resulting from the changing socio-cultural reality, external to the stories, within which the movies are produced. And vice versa, to some extent, it also makes it possible to presume about the evolution of the image of contemporary social and cultural reality.

The analytical part is subdivided into two. The first subchapter discusses the changing position of M in the MI6 institution. The other one presents M's discourse in terms of his/her managerial duties and responsibilities, and it arranges the considerations according to three categories: M orders, M criticizes, and M cares.

M's discourse is multidimensional, and so may be its analyses. To their surprise, the sociolinguistically oriented authors of the present book have found it an inspiring research source. Hopefully, the reader, whether a researcher or a Bond stories fan, will find the results of this work inspiring as well.

1

Workplace discourse

1.1 Organization

Andrea Mayr in her book *Language and Power* tries to draw a borderline between the definitions of "institution" and "organization." She quotes a definition of institution as "an established organization or foundation, especially one dedicated to education, public service or culture" (Mayr 2008, 4; see also Mayr 2015, 757 or WWW1). In another publication, the author draws attention to Agar's definition: "a socially legitimated expertise together with those persons authorized to implement it" (1985, 164). Mayr concludes that Agar's definition "suggests that they are not restricted to designed physical settings and that they can refer to any powerful group such as the government or the media" (2015, 757). The author indicates the overlap in the uses of the terms and their being used interchangeably in sociological and linguistic research. However, Mayr maintains that the term "organization" tends to be used for commercial corporations while "institution" is usually "associated with the public organs of the state" (2015, 4).

According to Giddens, an organization has the following set of features:

- a large team of people;
- non-personal set of dependency relations among them;
- the team being built to realise some specific objectives (2004, 367).

The web pages of MI6 define it as "an organization that's constantly changing to meet evolving security needs" (WWW_2). Using this distinction, MI6 should be referred to as an institution.

The web page mentioned above describes its duties:

> Operating around the globe, we're at the forefront of efforts to tackle regional instability, terrorism and the increase in weapons. The scope and nature of our work is constantly changing as we act to combat new

> threats to the UK's security and economic wellbeing. By collecting secret foreign intelligence, we make sure the UK government's well informed so we can counter threats successfully. (WWW2)

Thus, the MI6, as presented to the public, may be said to fulfil the criteria set by Giddens. The criteria proposed by Mayr would either classify it as an institution or allow to refer to it as an organization. Taking into consideration the overlap of the terms and the interchangeability mentioned above as well as stylistic reasons, the two terms will be used in this book to denote James Bond's employer.

One more distinction has to be made, i.e. the real and the fictional M16s are certainly not the same institutions. The former one, however, indicates their common ground: "[i]n 1994 SIS moved to its present headquarters, Vauxhall Cross, which has become easily identifiable from its appearances in several James Bond films" (WWW_3). This is also a kind of admittance that the MI6 in the movies tries to mirror the real organization.

It is beyond the scope of this research to analyse the duties and operations of MI6. The analysis will concentrate on the way it is presented in 007 movies in general and how M, its manager, and James Bond, one of its agents, organize their discourse. It will be assumed that the MI6 in Bond movies is a real organization in which its members – the interlocutors are real people engaged in organisational, or institutional discourse.

1.2 Institutional discourse

Institutional discourse is important to be briefly discussed because it is the context of the MI6 institution which determines the actions taken by the characters and influences the linguistic choices they make.

1.2.1 Definition and classification

Andrea Mayr very rightly observes that discourse is "a difficult and fuzzy concept" and she indicates social theorists, critical linguists and critical discourse analysts among the researchers who use the term. The list is definitely not exhaustive, but one may agree with the author's observation that representatives of different disciplines "define discourse slightly differently and from their various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints" (2008, 7).

There is another observation made by Mayr, who identifies two basic approaches in defining discourse:

- formalist/structuralist paradigm in which discourse is "language above sentence structure" (Stubbs 1983, 1; see also Mayr 2008, 7);

functionalist paradigm in which discourse is "language in use" (Brown and Yule 1983, 1; see also Mayr 2008, 7). This paradigm includes the critical and social theorist approaches (Mayr 2008, 8).

Another distinction indicated by Mayr elsewhere (2015) is more closely connected with the analysis of institutional discourse. This is made by Alvesson and Karreman (2000), who draw a border line between:

- discourse (with small "d") – referring to "how members of institutions interact," i.e. the "micro-level"; and
- Discourse (capital "D") – referring to "the social context in which institutional interactions occur," i.e. "the macro-level" (Mayr 2015, 756–757).

Max Weber is indicated as the author of the first systematic theory which describes the origins and development of modern organisations (Giddens 2004, 367). Among the distinctive features of a bureaucratic organization, Weber indicates a clear, pyramid-like hierarchy of power and codified rules of behaviour (Weber 1994, after Giddens 2004, 369–370). Van Dijk maintains that an organization may be perceived as a framework in which discourse as a form of social activity in socio-cultural contexts takes place, and that language users may participate in the process of communication as members of groups, institutions and cultures (2001, 40).

Almut Koester, speaking about discourses which take place in organizations, proposes the following division:

- workplace discourse;
- institutional discourse;
- professional discourse;
- business discourse (2010, 5).

Professional discourse is connected with groups of people. Business discourse is a variety of workplace discourse in commercial environment. Institutional and workplace discourses are interchangeable to a considerable degree. They relate to power, regulations and systems (2010, 5).

Koester indicates that workplace discourse "occurs in a wide range of settings from talk between co-workers […] to interactions in service encounters or health care settings, to international business communication" (2006, 3). The author admits that it is not possible "to cover all these types of interaction in any detail" but he presents an overview of

the previous research in this area which he calls institutional, professional and workplace discourse (2006, 3).

Institutional talk refers to "interactions in all kinds of workplace setting" (2006, 3). Three dimensions of interaction may be identified in this kind of discourse, i.e.:

1. Goal orientation of at least one of the participants. It is reflected in such types of discursive activities as instruction giving, decision making or briefing.
2. "Special and particular constraints on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand." They may be relating to institutional settings (e.g. courtroom) and may involve turn-taking systems, range of interactional practices or lexical choices.
3. Inferential frameworks related to given institutional contexts reflected in adjacency pair structures and turn design (Drew and Heritage 1992, after Koester 2006, 3–4).

Koester refers to studies of communication goals and, following Tracy and Coupland (1990), in Koester (2006, 26), speakers usually have multiple goals. Thus, one may find three-part distinctions, i.e. transactional, relational and identity goals, as distinguished by Ylänne-McEwen (1996, after Koester 2006, 26), and task-orientation, interaction-orientation and self-orientation ones as proposed by Lampi (1996, after Koester 2006, 26).

The basic distinction made by Koester is between task-or-outcome-oriented transactional goals and relational goals, i.e. "the way in which people relate to and present themselves to one another" (2006, 26). The author's further discussion of the issue involves two kinds of participants' goals, i.e. transactional (task focused) and non-transactional (not task focused) ones. Within the category of transactional ones, one may identify unidirectional and collaborative ones. The former assume the

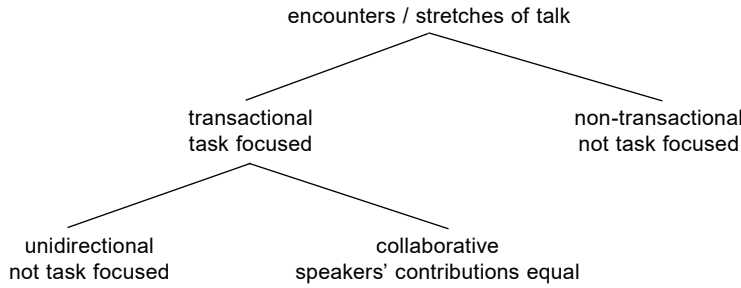

Figure 1. Classification of encounters in institutional talk (own study based on Koester 2006, 32)

dominant position of one speaker who disseminates information and/or instructs, directs or requests action. The latter type assumes more or less equal contributions of the participants in connection with the task to be accomplished (2006, 32). This may be summarized in the diagram below.

The author also provides a list of genres that may be distinguished in the particular type of encounters. Table 1 provides a summary of the encounter related genres.

Table 1. Types of encounter-related genres (based on Koester 2006, 32–34)

Type of discourse	Genre(s)
Unidirectional discourse	Briefing Service encounters Procedural and directive Requesting Reporting
Collaborative discourse	Arrangements Decision making Discussing and evaluating Liminal talk
Non-transactional discourse	Office gossip Small talk

Norman Fairclough maintains that "any analysis of hegemony and hegemonic struggle within an institution such as medicine must include analysis of discursive practices and of relationships (of dominance, or of opposition and confrontation) between diverse discursive practices" (1995b, 94–95, brackets in the original text). The author gives doctor-patient consultations as an example of "conventional hegemonic relations" in which "[i]n the dominant mode, doctors ask questions according to pre-set agendas, patients are limited to answering questions" (1995b, 94). Fairclough also indicates "struggles to challenge and restructure existing hegemonic relations" in "modes of consultation which have more conversational properties, often drawing upon counselling as a model" (1995b, 94).

The symmetry or asymmetry of discourse participants is, for Deborah Tannen, a key to speak about power in discourse. The author claims that "[i]f you are interested in question of power in discourse, it is always worth asking, in relation to your data, the question 'who is allowed, or obliged to say what, and when'" (2001, 163). Tannen also indicates some limitations to such a concept. She refers to Hutchby's

(1996) research on host-caller discourse on radio phone in programmes. Hutchby indicates that, apart from rights and obligations, the power of the host depends on "the host's ability to exploit the sequence of certain *sequential* regularities in phone talk" (Tannen 2001, 163, italics in the original).

1.2.2 Institutional discourse – a review of previous research

Two books by Almut Koester deserve mentioning, i.e. *Investigating Workplace Discourse* (2006) and *Workplace Discourse* (2010). They offer thorough research which includes a detailed review of the literature on the subject.

To begin with, following Koester's research, one may indicate the volume *Talk at Work* edited by Drew and Heritage (1992), which investigates, in terms of conversation analysis, the discourse in such institutional settings as healthcare delivery, legal proceedings, news and job interviews (Koester 2006, 6). Then, there follows Bhatia's *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings* (1993).

Gunnarsson et al. (1997) analyse spoken and written discourse in legal and scientific writing. Medical and legal discourse are also analysed, together with management and industry ones by Sarangi and Roberts (1999) (Koester 2006, 6), who assume an interdisciplinary approach. Medical discourse is analysed from the point of view of ethnography and conversational analysis by Cicourel (1987, 1999), Heath (1992), Heritage and Sefi (1992), Maynard (1992), Ten Have (1995) or Atkinson (1999). The sociolinguistic approach is used by Tannen and Wallat (1987, 1993), Coupland et al. (1994), while Coulthard and Ashby (1976) investigate the structure of doctor-patient conversations.

Sarangi and Roberts in *Talk Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in Medical, Mediation and Management Settings* (1999) assume an interdisciplinary approach in their investigation of medical, legal, industrial and managerial discourse (Koester 2010, 6). Forensic and legal discourse is analysed by Gibbons (1994), Kniffka (1996), Cotterhill (2000), and Coulthard (2000).

A major place in the investigation of institutional discourse is occupied by the works on the language of negotiations and business meetings. This, following Koester (2006, 6), includes the research made by Bargiela-Ciappini and Harris (1973), Firth (1995a, b), Lampi (1986), Neu (1986), Handford (2004) or McCarthy and Handford (2004). Koester's list may be complemented with Joan Mulholland's *The Language of Negotiations* (1991).

The blurred border line between business and institutional discourse is confirmed by Koester mentioning Vijay K. Bhatia's volume *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings* (1993), which may be classified as an analysis of both discourse varieties. The border line is also occupied by the analysis of client-seller discourse in Mitchell (1957, 1975), Merritt (1976), N. Coupland (1983), Ventola (1983, 1987), Hasan (1985), Iacobucci (1990), McCarthy (2000) (after Koester 2010, 7). One should also add the research on:

- service encounters (Ylänne-McEwen, 1996, N. Coupland and Ylänne-McEwen, 2000, Kuiper and Flindall, 2000);
- the discourse of employees solving problems (Willing, 1992) and learning new technologies (Linde, 1997);
- spontaneous interactions between managers and employees (Gavruseva, 1995, Holmes et al., 1999, Holmes, 2000a, Holmes and Stubbe, 2003, after Koester 2010, 8–9);
- employees small talk (Eggins and Slade, 1997, Holmes, 2000b, Holmes and Stubbe, 2003) (after Koester 2006).

Koester's review indicates a wide scope and complexity of the concept of the institutional discourse. This is reflected in the classification summarized above. Koester mentions the research areas which may be classified both within the author's framework of institutional discourse and as autonomous research areas.

Mayr (2008, 5) complements Koester's summary by mentioning the research on the relationship between discourse, ideology and power such as Mumby (1988, 2001), Drew and Heritage (1992), Gunnarsson et al. (1997), Thornborrow (2002), Iedema (2003), and Tietze et al. (2003). There is also a considerable amount of research on the subject in terms of CDA, Mayr maintains (2008, 5), e.g. discourse in media organisations (Fairclough 1955a), language and education (Fairclough 1993, 1995b), communication barriers in institutions (Wodak 1996), bureaucratic discourse (Sarangi and Slembrouck 1996, Iedema 1998).

Habermas (1984, 1987) has made a major contribution in this field by introducing a major distinction into the use of language in institutional discourse:

- communicative use of language with understanding being the objective;
- strategic use aimed at "success and making people do things" (Mayr 2008, 5).

Mayr indicates that Habermas's concept assumes colonization of natural world by "systems expressed in bureaucratic-instrumental discourses" (2008, 6) and contrasts them with studies that stress the productiveness of institutional discourses (Foucault 1979, Iedema 1998).

This way of thinking is, according to Mayr (2008, 6), also present in the "theory of structuration" (Giddens 1981), which points out that "social actors are not completely overwhelmed by institutional power and dominance" and "institutions have a potential both for domination as well as emancipation" (Mayr 2008, 6).

Mayr's summary assumes three strands of the research of the relationship between discourse, institutions and power:

1. "how members of oppressed groups can discursively penetrate the institutionalized form of their oppression";
2. "how subordinate individuals discursively frame their own subordination thereby perpetuating it";
3. "how dominant groups construct and reproduce their position discursively" (Mumby and Clair 1997, 195, after Mayr 2008, 3).

Power and its discursive dimension are one of the areas of interest of Critical Discourse Analysis and it will be presented in this context in the section below (1.3.1.4).

1.3 Research attitudes

The present subchapter focuses on various linguistic and socio-linguistic investigation attitudes which are adopted in the analytical part of the book. Among these, the first research approach to be discussed is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), whose application at times allows the authors to refer critically to the analysed material. Since the present study is fundamentally an analysis of M's discourse, essential aspects of such a linguistic study require attention as well; therefore, the concepts of genre, register and style are also briefly discussed as part of the theoretical background. Another issue necessary for the analysis is the interrelation of language and gender – this aspect is strictly connected with the specificity of language used by different Ms (as played by different actors – Bernard Lee (1962–1979), Robert Brown (1983–1989) and Ralph Fiennes (2012–present), and one actress – Judi Dench (1995–2015)) and the character of power relations it may determine. Lastly, pragmatic features in terms of speech acts, politeness and the cooperative principle are adduced in order to constitute the theoretical framework for further analysis of the conversations with the participation of M.

1.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The concept of Critical Discourse Analysis must be mentioned since it links language to its social context and to power relations of various kinds. After all, the book presents a linguistic investigation of communicative events which are all immersed in institutional context, which, in turn, is incontestably associated with the hierarchy of power, or else, the hierarchy of authority.

1.3.1.1 Definition and research areas

According to Jørgensen and Philips, "[c]ritical discourse analysis (often abbreviated to CDA) provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains" (2002, 60).

Teun van Dijk indicates that CDA is:

> a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality. (2003, 352)

The author further claims that

> CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other "approaches" in discourse studies. Rather, it aims to offer a different "mode" or "perspective" of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field. We may find a more or less critical perspective in such diverse areas as pragmatics, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography, or media analysis, among others. (2003, 352)

"More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society" (2003, 353). According to van Dijk, the areas covered by CDA are:

- gender inequality;
- media discourse;
- political discourse;
- ethnocentrism, antisemitism, nationalism, and racism;

- from group domination to professional and institutional power (van Dijk 2003, 358–363).

Jørgensen and Philips indicate that there are large differences between the critical discourse analytical approaches with respect to their theoretical understanding of discourse, ideology and the historical perspective, and also with respect to their methods for the empirical study of language use in social interaction and its ideological effects (2002, 64). The authors refer to Norman Fairclough's (1997) distinction between:

- Norman Fairclough's approach, which "consists of a set of philosophical premises, theoretical methods, methodological guidelines specific techniques for linguistic analysis";
- "the broader critical discourse analytical movement [which] consists of several approaches" (1997, 60).

Within the latter group, the authors draw special attention to van Dijk's approach, which is termed a socio-cognitive one and "understands *cognitive structures* as mediating social and discursive practices" (2002, 91, italics in the original text). Van Dijk also views power as abuse and overlooks people's possibilities to resist it (2002, 91).

The authors stress the similarities, not the differences among the different approaches and claim that they "have many important features in common," i.e. drawing on Foucault's theory, perceiving discourse as "partly constitutive of knowledge, subjects and social relations and the text oriented discourse analysis, i.e. to analyse language use as social practice – *actual instances of language use* – in relation to the wider social practice of which the discursive practice is part" (2002, 91–92).

In a more detailed way, Jørgensen and Philips (2002) refer to a summary of common features made by Fairclough and Wodak (1997). This involves the following five points:

1. The character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic-discursive – discursive practices form a part of social practices and the aim of CDA is to investigate the social and cultural processes from the linguistic perspective.
2. Discourse is both constitutive and constituted – discourse is a social practice which constitutes the social practices and is also constituted by them.
3. Language should be empirically analysed within its social context, i.e. CDA analyses language use in social interaction.
4. Discourse functions ideologically – CDA focuses on the discursive practices which construct social subjects and relations (including power relations) as well as the role of discourse in the furtherance of the interests of social groups.

5. Critical research – CDA is an approach politically committed to social change (Jørgensen and Philips 2002, 61–64).

1.3.1.2 Van Dijk's concept of CDA research

Van Dijk identifies two levels of the social order:
- the micro level, which involves language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication;
- the macro level, which is connected with power, dominance, and inequality between social groups (2003, 354).

The task of CDA is to "theoretically bridge the well-known 'gap' between micro and macro approaches" (2003, 354). The analysis and bridging of the gap may be executed in a variety of ways:
1. members vs groups – language users participate as members in the discourse of institutions and organisations which, in turn, act by their members;
2. action-process – individuals perform social acts which constitute parts of group actions and social processes, e.g. legislation;
3. context-social structure – discursive interactions are similarly part or constitutive of social structure;
4. personal and social cognition – language users have personal cognition (personal memories, knowledge and opinions) and social cognition (those shared with group or culture members). "Both types of cognition influence interaction and discourse of individual members, whereas shared 'social representations' govern the collective actions of a group." (2003, 354)

1.3.1.3 Fairclough's concept of CDA research

Norman Fairclough identifies three functions of discourse, i.e.:
- text – text production (text is a product), text interpretation (text is a resource);
- interaction – processes of production and processes of interpretation;
- context – social processes, conditions of production and social processes of interpretation (Fairclough 1989, 24–25).

To begin with, one should mention Fairclough's three concepts of discourse, i.e.:
- language use as social practice;
- kind of language used in a specific field, e.g. scientific, political discourse;

- discourse – (count noun) the way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective, e.g. feminist discourse, consumer discourse, environmentalist discourse (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, 66–67).

This involves functions and contributions of discourse, i.e.:

- identity – discourse contributes to the construction of social identities;
- relational – discourse contributes to the construction of social relations;
- ideational – discourse contributes to the creation of systems of knowledge and meaning (Jørgensen and Philips 2002, 67).

Jørgensen and Philips refer the functions of discourse to Halliday's metafunctions of language (2002, 67). The scholars also maintain that Fairclough's approach is a text-oriented discourse analysis which unites three traditions:

- "detailed textual analysis within the field of linguistics," including functional grammar;
- "macro-sociological analysis of social practice," including Foucault's theory;
- "micro-sociological, interpretative tradition [...] where everyday life is treated as the product of people's actions in which they follow a set of shared 'common sense' roles and procedures"; this includes ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (2002, 65–66).

Fairclough proposes a three-dimensional concept of discourse. It includes:

- language text (spoken or written);
- discourse practice (text production and interpretation);
- sociocultural practice (immediate situation, institution or organization, societal level) (1995, 97).

Discourse analysis corresponds with the three dimensions and involves:

- (linguistic) description of the text, which concentrates on the formal properties of the text;
- interpretation of the relationship between the text and the discursive processes, or between text and interaction. Interpretation deals with text as a resource and a product;
- explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes, or between the interaction and social context, production and interpretation processes and effects (Fairclough 1989/2001, 26; 1995b, 97).

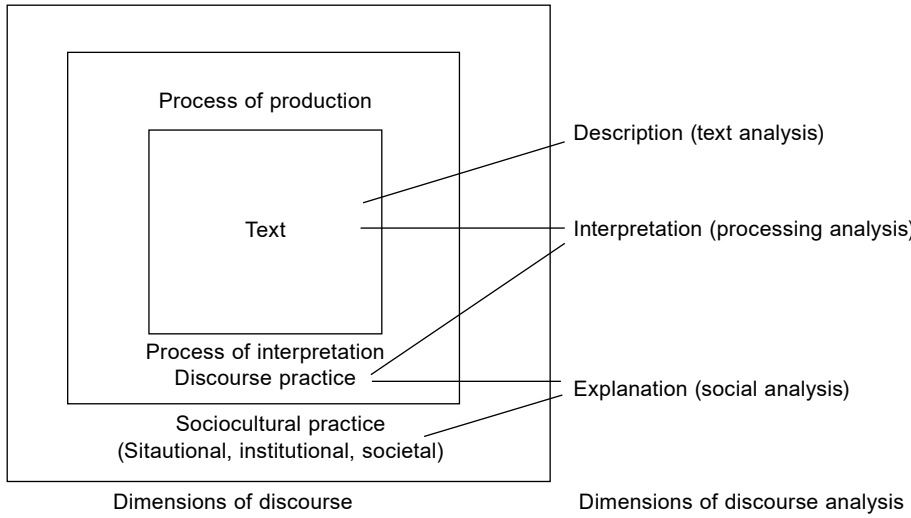

Figure 2. Fairclough's dimensions of discourse and corresponding levels of analysis (Fairclough 1995b, 98)

The dimensions of discourse, presented in Figure 2 above, and similarly in Fairclough (1989, 25), also involve the social conditions of production and interpretation. Social conditions, in turn, may occur on three levels, i.e.:

- social situation – the immediate social environment of the discourse;
- social institution;
- society as a whole (Fairclough 1989, 25).

Another major issue in Fairclough's concept of discourse and discourse analysis is the concept of networks constraining types of discourse and practice. The author claims that discourse is determined by social structures. In other words, "actual discourse is determined by underlying conventions of discourse [...] clustering in sets or networks" (1989, 28). Fairclough calls them *orders of discourse*, using the term introduced by Michel Foucault. Orders of discourse, Fairclough claims, embody ideologies (1989, 28).

This is followed by a distinction between social orders and orders of discourse.

- Social orders form a more general concept, i.e. "structuring of a particular social 'space' into various domains associated with various types of practice," social orders "differ not only in which types of practice they include, but also in how these are related to each other, or structured" (Fairclough 1991, 29–30).
- Orders of discourse refer to the "social order looked at from a specifically discoursal perspective – in terms of those types of practice

into which a social space is structured which happen to be discourse types" (Fairclough 1989, 29).

The author presents the concept in the table quoted below.

Table 2. Social orders and orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1989, 29)

Social order	Order of discourse
Types of practice	Types of discourse
Actual practices	Actual discourses

The table clearly shows the correspondence between the abovementioned elements, i.e. how a particular social ordering relates to the order of discourse, specific types of practice to the types of discourse, and actual practices to actual discourses respectively.

1.3.1.4 Power

Mayr claims that "power is pervasive in social systems and their institutions" (2008, 11). The author also refers to the distinction between two traditions on power research made by Scott (2001). They are as follows:

- mainstream tradition, which focuses on "the corrective forms of the power of the state and institutions" (Mayr 2008, 11). It may be traced back to Weber's analysis (1914) that concentrates on "the varying abilities of actors to secure the compliance of others, even against their resistance" (2008, 7);
- second-stream tradition, which is primarily concerned with the persuasive influence of power (2008, 6). This may be referred to Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony that provides for the existence of "mechanisms through which dominant groups in society succeed in persuading subordinate groups to accept their own moral, political values and institutions through ideological means. Power is therefore not exercised coercively, but routinely" (Mayr 2008, 13).

Norman Fairclough also refers to Gramsci's concept of hegemony in his search for "a theory of power, class and state in modern capitalist societies" (1995, 92). Fairclough indicates that Gramsci perceives the power of dominant class as a combination of:

- domination, which involves state power, "control over the forces of repression and the capacity to use coercion against other social groups";
- hegemony, or "intellectual and moral leadership" (1995, 93).

Power is one of the key notions in CDA. Van Dijk claims that "[a] central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the *social power* of groups or institutions" (2003, 354). Social power, in turn, means in terms of control that "groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups" (2003, 354–355). This assumes "a *power base* of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, 'culture,' or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication (of the vast literature on power" (2003, 355).

The following types of power may be identified according to Van Dijk:

- coercive power (the power of the military and violent men);
- power of money (the rich);
- power of knowledge, information, authority (parents, professors and journalists) (2003, 355).

Fairclough, on the other hand, identifies two aspects of power:

- power in discourse – "discourse as a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted" (1989, 43) and it "is to do with powerful *participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants*" (1991, 46, italics in the original text)
- power behind discourse – "how orders of discourse, as dimensions of the social orders of social institutions or societies, are themselves shaped and constituted by relations of power" (1989, 43).

According to Vine, "[p]ower is a concept which is of obvious relevance to the analysis of workplace data, as power relationships exist between people employed at different levels within an organisation" (2004, 1). She refers to yet another classification of power within institutional or organisational discourse – legitimate power and expertise (expert) power. The first one is exercised due to position, whereas the other one is connected with and based on specific skills, knowledge and strengths of a person. Both of these types of power involve the power of an individual or a group over others and may be referred to as "power over" or, as Fairclough (1989, 33) calls it, "coercive power." "Power over" may be enacted in various ways and it is the power-holders who determine what is correct (and to what extent) and appropriate during an interaction. It is also them who have "the capacity to determine to what extent that power will be overtly expressed." Thus, it is "quite possible for the expression of power relationships to be played down as a tactic within a strategy for the continued possession and exercise of power" (1989, 72).

Overt power marking is only one in a whole spectrum of possibilities, and other types of power seem to have become more relevant recently. One of them is "consultative power," which involves seeking information, consultation, considering advice and planning with others on the part of managers (Dwyer 1993, 557–558). Also, in the theory of management, one may distinguish between three types of managers (leaders), or else three managerial (leadership) styles: authoritarian, participative and laissez-faire (1993, 559). Authoritarian managers are unequivocally in control and they enact their power very explicitly, with little space for discussion, consultation or other input from subordinate stuff. In contrast, the laissez-faire manager would sooner effectively let the team run itself, while the participative type of leader attempts to exhibit a relative balance between the two extremes (1993, 561).

1.3.2 Genre, register and style

Biber and Conrad use the terms of *register*, *style* and *genre* "to refer to three different perspectives on text varieties (2009, 2). Thus, register is "a variety associated with a particular situation of use (including particular communicative purposes)" (2009, 6, brackets in the original text). The register perspective combines an analysis of linguistic characteristics which are common in a text variety with analysis of the situation of use of the variety. The scholars identify the following three components in the description of register:

- the situational context, i.e. interactive/not interactive, speech/writing, primary communicative purpose;
- the linguistic features, i.e. lexical and grammatical characteristics;
- the functional, i.e. the relationships between the first two components. (2009, 6)

The stylistic perspective is similar to the register perspective in terms of concentration on the linguistic features of texts but, unlike the register perspective, it is not functionally motivated by the situational context; rather, style features reflect aesthetic preferences, associated with particular authors or historical periods (2009, 2).

The genre perspective, in turn, is the "description of the purposes and situational context of a text variety, but its linguistic analysis contrasts with the register perspective by focusing on the conventional structures used to construct a complete text" (2009, 2).

The discussion above is summarised in the following table.

Table 3. Defining characteristics of register, genre, and styles (Biber and Conrad 2009, 16)

Defining characteristic	Register	Genre	Style
Textual focus	sample of text excerpts	complete texts	sample of text excerpts
Linguistic characteristics	any lexicogrammatical feature	specialized expressions, rhetorical organization, formatting	any lexicogrammatical feature
Distribution of linguistic characteristics	frequent and pervasive in texts from the variety	usually once occurring in the text, in a particular place in the text	frequent and pervasive in texts from the variety
Interpretation	features serve important communicative functions in the register	features are conventionally associated with the genre: the expected format, but often not functional	features are not directly functional; they are preferred because they are aesthetically valued

A common-sense observation allows us to claim that in various situational contexts people use language differently. In other words, the situations individuals happen to be in, and their specific contextual aspects, affect language so that particular meanings and their linguistic expressions become more likely to occur than others. As Eggins and Martin put it, "context places certain meanings 'at risk'" (1997, 234). Context is, therefore, interrelated with register variation. Similarly, "texts may also exhibit variation in terms of *genre*" (1997, 235, italics in the original), which is predominantly context-determined.

The interrelationship between the functional organization of language and the organization of context may also be explained in a more sophisticated way, such as presented in the table below.

According to Eggins and Martin, Halliday's field-tenor-mode model of context fits well with his theory concerning the organization of language (1997, 238). We learn, therefore, that those two are naturally related, "with ideational meaning used to construct field (the social action), interpersonal meaning used to negotiate tenor (the role structure) and textual meaning used to develop mode (symbolic organization)" (1997, 239).

Table 4. The functional organization of language in relation to categories for analysing context (Eggins and Martin 1997, 239)

Metafunction (organization of language)	Register (organization of context)
Interpersonal meanings (resources for interacting)	Tenor (role structure)
Ideational meaning (resources for building content)	Field (social action)
Textual meaning (resources for organizing texts)	Mode (symbolic organization)

Linguists who apply the above-mentioned framework in their studies tend to focus on the analysis of discourse-semantic patterns and cohesion markers, as well as lexical and grammatical patterns, as presented in the following table.

Table 5. Relationship between context, strata, and systems in the systemic functional model (Eggins and Martin 1997, 242)

Context		Language	
Register variable	Type of meaning 'at risk'	Discourse-semantic patterns (cohesion)	Lexico-grammatical patterns
Field	Ideational	Lexical cohesion Conjunctive relations	Transitivity (case) Logico-semantic relations (taxis)
Mode	Interpersonal	Speech function Exchange structure	Mood, modality, vocation, attitude
Tenor	Textual	Reference (participant tracking)	Theme, Information structure Nominalization

Christopher Hall, in turn, draws a border line between register and style. In his opinion, "styles are defined by degree of formality, and registers by the *activity*, *topic* and *domain* associated with our language use" (2005, 242, italics in the original). The author rightly indicates that both terms correlate and because of this are used interchangeably (2005, 242). Hall claims that the same topic may involve different styles, e.g. the weather topic may be spoken about in informal style at the bus stop and in a formal one in a weather forecast (2005, 242). A good comparison is provided by the author in the table below.

Table 6. Combination of spoken and written registers and styles (Hall 2005, 243)

Modality	Register	Style	
		Formal	Informal
Written	Philosophy	A treatise on St. Anselm's ontological argument for the existence of God, published by Continuum	An irreverent email exchange between philosophy students, discussing a homework exercise on aesthetics
	Popular music	A post-structuralist analysis of a Peter Gabriel concert in The New York Times	A gushing tribute to the music (and good looks) of NSync in a teenage girl's private journal
Spoken	Philosophy	A radio interview with Chomsky about the influence of Plato's ideas on the development of linguistic theory	A heated discussion in a pub between drunken amateur philosophers, on the inheritability of criminal tendencies
	Popular music	A business-like MTV board meeting discussing viewer complaints about the lyrics of an Eminem song	An emotionally-charged account of a Red Hot Chilli Peppers concert, in a fan's phone call to a friend who couldn't get tickets

1.3.3 Language and gender

A thorough presentation of the research of the relation between gender and language exceeds the framework of this study. For its purposes, it seems sufficient to define the problem in general terms and to concentrate on the aspect of gender differences in workplace discourse.

According to Ann Weatherhall, the concerns about gender and language

> can be traced to linguistics and to feminist theory and political practice. Gender has been invoked as an explanation for all manner of linguistic variation [...] The linguistic message has been that there are important relationships between gender and language; the feminist one is that those relationships are significant for understanding and challenging sexism and patriarchy. (2002, 2)

Ann Weatherhall maintains that issues on gender and language reached a research status "alongside the second wave of feminism during the 1960s and 1970s" (2002, 3). The author indicates two basic questions in the field. The questions asked are about the nature and significance of gender bias in language and of gender differences in language use (2002, 3), e.g.:

- "the marginality and powerlessness of women is reflected both in the ways men and women are expected to speak and the ways in which women are spoken of" as stated by Lakoff (1973, 45; see also Weatherhall 2002, 3);
- "Do women and men use language in different ways?" – a question asked by Cheris Kramer, Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley (1978, 638, after Weatherhall 2002, 3).

The major findings of the research on the features of men's and women's language are presented below.

To begin with, Robin Lakoff indicates the following features of women's speech style:

- avoidance of swearing or taboo words;
- expressive, e.g. *so*;
- hedges, e.g. *sort of, you know*;
- mitigated requests, e.g. *Would you please open the door?*;
- "precise discriminations in naming colours," e.g. *mauve, beige, lavender*;
- rising intonation in declaratives;
- tags used to express opinions, e.g. *This room is quite hot, isn't it? The way prices are rising is horrendous, isn't it?*;
- trivializing adjectives, e.g. *divine, lovely*;
- weak expletives, e.g. *oh, dear* (1975, 8–19).

In a much later research, Mulac et al. (2001) present the features of women's and men's language. According to the authors, men's language reflects their dominant position and is characterised by the more frequent use of:

- quantitative references, e.g. *It is 25 miles away*;
- judgmental adjectives, e.g. *His performance is poor*;
- commands, e.g. *Turn that off now*;
- location words, e.g. *Take it off the table, put it in the cupboard*;
- brief sentences, e.g. *Looks great! Now what?*;
- self-references, e.g. *I'm in agreement with that*;

Women's language, in turn, is characterised by:

- intensive adverbs, e.g. *It's so terribly interesting, isn't it?*;
- qualifying clauses, e.g. *In which something is*;
- emotional reference, e.g. *That made her feel rather angry*;
- longer sentences, e.g. *Whilst I think it would be a good idea, I feel you might want to...*;
- initial adverbials, e.g. *Owing to the interest we have now...*;
- uncertainty, e.g. *It seems rather vague, I suppose*;
- hedging, e.g. *She's a bit like Jane in that*;
- negation, e.g. *Is it not a Bernini statue?*;

- simultaneous opposites, e.g. *He looks a bit angry yet still reasonably calm*;
- questioning, e.g. *Do you think this looks good?* (WWW4);

Furthermore, a summary of features of "feminine" and "masculine" interactional styles cited in literature is provided by Holmes and Stubbe (2003, 574):

Table 7. Features of feminine and masculine interactional styles (Holmes and Stubbe 2003, 574)

Feminine	Masculine
indirect	direct
conciliatory	confrontational
facilitative	competitive
collaborative	autonomous
minor contribution (in public)	dominates (public) talking time
supportive feedback	aggressive interruptions
person/process-oriented	task/outcome-oriented
affectively oriented	referentially oriented

As far as the role of gender in the communication in the workplace is concerned, one has to mention the concept of "gendered organization" (Kanter 1977; cf. Holmes and Stubbe 2003, 531). Thimm et al. (2003, 529) indicate that "researchers such as Kanter (1977) and Acker (1991) characterize organizations as engaged in *gendered processes*, in which both gender and sex are regulated through a gender-neutral, asexual discourse." The authors also indicate the disagreement among researchers as to the role of gender in workplace discourse, since "[w]hile Acker holds the position that gender differences are not emphasized sufficiently, Reskin regards gender differences as overemphasized, at least in some organizational contexts (1993, 529).

Holmes and Stubbe claim that the research on work interactions confirmed the findings presented in the above table. This leads to the identification of "masculine" and "feminine" workplaces, i.e. ones that are dominated by one of the interactional styles mentioned above (Holmes and Stubbe 2003, 575). One should stress that the authors do not mean

> places that are literally "women's" workplaces and "men's" workplaces, but rather about cultural dimensions and perceptions, which are a matter of degree. Some men can and do interact at times and in ways that contribute to the perception of a workplace as more "feminine," just as the behavior of some women reinforces the view of their workplaces as particularly "masculine." Moreover, different workplaces can be character-

> ized as more or less "feminine" and more or less "masculine" in different respects. So, in a particular workplace, meeting structures may conform to a more "masculine" style, while the way small talk is distributed may fit a more "feminine" stereotype. (2003, 575)

One may find studies which indicate that it is not gender but the position that determines what they call *speech style*. Steffen and Eagly (1985) claim that

> high-status persons were assumed to use a more direct and less polite style, and were also thought more likely to gain compliance by using this style. Lower-status individuals were more concerned with face-saving, and also perceived the style of their partner's talk as more direct and less polite. Softening and politeness strategies were directly related to status: the higher the status, the more direct and less polite the style of talk was perceived to be. (in Thimm et al. 2003, 531)

A more recent concept which must be mentioned was introduced to language and gender research by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992). The term for the concept suggested by the scholars is the "community of practice" (CofP). It refers to "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor" (1992, 95; see also Holmes and Stubbe 2003, 581).

It may also be defined as "a combination of people who meet round some kind of mutual engagement or project" (Weatherhall 2002, 135) and should be distinguished from speech community. The latter one is "defined by its membership only" and CofP is defined by "its membership and by the social practices that the membership shares" (2002, 135).

Community of practice does not isolate gender from social identity and relations, and it emphasizes the heterogeneity and dynamism of gender identities (Weatherhall 2002, 135).

Wenger (1998, 73) identifies three criterial features of a community of practice:

(1) mutual engagement;
(2) a joint negotiated enterprise;
(3) a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time (after Holmes and Stubbe 2003, 581).

Scollon and Scollon, on the other hand, come to the conclusion that "the discourse systems of gender cut across culture and generations, corporate culture and professional specialisations" (1997, 229). They

also indicate that "the discourse of men and women forms two different systems which are in many ways distinct from each other" (1997, 229). For their research purposes, they adopt Deborah Tannen's approach according to which even though men and women grow up in the same backgrounds, are educated together, work together and, therefore, are part of the same professional and occupational groups, their discourses develop in two different systems (Tannen 1994).

1.3.4 Pragmatics

The following subchapters cover selected pragmatic issues which are referred to in the analytical part of the book. The discussed concepts include the theory of speech acts, politeness and the notion of cooperative principle.

1.3.4.1 Speech acts

Pragmatics may be defined as "the study of speaker meaning" or "the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader)" (Yule 1996, 3, brackets in the original text).

One of the key notions in pragmatics is that of *speech acts* and *speech events*. George Yule defines speech acts as "[a]ctions performed via utterances" usually labelled as apology, compliment, invitation, request, etc. (1996, 47). The recognition of speech acts by the speaker and the hearer is usually "helped […] by the circumstances surrounding the utterance. These circumstances, including other utterances, are called the **speech event**" (1996, 47, bold text in the original).

Speech acts are subject to a number of classifications. Using the criterion of the structure of a speech act one may identify:

- direct speech acts in which "a direct relationship exists between the structure and communicative function of an utterance, e.g. using an interrogative form ('Can you…?') to ask a question ('Can you swim?'): cf. indirect speech act" (1996, 129);
- indirect speech acts "where an indirect relationship exists between the structure and communicative function of an utterance, e.g. the use of an interrogative ('Can you...?') not to ask a question, but to make a request ('Can you help me with this?'): cf. direct speech act" (1996, 131).

Another major division identifies three types of speech acts:

- locutionary act – "the basic act of utterance, or producing a meaningful linguistic expression" (1996, 48);
- illocutionary act – "the communicative force of an utterance," the "kind of function in mind." It is also called the illocutionary force of an utterance (1996, 48);
- perlocutionary act – the effect of an utterance, also called the perlocutionary effect (1996, 48–49).

The concept of illocutionary acts (or illocutions) forms the basis of their further classification made by John Searle, who maintains that "[t]here are five and only five different types of illocutionary points" (1999, 148). He lists and defines them in the following way:

1. Assertives, e.g. classifications, descriptions, explanations, or statements. Assertives are speech acts which "commit the hearer to the truth of the proposition." They "have the word-to-world direction of fit" and for this reason they may be true or false (1999, 148).
2. Directives, e.g. commands, orders, or requests. The objective of directives is "to get the hearer to behave in such a way as to make his behavior match the propositional content of the directive." Their "direction of fit is always world-to-word" and they express "a desire that the hearer should do the directed act. They cannot be true or false but complied with, denied, disobeyed, granted, obeyed, etc. (1999, 148–149).
3. Commissives, e.g. contracts, guarantees, pledges, promise, threats and vows. Commissives express "a commitment by the speaker to undertake the course of action represented in the propositional content." Their direction of fit is world-to-word and they cannot be true or false but broken, carried out, or kept (1999, 149).
4. Expressives, e.g. apologies, condolences, congratulations, thanks, welcomes. They "express the sincerity condition of the speech act." They cannot be true or false but sincere or insincere. Their direction of fit is null "because the truth of the propositional content is simply taken for granted" (1999, 149).
5. Declarations, e.g. "I pronounce you husband and wife." Their objective is "to bring about a change in the world by representing it as having been changed" or "create a state of affairs just by representing it as created." Declarations have a double direction of fit because "we change the world and thus achieve the world-to-word direction of fit representing is as having been changed, and thus achieve the word-to-world direction of fit." They may be successful or not and "they are possible only because of the existence of extralinguistic institutions" (1999, 150).

The above mentioned may be summarized in the table below:

Table 8. Searle's general functions of speech (Yule 1996, 55)

Speech act type	Direction of fit	S = speaker X = situation
Declarations	words change the world	S causes X
Representatives	make words fit the world	S believes X
Expressives	make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	make the worlds fit words	S wants X
Commissives	make the worlds fit words	S intends X

1.3.4.2 Politeness and interaction

A major pragmatic issue is that of politeness. It may be said to be built upon the concept of face. Deborah Cameron indicates it is borrowed by Brown and Levinson from the sociologist Erving Goffman (1991, 79). Face may be defined as a person's "self-public image" (Yule 1996, 129) and politeness is "[s]howing awareness of another person's public self-image face wants" (1996, 132).

People expect their public self-image to be respected (face wants). This, in turn, is the basis to distinguish:

- face-threatening acts (FTAs) which threaten a person's public self-image;
- face-saving acts (FSAs) which avoid such a threat (Yule 1996, 129–130);

One may also distinguish two types of face:

- negative face – "The need to be independent, not imposed on by others" (1996, 131);
- positive face – "The need to be connected, to belong to a group" (1996, 132);

As a consequence, two types of politeness may be identified:

- negative politeness which takes into consideration a person's negative face, an "[a]wareness of another's right not to be imposed on: cf. positive politeness" (1996, 132);
- positive politeness, that takes into consideration a person's positive face, an "[a]n appeal to solidarity with another: cf. negative politeness" (1996, 132).

Finally, a speaker has a range of choices in an actual interaction. They are:

- say nothing or say something;
- the latter involves a choice between utterances off record (not directly addressed to another) or on record (directly addressed to another). On

record utterances may be bald on record, with explicit illocutionary force or mitigated ones, i.e. softened by impositions like "please."

Cameron (2001) quotes the summary of the concept as presented in the diagram below.

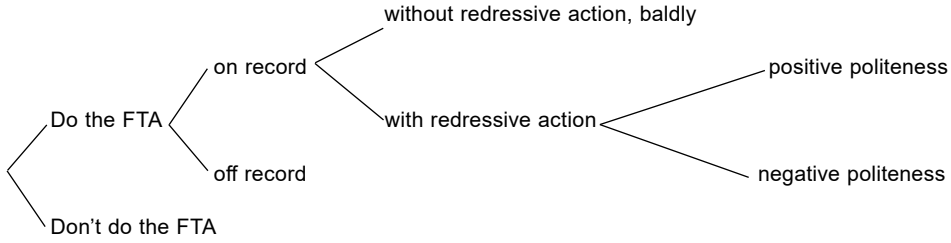

Figure 3. Brown and Levinson's "decision tree" (1987, 69, after Cameron 2001, 79)

A more through study, based on the "borrowing a pen" situation, has been elaborated by Yule (1997).

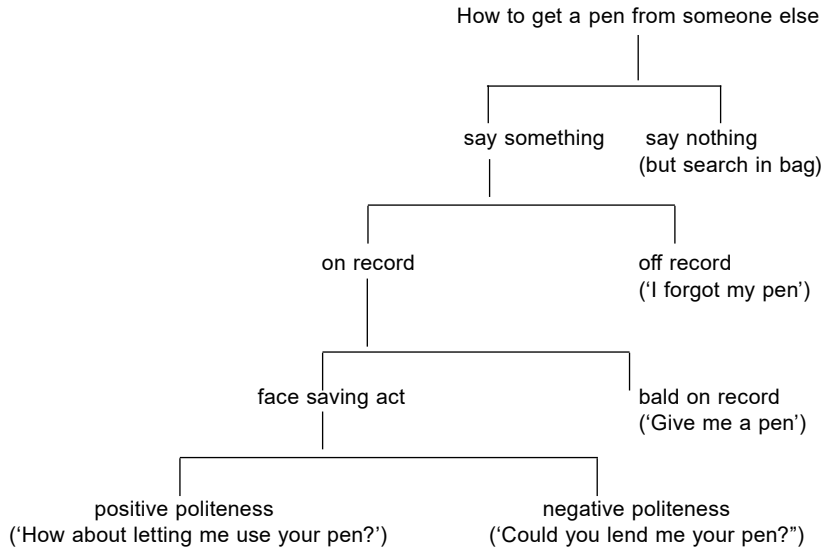

Figure 4. How to get a pen from someone else (Yule 1997, 67, following Brown and Levinson 1987)

The early canonical research on politeness surely includes the works of the above-mentioned Brown and Levinson (1987), whose model appears to have had a profound influence on the academic field, combining in itself Goffman's (1967) notion of face and Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle and maxims of conversation (see the next subchapter), in

terms of which communication is perceived as intentional and rational activity. This first-wave research, as Dynel (2017, 456) claims, should also comprise the studies by Lakoff (1973, 1977, 1989) and Leech (1983, 2003). Ever since, the notion of politeness has been revisited by linguists, to name a few more recent contributions, such as Eelen (2001), Kádár and Haugh (2013), Lakoff and Ide (2005), or Watts (2003). Worth mentioning is also the fact that the research has eventuated in and initiated the study of the counter-phenomenon – impoliteness (Culpeper 1996, Beebe 1995, Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann 2003). However, a vast proportion of research regards both notions – politeness and impoliteness – and employs both terms.

A more recent linguistic classification of (im)politeness strategies is the one proposed by Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003), although it seems to incorporate the somewhat precursory ideas by Brown and Levinson (1987) and by Leech (1983). Their five-point taxonomy includes the following categories:

1. bald on record impoliteness – "typically deployed where there is much face at stake, and where there is an intention on the part of the speaker to attack the face of the hearer" (2003, 1554);
2. positive impoliteness – refers to "the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants" (2003, 1555);
3. negative impoliteness – as opposed to positive impoliteness, it concerns "the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants" (2003, 1555);
4. sarcasm or mock politeness – it includes the politeness strategies which are "obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realizations" (2003, 1555);
5. withhold politeness – either stay silent or "fail to act where politeness work is expected" (2003, 1555).

Lastly, one may observe a turn towards the so called discursive (im) politeness research. In compliance with this approach, linguists such as Eelen (2001), Kádár and Mills (2011), Locher and Watts (2005), Mills (2003), or Watts (2003), divert "from linguistic forms and strategies as vehicles for (im)politeness in order to focus on participants' diversified evaluations within localised interactions" (Dynel 2017, 457). In her overview of (im)politeness studies, Bączkowska (2013) confirms this trend: classical models of politeness as proposed by aforementioned Brown and Levinson (1987), Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983) or Goffman's (1967) concept of face initiated other studies, which, in the most recent accounts, diverted towards the discursive and postmodern approaches to the opposite idea – impoliteness. According to Bączkowska (2013), it appears that combining the layman's perspective and the researcher's

investigation is an effective method of analysis of impoliteness negotiated by interlocutors as encountered in authentic data. With the interdisciplinary spread of discursive approaches, the spotlight moved from politeness to impoliteness, since it has been noticed that impolite behaviours are more common than it originally might have appeared. Impoliteness, traditionally perceived as an unsuccessful attempt at polite behaviour or as a social anomaly, started to be discussed in terms of surprisingly frequent, intentional, purposeful, methodical and strategic sociolinguistic acts. This induced the need to propose other methodological tools enabling the study of impolite linguistic behaviours. Even though in Poland a vast majority of research focuses on the concept of politeness, impoliteness has been gaining in popularity – one should name the study by Peisert (2004) for that matter.

1.3.4.3 The cooperative principle

Grice introduces the Cooperation Maxim which says: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (1991, 26). The author breaks it down into four categories:

1. Quantity:
   - "Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)."
   - "Do not make your contribution more informative than is required" (1991, 26, brackets in the original text).
2. Quality:
   - "Try to make your contribution one that is true."
   - "Do not say what you believe to be false."
   - "Do not say that for which you lack evidence." (1991, 27)
3. Relation:
   - "Be relevant." (1991, 27)
4. Manner:
   - "Be perspicuous."
   - "Avoid obscurity of expression."
   - "Avoid ambiguity."
   - "Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity) ."
   - "Be orderly" (1991, 27, brackets in the original text).

1.4 Telematic discourse

The analysed discourse is part of the so called telematic discourse, with all the possible implications. This situation of M's discourse within fictional environment as opposed to reality is worth mentioning primarily because while it is intended to imitate real communicative encounters, or real discourses, it may, in fact, lack some of their qualities. From the research standpoint, such explicitness and the differentiation between spontaneous, real life discourses and fictional, artificially reproduced ones, sounds legitimate and requisite.

1.4.1 Definition and classification

Among the major concepts to be discussed within the theoretical background of this monograph is the definition and status of the discourse of the protagonists and interlocutors featuring in movies.

According to Jucker and Locher, the language used in movies may be classified as a fictional one, together with the language of novels, theatre plays and radio and television dramas. The authors stress the fact that "pragmatics offers a multitude of different perspectives to analyze all these forms and their effects on the readers/viewers" (2017, 1).

The status of fictional language as an object of study is subject to different approaches. Jucker and Locher claim that "boundaries between fictional and non-fictional language are, by any account, fuzzy and slippery" (2017, 5). They also identify different periods and approaches, namely:

- fictional texts as specimens of proper language use and subject to integration into vocabularies in the eighteenth century;
- present day approach considering them as artificial and unsuitable for an enquiry;
- corpus linguistic approach – accepting the texts in the efforts to establish extensive corpora and drawing on the easy access to fictional texts (2017, 4–5);
- most recent approach treating fictional texts "as a rich source of data, albeit one that needs to be investigated on its own terms" (2017, 5);

Piazza et al. refer to the language of cinema and television as "telematic discourse" (2011, 1) or "film discourse" (2011, 6). Jucker and Locher apply the same terminology (2017, 1). Rossi, in his article in the same volume, uses the term "cinema discourse" (2011, 45) and Alvares-Pereyre also uses the term "filmspeak" (2011, 51).

The authors also stress that this discourse variety "was ignored for decades and viewed solely as an accompaniment to images" (2011, 6). In a similar way, Alvares-Pereyre maintains that, except translation studies, "linguistic research based on films is scarce" (2011, 48). Among major contributions in this field one may indicate two relatively new monographs, i.e. *Telematic Discourse* monograph edited by Rossi et al. (2011) and *Pragmatics of Fiction* edited by Locher and Jucker (2017), both of them extensively quoted in this section of the research.

One of the features of this discourse variety is what Piazza et al (2011) call "double plane of communication", i.e.

- communication on the screen, and
- communication between external viewers and "the subjects in the story" (2011, 1).

Another major issue that characterises cinema discourse is that it "hinges on a subtle balance between realism and fiction, media constraints and an illusion of spontaneity" (Rossi 2011, 45). The author refers to Kozloff's research, who claims that the reproduction of reality is a compromise between the authors pretending to offer a piece of reality to the audience and the audience suspends disbelief to collaborate (Kozloff 2000, 16, 47, after Rossi 2011, 45).

From the linguistic point of view, one has to consider the status of film as a linguistic specimen. Alvares-Pereyre (2011, 47–48) draws on the distinction made by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 3) in which any instance of language may be seen as an artefact or a specimen. The artefact concept assumes that language instance is "an object in its own right" while the instrument concept assumes that language instance serves to study the system of language (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 3, Alvares-Pereyre 2011, 47–48).

Alvares-Pereyre develops the concept of using films as "linguistic specimen," i.e. "their individual *language* and language-related elements (dialogue segments, body language, etc.) will be considered from a linguistic point of view." The approach also assumes that non-linguistic elements, connected with what he calls "cinematic apparatus" may contribute to the linguistic research (2011, 49–50, italics and brackets in the original).

The approach proposed by Kozinski (2011) seems to be straightforward and free from the sophisticated academic considerations. The author claims as follows: "Academic analysts may interpret a film or series of films from the standpoint of a particular critical theory such as Feminism or Marxism. Another approach might be a linguistic analysis that characterises the style of a given genre of film by, for instance, look-

ing at the frequency of certain words or phrases." For the researcher, the dialogue analysis may complement other areas of linguistic study and it concentrates on the emotional tone in 007 movies (2011, 126).

Finally, Skowronek views cinematic discourse as one of multiple varieties of media discourse. The researcher provides the most essential distinctive features and some implications for its functioning. For him, in media-linguistic analysis cinematic discourse may be understood as a verbal dimension of an audiovisual communicative event which meets the requirements of "cinematicness" (four of them: (1) creating the impression of moving image, (2) the rule of antecedence, i.e. creation of the moving image before its reception, (3) the component of technical preservation, i.e. recording the moving image with a possibility of later reproduction, and (4) necessity of inscribing a particular visual depiction within social and communicative relations) and which operates in appropriate technological, historical, socio-cultural, ideological and receiving contexts (2016, 190–191).

1.4.2 Film dialogues

It may be taken for granted that for a linguist investigating filmspeak the major area of interest is the language used by the movie characters and this, quite obviously, demonstrates itself in dialogues. Among major issues to be considered as far as film dialogues are concerned is their relation to the naturally-occurring interactions. Thus, film dialogues "*present themselves* as spontaneous *and yet*, in most cases, *are not spontaneous* in any strict sense" (Alvares-Pereyre 2011, 52, italics in the original).

Within the field of analysing film dialogues, one may indicate Bednarek's (2017) research on TV series. The author provides a definition of the term dialogue, which she classifies as "shorthand for all character speech, whether or not this speech is by one character (monologues, asides, voice-over narration, etc.), between two character (dyadic interactions) or between several characters (multi-party interactions) […] differentiated from screen directions in TV scripts which may refer to elements such as location and time, angle, special effects, transition, sounds, settings, clothing, name/age, mental state, actions, pauses and voice source" (2017, 130).

The framework for the analysis of dialogues may be just as difficult as giving precise definitions and border lines of concept presented above. Two approaches will be presented below to illustrate the possible viewpoints on how to carry on an analysis of film dialogues.

Rossi (2011) analyses film dialogues using a variety of criteria that may be traced back to structural linguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis. They include fluency, discourse markers, verbal tenses, allocution, repetitions, glosses, uses of telephone and overlapping (2011, 26–45).

Bednarek also provides a list of functions of dialogue in TV series. The list is based on Kozloff (2000), enriched with her own additions, and it may be presented in the following way:

- functions relating to the communication of the narrative, e.g. anchorage of characters, diegesis and modality, enactment of narrative events, character revelation, etc.;
- functions relating to the aesthetic effect, ideological persuasion, commercial appeal, e.g. exploitation of the resources of language, thematic messages, opportunities for star turn, etc.;
- functions relating to the serial nature of TV narratives – creation of continuity (quoted and abridged from Bednarek 2017, 132).

Skowronek notes, on the other hand, that the language functioning in films may be considered omnidirectionally and multifacetedly. One may apply a broader (macro) perspective or a narrower (micro) one. Within the first one, the researcher may, for instance, study the dialogue lists diachronically, investigating particular linguistic facts in search for some general stylistic or systematic phenomena which may reflect the characteristics of a given period. Within the other one, a selected linguistic problem may be subject to analysis. No matter which approach is adopted, the study must take cognisance of the genological and formal specificity of the film itself, for the linguistic phenomena vary across different film types (2016, 195–196).

1.4.3 Research in James Bond discourse

"The popularity of the character and almost five decades of sustained interest in stories about his adventures" (Kozinski 2011, 131) may well justify the interest of linguists in the language of James Bond movies.

The author mentioned above concentrates on the emotional tone in 007 movies (2011, 126). One may also highlight Paola Attolino's (2013) comparative study of the language used in James Bond novels and movies. She approaches the research material from a diamesic and a diachronic perspective – diamesic because the author attempts to investigate variations in language features across two media of communication (a novel and a film), and diachronic since the original novel dates back to 1953 whereas the story retold in the movie is recontextualised a few decades later, in 2006. Attolino's analysis clearly presents the extent to which

by switching the medium from a spy story as a literary genre to an action film as a primarily visual cinematic genre, and by recontextualising a story along the timeline, the same story is inevitably told from different viewpoints. In other words, the audience is not really told a story, but it solely enters a selective interpretation, presented rather than told, with little space for the viewer's imagination (2013, 147).

In another contribution to the study of the discourse of James Bond, Attolino has presented the dynamics of the protagonist. Thanks to her discourse analysis, the researcher has managed to "detect signs that in a time-span of over forty years James Bond, though remaining a man of the Establishment, has gradually transformed from an almost superhuman figure incapable of physical and mental limitation to a more vulnerable special agent, with his doubts, fears and failures, showing a flexible temperament better responding to the challenges of the contemporary world" (2009, 155).

Apart from the above-mentioned researchers, the language of James Bond was also the focus of attention for Mamet (2014), although his work concentrates on Bond as a movie character exclusively. In his extensive monograph *Licence to speak: the language of James Bond*, the linguist thoroughly investigates the nuances and peculiarities of the discourse of 007 at multiple sociolinguistic and communicative levels as well as in relation to other characters in the story. The analysis embraces the strategies applied by the protagonist during his encounters with his supervisors, other spies, women and enemies in terms of face saving and face threatening acts, politeness, humour or negotiation techniques. Mamet subjects Bond's discourse to a pragmatic analysis including the relationship between text and context, and the study of registers and genres present in Bond's discourse, which enables him to trace the specificity and dynamics of 007's language and the evolution of his discourse in relation to other characters throughout decades.

More recent contributions to the study of particular aspects Bond's discourse also encompass a few articles, such as the one about the agent's humour by Mamet, Gwóźdź and Wilk (2017), about his amorous wordplays by Mamet and Wilk (2019), and about his and M's mutual assessment by Mamet and Majer (2020), all of which cast the spotlight on the intricacies of the translation of Bond movies. In another article by Mamet and Majer (2020), the focus of attention was directed towards M – Bond's supervisor, particularly the one played by Judi Dench, whose language has turned out to be a compelling source of the researchers' linguistic inquisitiveness in terms of the specificity of institutional discourse or the qualities of the language of men and women manifested in her speech.

1.5 Research material and methodology

Managerial duties and responsibilities of M manifest themselves in the analysed discourse. Since it is the institutional context of MI6 that shapes the discourse of M, it reflects to great extent the roles of managers. Among a number of roles that managers have, there are some that seem fundamental, though. First of all, managers delegate tasks to their team and give orders. Secondly, they evaluate their operatives' work, and they either criticize or praise depending on the operatives' efficiency. Managers also care for their team and build positive relationships which contribute to motivation and self-esteem. These main managerial roles can be observed in the analysed discourse and, therefore, the compiled research material is presented according to the above mentioned three categories, under the following broad thematic headings: M orders, M criticises, and M cares.

The managerial roles of M, as performed within MI6, are presented in a diachronic manner, which enables the reader to, simultaneously, observe how the times change, to see how the very institution evolves, and, above all, to depict the dynamics of the main characters (and their discourse) in general, and M in particular. The data analysed diachronically allows to show changes and evolution of M-007 discourse from 1962 till contemporary times.

Discourse analysis is the main analytical paradigm in the book. This includes critical approach to identify the power relationships that occur in M versus 007 discourse. Pragmatics serves as a research tool, especially in such areas as politeness and face-saving techniques. Register data in terms of grammar and lexis are used to illustrate whether and how the interlocutors shape their part in discourse.

The analysed corpus includes transcriptions of twenty-three James Bond films. The very analysis is limited to those stretches of M-007 discourse which are connected with the problem investigated in the research. Genre analysis is applied marginally and covers only clearly typified genres, such as resignation notice and mission statement.

2

The discourse of M – the manager of MI6

This chapter is entirely devoted to the analysis of the discourse of M, as introduced before. The description of the research results encompasses all the Bond films produced so far – twenty-four of them (see Appendix 1), and the observations are presented diachronically to allow the reader to follow the discourse of the main characters alongside with their adventures, the changing cultural and social reality, and the successive Ms.

2.1 M's position and policy

To begin with, on the one hand, different Ms show similar characteristics, the reason for which is the managerial function they all happen to perform. On the other hand, over the years, Ms have been changing, and so have their position and policy.

The common denominator fundamentally concerns the roles and responsibilities of the manager at the MI6 department, and, therefore, what linguistic actions they are supposed to engage in, such as giving orders, providing information, requesting reports, or assessing their operatives' work.

However, successive Ms are different people who represent different times, have different personalities and different visions concerning work on Her Majesty's secret service. All these factors, among many others, affect the way Ms use language to successfully manage their department, in every managerial aspect their position may involve.

Therefore, the language reflects, to some extent at least, the overall profiles of particular Ms. Furthermore, both the content and the form of their utterances reveal their position in MI6 and the policy they adopt in order to achieve the department's aims and to make the most of their operatives, and Bond in particular. It may also reveal the relationship between particular Ms and their supervisors.

2.1.1 M versus supervisors

M makes his first reference to the Prime Minister as his boss, whose orders he has to perform, in *You Only Live Twice*:

M: We assume it's Japan. Mind you, all this is pure guesswork, but the PM wants us to play it with everything we've got.
007: And the aerial reconnaissance? (M5 1967)

One can see that Bond makes no reference to M's supervisor but directs the conversation to the details of the problem at hand. In the next movie, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, the scheme repeats and develops:

007: Sir, that gives us time to get to Piz Gloria first-in force.
M: No, 007. My instructions are quite clear.
007: Sir, destroy the institute and Blofeld's virus with it
M: It's been rejected as too risky. Those girls. God knows how many, let alone where.
007: Sir, if we destroy the centre of communication that controls the girls, without Blofeld's voice the girls can do nothing.
M: I have my orders, 007.
You have yours. Forget it. (M6 1969)

This time M indicates his limitation of power, however without making reference to any particular person but concentrates on the reason (instructions, orders) and uses the passive voice. Bond, in turn, continues the line of speaking about details without making reference to M's superiors. This time, however, the details are used as arguments against the policy followed by M. Although this conversation may be treated as Bond's first disobedience, the conversation concentrates on problems and policies. The agent, although agitated, uses the collective *we* form and the present tense to describe the proposed future action. M's statements about his limitations are more direct, which is confirmed by the use of *I* and *my* forms, and a face threatening on-record remark *you have yours*.

It is more usual, however, for M to mention his superiors, chiefly PM, in a straightforward way. Thus, he admits that he has to obey the Minister, who orders him to suspend Bond:

Minister: I've never been so humiliated in my life. Your man should be taken off the assignment. I'll see you at the consulate.

M: I'll have to do what he says.
007: But before you do that, sir, have Q do an analysis of this [...]
M: So, there was a laboratory. You'd better take two weeks leave of absence, 007. (M11 1979)

Bond's reply is very clever. He accepts the order that the Minister gives and the fact that M has to obey it. However, he suggests it to be postponed and presents the explanation of his action. This way the agent restores his reliability and gets better terms of suspension. As for M, the conversation clearly shows the hierarchy of power in the institution and the indisputable authority of M's supervisors, whose orders M must follow without questioning or resistance. One may observe here an intriguing difference between the M-supervisors relationship and the M-Bond one. The first one seems to be of solely authoritarian nature, whereas the latter appears to be a bit more participative and cooperative.

In *The Man With the Golden Gun*, the Prime Minister is mentioned but M's manner of speaking is more colloquial. It also introduces the element of the PM killing M in the act of punishment:

007: I could fly low under their radar screen.
M: Absolutely out of the question. If the PM gets to hear of this, he'll hang me from the yardarm.
007: Officially you won't know a thing about it, sir. (M9 1974)

This time Bond implies his awareness of M's position, but he offers a solution to solve the problem in a way convenient for his boss.

The PM is mentioned again in *Tomorrow Never Dies* and M continues the line of using the colloquial language:

M: The PM would have my head if he knew you were investigating him. (M18 1997)

This is only part of M's longer statement and there is no opportunity to Bond to refer to it.

M's two statements quoted above may be treated as figures of speech, but *Spectre* shows M speaking more precisely about his dependence from superiors and processes. This refers to M's responsibility for the actions of his subordinates:

M: [...] the Head of the Joint Security Service is going through that door, and I've got to explain to him how one of our agents decided to potter off to Mexico, all on his own, and cause an international incident. (M24 2015)

The list of supervisors M mentions must be complemented with a quote from *The Living Daylights* in which he orders his agents to perform an exercise, mentions the Ministry of Defence and stresses his pride with the efficiency of the department he runs:

M: Gentlemen, this may only be an exercise so far as the Ministry of Defence is concerned, but for me it is a matter of pride that the 00 Section has been chosen for this test. [...] Good luck, men. (M15 1987)

This time the 00 agents make no comment but start their exercise. Finally, the American allies are the ones M has to count with as she mentions in *Skyfall*:

M: The Americans are gonna be none too pleased about this.
007: I promised them Le Chiffre, and they got Le Chiffre.
M: They got his body.
007: If they'd wanted his soul, they should... have made a deal with a priest. (M22 2008)

Bond's reply is based on the lexeme *body* introduced into the conversation with M, who means *corpse*. The sarcastic use of the *body vs soul* word play makes it possible for 007 to avoid speaking about his killing the villain. M knows well what the orders were, and she is aware that her supervisors have other expectations as for the successful accomplishment of the mission. She probably realises what the consequences might be and, in the situation of her department's uncertain future, she attempts to fulfil her tasks and responsibilities appropriately. She cannot question her supervisors' instructions and directives. Therefore, she criticises her operative's actions. However, Bond does not seem to bother, and he responds dismissively to M's words.

Sometime earlier, in *Die Another Day*, M indicates changes in her position, which are more general than the policies of her supervisors but result from the changes in the world around:

007: Oh, I know you'll do whatever it takes to get the job done.
M: Just like you.
007: The difference is I won't compromise.
M: Well, I don't have the luxury of seeing things as black and white. While you were gone the world changed. (M20 2002)

This is a very sad declaration confirming that, in the contemporary world, M, her department and the intelligence service in general, cannot apply clear cut honesty rules.

2.1.2 M about him/herself

The first movie and the first M-007 conversation includes a passage describing M's position and policies. M speaks decisively as a manager, who realizes his policy successfully and is well aware of it.

M: And another thing, since I've been a head of MI7 there's been a 40% drop in 00 casualties. I want it to stay that way. (M1 1962)

The appearance of Judy Dench, the third M in the movies, is a major event in the position and way of speaking of the character in question.

To begin with, one must say that she continues the tradition started by M in the first movie, *Dr No*. It is the tradition of a powerful manager running her own department.

This may be seen in *Goldeneye*:

M: If you think, 007, I don't have the balls to send a man out to die, your instincts are dead wrong. I've no compunction about sending you to your death. But I won't do it on a whim, even with your cavalier attitude towards life. (M17 1995)

Skyfall – the last but one movie so far, contains the analysed element as well:

M: As long as I'm head of this department I'll choose my own operatives. (M23 2012)

The statements, quoted from *Dr. No*, *Goldeneye* and *Spectre*, include:

- M's position (head of department in *Dr. No* and *Spectre* only)
- policy or achievements (drop in casualties in *Dr. No*, sending a man to death in *Goldeneye*, and selection of agents in *Skyfall*)
- dedication to continue (*want to* in *Dr. No* and the future tense in *Goldeneye* and *Skyfall*).

In Judi Dench M's discourse one may see the signs of being aware of being criticized, being weak and being aware of the problems her department faces. In this connection, Judi Dench more extensively than her predecessors speaks about her position. As already mentioned above she uses colloquial language and does not hesitate to be close to vulgarity.

In *Goldeneye*, where she appears for the first time, M speaks to Bond as follows:

M: You don't like me, Bond. You don't like my methods. You think I'm an accountant, I've been an accountant more interested in numbers than your instincts. (M17 1995)

In the statement one can see that M is aware of Bond's attitude to her. The occurrence of the *you* pronoun (three times) is a major shift from M speaking about him/herself in the first person and forms an invitation to dialogue upon the subject. M probably cares about Bond's opinion and this justifies the use of the lexeme *like* (twice). The very subject of this part of the conversation is a new element, since M has never cared about the agent's opinions, at least there was no discursive sign of it.

M-Judi Dench apparently wants to create a particular image of herself. She definitely ascertains that she is not just an accountant, but a competent and decisive manager with her own policy and methods. Although she might be a perfect manager, she realises that others might doubt her qualifications, which she actually verbalises. She tries to challenge Bond's biased perspective. However, paradoxically, it might have undermined her authority. The fragment shows, to some extent at least, what she thinks of herself and how she wishes others to perceive her.

In *Skyfall*, the position of M is even weaker, which is reflected in her speech. Thus, she accepts the role of being the bait in Bond's efforts to catch or kill Silva, the villain:

007: If he wants you, he's gonna to have to come and get you. We've been one step behind Silva from the start. It's time to get out in front, change the game.
M: And I'm to be the bait? All right. But just us. No one else. (M23 2012)

The exchange indicates that M suspends the role of the supervisor and accepts the role of being a bait, a kind of tool in Bond's actions. This way the master-servant relationship is reversed, and M accepts it. This fragment of conversation also shows how she perceives herself – she admits that she has lost control, she doubts her own managerial skills and actually gives Bond his due and puts herself in the position of a person with limited agency, relying on Bond's skills, expertise and open mind. What might be considered as her attempt to regain control is the final order-like utterance "But just us. No one else."

In *Skyfall* M's position probably reaches the bottom line. This is seen in another exchange:

M: I fucked this up, didn't I?
007: No. You did your job. (M23 2012)

The nasty word and its meaning show M as evaluating her activities as a complete failure, far from the self-confidence displayed by Judy Dench at the beginning and by her predecessors elsewhere. The question form indicated that she is expecting Bond's opinion. The agent gives an answer and his positive evaluation. Again, discourse displays the change of roles. Usually (see other sections) M is the evaluator of Bond's actions, now it is 007 who takes over this role. But the fragment reveals again what M thinks of herself. She is very critical and admits before herself in the first place that she has failed to fulfil her duties.

M's criticism of herself continues in the movie:

007: You dropped something? You hurt?
M: Only my pride. I was never a good shot. (M23 2012)

Finally, however, she admits her success in an indirect compliment to Bond:

M: I did get one thing right. (M23 2012)

2.1.3 M's department

M's department is mentioned for the first time in *Dr. No*. It is M, however, not the department, who is the object of the remark.

In *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, M speaks about his department as a unit that has some policy to follow:

M: This department is not concerned with your personal problems.
007: This department owes her a debt. (M6 1969)

This is the first time when Bond tries to negotiate the policy of the department. Although, as the movie shows, there is a considerable tension between the interlocutors, they avoid face threatening attacks. The subject of the discussion is the department, what it does and what it does not do. Moreover, Bond does not object to M's statement but provides more information.

In *Diamonds Are Forever*, the remark about the efficiency of the department is used to speak ironically to Bond in a face threatening attack:

007: Do we know who his contacts are?
M: We do function in your absence, Commander. (M7 1971)

There is sheer pride in M's statement about his department in the already quoted statement from *The Living Daylights*:

M: [...] for me it is a matter of pride that the 00 Section has been chosen for this test. (M15 1987)

In the two instances quoted above, there is no Bond's verbal reaction. The agent just starts the mission he is charged with.

Even in this area M-Judy Dench goes beyond what other Ms speak about themselves and their department. She has been the only M so far to use the genre of strategic management, i.e. the mission statement in *The World Is Not Enough*:

M: This will not stand. We will not be terrorized by cowards who'd murder an innocent man and use us as the tool. We'll find the people who committed this atrocity. We'll follow them to the farthest ends of the earth if need be. And we will bring them to justice. (M19 1999)

It is not the continuation of tradition discussed above, however, that forms the distinctive feature of her behaviour and discourse. What distinguishes her from her predecessors is the way she speaks and the subject of her speech, the latter of connected with the weakening position of M and her department.

The change in the style may be seen in the example quoted above. M uses the idiom *have the balls* (*Goldeneye*). The very colloquial and near vulgar phrase is much stronger than the mention of being *hanged from the yardarm* by one of the previous Ms in *The Man with the Golden Gun*.

The short speech contains the crucial components of a mission statement such as setting the goals, defining strategies, a reference to values. Being a mission statement, it uses the future tense and collective *we* to stress teamwork and the manager's involvement in it.[1]

One must stress, however, that the formulation of the mission is a reaction to the weakening position and failures of M's department. This is symbolized by Sir Robert King's death in M's Headquarters: "When King approaches his case of money, the urea-dipped cash and the metal anti-counterfeit strip serve as a detonator, blowing him and devastating MI6 HQ" (Cork and Stutz 2008, 239).

In *Skyfall*, she openly admits the problems the department faces:

[1] A detailed study of the language of mission statements may be found in Mamet Piotr. 2004. *Język w służbie menedżerów – deklaracja misji przedsiębiorstwa*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

M: Well, if you believe that, why did you come back?
007: Good question.
M: Because we're under attack. And you know we need you. (M23 2012)

The latest M faces similar problems and admits the fact openly in a conversation with Bond:

M: You had no authority. None. As you know, we're in the middle of the biggest shakeup in the history of British Intelligence. The ink's barely dry on this merger with MI5 and already they're itching for a chance to scrap the 00 program forever. And you've just given them that one.
007: You're right, sir. You have got a tricky day ahead. (M24 2015)

Bond's reply is very ironic, and it refers to a number of issues mentioned by M, i.e. the expected visit of M's supervisor, mentioned before in the conversation and discussed in the section above, M's criticism of Bond's actions, discussed in chapter 2.2.2 and the uncertain future of M's department. Bond's very general reply indicates that it is M who has to face the problems and it avoids discussing any of them.

2.2 M's duties as manager

Managers have multiple duties. Among these, however, the most prominent ones seem to be assigning tasks, evaluation and assessment, and creating relationships which foster the achievement of institutional or organisational goals. The following part of the book focuses on these three managerial responsibilities as expressed in linguistic terms by consecutive Ms.

The diachronic analysis of Ms' utterances in the three aspects mentioned leads to interesting observations because it does not only reveal the differences between Ms and their way of managing and speaking, but it also shows the changing of times, some cultural nuances, as well as the development of the institution of MI6 itself, together with its peaks and throughs, within this changing social and cultural reality.

2.2.1 M orders

Commissioning operatives with missions is part of M's responsibility as the manager of MI6. Assigning tasks to Bond and other agents may take various linguistic forms. Some orders are direct and straightforward,

others are more tentative. Some are accepted without hesitation and with absolute obedience, others encounter resistance, Bond's criticism or even insubordination.

2.2.1.1 M commissions 007 with a mission

Intelligence and world saving missions are the essence of James Bond movies. Quite naturally the dialogue in which M commissions 007 with a mission takes place in the first movie, *Dr. No*:

M: Sit down. Jamaica went off the air just like that right in the middle of the opening procedure. We've checked up and Strangeways has disappeared. So has his secretary. She was a new girl and we'd only just sent her out there. He was checking an enquiry from the Americans. They've been complaining about missile interference with their Cape Canaveral rockets. They think it comes from the Jamaica area. Does "toppling" mean anything to you?

007: More or less.

M: Five million dollars' worth of missile aimed at a spot in the South Atlantic and finishing up in the middle of the Brazilian jungle is bad enough. But now, they're gonna to try orbiting a rocket round the moon. The American CIA sent a man down to work with Strangeways. A fellow by the name of Leiter. Do you know him?

007: I've heard of him, but never met him. Has he found out anything, anything important?

M: You'd better ask him. You're booked on the seven o'clock plane to Kingston. (M1 1962)

The features of this encounter may be analysed in terms of their structure and form. As far as the structure is concerned, the conversation starts with an order – invitation (*Sit down)* being a signal to start the exchange. Then follow two chunks of text which describes the critical situation (*Jamaica went off* […] *comes from the Jamaica area* and *More or less* […] *A fellow by the name of Leiter*). Each chunk of text ends with a question verifying Bond's knowledge. The first question concerns the agent's knowledge of the technical aspect of the crisis (*Does toppling mean anything to you?*), the other is about another agent making investigations (*Do you know him?*). Bond's positive answers (*More or less* and *I've heard of him* […]) make it possible for M to continue his discourse. M's mentioning Leiter proves to be a trap since it arouses Bond's interest in the progress of the investigation. This opens the possibility of giving the order to begin the mission. The order itself consists of two elements.

The first of them is a rough presentation of the first step to be made (*You'd better ask him*). The next step is giving trip details (*You're booked on the seven o'clock plane to Kingston*).

As far as the form is concerned, the exchange looks like a friendly chat. It includes telling the story about the crisis in Jamaica and inviting the interlocutor to provide his input. The language is not formal. The register is based on everyday (*went off*, *they're gonna*) as well as technical (*missile interference*, *toppling*) lexemes. This is accompanied with the relevant choices of tenses to describe past and future events. Formally, its first part looks like a piece of advice (*You'd better*). And the trip order uses simple tense to describe not exactly the action in future but the very fact that relevant arrangements have been made (*You're booked on*). Although M uses bold-on-record and face threatening acts, the choice of grammatical structure permits M both to avoid a more threatening imperative mood and to show his certainty that Bond will follow the order.

One of the ways M commissions Bond with a new mission is to give 007 trip details. This is most obvious in the early Bond movies and it continues till the last movie with, however, some changes and decreasing frequency.

From Russia With Love considerably follows the pattern described above.

007: But I've never even heard of a Tatiana Romanova.
M: Ridiculous, isn't it?
007: It's absolutely crazy.
M: Of course, girls do fall in love with pictures of film stars.
007: But not a Russian cipher clerk with a file photo of a British agent! Unless she's mental. No, it's some sort of trap.
M: Well, obviously it's a trap. And the bait is a cipher machine. A brand new Lektor.
007: A Lektor, no less. The CIA's been after those for years.
M: Yes, so have we. When she contacted Kerim Bey, head of Station T, Turkey, and told him she wanted to defect, she said she'd turn it over to us. On one condition. That you went out to Istanbul and brought her and the machine back to England. Here's a snapshot Kerim managed to get of her.
007: Well, I don't know too much about cryptography, sir, but, a Lektor could decode their top secret signals. The whole thing's so fantastic it just could be… true.
M: Mhm, that had occurred to me. Besides, the Russians haven't been up to any tricks recently.
007: Well, really, I'm not too busy at the moment, sir.

M: You're booked on the 8.30 plane in the morning. If there's any chance of getting a Lektor, we must look into it.
007: Suppose when she meets me in the flesh I don't come up to expectations?
M: Just see that you do. (M2 1963)

M presents the matter at hand and discusses its details with 007. There is an exchange of doubts and opinions. M manages to arouse Bond's interest in the case and elicits his indirect declaration to take the job (*Well, really, I'm not too busy at the moment*). This is what M is waiting for and it turns out that sending Bond on a mission had already been decided. The order is, like in the previous movie, based on giving trip details and expressed in the same way (*You're booked* [...]).

The new element is that M has to handle Bond's resistance or the agent's doubts, to be more precise (*Suppose when she meets me in the flesh I don't come up to expectations?*). This time the order takes the form of the imperative (*Just see that you do*).

Speaking about Bond's resistance, one must say that the agent continues the line started in the previous movie, i.e. *Dr. No*. Bond's disagreement was more evident there, but it concerned a smaller matter than the mission, i.e. the kind of weapon he uses. The shift from the area where Bond shows doubt or resistance will increase in the next movies.

From Russia With Love brings two new elements as well. The first is the fact that M contacts Bond more than once, one may say he monitors his mission and answers his agent's question:

M: Merchandise appears genuine. Go ahead with deal. M. (M2 1963)

The second contact follows the pattern presented above. Albeit in a shorter form, it contains a problem description (*Merchandise appears genuine*) and the order to go on with the mission (*Go ahead with deal*). This time the imperative mood is used, and its brevity seems suitable for a cable message. The latter is the other new element i.e. not a face-to-face one but the use of a distant communication medium.

In *Goldfinger*, the talk about a mission to be accomplished starts with a question (*What do you know about gold?*) just like in *Dr. No*.

M: What do you know about gold? Not paint, bullion.
007: I know it when I see it.
M: Meet me here at seven. Black tie. (M3 1964)

This time, however, the question is part of an introduction to a meeting during which the mission itself will be designed (*Meet me here at*

seven. Black tie). The meeting is quite a long conversation that involves three people and concerns both gold and Goldfinger, the villain:

007: I think it's time Mister Goldfinger and I met… socially, of course.
Smithers: I was hoping you'd say that.
M: It might lead to a business talk … Mister Goldfinger's kind of business.
007: I'll need some sort of bait.
Smithers: I quite agree. This is the only one we have, from the Nazi hoard from the bottom of Lake Toplitz in the Salzkammergut, but there are undoubtedly others. Mister Bond can make whatever use of it he thinks fit… providing he returns it, of course. It's worth five thousand pounds.
M: You'll draw it from "Q" branch with the rest of your equipment in the morning.
007: But of course, sir. (M3 1964)

The conversation leads to Bond volunteering for the action (*I think it's time Mister Goldfinger and I met … socially, of course*).

The interlocutors' acceptance is expressed in an indirect way. Smithers, the representative of the Bank of England, speaks more on record, showing his satisfaction after Bond's declaration. M is more indirect in his verbal behaviour. He takes it for granted that Bond will undertake the job and starts speaking tentatively about mission details (*It may lead to a business talk… Mister Goldfinger's kind of business*), and the details are the subject of the rest of the conversation.

Thunderball may be considered as a major change in M-007 master-servant relations. It is for the first time that M accepts Bond's opposition and changes his order.

M: I've assigned you to Station C, Canada. Group Captain Pritchard here will be your Air Force Liaison.
007: Sir, I respectfully suggest that you change my assignment to Nassau.
M: Is there a reason besides your enthusiasm for water sports?
007: Perhaps this, sir.
M: Well?
007: Well, there was a photograph of that man in this dossier you gave us. His name is Derval. When I saw him last night at Shrublands, but he was dead.
OFFICER: It's not possible. He was seen boarding the Vulcan. Took off last night.
M: If 007 says he saw Derval last night at Shrublands and he was dead, that's enough for me to initiate enquiries.
OFFICER: Oh yes, sir. Of course.

M: Who is this girl?
007: Derval's sister, sir.
M: Do you know where she is now?
007: Nassau.
M: Do you think she's worth going after?
007: I wouldn't put it quite that way, sir.
M: You've only got four days, 007. Don't spend your time sitting around.
007: No, sir, I won't.
M: Good luck.
007: Thank you, sir. (M4 1965)

M presents mission details without using the imperative mood but speaks about his decision as a fact accomplished which results in the current state of affairs, and the present perfect tense is most suitable (*I've assigned you to Station C, Canada*). The rest of the information is delivered in the future tense and it shows the contact person quite similarly to the way Felix Leiter was indicated in *Dr. No* (*Group Captain Pritchard here will be your Air Force Liaison*). If one does not count Bond's doubts in *From Russia With Love*, it may be said Bond strongly resists M's decision. Unlike in the latest movies, as will be discussed later on, the resistance is expressed in a polite and respectful manner (*Sir, I respectfully suggest that you change my assignment to Nassau*). Bond uses tentative language and continues to do so in the following parts of the conversation (*Perhaps this, sir* […] *I wouldn't put it this way*). Bond likes doing things his own way and using his better knowledge. At this stage, however, he uses polite language. His argumentation and the details he presents make M accept Bond's concepts. M is even dedicated to defending Bond's opinions against the third interlocutor's argumentation (*If 007 says he saw Derval last night at Shrublands and he was dead, that's enough for me to initiate enquiries*). The exchange of pieces of information makes M verify his position and assign Bond with the mission suggested by the agent. The new order consists of two parts. The first one is expressed in the manner already known, i.e. the mission, or rather its details, are presented as a mere fact, in the present tense and it concentrates on details (*You've got only four days, 007*). The statement presupposes that 007 will start the mission and the time details confirm the order indirectly.

M usually issues orders from the headquarters of MI6. In *You Only Live Twice*, however, he takes a trip abroad to issue orders to Bond. This is connected with Bond's pretended death and burial ceremony out in the ocean.

M: This is the big one, 007. That's why I'm out here myself. I take it you're fully briefed.
007: Oh, yes, sir. But there's one thing I don't understand. If our Singapore tracking station is correct about the rocket not landing in Russia, then where did it land?
M: We assume it's Japan. Mind you, all this is pure guesswork, but the PM wants us to play it with everything we've got.
007: And the aerial reconnaissance?
M: Every inch photographed. Nothing.
007: Are the Japanese equipped to launch such a rocket?
M: We don't think so.
007: Then who else is?
M: That's what you've got to find out, and fast. Before the real shooting starts. This damn thing could blow up into a full-scale war. When you get to Tokyo, go to that name and address. Our man Henderson will contact you there.
007: Henderson.
Captain: Captain here, sir. We're underway. Full ahead.
M: Right. Well, that's all.
007: Thank you, sir.
M: 007.
007: Sir?
M: We've only three weeks before the Americans launch the next one. You know that, don't you?
007: Oh, Yes, sir.
M: And my sources tell me the Russians are planning one even earlier than that. So, move fast, 007.
007: Yes, sir. […]
M: Miss Moneypenny. Give 007 the password we've agreed with Japanese SIS. (M5 1967)

After the preliminary exchange, M moves on to speaking about the mission. This time, he is not the first to give Bond its details and he makes a direct reference to it. M stresses the importance of the mission and the measure is his leaving London HQ (*This is the big one, 007. That's why I'm out here myself. I take it you're fully briefed*). Although Bond has already been briefed, the conversation involves many additional explanations with Bond's questions and M's answers. The scheme used in *Dr. No* for the first time is also used here. Bond's increasing curiosity leads to asking a question which is answered by M who gives mission details (007: *Then who else is?* M: *That's what you've got to find out*). M also gives other relevant details, such as the deadline ([…] *and fast. Before the real shooting starts.*) and the contact person (*Our man Henderson will contact you there*).

Many new elements may be found in *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* in the area of the discourse analysed in this section. To begin with, for the first time we may see M giving an order without any preliminaries:

M: I´m relieving you from Operation Bedlam.
007: But, sir, Blofeld´s something of a must with me.
M: You´ve had two years to run him down.
007: Does this mean you've you lost confidence in me?
M: I´m well aware of your talents, 007. But a licence to kill is useless, unless one can set up the target.
007: Sir... (overlaps)
M: I´ll find you a more suitable assignment, that's all.
007: Sir, under the circumstances...
M: That´s all. That's all. (M6 1969)

The order, which is not an assignment to do something but to stop doing something, may be treated as a handbook example of a declarative speech act (*I´m relieving you from Operation Bedlam*). This is followed by exchanges in which Bond resists the order and tries to get its justification (*But, sir, Blofeld´s something of a must with me* […] *Does this mean you've you lost confidence in me?*). In his replies, M presents the counterarguments in which he criticizes Bond's inefficiency, shows appreciation of Bond and gives more reasons for his decision (*You´ve had two years to run him down* […] *I´m well aware of your talents, 007. But a licence to kill is useless, unless one can set up the target*). The first two utterances are on record and face threatening acts, and the last one is an indirect speech act, superficially having no connection with Bond. The conversation continues with Bond's repeated resistance, including an impolite overlap. M communicates a vague decision about future missions (*I´ll find you a more suitable assignment, that's all*). The tension and Bond's disobedience make M raise his voice and use signals showing his power to make decision and finish the conversation (*That's all. That's all*).

As far as 007 is concerned, one has to indicate two elements in his manner of conversations. On the one hand, he shows growing tension and, for the first time in the movies, he overlaps M's speech. Nevertheless, he maintains the register suitable for a subordinate using honorifics (*sir)*, explaining his position (*Blofeld´s something of a must with me*), asking the superior about his opinion (*Does this mean you've you lost confidence in me?)* or making reference to the objective circumstances that determine his thinking (*under the circumstances…*).

James Bond is too stubborn to take M's order for granted and, after some time, he tries to persuade M to reassign him:

007: Came across a letter from Gebruder Gumbold, solicitors in Switzerland to a certain Count Balthazar de Bleuchamp.
M: De Bleuchamp?
007: French form of "Blofeld."
M: You´ve been relieved from Operation Bedlam, 007. Remember?
007: I assumed you´d reassign me, sir. This is a Photostat copy of a letter addressed to our College of Arms in the City of London with the request they undertake to establish de Bleuchamp's claim to the title, and Sir Hilary Bray, he's the Sable Basilisk of this College, has replied to Gumbold suggesting that he should meet de Bleuchamp in person. Now, I´ve taken the liberty, sir, of working with the college on this, using an examination of my own family tree as cover. I´ve also been reading up on the technical side of heraldry. (M6 1969)

As 007 mentions the villain being the object of the operation he was relieved from, M tries to maintain his decision and makes a statement in the present perfect tense to remind the agent of his status. This time, Bond continues in a polite manner, with no raised voices or overlaps, and presents his new findings and concepts. This leads to M's agreement, implied in the further sequence of events.

One should notice that Bond assumes the position of a polite and faithful servant. He presents a number of findings that should make M revise his position. M's initial rejection is handled in a polite and tentative way. This is performed by the application of relevant grammatical *would* form and the use of *assume* lexeme. This makes Bond's position a speculative, not a final, one. The initial *I* indicates 007 as the owner of the offer (or assumption) which M may accept or reject without losing his face.

This is not the last conversation between the interlocutors about the mission. Some parts of it were discussed in the section on M's position. In this place, it may be worthwhile to mention M's last act of forbidding Bond to act:

M: Operation Bedlam is dead. Do you understand?
007: Yes, sir. I understand. (M6, 1969)

The decision is announced in two ways. The first utterance is a mere description of the state of affairs (*Operation Bedlam is dead*). The other is a direct reference to the interlocutor, and the question about understanding is, in fact, a demand to declare obedience *(Do you understand? 007: Yes, sir. I understand*).

In *Diamonds Are Forever*, the order starts with a presentation:

M: Stars of South Africa: 83.5 carats rough 47.5 carats cut. The Akbar Shah: 116 carats rough. Are you paying attention, 007?
007: The Akbar Shah: 116 carats rough. But surely sir, there's no need to bring our section on a relatively simple smuggling matter.
M: Sir Donald has convinced the PM otherwise. May I remind you 007, that Blofeld is dead. Finished! The least we can expect from you now is a little plain, solid, work. (M7 1971)

The demonstration is an indirect act of presenting the problem and Bond reacts with a surprise, wondering why his department is to deal with smuggling. Bond's resistance is handled in a variety of ways. First, M mentions orders contrary to Bond's thinking. Then, he reminds Bond that his previous mission has been terminated and his expectations from him in terms of style of work. The following conversation is based on the dissemination of facts and the question probing Bond's knowledge is asked not by M but by another person:

Sir Donald: Tell me, Commander Bond, how far does your expertise extend into the field of diamonds?
007: Oh, hardest substance found in nature. They cut glass. Suggest marriage. I suppose they've replaced a dog as a girl's best friend. That's about it.
M: Refreshing to hear that there is one subject you're not an expert on!
Sir Donald: Yes, well, then perhaps I'd better give you a brief background into our problem. [...] Even more alarming is the fact that none of the stones has reached the market.
M: Sir Donald thinks someone's stockpiling.
Sir Donald: What concerns us is the possibility of either dumping the stones on the market to depress prices, or...
007: Making you agree to perpetual blackmail.
Sir Donald: Exactly. What we need to know is where the stockpilers are.
M: Several recent murders in South Africa have complicated matter. If they shut down operations before we discover them...
Sir Donald: It would be catastrophic for us and the government.
007: Well, I've always rather fancied a trip to South Africa.
M: You' re going to Holland. For some time now, we've had our eyes on a professional smuggler, Peter Franks. He's due to leave for Amsterdam.
007: Do we know who his contacts are?
M: We do function in your absence, Commander. (M7 1971)

The data revealed make Bond volunteer for the mission in an indirect way (*I've always fancied a trip to South Africa*). This leads M to issuing

the order. It is based on two components. First comes the geographic direction, which is opposite to Bond's expectations (*You're going to Holland*), and then providing more details on the people to be investigated (*For some time now, we've had our eyes on a professional smuggler, Peter Franks. He's due to leave for Amsterdam*).

In *Live and Let Die*, the order is introduced by a word defining the type of speech act to follow:

M: Good morning, 007.
007: Good… good morning. Insomnia, sir?
M: Instructions. You haven't much time. I'll explain as you pack.
007: Pack, sir?
M: Three agents have been killed in the last 24 hours. Dawes in New York, Hamilton in New Orleans and Baines in the Caribbean.
007: Baines. I rather liked Baines. We shared the same boot maker. Coffee, sir? I take it these killings are connected?
M: That's precisely what you're going to find out. Baines was working on a small Caribbean island called San Monique. Dawes was in New York, keeping an eye on its prime minister, one Dr Kananga. Hamilton was on loan to the Americans in St. New Orleans. […] Dr Kananga is at present in New York. The CIA have been informed. They are helping with surveillance. Your flight arrives at 11.30 am. Now, where did I leave my coat? (M8 1973)

M proves to be as good as Bond at wordplay since the framing signal (*Instructions*) is derived from Bond's question (*Insomnia?*). The information that Bond must pack is again taken for granted (*I'll explain as you pack*) and results in Bond' probing question (*Pack, sir?*).

The next stage is based on a dissemination of new pieces of information (*Baines was* […] *one Dr Kananga*) with Bond jumping to tentative conclusions (*I take it these killings are connected?*). Bond's question ignites M's order in the manner very similar to the one in *Dr. No* (*That's precisely what you're going to find out*), i.e. presenting the mission as an objective fact. This is complemented with presenting more details of the problem to be solved (*Baines was working on a small* […] *Hamilton was on loan to the Americans in St. New Orleans* […] *Dr Kananga is at present in New York. The CIA have been informed. They are helping with surveillance. Your flight arrives at 11.30 am*).

In *The Man With The Golden Gun*, M repeats the opening move to introduce his order, i.e. to verify Bond's knowledge. He uses the *What do you know?* question, already used in *Goldfinge*r.

M: What do you know about the man called Scaramanga, 007? (M9 1974)

Bond's reply contains many details about the person and some information unknown to M:

007: Scaramanga? Oh, yes! The Man with the Golden Gun. Born in a circus. […] But he does have one distinguishing feature, however. A superfluous papilla.
M: A what?
007: A mammary gland. A third nipple, sir. He always uses a golden bullet, hence ''Man with the Golden Gun.'' Present domicile unknown. I think that's all. Why, sir? (M9 1974)

The last step in the process of exchanging and disseminating information belongs to M, who presents the golden bullet with 007 inscription, thus informing the agent that he is to be the next victim of the villain. M also states the possible reasons and declares his decision in a direct commissive speech act:

007: Hm! Charming trinket.
007: Even has my number on it.
M: Precisely.
007: Obviously it's useless as a bullet. I mean sir, who would pay a million dollars to have me killed?
M: Jealous husbands, outraged chefs, humiliated tailors. The list is endless. Moreover, this trinket, as you call it, was sent with a note requesting ''special delivery'' to you. It's initialled with an S. […]
M: I'm relieving you of your present assignment, 007. (M9 1974)

The conversation continues:

007: Er, sir?
M: Yes?
007: The energy crisis is still with us. I respect that we submit but finding Gibson and his solar cell data is more important than ever.
M: It is indeed. And I can't jeopardise it or any mission by having Scaramanga pop up and put a bullet in you. I'll endorse your request to resign. Or you can take a sabbatical and go to ground until this is settled.
007: Or until he kills me.
M: Nobody knows where he is or what he looks like. So, I think it's fair to assume that he has the edge on you. Wouldn't you agree? That's all, 007.
007: If I found him first, sir, that might change the situation.
M: Dramatically, wouldn't you say? Good day, Bond. (M9 1974)

In the part of the conversation quoted above, M has to handle Bond's resistance. This involves an outline of the general situation

(*I can't jeopardise it or any mission* […]) and indicating Bond's position (*it's fair to assume he has an edge on you*). Bond continues the tradition of seeing thigs differently, but he also continues the tradition of being polite. Thus, trying to make M change his position, he gently draws M's attention (*Er, sir?)* as an introductory move and makes a reference to the general situation (*The energy crisis is still with us* […] *finding Gibson and his solar cell data is more important than ever*). Finally, he tentatively offers his own solution (*If I found him first, sir, that might change the situation*). It is unlikely for this M to speak tentatively, but this seems to be for the first time that he communicates his decision in an indirect and tentative way (*Dramatically, wouldn't you say? Good day, Bond*). The answer contains no acceptance and makes no direct reference to Bond's action but to its results.

In *The Man With The Golden Gun*, the plot involves M's activity after issuing the order. He has to react to the changing situation and release new orders. In the next part of the movie, he faces again, and accepts, Bond's further action suggested by Bond himself:

007: In the event of anything had gone wrong, there's nothing to connect the two. That gives me an idea as to how to approach him. Q, I'll… need this.
Q: Really!
007: Oh, I admit it's a little kinky.
M: You'll take Miss Goodnight with you.
007: Goodnight, sir?
M: After tonight's debacle, an efficient liaison officer wouldn't come amiss.
007: Thank you, sir. (M9 1974)

One can see that M's order does not include any formal announcement. Instead, he presents mission details (*You'll take Miss Goodnight with you* […]*an efficient liaison officer wouldn't come amiss*), thus presupposing his agreement.

M: That's all we need! Red Chinese waters.
007: We could stray inadvertently into them, sir. I could fly low under their radar screen.
M: Absolutely out of the question. If the PM gets to hear of this, he'll hang me from the yardarm.
007: Officially you won't know a thing about it, sir. (M9 1974)

This time M shows some helplessness because the new circumstances are beyond his control (*That's all we need! Red Chinese waters*). It is Bond who takes initiative, presents mission details and M's safe position in it. For the first time in the movies, the order takes the form of

a silent acceptance of Bond's proposal. As far as the agent is concerned, one has to notice he continues the tradition of seeing and doing things in his own way. He also continues the tradition of presenting his initiative in a polite and tentative manner. One has to notice that his verbal behaviour displays not only respect but also care for his superior's position.

In *The Spy Who Loved Me*, M summons Bond to the Department Headquarters:

M: 007 to report HQ. Immediate. M. (M10 1977)

The message is printed out on a punch tape coming out of Bond's watch (Cork and Stutz 2008, 253). The features of the message are directness and brevity, typical for telecommunication contacts. It contains no sentence but the order what to do and the time limit.

The face-to-face encounter in the movie takes place in the presence of the representatives of the Soviet intelligence, General Gogol and Major Amasova:

M: Hello, James. We've been expecting you.
007: Good morning, sir.
M: There's been a change of plan. Eh, you probably recognize my opposite number in the KGB, General Gogol. And I believe you're familiar with Major Amasova.
007: Enough to know which brand of cigarettes she smokes.
M: Our respective governments have agreed to pool their resources to find out what happened to our submarines.
Gogol: We have entered a new era of Anglo-Soviet cooperation. And as a sign of Russian good faith, I'm prepared to make available the microfilm recovered by Agent Triple X. (M10 1977)

A welcome is followed by informing Bond about the new developments (*There's been a change of plan*) together with the information about the new scheme of operations (*Eh, you probably recognize my opposite number in the KGB, General Gogol. And I believe you're familiar with Major Amasova* [...] *Our respective governments have agreed to pool their resources to find out what happened to our submarines*). Some more detailed information, which starts the discussion about mission details, is given by the new ally, General Gogol (*And as a sign of Russian good faith, I'm prepared to make available the microfilm recovered by Agent Triple X*). One can see that M does not specify orders and reports the past events that determine the general framework of the presumed action to follow.

In *Moonraker*, the order is given in the customary way, i.e. it begins with probing Bond's knowledge:

007: Moonraker?
M: What do you know about Moonraker?
007: What I read in the newspapers. (M11 1979)

This is followed by disseminating more pieces of information and M is supported by the Minister and Q:

Minister: Then you know that the Moonraker space shuttle was being flown over here on loan, on the back of a 747.
007: Which crashed in the Yukon. Aircraft and shuttle totally destroyed, grunt.
M: In the official version.
Q: The truth is more disturbing, 007. Look at this. That's the scene of the crash. Wreckage strewn over a large area. That's all appears to be the fuselage. We've been through it with fine toothcomb, but there's no sign of Moonraker. Not a trace. (M11 1979)

The new pieces of information stimulate Bond's speculations. These, in turn, lead to asking a question and M's answer is the order to start a mission:

007: Are you suggesting the shuttle was hijacked in mid-air?
M: That's for you to find out 007. (M11 1979)

The order takes the customary form of stating the fact in a declaratory sentence, not the imperative mood.

The following part of the exchange continues the discussion about the details of the mission and Q's presentation of the new equipment:

007: The shuttle was built in California by Drax Industries.
Minister: Yes. We were responsible for the safety of that shuttle, Commander. The United States government is justifiably concerned.
007: So, California must be the place to start.
Minister: I agree.
M: Don't make any mistakes, 007. This situation is critical. We've got to find that shuttle.
007: Yes, sir. If that's all, gentlemen?
Q: Stop, just a minute. I have something for you. Roll up your right sleeve, will you? This is now being issued as standard equipment […] (M11 1979)

Bond faces a temporary failure in his mission when he "escorts M and Minister Gray to the Drax laboratory he'd found the night before. When they enter, the lab has been cleared out and all traces of the pods, vials and other experimental equipment are gone; only Drax remains in a lavishly decorated office. Gray apologizes for the intrusion and, after leaving the office, orders M to take Bond off the case" (WWW5). However, Bond's failure is not a total one and he "gives M the vial he'd stolen the previous night and tells M to have it tested by Q with 'extreme caution' due to is deadly nature. M tells Bond to take two weeks leave and asks where he'll go; Bond says he'll go to Rio de Janeiro to follow Goodhead and the Venini pods" (WWW5).

M: I'll have to do what he says.
007: But before you do that sir, have Q do an analysis of this. I took it from the laboratory. Tell him to exercise extreme caution. It is lethal.
M: So, there was a laboratory. You'd better take two weeks' leave of absence
007. Do you have any thoughts on where you might go?
007: I've always had a hankering to go to Rio, sir.
M: I think I can recall your mentioning it 007. 007, no slip-ups – or we're both in trouble. (M11 1979)

M's situation is new for him because he has hidden Bond's new operations from the Minister. One can hardly speak about issuing an order either. He suggests Bond to take a leave (*You'd better take two weeks' leave of absence 007. Do you have any thoughts on where you might go?*) and Bond uses the suggestion to veil his initiative to continue a mission (*I've always had a hankering to go to Rio, sir.*). M's order is given in an indirect speech act. He confirms remembering the agent's concepts (*I think I can recall your mentioning it 007*) and warns Bond against the consequences of his potential failure (*007, no slip-ups – or we're both in trouble*). It is especially the latter part that may be treated as an acceptance of Bond's initiative. Again, the order is given as a mere description of action.

The last order in the movie takes the verbal form of friendly advice:

007: Actually, he brought it back from the area of the River Tapirapé.
M: Well done, James. You'd better get up there and fast. (M11 1979)

In *Octopussy*, M is not the first person to send Bond on a mission. This is done by the Minister and M's role is to take care of the details and modifications. The first order is given on the basis of the information presented by Bond:

007: Our tail followed him to Heathrow where he caught a plane to Delhi.
M: You must go there, too. I'll alert Saruddin, our man in Station I, to keep him under surveillance. Book yourself on the next flight out.
007: Well, I've 53 minutes to catch it, sir.
M: Oh, Bond?
007: Sir?
M: Sign a chit for that egg before you go. It's government property now.
007: Of course, sir. (M13 1983)

One can see that, in terms of lexical and grammatical choices, M's speech is more decisive and bold-on-topic than it used to be. This involves the use of the *must* verb (*You must go there, too*) and the imperative mood (*Book yourself* [...]). Bond, on the other hand, declares his obedience in an indirect form and presents time details of the mission thus implying that he is going to perform it (*Well, I've 53 minutes to catch it, sir*).

The next exchange takes place while Bond is actually taking another step in his mission.

M: Here's the ID you'll need. Charles Moreton, manufacturer's representative from Leeds visiting furniture factories in East Germany. Karl will take you in.
Karl: No problem.
M: Remember, you're on your own.
007: Thank you, sir. That's a great comfort. (M13 1983)

M concentrates on presenting the details (*Here's the ID* [...] *Karl will take you in*). A more interesting part of the conversation is M's last utterance which serves as a frame marking the end of the exchange. The imperative mood in the opening move (*Remember*) is used to stress the importance of the character of Bond's position (*you're on your own*). Bond's replies are of two kinds. As far as the details presented by M are concerned, he expresses his acceptance and understanding in an indirect form (*No problem*). As far as the other issue is concerned, he accepts the situation ironically (*Thank you, sir. That's a great comfort*). The fact that the agent will operate on his own is, in fact, a great discomfort. The ironical utterance, stating the opposite, implies both the acceptance of the situation and the agent's attitude.

In *A View To A Kill*, there is no scene in which M commissions Bond with a mission. There is a long conversation about Max Zorin in which the Minister M, Q and 007 take part. The conversation takes the form of speaking about details and an exchange of information and ideas.

Minister: The KGB must have a pipeline into that research company.
M: It would appear so. Six months ago, that company was acquired by an Anglo-French combine: Zorin Industries.
007: I presume, sir, there has been a security check of the plant?
M: A very extensive one. But we have no leads.
007: What about Zorin himself?
Minister: Max Zorin? Impossible. He's a leading French industrialist. A staunch anti-communist with influential friends in the government. (M14 1985)

The Minister's statement leads Bond to formulating the problem and M announcing the investigation:

007: Yes, but, with due respect, Minister, the leak did occur after Zorin bobought the company. Precisely why I've already initiated an investigation.
Minister: All right, but let's be discreet about it.
M: But of course, Minister.
M: You have exactly 35 minutes to get properly dressed, 007. (M14 1985)

Bond's involvement in the mission is verbally hinted at in the order for Bond to get dressed. As usual, there is no imperative mood and any direct speech act. The time details (*35 minutes*) and the nature of the nearest activity (*to get properly dressed*) – a preparation to see Zorin, function as a hint for 007 to initiate his mission.

In *The Living Daylights*, M's first order is directed to a group of agents, including Bond, and it concerns an exercise to be performed:

M: Gentlemen, this may only be an exercise so far as the Ministry of Defence is concerned, but for me it is a matter of pride that the 00 Section has been chosen for this test. Your objective is to penetrate the radar installations of Gibraltar. The SAS have been placed on full alert to intercept you, but I know you won't let me down. Good luck, men. (M15 1987)

The order consists of several structural elements:
1) the general framework (*an exercise as far as the Ministry is concerned*) which includes the role of M's Department (*it is a matter of pride*);
2) mission details (*your objective is* […] *full alert to intercept you*);
3) motivating the subordinates (*I know you won't let me down. Good luck, men*).

Bond's actual mission is introduced in the customary way, i.e. the discussion of the details of the general situation. Apart from M and 007, it is the Minister who participates in this part:

M: Two dead, two in hospital, and Koskov probably back in Moscow, if not dead.
Minister: We're the laughing stock of the Intelligence community. Our first major coup in years, snatched from right under our noses by the KGB only hours after he defected!
007: No trace of him? (M15 1987)

The discussion continues and leads to Bond's declaration to initiate the mission:

M: Neither did I until today. This arrived from Gibraltar. It was found near 004's body. Your name was on Pushkin's list, too, 007.
007: There are a few things I'd like to check out first, sir. That sniper, for instance.
M: Yes. I've read Saunders' report. You jeopardised the entire mission to avoid shooting a beautiful girl.
007: Not exactly, sir. I had to make a split-second decision. It was instinct.
M: I'll recall 008 from Hong Kong. He can do it. He doesn't know Pushkin. He follows orders, not instincts. You can take a fortnight's leave.
007: No! Sir. If it "has" to be done, I'd rather do it. (M15 1987)

This time, Bond's proposal is not accepted. It springs M's criticism of his action before and an announcement of choosing another agent to do the job (*I'll recall 008 from Hong Kong*). M also presents a motivation of his decision and indicates that the other agent is better than 007 (*He can do it. He doesn't know Pushkin. He follows orders, not instincts*). M's statement ends with a tentative proposal to take a leave, which, finally, implies the suspension of Bond from the mission (*You can take a fortnight's leave*. In terms of speech acts theory, M's statements may be seen from two complementary perspectives. On the one hand, one may say that M reveals his way of thinking and the locutionary and illocutionary force of his speech are the same. On the other hand, one may assume that the actual illocutionary objective is to tease Bond and motivate him to undertake the mission and perform it in the proper way. Whatever M's purpose is, the agent's reaction shows that he feels that his face has been threated and his reply is very decisive and, although a short one, it undergoes several stages:

1) a violent protest (*No!*);
2) resuming self-control and the position of a subordinate, marked by the use of the honorific form (*Sir*);
3) a tentative declaration to perform the mission (*If* […] *I'd rather do it*).

In *Licence To Kill*, Bond presents, for the first time since *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, a considerable disobedience. This must lead to

M's taking a decisive line, which is seen in lexical and grammatical choices. It starts with a framing step which involves a critical description of Bond's disobedience and its reasons:

M: You were supposed to be in Istanbul last night. I'm afraid this unfortunate Leiter business has... clouded your judgment. (M15 1987)

This is followed by the order for the agent to undertake his duties:

M: You have a job to do. I expect you on a plane this afternoon. (M15 1987)

Bond's resistance is based on the presentation of the reasons of his actions and M handles it in a decisive way:

007: I haven't finished here, sir.
M: Leave it to the Americans. It's their mess. Let them clear it up. (M15 1987)

M's posture is characterized by the uses of the imperative mood, rather unusual so far (*Leave it* […] *Let them*). Bond's reply continues his strategy of stating the reasons:

007: Sir, they're not going to do anything. I owe it to Leiter. He's put his life on the line for me many times.
M: Oh, spare me this sentimental rubbish! He knew the risks.
007: And his wife?
M: This private vendetta of yours... could easily compromise Her Majesty's Government. You have an assignment and I expect you to carry it out objectively and professionally. (M16 1987)

M's reply outlines the consequences of Bond's disobedience and repeats his order, this time using the declarative sentences in present tense (*You have an assignment* […] *I expect* […]).

007: Then you have my resignation, sir.
M: We're not a country club, 007. Effective immediately…your licence to kill is revoked… and I require you to hand over your weapon. Now. I need hardly remind you that you're still bound by the Official Secrets Act.
007: Well, I guess it's, er… a farewell to arms.
M: Don't! Too many people! God help you, Commander. (M16 1987)

Goldeneye is a milestone in the history of M-007 relationship. There is a new Bond (Pierce Brosnan) and a new and first female M (Judy Dench). The order is preceded by two lengthy discussions. The first one is about the critical situation. Tanner, "M's right hand man" (Cork and

Stutz 2008, 169), is the third participant and the discussion is a kind of brainstorming session. It takes place at "MI6 headquarters, in a high-tech observation room, Bond talks with Tanner, a specialist, who tells him they found the missing Eurocopter at Severnaya by satellite imagery. They also witness the total disruption of images in the region resulting from the EMP. Bond spots a survivor crawling away, Natalya, and reports to his superior" (WWW6). The beginning of the conversation indicates that the session resulted in speaking to her superiors about the crisis (*The prime minister's talked to Moscow. They say 'an accident on a routine training exercise'*). This rather lengthy conversation includes speaking about the details of the crisis, small talk about alcohol, M's critical remarks about Bond (see section 2.2.2) and issuing the order:

M: If you think 007 I don't have the balls to send a man out to die, your instincts are dead wrong. I've no compunction about sending you to your death. But I won't do it on a whim, even with your cavalier attitude towards life. I want you to find GoldenEye. Find who took it, what they plan to do with it, and stop it. And if you should come across Ourumov, guilty or not, I don't want you running on some kind of a vendetta. Avenging Alec Trevelyan will not bring him back.
007: You didn't get him killed.
M: Neither did you. Don't make it personal.
007: Never.
M: Bond… Come back alive. (M17 1995)

One can see that the order itself is a complex one and may be divided into some components. First, as a new manager, M outlines her general approach concerning her attitude to send 007 on a dangerous mission (*If you think 007 I don't have the balls to send a man out to die* […]). Then follows the order itself, which is broken down into a number of actions Bond is supposed to take ([…] *find GoldenEye* […] *Find who took it, what they plan* […] *stop it* […]). The order also includes a justified ban to do something (*I don't want you running on some kind of a vendetta. Avenging Alec Trevelyan will not bring him back* […] *Don't make it personal*). Finally, there is an order that shows M's positive attitude to Bond (*Come back alive*). M's orders are given in the imperative mood and take the form of face threatening directive speech acts. It is only the first part, being a general outline of the mission in which the order is expressed as M's state of mind (*I want you* […]). Bond's replies are limited in numbers. The first one is a matter of fact, and slightly ironic, statement concerning M's not taking a particular action in the past (*You didn't get him killed*); the other is an assurance that he will never take a personal approach to his action (*Never*).

In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, the order is preceded by an exchange of information:

007: There's one strange thing. When I called our contact in Saigon, he said the Vietnamese only found tour satellite three hours ago.
M: How'd they get the paper out so fast?
007: Somebody at "Tomorrow" knew before the Vietnamese government did. (M18 1997)

The exchange is again more like a short brainstorming session. Bond seems to have more information upon the subject than M (*There is one strange thing* [...] *the Vietnamese found tour satellite three hours ago*). M only asks a speculative question (*How's they get the paper out so fast?*) and Bond offers a solution (*Somebody at "Tomorrow" knew before the Vietnamese government did*). The conversation displays the weakening position of M, who ceases to be the source of knowledge disseminated to Bond. Very soon, however, she resumes the dominating position:

M: How much do you know about Elliot Carver, 007?
007: Worldwide media baron. Able to topple governments with a single broadcast. Carver owns the newspaper "Tomorrow."
M: I didn't want to discuss it in front the Minister but that mysterious signal came from one of Carver's satellites. The PM would have my head if he knew you were investigating him. I'm sending you to Hamburg, 007. We've arranged for you to be invited tonight to a party at Carver's Media Centre. [...]
M: I believe you once had a relationship with Carver's wife, Paris.
007: That was long time ago, M, before she was married. I didn't realise it was public knowledge.
M: Your job is to find out whether Carver or someone in his organisation sent that ship off course and why. Use your relationship with Mrs. Carver, if necessary.
007: I doubt if she'll remember me.
M: Remind her. Then pump her for information. (M18 1997)

The discursive aspect of M's position is marked in a number of ways that have already been known. Thus, she asks the standard question to check Bond's knowledge about the thing, problem, or person to be investigated (*How much do you know about Elliot Carver, 007?*). Bond's subject matter answer is complemented with M sharing more knowledge with 007 ([...] *that mysterious signal came from one of Carver's satellites*). Just like in *Moonraker*, M shows the dependence upon her superiors and acts in conspiracy with Bond (*I didn't want to discuss it in front the*

Minister [...] *The PM would have my head if he knew you were investigating him*).

The main order is issued in the ordinary way, i.e. as a statement of fact in the present tense and it is about the trip details *(I'm sending you to Hamburg, 007*). In the previous movie, M presented minor tasks that make up the whole mission. Now, M continues and develops the tradition and speaks about mission details and objectives, again in a statement of fact manner *(Your job is to find out whether Carver or someone in his organisation sent that ship off course and why*). She also mentions some details that may prove helpful for Bond (*I believe you once had a relationship with Carver's wife, Paris*) and uses them to formulate more particular orders in the imperative mood *(Use your relationship with Mrs. Carver, if necessary* [...] *Remind her. Then pump her for information).*

As far as Bond is concerned, one can see no disobedience. He speaks about the details of the crisis and shares information with M. There is only some reluctance in his voice, when speaking about the details connected with the potential informer, i.e. Carver's wife. He tries to diminish his relationship (*That was long time ago, M, before she was married. I didn't realise it was public knowledge*) and presents his doubts concerning her cooperation (*I doubt if she'll remember me*). The resistance is rather weak, and it looks more like taking care about the success of the mission. The examples quoted above show that M handles the resistance easily and Bond surrenders.

In *The World Is Not Enough*, M is even more active than before and she faces the danger of being killed. This also involves more conversations about Bond's mission. The first one follows an exchange of information about Renard, the villain. The participants are M, Dr. Greartrex, Moneypenny and 007. The agent, follows the tradition of presenting some new information or concepts not mentioned before:

M:	Robert is dead, MI6 is humiliated. He's had his revenge.
007:	Not quite. Renard had three enemies in that kidnapping. And there's still one he hasn't touched. Electra.
MONEYPENNY:	M?
M:	The good doctor has cleared you. Notes you have exceptional stamina.
MONEYPENNY:	I'm sure she was touched by his dedication... to the job in hand.
M:	007, I want you to go to Electra. She's taken over the construction of her father's oil pipeline in the Kaspian Sea. Find who switched that pin. If your instincts are right Renard will be back. And Electra will be the next target.
007:	The worm on the hook again?

M: She doesn't need to know the same man may be after her. Don't frighten her.
007: A shadow operation?
M: Remember… shadows stay in front or behind, never on top. (M19 1997)

The order is preceded by an evaluation of the agent being physically fit for the mission (*The good doctor has cleared you. Notes you have exceptional stamina*). Both M and 007 ignore Moneypenny's ironic comments and M gives the order (*007, I want you to go to Electra*). The imperative mood is not used, and it is the description of M's position (or wish to be more precise) that is used to formulate the order. The next part of M's order is speaking about details. This involves the order, this time in the imperative mood (*Find who switched that pin*) and reason – result speculations in the conditional form (*If your instincts are right Renard will be back. And Electra will be the next target*). Bond does not show any reluctance, but he ironically comments on the nature of the mission (*The worm on the hook again?* […] *A shadow operation?*). M finds it easy to handle this kind of verbal behaviour. The first remark is handled by presenting her concept of the mission (*She doesn't need to know the same man may be after her*) and forbidding a kind of behaviour in the imperative mood. (*Don't frighten her*). The other, in turn, is handled by an encouraging and philosophical remark (*Remember* […] *shadows stay in front or behind, never on top*).

As said above, M's involvement in M's mission increases and that is why she demands a progress report from her agent:

M: I want an update. Where do we stand?
007: One of Renard's men removed the locator card from the bomb, so we can't track it, but…
M: But what?
007: With all due respect, I don't think you should be here.
M: May I remind you that you're the reason I'm here, 007. You disobeyed a direct order and left that girl alone.
007: Perhaps that girl isn't so innocent.
M: What are you saying?
007: Suppose the inside man, the one who switched King's lapel pin, turned to be an inside woman?
M: She kills her father and attacks her own pipeline. Why? To what end? (M19 1997)

The demand is expressed in a typical for M Judy Dench way, with the use of the verb *want*. Bond's answer includes both a subject mat-

ter information (*One of Renard's men removed the locator card from the bomb, so we can't track it, but…*) but also an opinion about M's action (*With all due respect, I don't think you should be here*). This springs M's criticism (see section 2.2.2) and a discussion about details. The latter one leads to Bond's declaration of lack of knowledge, which also implies his plan to continue the mission in his own way (*I don't know, yet*).

For the first time in Bond movies, M's life is in danger and her orders are converted into crying for help:

M: Bond! […] Booond! (M19 1997)

In *Die Another Day*, M continues giving orders in the present tense in the indirect speech act describing the situation:

007: No, it isn't. The same person who set me up then just set me up to get Zao out. So, I'm going after him.
M: The only place you're going is our evaluation centre in the Falklands. Double-0 status rescinded.
007: Along with my freedom?
M: For so long as I deem necessary, yes. You're no use to anyone now. (M20 2002)

The order follows a longer conversation that includes M's criticism of Bond (see section 2.2.2) and exchanging information. The latter, again in the customary way, leads to Bond volunteering, or to be more precise, announcing his further action (*The same person* […] *I'm going after him*). M, just like many times before, modifies Bond's decision. This includes a ban (*The only place you're going is our evaluation centre in the Falklands.*) and the announcement of the new status of the agent (*Double-0 status rescinded*). The prevailing manner of giving the order is preserved, i.e. the statement of fact in the present tense. The order is complemented with another one, giving more data in the same manner as above (*For so long as I deem necessary, yes. You're no use to anyone now*). It is a direct response to Bond's demand to get the full picture of his situation (*Along with my freedom?*).

The next order is given in a strange place – "an abandoned station for an abandoned agent," as Bond puts it speaking about a hidden underground station. The order is preceded with an exchange of information, sometimes interwoven with mutual criticism like:

M: So, what have you got on Graves?
007: You burn me. And now you want my help.
M: What did you expect, an apology? (M20 2002)

The exchange gradually leads Bond to realise that he will be back in service and sharing more information:

007: You're suspicious of Graves or I wouldn't be here right now. So, what do you have?
M: Nothing beyond the official biography. [...] Makes a huge find in Iceland and gives half of it to charity.
007: Hm. From nothing to everything in no time at all. (M20 2002)

Bond does not declare his readiness to perform new orders, but he presents his own conclusions in a tentative way, represented by the *would* form (*You're suspicious of Graves or I wouldn't be here right now*).

Before the order is issued, both parties probe the partner's position, which is quite natural taking into consideration that the agent has been suspended from duties.

007: Lucky I'm on the outside, then.
M: But it seems you've become useful again.
007: Mm. Maybe it's time you let me get on with my job. (M20 2002)

Bond makes a provocative statement, an indirect act which, in fact, means that he is willing to take over his duties. Bond's speech act is very convenient for M, who may take the locutionary level for granted or deny it. What she does is a tentative declaration. The *it* subject makes her offer impersonal and the *seem* verb makes it tentative. Bond continues in the same manner to declare his readiness. The *it* structure is preserved and *maybe* replaces seem in his answer.

The movie contains more instances of M's order issued in an implied way. The first instance is, in fact, an acceptance of Bond's, also implied, mode of operations.

007: Where's Graves?
M: In the middle of a North Korean air base.
American: Right where we can't touch him.
007: You can't ... but I can. (M20 2002)

M gives the geographical data of the critical situation, which is a customary discursive element and her silence forms a non-verbal agreement. Bond's statement does not directly announce the action he will take. The agent just declares his possibility and ability to do something ([...] *I can*). The confirmation of Bond's decision is confirmed in the latter part of the conversation:

American: No incursions into the North. The President gave me a direct order.
Jinx: And when did that ever stop you?
M: You make your own decision. I'm sending 007. (M20 2002)

M uses the prevailing declarative form in the present tense. This time, however, she does not speak directly to Bond but to the American allies. The agent takes part in the conversation and hears the declaration. One may say that in the movie 007 is ordered to take a mission without being directly ordered to do so.

In *Casino Royale*, one can see M giving many orders and they refer to Bond's status, his mission and to particular activities. The first order includes the criticism of Bond's action and way of thinking (see section 2.2.2):

007: So, I should be half monk, half hitman.
M: Any thug can kill. I want you to take your ego out of the equation and to judge the situation dispassionately. But I have to know I can trust you and that you know who to trust. And since I don't know that, I need you out of my sight. Go and stick your head in the sand somewhere and think about your future. Because these bastards want your head. And I'm seriously considering feeding you to them. And Bond… Don't ever break into my house again.
007: Ma'am. (M21 2006)

The order suspends Bond. Different grammatical means are used. To begin with, M speaks about her position and indirectly orders Bond, i.e. what Bond is supposed to do forms M's needs (*I need you out of my sight*). This is not an order to leave the room but the order to suspend actions. The next part complements the order and gives more details. It displays M's emotions and it is issued in the imperative mood (*Go and stick* […]. *Think* [...]). There is no official style and colloquial language is used ([…] *out of my sight*, *stick your head in the sand* […]). The orders result from M's dissatisfaction with Bond and her annoyance is expressed in the final part of her speech. She threatens Bond that she may have him killed ([…] *these bastards want your head. And I'm seriously considering feeding you to them*). This is rather a rhetorical device and it frames the conversation where the orders are given. M ends her speech with a direct order in the imperative mood that may seem to concern minor problems (*Don't ever break into my house again*). It fits, however, into the general scheme of the conversation in which Bond's *modus operandi* is the reason of the order suspending him.

The next conversation takes place on the phone and Bond is performing his mission:

M: Bond? What the hell are you up to?
007: I'll call you back.
M: Bond? Bond! His target is the Skyfleet prototype. It's launching today.
007: I gotta go. (M21 2006)

M's only order takes the form of a question about the agent's whereabouts (*Where the hell are you?*). The language is very colloquial. Her next utterance is about the latest pieces of information that set a new target for Bond. This is a mere statement of fact and there is no direct order for 007 to do something (*His target is the Skyfleet prototype. It's launching today*). The conversation is controlled by Bond who decides to stop it (*I'll call you back*) forcing his supervisor to call for his attention (*Bond? Bond!*). Bond also ends the conversation when he wants and accepts the order veiled in the information supplied by M in an implied way (*I gotta go*). One can see that M's speech shows that her role as the supervisor gradually gives way to the role of a collaborator.

The next order stems from the changing situation and new targets that appear:

007: You think it's this man Le Chiffre.
M: Which would explain how he could set up a high stakes poker game at Casino Royale in Montenegro. [...] Winner takes all. Potentially a hundred and fifty million.
007: Good, then we know where he'll be. You want a clean kill, or do you want to send a message?
M: We want him alive. Le Chiffre doesn't have 100 million to lose.
007: So, he was playing the market up with his clients' funds. They're not gonna be too happy when they find out it's gone.
M: We can't let him win this game. If he loses, he'll have nowhere to run. We'll give him sanctuary in return for everything he knows. I'm putting you in the game, replacing someone who's playing for a syndicate. According to Villiers, you are the best player in the service. Trust me, I wish that wasn't the case. I would ask if you can remain emotionally detached, but I don't think it's your problem, is it Bond?
007: No.
M: Don't worry about keeping in touch, we'll know where you are.
007: You can stop pretending. You knew I wouldn't let this drop, didn't you? (M21 2006)

The order follows a customary exchange of data. Bond rightly assumes that he is still on a mission and asks a question about its details

(*You want a clean kill, or do you want to send a message*). Both Bond and M use the verb *want* to speak about the task and M's answer specifies details, thus implying the order (*We want him alive* [...]).

The rest of the conversation is about further details (*We can't let him win the game* [...]) and Bond's mode of operation (*I would ask if you can remain emotionally detached, but I don't think it's your problem, is it Bond?*). The other statement (*Don't worry about keeping in touch, we'll know where you are*) refers to the permanent supervision of the agent by means of the tracking device implant (Cork and Stutz 2008, 259).

The agent may stand the first statement and gives a short, subject matter reply (*No*). In the next reply, he both stresses his dedication and obedience and the awareness that M's remark veils her trust in her subordinate (*You can stop pretending. You knew I wouldn't let this drop, didn't you?*).

There is another set of orders that M issues. They are connected with the Medipac equipment which "can monitor 007's vital signs remotely via his mobile phone" and which Bond uses when Le Chiffre's girlfriend Valenka poisons him" (Cork and Stutz 2008, 242). M is less a supervisor than an assistant saving the agent's life. The speech is basically an instance of the language of instructions. This and the time pressure justify the imperative mood used. There is also a part that specifies the consequences of not following the instructions:

M: Well, I knew you were you. Do you hear me? Don't push it yet. Take the blue combipen Bond. Mid-neck. Into the vein. You're going to pass out in a few seconds, and you need to keep your heart going. Push the red button now, Bond!
M: Bond! Push that damn button! (M21 2006)

M's orders referring to Bond's status form a frame. The first one described above was about suspending the agent. The last one is the request to continue his employment:

M: Then you've learned your lesson. Get back as soon as you can. We need you.
007: Will do.
M: If you need time.
007: Why should I need more time? The job is done. The bitch is dead. (M21 2006)

There is a framing statement about Bond's mental state (*You've learnt your lesson*), the imperative (*Get back* [...]) and the justification complementing 007 (*We need you*). Bond, featured by Daniel Craig,

continues his tradition of giving short, subject matter answers in the colloquial style without any framing signals, tokens of politeness, etc. (*Will do*). M's shows some delicacy by relieving the pressure (*If you need time*) and the reply is again in the latest Bond's style, although a slightly longer one (*Why should I need more time? The job is done. The bitch is dead*).

Quantum of Solace is another movie where M's orders appear several times and represent different levels. The first one can hardly be called an order, but it is a demand to define the M-007 relationship:

M: But I do need to know, Bond. I need to know that I can trust you.
007: And you don't?
M: Well, it'd be a pretty cold bastard... who didn't want revenge… for the death of someone he loved.
007: You don't have to worry about me. I'm not gonna go chasing him. He's not important. And neither was she. (M22 2008)

M speaks about herself and defines her position in terms of her needs (*I need to know*). Bond's continues speaking about M, not himself, and counterattacks asking directly whether he is trusted (*you don't*). M justifies her doubts but still does not speak about Bond, she speaks hypothetically and impersonally (*It'd be* […] *bastard* […] *revenge for the death* […]). Bond's assurance is delivered in several ways. In the first part, he continues talking about M and her needs (*You don't have to worry* […]) and, then, supports this assurance speaking about his own plans and point of view (*I'm not gonna go chasing* […] *not important*).

M's order takes place in the process of exchange of information in which Bond and Tanner participate:

007: Get me a destination.
Tanner: It's a private charter going to Bregenz, Austria, leaving immediately.
M: Tanner, authorize a charter for 007. And, Bond, if you could avoid killing every possible lead, it would be deeply appreciated. (M22 2008)

M, who listens to 007-Tanner exchange, issues an order to Tanner ([…] *authorize a charter* [...]). Bond hears the order which is also, indirectly, addressed to him, i.e. he is to travel to the destination indicated by Tanner and perform his mission. The other part of M's speech is a direct order, which tentatively forbids him to avoid killing. The tentative character is rendered by the use of the conditional structure and *could*, *would* forms. The use of the formal language and high register (*deeply appreciated*) gives the order some aura of an official tone but, first of all, forms an ironic remark referring to Bond's previous actions.

The next M-007 (phone) conversation is among the best examples of Bond's disrespect:

M: Where are you?
007: Did you get my pictures?
M: Was this a conversation? Can you link these people?
007: Is that stress in your voice?
M: I need you to come in and debrief.
007: I don't have time. (M22 2008)

The conversation is a good example of violating Gricean maxims. One can see that Bond does not directly answer any of M's questions. The latter tries to get some data about the agent's progress. Bond replies with unrelated counter questions and does not provide any piece of information demanded by his boss.

M decides to issue an order (*I need you to come in and debrief*), in her favourite manner, i.e. the use of the verb *need* and speaking about herself. The agent's insolent answer shows lack of discipline and good manners (*I don't have time*).

The following part is an exchange in which Bond's actions are criticized by M and justified by 007 (see section 2.2.2). The final part follows the order-refusal scheme discussed above:

M: I need you to come in.
007: And I would, but right now I need to find the man who tried to kill you. Go back to sleep. (M22 2008)

M issues the order in the manner described above. Bond starts his answer in a more polite manner, using the tentative *would* form and stating the reasons of his disobedience. Speaking about himself, he uses the same structure as M giving the order (*I need to find*). The final part, the order (*Go back to sleep*) is another example of insolence.

Need to seems to be one of M's favourite ways of speaking. The example quoted above shows this is used when giving particular orders, as well as when speaking about the nature of her relations with 007. The last exchange in *Quantum of Solace* follows the scheme:

M: Bond. I need you back.
007: I never left. (M22 2008)

What M says can hardly be classified as an order. It may be treated as a direct speech act, in which Bond's manager speaks about her position, state of mind. Indirectly, it may also be treated as an invitation for Bond

to resume the position of Her Majesty's agent. The latter conceptually links the statement with M's orders. Bond's reply, although a short one, conveys a lot of information. First of all, it conveys the information that M's need has always been satisfied and it nullifies her hidden order. Simultaneously, it justifies Bond's behaviour. The hidden message seems to be that, even though independent and disobedient, Bond has always been a faithful agent doing his job.

Skyfall is the movie that brings considerable development in M-007 master-servant discourse. The increasing activity of Bond's supervisor has already been discussed, and the movie shows M as a commander who currently both monitors the situation and modifies the orders:

007: Ronson's down. He needs medical evac.
M: Where is it? Is it there?
007: Hard drive's gone.
M: Are you sure?
007: It's gone. Give me a minute.
M: They must have it. Get after them.
007: I'm stabilising Jonson.
M: We don't have the time.
007: I have to stop the bleeding!
M: Leave him! (M23 2012)

This kind of action is feasible with the application of modern communication technology and M gets the relevant information immediately. The very short exchange quoted above provides M with many pieces of information (*Ronson's down* […]. *Hard drive's gone* […]). This makes it possible for M to evaluate the situation and to issue relevant orders promptly (*They must have it. Get after them*). This time the imperative mood is used. Such a short form is convenient because of the time pressure and the necessity to persuade Bond and handle his doubts (*We don't have the time* […] *Leave him!*). Bond does not make it easy for M. The agent describes his efforts to help the wounded agent and tries to modify the order (*I'm stabilising Jonson* […] *I have to stop the bleeding!*). M's final order is being executed without any verbal confirmation.

The next exchange, also using modern telecommunications media, refers to 007 and his partner Eve:

M: You both know what's at stake here. We can't afford to lose the list.
007: Yes, ma'am. (M23 2012)

There is another M's order in the movie. It is addressed to Eve, Bond's partner, and not directly to 007. It is heard by Bond and it concerns

him. To begin with, it is worthwhile to present the general outline of the situation:

> Bond gives chase to [...] a professional hitman with the help of MI6 operative Eve [...] two then begin fighting hand-to-hand on top of the moving train, whilst further up the line Eve has taken position with a rifle ready to take out Patrice. Bond and Patrice are still grappling with each other, denying Eve a clear shot. M [...] gives the order for Eve to take the shot, which she does. Bond is hit and falls into the river below, seemingly dead. (WWW7)

This involves the following Eve-M exchange, which is heard by Bond:

Eve: I may have a shot. It's not clean. Repeat, I do not have a clean shot. There's a tunnel ahead. I'm gonna loose them.
M: Can you get into a better position.
Eve: Negative. There's no time.
M: Take the shot. I said take the shot.
Eve: I can't. I may hit Bond.
M: Take the bloody shot. (M23 2012)

M uses the imperative mood three times (e.g. *Take the shot*) and it is the result of the urgency of the situation, which does not allow her to use a more elaborate structure, such as *I need you*. First of all, however, a direct directive speech act is meant to demand obedience, the last one, supported with a very informal lexeme, being the best example (*Take the bloody shot*). Later on, Bond criticises M for this decision (see section 2.2.2).

James Bond happens to cease his activities, walk his own way and, then, return to service. In her next order in the movie, M calls 007 back to duties. This involves the introductory part of conversation:

007: So, this is it. We're both played out.
M: Well, if you believe that why did you come back?
007: Good question.
M: Because we're under attack. And you know we need you.
007: (sighs) Well, I'm here. (M23 2012)

To begin with, Bond speculates about the situation of M, himself and, possibly HM service as well (*We're both played out*). This triggers M's question about the reasons of his return ([...] *why did you come back?*). Bond's evasive answer (*Good question*) makes M answer the question herself. It contains an introductory remark about the general situation (*Because we're under attack*). The next utterance is more per-

sonal and refers to Bond personally ([…]*you know we need you*). One of M's favourite lexemes (*need*) does not form any order, even in an indirect way. M hints her readiness to accept the agent's return. The hint, if accepted, will possibly involve more direct and detailed orders.

Bond's answer is an indirect speech act. The locutionary level is a statement of his whereabouts. It is totally redundant, and its illocutionary force is the implication of being ready and willing to resume duties. M takes the message and describes the nearest steps to be taken:

M: You'll be debriefed and declared fit for active service. You can only return to duty when you've passed the tests. So, take them seriously. (M23 2012)

One can see that M does not order Bond to return to service. She probes and accepts his readiness and the orders concern routine procedures. There is urgency in the conversation and M does not use the imperative mood but her favourite way of describing situations to form a directive speech act in an indirect way. The rest of the conversation is about Bond's accommodation and hygiene and it is not taken into consideration.

Bond took the tests seriously, as ordered above, and the result is seen in the next conversation, in which Mallory, the new Chairman of the Intelligence and Security Committee, takes part.

M: I've just been reviewing Bond's tests. Seems you've passed… by the skin of your teeth. You're back in active service.
Mallory: Congratulations.
007: Thank you. Oh, am. I'll be outside. (M23 2012)

M's statement is not exactly an order but a combination of two speech acts. The first is a representative in which she informs the agent about the test result and the other is a declarative in which Bond's return to service is officially confirmed. It is classified as an order, however, because Bond's regained position is that of a subordinate and M's declaration is an opening to the particular orders which she may issue.

The next order is given very soon, and it follows the release of relevant information by Tanner:

Tanner: Well, luckily, we still have one or two friends left in the CIA. They're after him for the Yemeni ambassador's murder, and they're getting close. Intel is he's going to be in Shangai in two days time, probably on a job.

M: You're to go there and await further instructions. If he turns up, he's yours. Find out who he works for and who has the list. Then terminate him, for Ronson.
007: With pleasure. Is there anything else you want to tell me?
M: No. Report to the new Quartermaster for your documentation. He hasn't set up shop yet, but Tanner will put you two together. Good luck.
007: Thank you.
M: 007. You are ready for this?
007: Yes, ma'am. (M23 2012)

The order is quite a complex one and it contains:

1) the general framework of the mission (*You're to go there and await further instructions*);
2) a provision for the development of the situation (*If he turns up, he's yours*);
3) particular orders in case the situation provided for takes place (*Find out who he works for and who has the list. Then terminate him, for Ronson*).

There is only one statement, which is not an obvious directive but a description of a hypothetical situation and action. A conditional structure is used, including a condition (*it he turns up*) and its consequences (*he's yours*). This is the only statement in which M uses the method often used before, i.e. a description of the situation as an order. One should note the ambiguity of the last statement which seems to give 007 some choice of action. The other statements use imperative forms, such as the imperative mood (*find out* […] *terminate him* […]) or *to be* + *to do* structure, which is a bit milder kind of order (*You're to go* […] *await further instructions*).

Bond's acceptance of the orders is both polite and cooperative (*With pleasure. Is there anything else you want to tell me?*). Conventional forms are used to show no will to act on his own and he even makes sure if M's orders are complete.

The agent's last question leads to another order, concerning details preceding the operation (*Report to the new Quartermaster for your documentation).* It is rather unusual, but M proves to be a caring boss who wishes the agent good luck and makes sure that 007 is really prepared to perform the order (*You are ready for this?*). The replies are short, which is typical for 007 Daniel Craig, but also polite (*Thank you* […]. *Yes, ma'am*), which does not always have to be the case.

As indicated may times M's involvement in Bond's action increases and she supervises the mission, collects and releases pieces of information. This also involves giving relevant orders:

M: Let me know what you recover from the computer. Has he transmitted the lists? If so to whom? It must be resolved.
007: Yes, Ma'am. (M23 2012)
M: His name is Tiago Rodriguez. He was a brilliant agent. But he started operating beyond his brief, hacking the Chinese. The handover was coming up and they were onto him, so I gave him up. I got six agents in returnand a peaceful transition. I want to know what's on that computer. (M23 2012)

The orders relate both to particular details (*Let me know what you recover from the computer*) and to the general framework (*It must be resolved*). The direct imperative forms are used, either the imperative mood or the auxiliary verb *must*. Bond's reply is both short and soldier-like, showing obedience (*Yes*) and using the honorific (*Ma'am*).

M Judy Dench also takes the role of Bond's partner, or even subordinate, in action. Bond takes M, who survived a shooting in the terminal building, away from London to his family estate (*Skyfall*). There, he hopes both to protect M and to kill Silva, the villain. The beginning of the trip is a surprise for M:

M: 007, what the hell are we doing? You kidnapping me?
007: That would be one way of looking at it.
M: Too many people are dying because of me.
007: If he wants you, he's gonna to have to come and get you. We've been one step behind Silva from the start. It's time to get out in front, change the game.
M: And I'm to be the bait? All right. But just us. No one else. (M23 2012)

M's speech displays her surprise ([…] *what the hell are you doing*), an effort to understand the situation (*You kidnapping me*?) and final, almost unconditional, surrender ([…] *I'm to be the bait? All right but just us* […]). Bond does not issue any orders. He uses an evasive answer to show agreement with M's remark about kidnapping (*That would be one way of looking at it*). Then follows an exchange in which both 007 and M evaluate the situation, and it leads to M's conclusion that she is the bait. It is the action and Bond's comments that show his dominant position, which M accepts till her death following the shooting at Skyfall.

In the movie, there appear two Ms. After M Judy Dench's death, it is Mallory who takes over the position. The last part of the conversation between Bond and the new M hints that both parties resume their master-servant positions:

M: So, 007… Lots to be done. Are you ready to go back to work?
007: With pleasure, M. With pleasure. (M23 2012)

M outlines the situation in a very general way, which is a framing step to probe Bond if he is ready to work under the new management. Bond's answer indicates, by means of a polite cliché, his readiness and the *M* in the first statement shows that he is aware of speaking with a new master.

In *Skyfall*, M invited Bond to resume his duties as an HM agent. His first order in *Spectre* is contrary. It follows a discussion about, and a criticism of, Bond's action in Mexico City, and suspends Bond from duties:

M: This is an official question. Mexico City. What were you doing there?
007: It was just a coincidence. I was taking some overdue holiday.
M: Okay. Fine. As of this morning you are officially grounded. I'm standing you down from all operations indefinitely.
007: Very good, sir.
M: 007?
007: Sir?
M: I don't know what you're playing at, but whatever it is, it has to stop. Now. (M24 2015)

The first order consists of two parts. The first one superficially looks like a representative, but it describes the situation created by M and regarding Bond's changed position, and the agent is the subject of the sentence. The other part is a kind of repetition of the first one and it gives details of Bond's new situation. The speaker is the subject of the sentence, which is a model declarative speech act. This part of the conversation ends with another order, which also brings detail and forbids Bond to continue his actions. It starts with an admission of M's lack of full knowledge (*I don't know* […]) and the other, the order itself, uses *have* + *to do* structure ([…] *it has to stop*).

In the conversation, M issues another order to perform medical tests and it is given in the imperative mood:

M: That'll be all, 007. Report to Q tomorrow for medical, thank you.
007: Very good, sir. (M24 2015)

Bond's replies are those of an obedient subordinate. They show acceptance of an order (*Very good*) and use honorifics (*sir*).

In spite of verbal obedience, Bond continues to act his own way and this involves obtaining a video tape, which contains an order from previous M:

M: If anything happens to me, 007, I need you to do something. Find a man called Marco Sciarra. Kill him. And don't miss the funeral. (M24 2015)

The order is quite a complex one and takes the form of a conditional. The *if* part contains a provision (*If anything happens to me, 007*) and the other orders to be performed if the provision is fulfilled. There are four orders in fact. The first forms an introductory framing and uses M's favourite *need* scheme (*I need you to do something*). Then follow particular orders in the imperative mood (*Find* […] *Kill* […] *don't miss* […]).

As indicated in other parts of this chapter, M's involvement in Bond's operations constantly increases. In *Skyfall*, M cooperated with Bond, as a partner (or bait using her words) to kill a villain. In *Spectre*, M also takes part in Bond's action, being more like a partner than a boss. This is heralded by the following exchange:

M: So, what do you have for me, 007?
007: The recently deceased head of SPECTRE, Ernst Stavro Blofeld, and his chief of intelligence, your best friend C. About to take control of his very own global surveillance system that he built here under our noses.
M: Then we'd better move. The system goes online at midnight.
007: If that happens, SPECTRE will have control of everything. So, you and I will have a quiet word with C, while Q hacks into the system and stops it going online. (M24 2015)

The order is customary, preceded and interwoven with informative parts and, for the first time, it refers both to M and 007 as represented by the collective *we*. It takes the form of an encouragement using the *'d better* structure ([…] *we'd better move*). Bond's partner position is confirmed by his feeling entitled to give order to M and himself in the form of a description of future actions (*So you and I will have a quiet word with C, while Q* […]).

2.2.1.2 M gives trip time and place details

One of the ways M commissions Bond with a new mission is to give 007 trip details. This is most obvious in the early Bond movies and it continues till the last movie; however, with some changes and decreasing frequency.

M: A fellow by the name of Leiter. Do you know him?
007: I've heard of him, but never met him. Has he found out anything, anything important?
M: You'd better ask him. You're booked on the 7 o'clock plane to Kingston. That gives you exactly three hours 22 minutes. (M1 1962)

M provides the information concerning flight details in a very straightforward manner, with one-minute accuracy, leaving Bond with no time to spare and with the implied message that the mission is to be dealt with under the urgency procedure. Apart from this, the agent is also informed where he his mission starts (*Kingston*) and whom he is supposed to find there (*Leiter*).

The next order is even more fragmentary. In the same way as in the previous example, using the present simple tense (*You're booked…*), M only lets Bond know the specific time he is expected to report at the airport to begin another task.

M: You're booked on the 8.30 plane in the morning. (M2 1963)

In *Thunderball*, one can observe a shift from the *you* form to the *I* message. This time, Bond is equipped with the information concerning the place and the person who is going to assist him in the mission.

M: I've assigned you to Station C, Canada. Group Captain Pritchard here will be your Air Force Liaison. (M4 1965)

In the next movie, *You Only Live Twice*, M reveals the destination (*Tokyo*) and provides some detailed information (*name and address*) about the person Bond is supposed to head for. Again, there will be another agent ready to help on the site.

007: Then who else is?
M: That's what you've got to find out, and fast. Before the real shooting starts. This damn thing could blow up into a full-scale war. When you get to Tokyo, go to that name and address. Our man Henderson will contact you there. (M5 1967)

In *Diamonds Are Forever*, M again clearly communicates that the details of Bond's journey to Holland have already been settled and the flight has been arranged. Although M does not specify the time, one may expect on the basis of the present continuous tense used (*You're going to Holland*) that the mission is to begin very soon.

007: Well, I've always rather fancied a trip to South Africa.
M: You' re going to Holland. For some time now, we've had our eyes on a professional smuggler, Peter Franks. He's due to leave for Amsterdam. (M7 1971)

The next fragment, from *Moonraker*, is somewhat different. It is Bond who specifies the place this time. M compliments the agent on the job

well done, on solving a certain riddle (*Well done*, *James*), and he commissions him with a new mission in a rather informal and easy-going way. Simultaneously, the message is unequivocal and orders Bond to take immediate action (*You'd better get up there and fast*).

007: Actually, he brought it back from the area of the River Tapirapé.
M: Well done, James. You'd better get up there and fast. (M11 1979)

In *Tomorrow Never Dies*, M Judi Dench introduces one new element to this kind of messages. As usual, she specifies the time and place. But as for the way she does it, she uses the personal pronoun *I* in the first sentence and the collective *we* form in the next. This *we* pronoun may indicate how she perceives the institution of MI6 and its functioning from the perspective of the woman manager. *We* may indicate the aspect of cooperation, team work as well as the sense of institutional affiliation and identity. In other words, it may represent a change in the management style, which has been introduced, be it deliberate or not, together with the appearance of the female manager and the socio-cultural changes in corporate reality.

M: I'm sending you to Hamburg, 007. We've arranged for you to be invited tonight to a party at Carver's Media Centre. (M18 1997)

In the following example, it is not M who provides the details, but she is the one who makes the ultimate decision and gives the order to make the necessary arrangements. Additionally, M sarcastically reminds the agent not to act contrary to the assumptions and aims of the mission.

007: Get me a destination.
Tanner: It's a private charter going to Bregenz, Austria, leaving immediately.
M: Tanner, authorize a charter for 007. And, Bond, if you could avoid killing every possible lead, it would be deeply appreciated. (M22 2008)

M happens to order Bond to travel somewhere following the information provided by the agent. One of such instances has already been cited above, and here are two more.

M: Do you know where she is now?
007: Nassau.
M: Do you think she's worth going after?
007: I wouldn't put it quite that way, sir.
M: You've only got four days, 007. (M4 1965)

In the above fragment, Bond knows where the mission should start, but it is M who commissions him to it, and who schedules the time frame.

Similarly, in *Octopussy*, the agent has already acquired the information concerning the place. It is on the basis of his knowledge that M makes another order, which leaves no space for hesitation. The instructions are straightforward and clear due to the modal verb *must* and the imperative mood. M also distributes the tasks between 007 and himself. Indeed, they do not have much time left, as Bond happens to remark.

007: Our tail followed him to Heathrow where he caught a plane to Delhi.
M: You must go there, too. I'll alert Sadruddin, our man in Station I, to keep him under surveillance. Book yourself on the next flight out.
007: Well, I've 53 minutes to catch it, sir. (M13 1983)

The information may also be provided by another staff member, such as in the fragment below, in which Tanner describes the current situation. He mentions the place and he specifies the time. After that, M only tells Bond to execute the order in Shanghai according to the instructions which will be provided in due time.

Tanner: Well, luckily, we still have one or two friends left in the CIA. They're after him for the Yemeni ambassador's murder, and they're getting close.
Tanner: […] he's going to be in Shanghai in two days' time, probably on a job.
M: You're to go there and await further instructions. If he turns up, he's yours. Find out who he works for and who has the list. Then terminate him, for Ronson. (M23 2012)

In the last movie, M's order to take action results from the information provided by Bond and it refers both to M and 007. This is a good example of how discourse reveals the changing position of M.

007: The recently deceased head of Spectre, Ernst Stavro Blofeld, and his chief of intelligence, your new best friend, C. About to take control of his very own global surveillance system that he built right here under our noses.
M: Then we'd better move. The system goes online at midnight. (M24 2015)

2.2.2 M criticises

Evaluation and assessment of operatives is one of major responsibilities of any manager. M does it on an ongoing basis and the evaluation of

Bond's performance often involves criticism. The agent happens to be criticised mainly for his insubordination, his actions and their consequences as well as his lifestyle.

2.2.2.1 M criticizes Bond's lifestyle

M's criticism of Bond's lifestyle is, in fact, the subject of their first conversation in 007 movies at all. In *Dr. No* one can see the following exchange:

M: It happens to be 3 a.m. When do you sleep, 007?
007: Never on the firm's time, sir. (M1 1962)

M's question is a bold-on-record one and its locutionary dimension is that of a wh-question. It veils the illocution which goes much further, and which is a criticism of the agent's lifestyle – 007 was found in the middle of the night in a casino. Bond's answer is a masterpiece of evasive techniques. The agent implies that he sleeps at all but gives the framework to determine when he does not sleep. The framework is the time when 007 has to perform his duties. Thus, Bond avoids criticism without accepting any criticism.

In *Live and Let Die*, M criticises Bond for spending too much government money on expensive gadgets:

M: I'm sure the overburdened British taxpayer will be fascinated to know how the Special Ordnance Section disburses its funds. In future, Commander, allow me to suggest a perfectly adequate watchmaker just down the street. Good God!
007: You see, pulling out this button turns the watch into a hyper-intensified magnetic field, powerful enough to deflect the path of a bullet at long range or so Q claims.
M: I feel tempted to test that theory now. If you don't mind, Commander, my spoon. (M8 1973)

Bond's reaction involves a demonstration (hence M's surprise: *Good God*) together with an explanation or instruction. A subject matter description is a good way to answer M's allegations. The latter tries to save his face making a remark about testing the expensive equipment, which may be dangerous for Bond. The last remark to return the spoon attracted by Bond's magnetic watch is a signal to end the conversation without indicating who won the verbal duel.

The Man with the Golden Gun brings M's criticism of Bond's numerous affairs with women:

007: Obviously it's useless as a bullet. I mean, sir, who would pay a million dollars to have me killed?
M: Jealous husbands, outraged chefs, humiliated tailors. The list is endless. (M9 1974)

Bond's speculations about reasons for being the object of a professional killer are provided with concrete reasons associated with the agent's lifestyle.

In *The World Is Not Enough*, M's criticism of this area of Bond's conduct is, typically for M-Judy Dench, an even more straightforward and face threatening attack:

M: [...] I think you're a sexist, misogynist dinosaur, a relic of the Cold War, whose boyish charms, though wasted on me, obviously appealed to that young woman I sent out to evaluate you.
007: Point taken. (M19 1999)

Bond's answer, according to *Macmillan English Dictionary* (2002, 1088) may be understood as "saying that you understand what someone is trying to say, especially when you disagree with it." By using the idiom the agent is polite enough not to disagree with the superior, although his answer indicates understanding but not necessarily agreement. The use of the passive voice makes it possible to avoid personal commitment to the token agreement. A well-thought, short and token confirmation shows Bond's control of both his emotions and his speech.

The same subject is raised by M in *Quantum of Solace*. This time M's speech is less offensive but more dramatic, solemn and decisive with two rhetorical questions and the announcement of suspension from duties. Unlike in the previous example, this time 007 does not even care to show any kind of acceptance or understanding. His answer is very blunt and it contains glorifying the victim of his romance, and giving orders to his own supervisor.

M: I mean, why her, Bond? She was just supposed to send you home. She worked in an office, collecting reports. Look how well your charm works, James. They'll do anything for you, won't they? How many is that now? You're removed from duty and suspended pending further investigation. You'll give whatever weapons you have to these men and leave with them now.
007: Miss Fields showed true bravery. I want that mentioned in your report. Now you and I need to see this through. (M22 2008)

Bond's drinking habits are well known and Martini, shaken not stirred, is one of his trademarks. It is as late as in *Skyfall* that the agent's drinking is the season of a reproachful remark:

M: Run out of drink where you were, did they? (M22 2008)

It is made after Bond's return after some absence and lack of contact. M suggests that the agent is a heavy drinker since he returns having consumed all the supply of alcohol in the place where he stayed.

In the same movie, M also manages to criticise Bond's taste:

007: The whole office goes up in smoke and that bloody thing survives.
M: Your interior decorating tips have always been appreciated, 007. (M22 2008)

Never in Bond movies have the agent's tastes in this area been discussed, and M speaking about non-existent affairs has an obvious ironic tenor.

2.2.2.2 M criticizes Bond's actions and their results

M's criticism of how 007 performs his missions is among the most frequent and most elaborate components of their discourse.

It starts in the first movie, *Dr. No* and it is, for the time being, limited to the kind of weapon Bond uses:

M (to Bond): Take off your jacket. Give me your gun. Yes, I thought so, this damned Beretta again. I've told you about it before
M (to Arm): You tell him, for the last time.
Armourer: Nice and light … in a lady's handbag. No stopping power.
M (to Bond): Any comment, 007?
007: I disagree, sir. I've used the Beretta for ten years and I've never missed with it yet.
M: You maybe not but it jammed on your last job and you spent six months in a hospital in consequence. If you carry a 00 number it means you're licensed to kill and not get killed […] You'll carry the Walther unless, of course, you'd prefer to go back to standard intelligence duties.
007: No sir, I would not. (M1 1962)

On the one hand, M's superior position is seen in the language he uses, i.e. the orders he gives (*Take off your jacket*, *Give me your gun*, *You*

tell him […], *You'll carry the Walther unless, of course, you'd prefer to go back to standard intelligence duties*). His dominant position is seen even when M uses the language of negotiations. The win-lose style is used when M orders 007 to use the Walther gun (*You'll carry the Walther unless* […] *you'd prefer to go back to standard intelligence duties*). This tactics in which the other party is forced to choose between one unfavourable and another unfavourable option is called Russian front by the experts on negotiations (Kennedy 1998, 216–217). Thus, he shows token agreement with Bond's explanation (*You maybe not* […]) but complements it with subject matter counter argument ([…] *but it jammed* […] *and you spent six months is a hospital in consequence*), which is a sample of collaborative win-win negotiations in which parties avoid offensive behaviour.

Bond shows little opposition. His first answer is the only element in which he challenges M (*I disagree, sir. I've used the Beretta for ten years and I've never missed with it yet*). Although there is a bold-on-record disagreement (*I disagree*), it is followed by an honorific (*sir*) and arguments supporting his position. Finally, however, he surrenders to the Russian front tactics without any verbal protest (*No sir, I would not*).

The conversation quoted above contains the first instance of M using a swear word (*damned*). This is not typical for early Ms and it is M-Judy Dench whose contribution in this area is much more elaborate.

There is more criticism in the third movie, *Goldfinger*, where M starts to object Bond's activities altogether:

M: This isn't a personal vendetta, double-o-seven. It's an assignment like any other. And if you can't treat it as such, coldly and objectively, then double-o-eight can replace you. You've hardly distinguished yourself, have you? You were supposed to observe mister Goldfinger, not borrow his girlfriend. Instead of that, Goldfinger goes off to Europe and it's only by the grace of God, your friend Leiter, and my intervention with the British Embassy in Washington that you're not in the custody of the Miami Beach police.

007: Sir, I'm aware of my short-comings. But I am prepared to continue this assignment in the spirit you suggest… if I knew what it was about… sir. (M3 1964)

M lists a lot of Bond's failures. They range from very general issues ([…] *not a personal vendetta. You've hardly distinguished yourself*), through more particular objections (*You were supposed to observe Mister Goldfinger, not borrow his girlfriend*) to the negative consequences for the mission (*Goldfinger goes off to Europe*) and for 007 ([…] *by the Grace of God* […] *you're not in custody* […]). The Russian front tactics is used again both to criticize Bond and to make him obey orders (*if you*

can't treat it as such, coldly and objectively, then double-o-eight can replace you.).

Bond's reply is a soft one and, following the win-win style, aimed at the maintenance of the cooperation. It starts with an honorific (*sir*), then there is an admittance of failures (*I'm aware of my short-comings*). Having done this, Bond tries to resume a better position by declaring his will to continue the job (*I am prepared to continue* […]) together with a veiled criticism of M, who has not defined its nature yet ([…] *if I knew what it was about*). The final honorific (*sir*) makes the reply more gentle and indicates Bond's awareness of his subordinate position.

One has to add that apart from M's criticism of Bond, for the first time in movies, one can watch 007 giving an account of his actions:

M: Gold? All over?
007: She died of skin suffocation. It's been known to happen to cabaret dancers. It's all right so long you leave a small bare patch at the base of the spine to allow the skin to breathe.
M: Somebody obviously didn't.
007: And I know who. (M3 1964)

The conversation quoted above precedes M's criticism. One has to stress that Bond does not admit any failure, he just tells a story about what happened (*She died of skin suffocation.*) and the mechanism of the murder (*It's been knows to happen* […] *skin to breathe*). He even tries to show his partial success (*I know who*), but this last statement ignites M's critical remarks.

A View to A Kill uses the scheme in a similar way:

M: May I remind you that this operation was to be conducted discreetly. All it took was six million francs in damages and penalties for violating most of the Napoleonic Code.
007: Well, under the circumstances, sir, I thought it was more important to identify the assassin. (M14 1985)

M criticizes Bond's failure (*was to be conducted discreetly*) and shows its negative consequences (*it took five million francs in damages* […]).

The opening phrase (*May I remind you*) is a polite introduction only on the locutionary level. In fact, it is an attack which, on the illocutionary level, may sound like: *don't you remember what I've told you*?

Bond follows the tradition of a polite and obedient servant, however, one who defends his position. His reply starts with an opening (*well*), then indicates the objective reasons of his actions (*under the circumstances*), his personal judgement of the reasons (*I thought it was more important*) and the action that followed (*to identify the assassin*). This

way Bond manages to present the excuse for his action as well as shows his awareness that adverse, and his superior's, opinions may exist.

On Her Majesty's Secret Service presents, for the first time, a disobedient Bond:

M: You´ve had two years to run him down.
007: Does this mean you've lost confidence in me?
M: I´m well aware of your talents, 007. But a licence to kill is useless, unlessone can set up the target.
007: Sir… (overlaps)
M: I´ll find you a more suitable assignment, that's all. (M6 1969)

M indicates Bond's inefficiency (*You've had two years to run him down* […] *licence to kill is useless, unless one can set up the target*). The criticism is softened with an appreciation (*I'm well aware of your talents, 007*). The Russian front tactics is also used (*I'll find you a more suitable assignment*).

Bond's reaction, as shown in the discourse, is that of growing tension. He starts with challenging M's trust in his abilities (*Does this mean you've you lost confidence in me?*), and then interrupts his boss. The whole exchange ends in a stormy way and results in Bond's decision to retire.

Bond who does not agree with M's criticism may be seen again in *Licence to Kill*:

M: You were supposed to be in Istanbul last night. I'm afraid this unfortunate Leiter business has… clouded your judgment. You have a job to do. I expect you on a plane this afternoon.
007: I haven't finished here, sir.
M: Leave it to the Americans. It's their mess. Let them clear it up.
007: Sir, they're not going to do anything. I owe it to Leiter. He's put his life on the line for me many times.
M: Oh, spare me this sentimental rubbish! He knew the risks.
007: And his wife?
M: This private vendetta of yours… could easily compromise Her Majesty's Government. You have an assignment and I expect you to carry it out objectively and professionally.
007: Then you have my resignation, sir. (M16 1989)

The conversation shows both interlocutors speaking very directly and bold-on-record. M starts (*You were supposed to be in Istanbul last night*). This is an indirect accusation that Bond has not performed the order to start a mission. In the next line, the introductory phrase (*I'm afraid*) that precedes criticism (*Leiter has clouded your judgement*) busi-

ness is the only element which is to make M's statement milder. M's speech reveals his increasing anxiety and one of the last statements is a face threatening and offensive act [...] *spare me this sentimental rubbish!*). The criticism also involves an accusation of self-interest (*private vendetta*) and an indication of its consequences ([...] *compromise Her Majesty's Government*). The sentences are decisive, short and almost without introductory phrases. The criticism is interwoven with orders, which is discussed in section 3.2.1.

Bond's replies are similar in fact. He uses honorifics (*sir*) to be polite and to show his obedience. He also uses short, matter of fact sentences to justify his actions (*I haven't finished here*, *I owe it to Leiter* [...]).

The conversation leads to the agent's resignation, delivered in formal language. This, however, is not a reaction to M's criticism but Bond's will to run the affairs his own way.

In *The Man With The Golden Gun*, M uses irony and future tense to criticize Bond's actions in the past:

M: Good evening, 007. Glad to see you're still with us. In future, Commander Bond, if you must tour the world of Suzie Wong by night, try to inform our man here. Lieutenant Hip. (M9 1974)

Speaking about what to do in the future is an indirect criticism of the agents opposite action in the past.

Bond uses the strategy of not referring directly to M's objections, but he explores the fact that the conversation continues, with some input from another interlocutor. Instead of an explanation, he manages to inform the supervisor about his success concerning the accomplishment of the mission:

Hip: Sorry, Commander. I had to get you away from the Hong Kong police, but didn't know how much you knew.
007: Nothing. But I should report, sir, that Scaramanga does not have a contract on me. He couldn't have missed me tonight. Instead he hit a chap coming out of a club. I got quite a shock when I saw who it was.
M: I should think you did.
007: Our missing solar-energy expert: Gibson. (M9 1974)

Later in the same movie, M continues to avoid speaking about the past but concentrates on the present state of affairs, i.e. the result of the agent and his partner's actions:

M: Gentlemen, I congratulate you. Instead of getting on our hands a perfected solex, we're left with a useless corpse and no leads. (M9 1974)

The opening move, congratulations, hints that the statement is an irony as a tool of negative evaluation.

Bond again follows the pattern of not responding to criticism, but he reveals his partial success. He manages to oppose the criticism indirectly and to direct the conversation towards collecting data, drawing conclusions and planning next moves:

007: One lead, sir. Assuming Gibson was killed by Scaramanga, whoever hired him could afford a million dollars.
M: Are you suggesting Hai Fat?
007: He could afford it.
Hip: Out of petty cash.
007: A thought has occurred to me. If Hai Fat hired Scaramanga, it's unlikely that he met him personally.
M: Why?
007: In the event of anything had gone wrong, there's nothing to connect the two. That gives me an idea as to how to approach him. (M9 1974)

One has to admit that in *Moonraker* M shows a lot of tact and understanding for Bond's actions, even when his failure humiliated him and his superior, the Minister. This may be seen in the following conversation:

Drax: Frederick Gray, what a surprise! And in distinguished company, all wearing gas masks! You must excuse me, gentlemen, not being English, I sometimes find your sense of humour difficult to follow.
Minister: On behalf of the British government, I apologise.
M: I think you owe us an explanation, 007.
Minister: I've never been so humiliated in my life. Your man should be taken off the assignment. I'll see you at the consulate.
M: I'll have to do what he says.
007: But before you do that sir, have Q do an analysis of this. I took it from the laboratory. Tell him to exercise extreme caution. It is lethal.
M: So, there was a laboratory. (M11 1979)

The situation is stressful enough for M to reprimand Bond, and rude language would be well justified. M's reaction, however, is surprisingly polite and self-controlled. It starts with an opening *I think* which makes the following statement tentative. The use of the *owe* structure may suggest there is less immediacy in the demand to explain the situation. In fact, one can hardly see criticism in the statement. It tends to sound like a cooperative statement grounded on the implied assumption that the crisis Bond caused must have some reason.

The conversation above has also been quoted in the section on M's position (2.1). In this place, it may be sufficient to say that 007 accepts M's cooperative offer and offers an explanation. One has to admit that it is quite an elaborate one. It contains a presentation of findings, indicting the source, which proves that Bond's action seen in the dialogue above was well justified. There is also a warning about the content of the findings (*caution*, *lethal*). The imperative mood is rather impolite for a subordinate agent; however, the honorific *sir* slightly softens its tenor.

One may see bald-on-record criticism in *Octopussy*:

M: You had no business bidding for that egg. Hm, what would you have done if you'd got it? (M13 1983)

The illocutionary force, however, is hidden behind the verbal, locutionary level. On this level, M does not openly criticize Bond, but he questions his legal foundations to perform it. The other part of the critical statement is a question about the consequences of his action. Thus, he uses one of the functions of questions indicated by Gerard Nierenberg (1985, 1997), an expert on negotiations. The function is to make the interlocutor think. This makes it possible for Bond to continue the manner answering well-proven in previous encounters. There is no open rejection of criticism but a presentation of facts which put some new light onto his actions.

007: I would have claimed it was a fake, sir, and not paid. (M13 1983)

In *The Living Daylights*, the topic Bond raises springs M's criticism of his operations:

007: There are a few things I'd like to check out first, sir. That sniper, for instance.
M: Yes. I've read Saunders' report. You jeopardised the entire mission to avoid shooting a beautiful girl.
007: Not exactly, sir. I had to make a split-second decision. It was instinct. (M15 1987)

This time both parties speak bold on record. M, before formulating his opinion, mentions a reliable source of knowledge (*Saunders' report*) and then presents his point of view. This time, it is a bald-on-record face threatening attack. A past tense is used to describe what 007 actually did and the phrase *jeopardized the mission* specifies precisely what the agent did wrong. The allegation is supported with a comment stat-

ing the unprofessional reasons of Bond's behaviour (*to avoid shooting a beautiful girl*).

Bond finds it impossible to use any avoidance strategy and he also refers to his action being discussed. He starts politely and saves the interlocutor's face by saying *not exactly, sir*. This is much less than disagreement and does not threaten M's face. It is the statement that the latter makes which is evaluated not as a wrong one but one which is not altogether precise (*not exactly*). Such an introduction, supported with the honorific *sir*, is followed with a presentation of the factors that determined Bond's decision.

Three next movies give Bond some rest from M's criticism, which is resumed in *The World is Not Enough*:

M: May I remind you that you're the reason I'm here, 007. You disobeyed a direct order and left that girl alone.
007: Perhaps that girl isn't so innocent. (M19 1999)

The criticism may be broken down into two components although both of them are connected with the same action. The first element superficially takes the form of a polite statement represented by the introductory phrase (*May I remind you*). The movie context clearly indicates, however, that the statement is ironic and expresses M's accusation of forcing her to leave London Headquarters.

The other component specifies the reason of the accusation and it describes, in the past tense and in a straightforward way, Bond's disobedience. Bond's verbal behaviour is very similar to the one analysed in the previous example. He does not oppose M's arguments but gives a new piece of information which may justify his action. The tentativeness of his response, represented by the lexeme *perhaps*, is intended not to reject M's arguments and to save her face. On the other hand, the information following the lexeme may be a sufficient reason for his changing orders.

In *Die Another Day*, M's criticism is most elaborate, which is partly justified by the particular situation, i.e. 007 being caught by the enemy and being exchanged for the enemy's agent:

M: If, I'd had it my way you'd still be in North Korea. Your freedom came at too high a price.
007: Zao.
M: He tried to blow up a summit between South Korea and China. Took out three Chinese agents before he was caught. And now he's free.
007: I never asked to be traded. I'd rather die in prison than let him loose.
M: You had your cyanide.
007: Threw it away years ago. What the hell is all this about?

M: The top American agent in the North Korean High Command was executed a week ago. The American intercepted a signal from your prison naming him.
007: And they think it was me?
M: You were the only inmate. They concluded you cracked and talked haemorrhaging information. We had to get you out.
007: And what did you think?
M: With the drugs they were giving you, you wouldn't know what you did or didn't say.
007: I know the rules. And number one is no deals. Get caught and you're given up. The mission was compromised. Moon got a call exposing me. He had a partner in the West. Even his father knew about it. (M20 2000)

M's criticism is related to one problem, i.e. Bond being caught and being exchanged, but it involves a number of more detailed accusations:

a) An enemy's dangerous agent being released: *Your freedom came at too high a price* […] *He tried to blow up a summit between South Korea and China* […] *And now he's free.*
b) Bond allowing to be caught alive: *You had your cyanide.*
c) Bond being alleged of revealing classified information: *You were the only inmate. They concluded you cracked and talked haemorhaging information.*
We had to get you out.

Bond abandons the strategy of giving tentative answers and his answers precisely state his thinking:

a) He rejects the reasons for being traded: *I never asked to be traded. I'd rather die in prison than let him loose* […] *I know the rules. And number one is no deals. Get caught and you're given up.*
b) He gives, even at the price of showing negligence, the reasons for being caught alive: *Threw it away years ago.*
c) As far as the last argument is concerned, he probes M for her trust in him and gets an honest answer:

007: And what did you think?
M: With the drugs they were giving you, you wouldn't know what you did or didn't say.

In addition to that, Bond presents more facts which he discovered and which may give M a broader picture of the situation: *The mission was compromised* […].

There is no place for tentative language and the conversation is a bald-on subject one with M's face threatening attacks and Bond's avoidance of face-saving acts. Both parties speak about past events, using

past tense; additionally, Bond summarises an agent's code of conduct in the simple tense.

M's opening statement introduces the mode of the conversation: *If I'd had it my way you'd still be in North Korea*. Bond's agitation is seen not only in the content and tenor of his replies but also in his plain question: *What the hell is all this about?* This might be suitable among friends or partners of equal rank but not in a master-servant relationship.

Later in the movie, we can see an exchange of opinions about *modus operandi* between M and 007:

007: Oh, I know you'll do whatever it takes to get the job done.
M: Just like you. (M20 2002)

This can hardly be called criticism but, taking into consideration, Bond's tendency to act on his own M's treatment may be interpreted at least as the declaration of the knowledge of the fact.

Casino Royale brings the longest conversation so far:

M: You've got a bloody cheek.
007: Sorry. I'll shoot the camera next time.
M: Or yourself. You stormed into an embassy! You violated the only absolutely inviolate rule of international relationships. And why? So, you could kill a nobody. We needed to question him, not kill him. For God's sake, you're supposed to display some sort of judgment.
007: I did. I thought one less bombmaker in the world would be a good thing.
M: Exactly. One bombmaker. We are trying to find out how an entire network of terrorist groups is financed, and you give us one bombmaker. Hardly the big picture, wouldn't you say? The man isn't even a true believer! He's a gun for hire, and thanks to your overdeveloped trigger finger we have no idea who hired him and why. And how the hell did you find where I lived?
007: The same way I found out your name. I thought "M" was a randomly assigned letter. I had no idea it stood for…
M: Utter another syllable and I will have you killed. I knew it was too early to promote you.
007: Well, I understand 00s have a very short life expectancy so your mistake will be short-lived.
M: Bond, this may be too much for a blunt instrument to understand that arrogance and self-awareness seldom go hand-in-hand.
007: So, I should be half monk, half hitman.
M: Any thug can kill. I want you to take your ego out of the equation and to judge the situation dispassionately. But I have to know I can trust you and that you know who to trust. And since I don't know that, I need you out of my sight. Go and stick your head in the sand somewhere and

think about your future. Because these bastards want your head. And I'm seriously considering feeding you to them. And Bond… Don't ever break into my house again.
007: Ma'am. (M21 2006)

M's first statement (*You've got a bloody cheek*) is a framework for making the list of Bond's actions to be criticized. M uses a pun which may be interpreted directly to describe the impudence of Bond's actions. The bloody cheek may also refer to the bloodshed Bond caused.

The opening is followed with a list of actions the agent has to account for:

- *You stormed into an embassy!*
- *You violated the only absolutely inviolate rule of international relationships*

The criticism may be complemented with a demand for explanation:

- *And how the hell did you find where I lived?*

M also shows the futility of Bond's brutal killing:

- *We are trying to find out how an entire network of terrorist groups is financed, and you give us one bombmaker.* […] *He's a gun for hire, and thanks to your overdeveloped trigger finger we have no idea who hired him and why.*

Finally, the skills and usefulness of the agent are denied:

- *For God's sake, you're supposed to display some sort of judgment.*
- *Bond, this may be too much for a blunt instrument to understand that arrogance and self-awareness seldom go hand-in-hand.*
- *Any thug can kill.*

Quite naturally the actions performed are described in the past tense while its consequences and, first of all, Bond's way of thinking and doing things are spoken about in the present tense. The language used by M is straightforward, bold-on-subject, face threatening. In terms of register, it is colloquial with terms like *overdeveloped trigger finger*, *for God's sake*, *gun for hire*, or *thug*. It contains the elements of impolite and rude language such as *bloody*, *blunt instrument*, or *how the hell*.

In the previous example quoted, Bond's replies may be described as decisive but not impolite. The example analysed here shows the latest 007 (Daniel Craig) going one step further and being not only straightforward but also ironical. This is seen in the first exchange:

M: You've got a bloody cheek.
007: Sorry. I'll shoot the camera next time.

In his reply, 007 suggests that instead of killing a thug it would be better to destroy the camera showing his actions.

The address of M's flat is presumably a classified information. M's demand to indicate how he found it is also handled ironically by showing unbelievably simple mode of operations: *The same way I found out your name. I thought "M" was a randomly assigned letter. I had no idea it stood for…*

In a similar way the accusation of being a *blunt instrument* is handled by the suggestion of the impossible: *So, I should be half monk, half hitman*.

Irony is also used to handle M's another criticism:

M: I knew it was too early to promote you.
007: Well, I understand 00s have a very short life expectancy so your mistake will be short-lived.

Bond raises the issue of the short life expectancy of intelligence agents. Although he risks his life most of the time, M may find it difficult to believe that he is ready to accept death as the way of solving her problems.

Another conversation in the same movie contains less criticism but some irony on M's part:

M: Quite the body count you're stacking up. She was tortured first. As you'd already killed her husband, she must have been the only one left to question. Did she know anything that could compromise you?
007: No. (M21 2006)

The opening *quite* lexeme gives the impression of some admiration. It refers to things that are difficult to admire, i.e. about the number of people killed by Bond. M uses something like warehouse metaphor (*body count* […] *stacking at*). The following part of the conversation concentrates on an objective analysis of the reasons of Bond's action (*she must have been the only one left to question*) and its results (*Did she know anything that could compromise you?*) showing some care for Bond, and the agent does not answer to the ironic remark.

A conversation from the next movie, *Quantum of Solace*, has been discussed in the section devoted to M's position. Here it has to be quoted again because it also contains M's criticism:

M: The Americans are gonna be none too pleased about this.
007: I promised them Le Chiffre, and they got Le Chiffre.
M: They got his body.

007: If they'd wanted his soul, they should… have made a deal with a priest. (M22 2008)

This time M's speech act is an indirect one and she does not openly attack Bond. She just mentions that the villain sought by the American allies was killed instead of being caught alive. The agent replies in the same manner and the conversation, on the locutionary level, is about the Americans. Bond continues the tradition of using the schemes used by the interlocutors (Mamet 2014) and uses the opposite concepts. M uses the opposition (presumably alive) *Le Chiffre* versus (presumably dead) *body*. This forms the basis of the opposition *body* versus *soul* used by 007. Mentioning a priest is also an indirect remark that Bond is an agent with a licence to kill, not a clergyman.

The movie shows, however, that M has many objections to Bond killing people and making the investigation impossible:

M: And, Bond, if you could avoid killing every possible lead, it would be deeply appreciated.
007: Yes, ma'am. I'll do my best. (M22 2008)

M's strategy may be called an ironic politeness one. She uses words (*deeply appreciated*) and tentative grammatical forms (*could*, *would*) which belong to a high register and which are hardly associated with killing. Bond continues the line and his reply is very polite. It starts with agreement and an honorific (*Yes*, *ma'am*). The next part continues the promise of obedience but is a tentative one. It declares best efforts (*do my best*) but promises no results. This proves to be useful in another conversation about killing:

M: Bond, you killed a man in Bregenz.
007: I did my best not to.
M: You shot him at point blank and threw him off a roof. I'd hardly call that showing restraint, especially since he was a member of Special Branch.
007: So, who was he guarding?
M: Bond, are you missing the fact that you killed a member of Special Branch? (M22 2008)

Both interlocutors seem to refer to the previous conversation upon the subject. M, who asked Bond to avoid killing, just mentions another kill. The mere statement of fact in the past tense (*you killed a man*) is a hidden accusation that her request was not obeyed. Bond makes a reference to his previous statement and indicates his effort to avoid killing (*I did my best not to*). M's reply neglects the reply and directs the conversation to the details of Bond's act. This includes:

- an indication of the ruthlessness of killing (*You shot him at point blank and threw him off a roof*);
- killing a man from the same service (*member of Special Branch*).

Bond's defence is that of questioning the operations of the secret agent (*so, who was he guarding*), which is again neglected by M. The latter just repeats the statement relating to the job and position of the victim (*are you missing the fact that you killed a member of Special Branch?*).

The next conversation in the same movie is much more agitated. The reason is that, following a romance with Bond, a woman clerk from the British Embassy was killed by the people Bond chases. M's outrage is justified:

M: You said you weren't motivated by revenge.
007: I'm motivated by my duty.
M: No. I think you are so blinded by inconsolable rage that you don't care who you hurt. When you can't tell your friends from your enemies, it's time to go. You might like to tell her your theory about there being no oil. Her lungs are full of it. (M22 2008)

M starts with a reproach using reported speech to remind Bond the promise he did not keep (*You said you weren't motivated by revenge*). Bond uses the structure offered by M and replaces *revenge* with *duty* to make a defensive statement. M denies it openly and presents fact and accusations (*inconsolable rage*, *don't care who you hurt*, *can't tell enemies from friends*) as well as facts appealing to Bond's conscience (*your theory about oil. Her lungs are full of it*).

M's criticism of 007 continues in the last but one movie, *Skyfall*. The new element, however, is that it is Bond who also criticizes M and forces her to defend herself:

M: Where the hell have you been?
007: Enjoying death. 007 reporting for duty.
M: Why didn't you call?
007: You didn't get the postcard? You should try it some time. Get away from it all. It really lends perspective.
M: Run out of drink where you were, did they?
007: What was it you said? "Take the bloody shot"?
M: I made a judgement call.
007: You should have trusted me to finish the job.
M: It was the possibility of losing you or the certainty of losing all those other agents. I made the only decision I could, and I knew it.
007: I think you lost your nerve.
M: What do you expect, a bloody apology? You know the rules of the game. You've been playing it long enough. We both have.

007: Maybe too long.
M: Speak for yourself.
007: Ronson didn't make it, did he?
M: No.
007: So, this is it. We're both played out. (M23 2012)

The conversation takes place after Bond's absence following his presumed death and his reporting back for duty.

M's remarks may be divided into two groups:

- questions about Bond's absence and not contacting her, which is, in fact, a criticism of Bond's negligence, a kind of absence without leave:
  Where the hell have you been?
  Why didn't you call?
- statements about the nature of the intelligence service, which Bond seems to forget about:

  You know the rules of the game.

  You've been playing it long enough.

  We both have.

The last statement, using first person plural, may be treated as a conciliatory use of the common ground strategy. The list of M's objections may be complemented with the remark about Bond's drinking habits, discussed in another section.

Before Bond's objections are analysed, it is necessary to summarise the details preceding his presumed death and the following absence:

> Bond's mission is to keep a computer drive that has a list of British agents from being used against them. He chases the man who has it and they have a brawl on top of a train. Eve, an agent sent to assist Bond has them in her cross hairs but hesitates to take the shot because she might hit Bond but M orders her to take it. Which she does and hits Bond who falls into the river and is believed to be dead. (WWW8)

Bond's criticism of M turns around M's order to shoot and its consequences. Thus, M's question *Where have you been?* is handled by giving an ironic statement: *Enjoying death*, followed by a declaration of an obedient servant: *007 reporting for duty*. The issue of the lack of phone contact (*Why didn't you call?*) is handled by specifying another channel of communication and a piece of advice for M to change her lifestyle a bit: *You didn't get the postcard? You should try it some time. Get away from it all. It really lends perspective.*

In the next part of the conversation, 007 does not care to answer the accusation of being a heavy drinker but introduces the main issue of the

conversation: M's order to shoot. He starts with reminding her the order (*What was it you said? "Take the bloody shot"?*) This forces M to take the defence line and state the reasons of her decision (*I made a judgement call*). This thinking is rejected with Bond's counterargument (*You should have trusted me to finish the job*). This forces M to defend her position again (*It was the possibility of losing you or the certainty of losing all those other agents. I made the only decision I could, and I knew it.*). In his reply, Bond indicates M's weakness and failure (*I think you lost your nerve.*). At this point, M seems to have no more arguments and she changes the subject, hence the question: *What do you expect, a bloody apology?* The rude word *bloody* indicates her stress and agitation, and it suggests that the situations discussed have to be accounted for. This makes it possible for her to direct the conversation to more general topics, i.e. the nature of the intelligence business. *You know the rules of the game. You've been playing it long enough. We both have.* The reference to long time experience springs the agent's another critical comment: *Maybe too long.* M's defence is that of excluding herself: *Speak for yourself.* The last word belongs to 007 who makes reference to the death of Ronson – another agent. Ronson was wounded and M ordered Bond to interrupt the rescue action and chase the villain who stole classified information.

Bond reminds M of the situation (*Ronson didn't make it, did he?*). And M's confirmation is used by Bond to support his statement (*So, this is it. We're both played out.*).

In *Spectre*, the latest 007 movie so far, we can see the new M, Ralph Fienness, criticising Bond again. It takes the form of a demand to account for actions taken by Bond and their results:

M: Start anywhere you like. Take your time, 007, but in five minutes the head of the Joint Security Service is going to walk through that door, and I've got to explain to him how one of our agents decided to potter off to Mexico, all on his own, and cause an international incident.
007: With all due respect, sir, it could've been worse.
M: Worse? You blew up half a bloody block.
007: Well, better half a block than a whole stadium full of people.
M: You had no authority. None. As you know, we're in the middle of the biggest shakeup in the history of British intelligence. The ink's barely dry on this merger with MI5 and already they're itching for a chance to scrap the double-0 program forever. And you've just given them one.
007: You're right, sir. You have got a tricky day ahead.
M: This is an official question. Mexico City. What were you doing there?
007: It was just a coincidence. I was taking some overdue holiday.
M: Okay. Fine. As of this morning, you are officially grounded. I'm standing you down from all operations indefinitely.

M: I don't know what you're playing at, but whatever it is, it has to stop. Now. (M24 2015)

The criticism opens with M defining his position against his supervisor (see section 3.1.) and the need to explain Bond's actions to him. This is the strategy known in negotiations as the limited authority tactic (Stalmaszczyk 1992). Additionally, M uses the hustle close tactics (Kennedy 1994, 124–125). The criticised action is the issue to be accounted for by Bond ([…] *how one of our agents decided to potter off to Mexico, all on his own, and cause an international incident*.). The language is a mixture of colloquial (*potter off*) and formal (*international incident*) expressions. Bond's resistance is handled by specifying the details and using more informal language (*You blew up half a bloody block*). This is followed by a direct accusation of acting beyond powers (*You had no authority. None*). Bond's resistance is handled in the next statement which is delivered in formal language. M starts with an official framing introduction (*This is an official question*), which stresses the master-servant character of the conversation. Then follow the labelling of the problem mentioned in detail before (*Mexico City*) and a straightforward demand for explanation (*What were you doing there?*). M changes styles from informal to formal and the change is a reaction to the agent's evasive tactics. Assuming the official style hints that the power relations between the interlocutors exist and Bond has to comply with them.

James Bond is well aware of the relationship, which may be seen in his first reply. It starts with a showing respect formal opening and the use of an honorific (*With all due respect, sir*). This is followed by a statement, which does not negate the accusations but tries to diminish the scale (*it could've been worse*). As indicated above, it only increases M's anger. Bond seems to be more agitated as well, which is seen in the tenor of his reply. He seems to start in a conciliatory way by saying *You're right, sir* and giving the impression that he agrees with the allegations. In the next part of the answer, the agent contradicts it by saying *You've got a tricky day ahead*. Instead of speaking about himself, Bond makes a comment on the M's situation and explores the fact that his superior's criticism is interwoven with comments about his position, the future of the department and the visit of their supervisor. It is only the official stance taken by the latter on that makes Bond provide a subject matter and concise answer: *It was just a coincidence. I was taking some overdue holiday.*

M's last critical remark follows an order suspending Bond from all operations. It says: *I don't know what you're playing at, but whatever it is, it has to stop. Now.* This is a very good summary of M's criticism.

The superior does not even know what the agent is planning to do. M knows, however, that Bond usually takes independent actions, which may bring troubles to the department.

2.2.3 M cares

As the manager, M's responsibility is to monitor the operatives' work and to take care of them, which is reflected in many M-Bond encounters. What may proclaim that M is concerned with the agent is the fact that, and the way, he or she wishes him good luck, compliments him, and cares about his safety and health. However, different Ms may express the above differently.

2.2.3.1 M wishes good luck

The criticism discussed elsewhere in the project (see section 2.2.2.) should not overshadow the fact that M appreciates Bond and cares for him.

The first example to be discussed is M's wishing Bond good luck, which may be treated both as a superficial act of courtesy and as a token of caring for the agent. The wish appears in a number of movies:

M: All right then, best of luck.
007: Thank you, sir. (M1 1962)

M: All the same, take it with you. Good luck, 007.
007: Thank you, sir. (M2 1963)

M: Good luck.
007: Thank you, sir. (M4 1965)

2.2.3.2 M compliments Bond

Another way in which M shows his positive attitude to Bond is expressing praise for his actions, knowledge and skills. *On Her Majesty's Secret Service* shows praise combined with criticism:

007: Does this mean you've you lost confidence in me?
M: I´m well aware of your talents, 007. But a licence to kill is useless, unless one can set up the target. (M6 1969)

This is a very limited kind of praise but the next one, in *Live and Let Die*, is more explicit. However, one has to bear in mind that M reports the opinion issued by other authorities:

M: By the way, congratulations to you had been ordered. The Italians were most impressed by the way you handled the Rome affair.
007: Thank you, sir. (M8 1973)

Bond has to wait for a compliment directly from M till *The Man with the Golden Gun*:

007: Hello?
M: Ah, there you are, Bond. Well done, congratulations.
007: Thank you, sir. (M9 1974)

The next one, in *The Spy Who Loved Me*, is even more valuable because it is issued in the presence of the representatives of Russian intelligence:

007: It's not "oratory." It's "laboratory." Stromberg has a marine research laboratory. On Corsica, I believe.
M: Well done, James. (M10 1977)

In *Moonraker*, the compliment ends a part of a brainstorming session, with the participation of Q, and precedes the order:

Q: It's a highly toxic nerve gas that appears to have no effect on animals.
007: May I see the formula? It's a chemical formula of a plant. Orchidae nigra. A very rare orchid indeed.
Q: Thought to be extinct – until a missionary brought one back from the upper reach of Amazoco.
007: Actually, he brought it back from the area of the River Tapirapé.
M: Well done, James. You'd better get up there and fast. (M11 1979)

2.2.3.3 M cares about Bond's safety

In the first movie, M shows his concern for Bond's safety when he raises the topic of the weapon Bond uses.

M (to Bond): Take off your jacket. Give me your gun. Yes, I thought so, this damned Beretta again. I've told you about it before.
M (to Armourer): You tell him, for the last time.
Armourer: Nice and light… in a lady's handbag. No stopping power.
M (to Bond): Any comment, 007?

007: I disagree, sir. I've used the Beretta for ten years and I've never missed with it yet.

M: You maybe not but it jammed on your last job and you spent six months in a hospital in consequence. If you carry a 00 number, it means you're licensed to kill and not get killed. And another thing, since I've been a head of MI7 there's been a 40 % drop in 00 casualties. I want it to stay that way. You'll carry the Walther unless, of course, you'd prefer to go back to standard intelligence duties.

007: Not sir, I would not. (M1 1962)

M's behaviour is more decisive than in the previous part of the conversation when the order to start the mission was given to Bond (see section 2.2.1). The conversation was analysed in more detail. One must admit that the care for the agent's health is interwoven with the care for the functioning of the department.

Quite the same may be said about M's behaviour in *You Only Live Twice*. Bond is assassinated in "a ruse to trick his enemies into believing he was dead so he can continue his mission undetected" (WWW_9).

The care for Bond is motivated in a similar way in *The Man with the Golden Gun*:

M: I'm relieving you of your present assignment, 007.

007: Er, sir?

M: Yes?

007: The energy crisis is still with us. I respect that we submit but finding Gibson and his solar cell data is more important than ever.

M: It is indeed. And I can't jeopardise it or any mission by having Scaramanga pop up and put a bullet in you. I'll endorse your request to resign. Or you can take a sabbatical and go to ground until this is settled. (M9 1974)

The order relieving Bond from the mission is given not only, or even not chiefly, to protect Bond from Scaramanga, the professional killer. Bond is relieved because his death may complicate the actions of M's department (*I can't jeopardise it or any mission by having Scaramanga pop up and put a bullet in you*). Bond's reaction is that of a restless agent. He prefers to take action rather than hide (*If I found him first, sir, that might change the situation*). M accepts Bond's proposal.

Licence to Kill is a milestone as far as M's attitude to Bond is displayed verbally. In the movie 007, after a vivid discussion with M, James Bond "threatens to resign, M suspends him and immediately revokes his license to kill. Bond flees from MI6 custody and becomes a rogue agent" (WWW_{10}).

M: We're not a country club, 007. Effective immediately…your licence to kill is revoked… and I require you to hand over your weapon. Now. I need hardly remind you that you're still bound by the Official Secrets Act.
007: Well, I guess it's, er… a farewell to arms.
M: Don't! Too many people! God help you, Commander. (M16 1989)

M's utterances cannot be heard by the agent. They are taken into consideration because they directly concern Bond. The first one forbids the agents shooting at Bond. M is clever enough to give a formal reason of his order (*Too many people!*). The next statement, however, displays his real attitude to Bond (*God help you*, *Commander*). Although Bond shows extreme disobedience, M takes the position of a forgiving master who prevents the agent being shot and wishes him good luck. Paradoxically, the open conflict reveals discursively the real attitude of M to 007.

M: Bond... Come back alive. (M17 1995)

The locational level of an order, represented by the use of the passive voice, disguises illocutionary act of wishing the agent good luck and the concern for his safety.

2.2.3.4 M cares about Bond's health

The care about Bond's health appears in the dialogue from *Dr. No* quoted above. During the discussion about using the Beretta, M refers to Bond's being wounded:

M: You maybe not but it jammed on your last job and you spent six months in a hospital in consequence. (M1 1962)

Bond's health as a pre-requisite of his ability to perform a mission appears in *You Only Live Twice*. Bond is supposed to be assassinated in "a ruse to trick his enemies into believing he was dead so he can continue his mission undetected" (WWW9). After the fake sea burial ceremony he appears in front of M:

M: Oh, sit down, 007.
007: Thank you, sir.
M: No ill effects?
007: None at all, sir.
M: Well now that you're dead, perhaps some of your old friends will pay a little less attention to you for a while. Give you more elbow room.

You'll need it, too. This is the big one, 007. That's why I'm out here myself. I take it you're fully briefed. (M5 1967)

M makes sure that Bond is healthy (*No ill effects?*) and he takes Bond's polite answer (*None at all, sir*) for granted. Very quickly M moves on to describing the advantages of the ruse in the context of Bond's new mission.

The same motif appears in *The World Is Not Enough*:

M: The good doctor has cleared you. Notes you have exceptional stamina.
MONEYPENNY: I'm sure she was touched by his dedication… to the job in hand.
M: 007, I want you to go to Electra. […] (M19 1999)

In *Casino Royale*, the care for Bond's health and life is most obvious and one may think that it is not exclusively connected with the agent's mission. M instructs Bond (via a mobile phone) to use the Medipac kit to save his life after "Le Chiffre's girl friend poisons him" (Cork and Stutz 2008, 242).

M: Well, I knew you were you. Do you hear me? Don't push it yet. Take the blue combipen Bond. Mid-neck. Into the vein. You're going to pass out in a few seconds, and you need to keep your heart going. Push the red button now, Bond!
M: Bond! Push that damn button! (M21 2006)

The same part is also analysed in one of the previous sections – 2.2.1.

In *Skyfall* – the next movie, tests which presumably include medical ones, are clearly indicated as a condition to resume duties:

007: (sighs) Well, I'm here.
M: You'll be debriefed and declared fit for active service. You can only return to duty when you've passed the tests. So, take them seriously. And a shower might be in order.
007: I'll go home and change. (M23 2012)

M's care both for Bond's health and for relevant regulations takes the form of orders. She uses:
– future tense (*You'll be debriefed and declared fit for active service*),
– conditional structures (*You can only return to duty when you've passed the tests.*),
– the imperative mood (*So take them seriously*).

This is followed by a friendly piece of advice, which hides criticism of Bond's state. Bond's reaction forms a declaration to finish the conversation (*I'll go home and change*).

Medical tests are also necessary as shown in *Spectre*:

M: That'll be all, 007. Report to Q tomorrow for medical, thank you.
007: Very good, sir. (M24 2015)

The token of care takes the form of an imperative and Bond's reply is that of an obedient servant.

3

Summary and conclusions

As shown in the analytical part of the project, the discourse between M and 007 reveals both stable (permanent) and dynamic features. The former ones may be seen on the topical level of the encounters between the interlocutors. Their existence formed the basis of the structure of the analysis in terms of types of encounters, i.e. giving and receiving orders (Chapter 2.2.1 M orders), giving and reacting to critical remarks (Chapter 2.2.2 M criticizes), expressing care and evaluating of performance (Chapter 2.2.3 M cares).

All the elements listed above appear throughout the history of 007 movies from *Dr. No* (1962) till *Spectre* (2015). It is within the framework of the encounters where the dynamism, or potentially also the stability, are to be sought.

Both male Ms before Judy Dench (played by Bernard Lee 1962–1979 and Robert Brown 1983–1989) appear as managers who are certain of their position, and they communicate with 007 using polite but decisive, formal but friendly, language. Among their favourite manners of issuing orders to Bond is that of a puzzle-solving structure of a dialogue. The structure assumes asking Bond questions he can answer and inducing him to ask a question which becomes the objective of the agent's mission.

Judy Dench introduces a new habit of issuing orders in terms of expressing her own needs, or rather, to be more specific, the needs of hers as the manager of MI6, as the head of the institution she happens to represent. This characteristic feature of her language is represented by the phrase *I need you…*

The latest M (played by Ralph Fiennes 2012–present) has not provided us with as much discursive data as the predecessors. One can easily notice, however, that he continues the course of being not only Bond's manager but also a partner in the performed mission.

Even though tentative structures appear in Ms' utterances, certainly all Ms so far have been able to issue straightforward orders in the imperative mood or simple tenses as well.

Surely, the orders do not have to be literally (at all?) performed by Bond. The latter is always eager to do things his own way. However, Sean Connery and Roger Moore offer mild reluctance and prefer to make counter proposals, modifications, or suggestions to the orders received. George Lazenby and Timothy Dalton are the first to offer resistance by declaring resignation, while Daniel Craig is the first to refuse in a straightforward way.

The latter problem also involves the weakening position of M. MI6 managers before Judy Dench were certain of their position and of their role in the structures of power within the institution. Judy Dench as M, on the other hand, faces the weakening of the position of her organization and has doubts about her own role.

The dynamic changes may also be well observed in the way M criticizes 007 and the latter's reaction. Strange though it may seem, the best yardstick to measure the changes is the interlocutors' discourse concerning sleep.

In the first movie, M's question *When do you sleep?* is a veiled criticism of Bond's (night)life style and the agent's answer is both evasive and polite: *Never on the firm's time*. Both parties follow the face-saving strategy. Roger Moore in *Live and Let Die* continues the line, although he is bolder on subject when he answers his boss visiting him in the night: *Insomnia, sir.*

Judy Dench – Daniel Craig dialogues on that subject, on the other hand, have nothing to do with politeness and face saving. In *Quantum of Solace*, for example, Bond dismissively tells M *Go back to sleep*. In *Skyfall*, M, exasperated by Bond's performance, arrogance and disobedience, requites like for like when saying to him: *Well, you're bloody not sleeping here*.

James Bond's resignation stands the test of time. It appears in three movies: *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, *Licence to Kill* and *Casino Royale*. The first and last of the notices mentioned are supposed to take the form of a written document and they use the official/formal style. The second, oral one, has very much in common with the other two in terms of style.

The legend of James Bond might be intriguing and colourful, but it is the character of M which undeniably gains more and more multidimensional nature throughout the years and the twenty-four movies which have been released so far, which, in turn, makes M at least as intriguing as the famous agent.

This happens thanks to several factors. First of all, different Ms have different personalities. They also have different visions of how MI6 should function or accomplish its missions, and of their own position in the institutional context. Additionally, the fact that one of Ms is played by Judi Dench adds even more interesting colouration to the character's profile. Furthermore, consecutive films have appeared every few years and, to some extent, they reflect different times, socially, culturally and linguistically. Within those specific times and socio-cultural reality, different Ms adjust their identities and their language.

The discourse of M appears to be an inexhaustible repository and a fascinating material for analysis. This book concentrates only on selected aspects but there are many socio-cultural-linguistic areas which could be given attention in terms of this discourse, such as the language of men and women or the features of institutional discourse in Ms' utterances. Let this book be a point of reference for other socio-linguistic studies in the field and an inspiring read for the fans of the James Bond series.

Appendix

1 List of analysed movies, with symbols used in the text

Movie symbol	Movie title	Year
M1	*Dr. No*	1962
M2	*From Russia With Love*	1963
M3	*Goldfinger*	1964
M4	*Thunderball*	1965
M5	*You Only Live Twice*	1967
M6	*On Her Majesty's Secret Service*	1969
M7	*Diamonds Are Forever*	1971
M8	*Live and Let Die*	1973
M9	*The Man with the Golden Gun*	1974
M10	*The Spy Who Loved Me*	1977
M11	*Moonraker*	1979
M12	*For Your Eyes Only*	1981
M13	*Octopussy*	1983
M14	*A View To A Kill*	1985
M15	*The Living Daylights*	1987
M16	*Licence to Kill*	1989
M17	*Goldeneye*	1995
M18	*Tomorrow Never Dies*	1997
M19	*The World is Not Enough*	1999
M20	*Die Another Day*	2002
M21	*Casino Royale*	2006
M22	*Quantum of Solace*	2008
M23	*Skyfall*	2012
M24	*Spectre*	2015

2 Synopses[1]

Movie Symbol	Movie Title	Movie script	M featured by	Bond featured by
1	2	3	4	5
M1	*Dr No*	James Bond, who enjoys a night in a casino, is summoned by M. The agent is briefed and sent to Jamaica to investigate the murder of John Strangways, the British Intelligence (SIS) Station Chief in Jamaica. Bond performs his mission in cooperation with Felix Leiter, a CIA agent, and solves the problem of a mysterious Dr. No, a member of the SPECTRE (Special Executive for Counter-intelligence, Terrorism, Revenge, and Extortion) criminal organisation, and prevents his efforts to destroy the Project Mercury space research program. 007 contacts his Headquarters in London but this does not involve any conversations or other exchanges which viewers can watch.	Bernard Lee	Sean Connery
M2	*From Russia with Love*	Bond must end his date with Sylvia Trench (Eunice Gayson), to report to M. They discuss the details of the agent's mission to Turkey to investigate the case of a Miss Tatiana Romanova from Russian Embassy. The woman declares to defect to Bond with Lektor, a top secret coding machine. 007 cooperates with local British Intelligence Station Chief and contacts M during his mission. The mission involves another contact with M. The recording of Bond's conversation with Tatiana is analysed by M and his staff. The recording	Bernard Lee	Sean Connery

[1] The table includes a brief synopsis of each 007 movie. It is based on the authors' own research and it is considerably indebted to James Bond movies imdb web pages (www.imdb.com). The authors' objective was not to provide a very thorough summary of the plot but to render a general framework of Bond's actions and the agent's encounters with M.

		includes Bond's hint of his and M's slightly improper behaviour in the past and M hastily orders to stop the tape. Finally, the agent is ordered to continue the mission. No more contacts with M may be seen in the movie, which presents Bond's yet another success after a series of dramatic events.		
M3	*Goldfinger*	Bond relaxes in Miami Beach after his mission in Latin America. The new mission from M is presented to him by Felix Leiter (CIA). 007 is to follow a Mr. Auric Goldfinger, an international jeweller, suspected of smuggling. Bond starts an affair with Jill Masterson, Goldfinger's mistress but the affair ends with the girl being murdered. On his return to London, Bond reports to M, who expresses his disappointment and threatens to replace Bond with another agent. Bond persuades his manager that he can continue the mission successfully. This involves M and Bond dining with a representative of the British government, who delivers more data on Goldfinger and facilitates Bond's contact with the suspect. Bond manages to cross Goldfinger's Operation Grand Slam to detonate a small nuclear bomb inside Ford Knox to make US gold reserves radioactive and useless. During the mission, Bond is more or less successfully monitored by CIA agents and contacts M through them.	Bernard Lee	Sean Connery
M4	*Thunderball*	Together with other double-0 agents, Bond and M attend a meeting in Whitehall. It is connected with SPECTRE demands of ransom for returning the stolen nuclear bombs. Otherwise, major cities in the USA and UK will be destroyed. During the session which follows the Whitehall meeting, Bond presents the relevant information he gathered and persuades M to redirect him to Nassau to investigate the case. No other contacts with M are featured in the movie and during the mission Bond cooperates with CIA to prevent SPECTRE from realising the threat.	Bernard Lee	Sean Connery

1	2	3	4	5
M5	*You Only Live Twice*	Prior to another mission, Bond's murder and funeral are staged. Soon after, he appears on a British warship to meet M who commissions him to go to Japan to investigate the sabotage of US and USSR space missions. The spaceships are captured and the astronauts imprisoned. Bond discovers a secret station inside a volcano. The missing astronauts are imprisoned there and Blofeld, the leader of SPECTRE, plans to trigger a nuclear war between the US and the USSR and introduce China as the world superpower. Together with help of Japanese agents and their ninja army, Bond manages to destroy Blofeld's aircraft and prevents him from the performance of his plan. It seems that the participation and cooperation of the Japanese intelligence solves the problem of Bond's direct contacts with M.	Bernard Lee	Sean Connery
M6	*On Her Majesty's Secret Service*	The film begins with M and Miss Moneypenny talking about the whereabouts of James Bond. When the agent reports, M criticises his obsession with chasing Blofeld and orders him to end the pursuit. A bitter exchange follows and subsequently 007 submits to Moneypenny his formal resignation. The secretary converts it into an application for a fortnight leave. This is accepted by M to his own and the agent's relief. During the leave Bond continues his pursuit and reappears in front of M to report developments and persuade him to let him continue the case. This involves a relationship with Tracy, the daughter of Marc-Ange Draco, the boss of European crime organization, ready to assist 007 in his fight against Blofeld. Bond's further actions lead to the agent's escape and Blofeld keeping Tracy in custody. In another encounter with 007, M turns down his request to launch an attack on Blofeld's headquarters, Pizz Gloria, and Bond turns to Draco for help. Tracy is saved and Blofeld presumably dead and his plot destroyed. Bond marries Tracy and the last meeting between M and 007 takes place during the wedding, preceding the killing of Tracy by still alive Blofeld.	Bernard Lee	George Lazenby

M7	*Diamonds Are Forever*	South African diamonds are stockpiled, probably in order to speculate in their prices. In the only encounter between the two, M orders Bond to investigate. To begin with, 007 is to act undercover and operate as a smuggler named Peter Franks. Tracing the track of disappearing diamonds, Bond travels to Los Angeles, where his actions are supported and monitored by the CIA. Bond finds a research laboratory – the ultimate destination of the diamonds. Its owner is a millionaire Willard Whyte. In reality, the venture is controlled by Blofeld. The villain uses the diamonds to equip a satellite which is to destroy US and Chinese nuclear installations in the United States and China, as well as a USSR nuclear submarine. Then, Blofeld plans to bid for the supremacy in the world. Bond arrives at Blofeld's headquarters. The CIA military forces destroy it together with Blofeld's plans, while Bond, in one of the final scenes, kills two of the couriers of the stolen diamonds.	Bernard Lee	Sean Connery
M8	*Live and Let Die*	The movie shows a 007 mission to San Monique, a Caribbean Island. Dr Kananga, the dictator of the island, turns out to operate as a drug wholesale dealer. James Bond, supported by a CIA agent Felix Leiter, starts his mission in New York. Bond's accomplishments include seducing Solitaire, Kananga's woman, discovering Kananga's operations and killing Kananga after a series of escapes and fights. 007 meets M only once when, after the death of three British agents, the manager sends 007 to continue their job in the Carribean.	Bernard Lee	Roger Moore
M9	*The Man with the Golden Gun*	Scaramanga, an assassin, is known for killing people using a golden gun which shoots golden bullets. M summons Bond when the MI6 HQ receive a golden bullet with 007 number on it. This suggests that Bond is supposed to be Scaramanga's next target. Bond persuades M to let him investigate the case and travels to Beirut, where a 002 agent was killed by Scaramanga. Bond finds a golden bullet held as a charm	Bernard Lee	Roger Moore

1	2	3	4	5
		by 002 agent's lover and returns to his headquarters where the manufacturer of the gun, Lazar, is identified. On another mission 007, meets Lazar and manages to find Andrea Anders, who collects the bullets for Scaramanga. Bond follows her to Hong Kong but fails to find the killer. Instead, he is accused of killing a solar energy expert. This leads to another conference with M in the secret HQ in the hulk RMS Queen Elizabeth. The next mission involves Bond posing as Scaramanga and travelling to Bangkok to follow his principal, a Mr. Fat. The plot is discovered but Andrea finds Bond and asks him to kill Scaramanga. The killer escapes taking Goodnight, Bond's assistant, and Bond meets M again. Bond manages to cope with M's dissatisfaction informing him that Goodnight's tracking device makes it possible to find Scaramanga. However, he has to persuade M for a permission to unofficially travel to the killers' private island, which is located on Chinese territorial waters. The last assignment involves Bond killing Scaramanga, destroying his premises and installations, and taking Goodbye back home. In the last scene, Goodnight and Bond's ignore M's call and continue their romantic encounter.		
M10	*The Spy Who Loved Me*	M uses state-of-the-art technology to call Bond from his love encounter in the Alps. During the meeting, M orders the agent to investigate the case of a British submarine lost in the ocean and to travel to Cairo. In Egypt, it turns out that a Soviet agent, Major Amasova performs a similar mission, investigating the loss of a Russian submarine. Both agents cooperate and capture a microfilm with relevant data, however, Amasova manages to take it over and run away from Bond. Another staff meeting involves M, Bond, Amasova and M's Russian counterpart, General Gogol. It turns out that the microfilm is a fake and Amasova together with Bond are ordered to travel to Sardinia, to meet the suspect, Carl Stromberg.	Bernard Lee	Roger Moore

		After meeting Stromberg, both agents, following a series of fights and escapes, find Stromberg's underwater headquarters, Atlantis. 007 sends a message to M to get some data about Stromberg's tanker, Liparus. M replies by telex, giving the data about the vessel's route and mysterious disappearance. Amasova and Bond are transferred onto USS Wayne, American submarine and follow Liparus. The tanker proves to be a deadly device that "swallows" the submarine. The crew and the spies are taken prisoners and Stromberg reveals his plans to use the captured submarines to launch a nuclear war that will make him the ruler of the underwater world. Stromberg leaves for Atlantis taking Amasova with him and orders his men to start the operation. Bond manages to free the sailors and, after a fight with Stromberg's people, he thwarts the villain's plan. In the next operation, Bond finds and kills Stromberg in Atlantis. He escapes with Amasova. His last contact with M is when his superior together with the Minister of Defence and Gogol see 007 and Amasova spending romantic moments on the escape pod.		
M11	*Moonraker*	M, head of MI6, orders Miss Moneypenny to contact his best agent, James Bond, and have him report in. A shuttle built for the British government has been stolen en route. Bond is summoned to M's office where he also meets Q and the Minister of Defence. They order him to go to California and start investigation by meeting with Drax, the owner of Drax Corporation, the shuttle's manufacturer. Continuing his mission Bond finds himself in Venice, where he checks Venini glassworks. Some kind of liquid that turns into poisoning aerosol is manufactured there. As a result, Bond, together with M and the Minister of Defence appear in Drax's laboratory, which proves to have been converted into an office. Drax laughs at them and the enraged Minister orders M to take 007 off the mission.	Bernard Lee	Roger Moore

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		After Minister's departure Bond manages to persuade M that his suspicions are well grounded, and he gets a permission to travel to Brazil. During the mission in Rio, Bond's American ally, Goodhead, is taken prisoner by Drax but Bond manages to escape and report to M's HQ in Brazil. 007 then finds himself in Drax's centre and, together with Goodhead, is launched into space. Drax's objective is to exterminate the human race with his poison and breed a new human race. Bond and Goodhead prevent this from happening. In the last scene of the movie M and Q see Bond and Goodhead during a gravity-free encounter in the space shuttle.		
M12	*For Your Eyes Only*	Bond's mission is to recapture an ATAC device (Automatic Targeting and Attack Communicator), a valuable defensive and offensive device that the Soviet Union would like to obtain. Having found it, he must crush it over a mountain side to prevent Russian intelligence from taking it over. During M's absence, Bond is instructed by a Mr Tanner and the Minister of Defence. Their encounters are not analysed in the present research.	---	Roger Moore
M13	*Octopussy*	In London, at the MI6 office, M tells Bond about a fake Faberge egg delivered by a dying agent in Berlin and a real on to be auctioned at Sotheby's that day. Bond discovers that the winning bidder is a man called Kamal Khan, whom he follows to India. Kamal cooperates with a Russian general Orlov and manages to imprison Bond. The latter manages to escape and finds himself in the palace of a mysterious woman called Octopussy. The woman proves to be an accomplice of Kamal but does not permit him to kill Bond. The agent, supported by Q travelling to India, contacts M and says that they must meet in Berlin. Following the meeting Bond investigates Octopussy's circus. He discovers a plot to detonate a stolen nuclear bomb in a US military base in West Germany and	Robert Brown	Roger Moore

		thus start a NATO versus Warsaw Pact war. The scheme is thwarted by Bond. Octopussy and Bond separately follow Kamal, whom 007 kills after a dramatic fight on an airplane. Gogol, a Russian intelligence superior, comes to M's London office to congratulate him on Bond's actions. M informs him that 007 is recovering in India after sustained injuries. In fact, Bond spends some romantic moments with Octo pussy.		
M14	*A View to a Kill*	On his return to Britain 007 presents M, Q and the Minister of Defence with a microchip he stole from the Russians. It was manufactured by Zorin Industries and can survive a nuclear explosion. The investigation involves Bond, M and other superiors who visit Ascot Racecourse to see Max Zorin, whose horse wins a chase. Bond then travels to France to meet a detective, Mr. Achille Aubergine, who possesses some knowledge about Zorin's horses. During the meeting, the man is killed by May Day, Zorin's assistant. Bond's chase after her results in considerable damages and Bond being arrested by the French police. The next meeting with M takes place in Paris. The supervisor expresses his disapproval but agrees on the agent's action in Zorin's Palace in France. There, 007 discovers secret laboratories and manages to escape Zorin's murder attempt. Following the villain, Bond travels to San Francisco and, assisted by CIA agents, he discovers Zorin's plot to detonate a mine, flood the Silicon Valley and control the microchip market. In a series of dramatic events, 007 prevents this from happening and saves Stacey, his accomplice. Using a surveillance camera, Q can see them making love at Stacey's home.	Robert Brown	Roger Moore
M15	*The Living Daylights*	Aboard an aircraft, M orders 007 and other agents to perform a military exercise in Gibraltar. One of the agents is killed and Bond fails to catch the assassin.	Robert Brown	Timothy Dalton

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		Then Bond is sent to Bratislava to perform the operation of defection of a KGB General Koskov. Bond refuses to shoot Kara, a girl who aims a gun at Koskov but obviously lacks the skill of a professional killer. Koskov is transferred to a safehouse in Britain where he meets M, other officials and Bond. Koskov informs the British of a KGB operation "Smiert Spionam" (Death to Spies) arranged by General Pushkin. A KGB agent abducts Koskov and Bond is sent to Tangier to locate and kill Pushkin. Bond travels to Bratislava to find Kara and take her away to Vienna. The local intelligence agent informs Bond about Koskov's contact with Whitaker, an arms dealer. Bond and Kara travel to Tangier, where Pushkin reveals that the "Smiert Spionam" is a fake. Felix Leiter contacts Bond in Tangier and provides more information about Whitaker. Koskov captures Bond and takes him and Kara to Afganistan. Koskov uses Russian funds to buy opium, keeps some of the money from its sale and buys arms with the remaining money. The couple manages to escape and cross Koskov's plans with the help of Mujaheddi. Kara stays in the west and is about to pursue her career as a musician.		
M16	*Licence to Kill*	Bond is best man at Felix Leiter's wedding. The ceremony does not preclude them from catching a drug dealer, Sanchez. 007 is about to return to England when he learns that Sanches escaped, heavily wounded Leiter and killed his newly married wife. Bond tries to investigate the case on his own, but he is confronted by M, who comes to America. The agent faces M's criticism, disobeys the orders to abandon the case, declares his resignation and M revokes his right to kill. Bond escapes and continues his operation as a free lancer. Back in London, M tries to trace Bond's whereabouts and anticipate his actions. Together with Bouvier, a female pilot who cooperated with Leiter, Bond manages to get close to Sanches and becomes one of his henchmen.	Robert Brown	Timothy Dalton

		They are joined by Q, who comes to assist them, and one may assume that M knows about this venture. Bouvier and Bond manage to get to the drug manufacturing plant operated by Sanchez. 007 is recognised by one of his people. After a series of fights and escapes, Sanchez is killed and his supplies destroyed. In the final scenes, Bond gets a call from Leiter, who informs him about his health and M's forgiveness.		
M17	*Goldeneye*	The movie starts with a mission in which 007 and another 00 agent (Alec Trevelyan) destroy a Soviet chemical weapons factory. Bond manages to escape, and Alec is presumably caught and killed by the soldiers commanded by Ourumov. Nine years later, Bond is on an assignment to investigate Janus crime syndicate, which possibly involves the participation of the Soviets. He fails to prevent the capture of a NATO modern helicopter by Xenia Onatopp, a mistress of a Canadian AF Admiral. Soon after, Ourumov and Xenia kill the staff of a satellite control station in Siberia and destroy it using Goldeneye satellite. They do not know that one of the staff members, Natalya Simonova, survived. A briefing takes place at MI6 headquarters. This involves an analysis of the situation in Siberia but also an exchange of personal remarks between M and 007. M sends Bond to St. Petersburg to investigate the Goldeneye–Ourumov–Janus connections. From now on, Bond cooperates with a CIA man, Jack Wade. Bond discovers that Janus is his presumably dead colleague, Alec Travelyan. He has a grudge against the British government, its disloyalty, i.e. releasing his Russian parents to Stalin, who executed them. 007 and Natalya find themselves tied up and placed in the Eurocopter, which is programmed to destroy itself. They manage to free themselves and track Janus/Alec as far as Cuba. The villain has a facility that may destroy computer networks and steal money from the banking system.	Judy Dench	Pierce Brosnan

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		After a dramatic fight, Bond kills Alec and prevents his scheme from happening. He flees together with Natalya and they are collected by Jack Wade.		
M18	*Tomorrow Never Dies*	An illegal weapons bazaar is monitored by M and military staff. Bond operates there and escapes in a plane carrying two nuclear bombs. In the next part, one can see a British warship entering Chinese waters because of wrong indications of the satellite system. The ship is sunk by a stealth vessel drilling a hole in its hull. This proves to be the beginning of the operation designed by media mogul, Elliot Carver. He plans to ignite a war between UK and China, and he plans to earn money on broadcasts and press reports. Bond is called to check Carver's actions and he makes a trip to Hamburg. The last instructions are given by M in a car driven by Moneypenny and taking him to the airport. Back in Hamburg, 007 attends a party, where he meets Carver's wife and his former lover, Paris. Carver discovers both their relationship and the nature of Bond's mission. Paris is killed and Bond narrowly escapes being shot. The mission involves another trip to South China Sea where he examines the wreck and encounters Wai Lin, a Chinese intelligence female agent. They are caught by Stamper and imprisoned in Saigon. However, they manage to escape and travel to Carver's stealth ship to destroy it. Carver is killed by Bond, the ship sunk, and the agents picked up by the British Navy.	Judy Dench	Pierce Brosnan
M19	*The World is Not Enough*	At London HQ, Bond meets M and her friend Robert King. Bond brings the money he recovered for King, an investor who is building a pipeline in the Caucasus. The money proves to be an explosive trap killing King. Bond and M attend the funeral service where they meet King's daughter, Elektra. In the past, she was kidnapped by a man called Renard, from whom she managed to escape. M calls a meeting where she declares that MI6 will never be terrorised. She also sends 007 to Baku to protect Electra and investigate Renard's operations. In the course of the action, Bond locates the villain's underground facility handling nuclear weapons. He also meets Dr. Jones, a female scientist and agent.	Judy Dench	Pierce Brosnan

		007 suspects that Renard and Electra are cooperating and Renard plans to cause a nuclear explosion to contaminate existing pipelines and safeguard monopoly for Elektra's installations. M travels to Baku, interviews Bond and is soon imprisoned by Elektra. Sometime after, it is also Bond who is imprisoned. The agent manages to free himself and kill Elektra. M is freed and Bond, together with Dr. Jones get to Renard's submarine. 007 kills Renard and prevents him from the execution of his deadly plan.		
M20	*Die Another Day*	The movie starts with Bond infiltrating an illegal arms fair in South Korea. 007 is caught, imprisoned and tortured. Having been released after over a year, he faces M, who assumes that he might have leaked some vital information and suspends him. 007 escapes and, acting on his own, he follows Zao, his Korean adversary. The chase results in discovering diamonds that bear the crest of Gustav Graves, a British billionaire. The agent finds Graves in London and, after a fencing duel, is invited to a party and demonstration of Graves' technology in Iceland. Before going to Iceland, 007 meets M in one of secret HQ (an abandoned tube station) and is called back to duty. In Iceland he meets his US female partner, Jinx and Graves' assistant, Amanda Frost, presumably an MI6 agent. The stay in Iceland involves meeting Zao, identification of Amanda Frost as a double agent and killing the opponents. Bond also prevents the realisation of Zao and Graves' plan to use the satellite equipped with diamonds to start a war between South and North Korea.	Judy Dench	Pierce Brosnan
M21	*Casino Royale*	Bond, operating in Madagascar, chases Mollaka, a terrorist. He catches and kills him at Nambutu embassy. 007 then meets M, who is furious at him for violating international law. Sometime later, Bond breaks into M's flat and suggests further action. The supervisor criticises Bond and sends him on a short holiday. The agent uses the time to investigate into Mollaka's background and finds Dmitrios, a middleman and Carlos, Mollaka's replacement. He proves to have been hired by Le Chiffre, a trader in weapons.	Judy Dench	Daniel Craig

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		During the game with Le Chiffre, his mistress Valenka poisons Bond, who suffers a heart attack. Fortunately, his homing device makes it possible to contact HQ from his car. MI6 team, supervised by M and assisted by Vesper, rescues Bond, who returns to the casino to win the game. Le Chiffre tries to recover the money and imprisons Vesper and 007. A Mr. White steps in, killing Le Chiffre and liberating the couple. Vesper and Bond are in love. Bond sends M a message with a resignation from his job and gives Vesper the password to the account with the money. In Venice Vesper goes to the bank to collect the money and Bond gets a call from M and asks about the funds. It turns out that Vesper manipulated 007 to take over the government funds. Bond's chase after Vesper leads to a fight in which she dies and the money is taken over by Mr. White, who proves to be the brain of the operation and escapes with the money. In a phone call, M informs bond that Vesper was blackmailed by White's organisation and 007 finds his phone number in Vesper's phone. In the final scene Bond shoots White in the leg and takes him prisoner.		
M22	*Quantum of Solace*	The film opens soon after the events of Casino Royale with Bond driving from Lake Garda to Siena, Italy. With the captured Mr. White in the luggage compartment of his car, Bond is attacked by pursuing henchmen. After evading his pursuers, and killing several of them, Bond arrives at an MI6 safe house. M informs Bond about Vesper's boyfriend who seems to be still alive. They also interrogate White and the session is interrupted when it turns out that White's people are inside MI6. After some shooting and fighting, White disappears. Following White's track, Bond finds a man called Slate. He kills him and takes Slate's identity. Together with Camille Montes, Slate's girlfriend, they find Dominic Greene, a presumed president of an ecological organisation.	Judy Dench	Daniel Craig

		Following Greene, Bond discovers his connections with the CIA and discovers his organisation called "Quantum." Its members meet in Austria during the performance of Tosca. They do not meet face to face but use telecommunication devices. Bond manages to get into the communication system and frightens them suggesting to "find a more secure place to meet." 007 also manages to take and send M some photos of Quantum members. The chase after Greene involves a trip to Laz Paz where Strawbery Fields, a girl from the British Consulate, instructs him to return to England. Instead, Bond seduces her. She will be killed soon, presumably by Greene's henchmen. Bond's operation involves telephone conversations with M, started by either of them. During such encounters, M criticises 007 and, rather ineffectively, gives him orders. Bond tends to control the flow of conversations and ends them in an impolite way. Sometime later, 007 attends Greene's party where he meets Camille accusing Greene of hypocrisy. In fact, Greene's objective is to control water supply and make a fortune on it. After the party, they fail to get to Greene's land acquisition project in the desert. On their return to La Paz, they are met by M and her staff. M informs him about Strawbery Hill's death and blames Bond for his conduct. Bond is ordered to return his weapons and end his mission. Bond refuses to do so and escapes, and M orders her men to monitor 007. She assumes that Bond, who is onto some plot, is still her subordinate. 007 and Camille finally locate Greene in a hotel in the desert, where Greene meets Gen Medrano, a dictator and the Colonel of Police. Greene strikes a deal with Medrano. Bond kills the Colonel of Police and fights with Greene. Finally, he leaves the villain in the middle of the desert, with a can of oil as the only liquid to drink.		

1	2	3	4	5
		At the meeting in the hotel, Greene pays off the Bolivian Colonel of Police, who organized the meeting. Greene then threatens Gen. Medrano into signing a contract granting Greene's company an overpriced proprietary utilities contract in Bolivia, which will be the only source for fresh water for the country. At first, Medrano refuses but Greene counters saying that Quantum is extremely powerful and influential, able to work with or topple any government or dictator and that Medrano could possibly be castrated and replaced with someone else if he does not agree to Greene's demands. Medrano gruffly signs the document and leaves with the money. The last mission is a trip to Kazan in Russia where M indicates the whereabouts of a Yusef Kabira, Vesper's former boyfriend. The man proves to be a Quantum member. Bond submits the man to M for interrogation. M informs him about Greene's death and asks him to resume his position. Bond replies that he has never left.		
M23	*Skyfall*	007 finds an MI6 agent dying of wounds. By means of mobile communication devices he is in touch with M, who orders him to abandon the man and pursue the killer, who took from the agent a hard drive with unknown content. Another MI6 agent, Eve, assists Bond and reports the developments to M. While Bond and the villain fight on the roof of the train, Eve gets an order from M to shoot the villain even though she cannot make "a clear shot." Eve's shot hits Bond, probably killing him. Some months after the event, M faces criticism for her inefficiency and it also turns out that the stolen hard drive contains the names of secret agents. MI6 headquarters are severely damaged by explosion. Bond, who pretended to be dead, returns to London and gets into M's house. He criticises M for ordering Eve to take a shot and declares his will to resume service. This involves passing medical and physical ability tests. Bond removes from his body the bullet which hit him and sends it to analysis.	Judy Dench, Ralph Fiennes	Daniel Craig

		The agent reports to M and meets her superior, a Mr. Mallory. M dishonestly informs Bond that he passed the tests and sends him on another mission. The analysis of the bullet proves that it is the type used by a professional hitman, Patrice. Bond travels to Shanghai and finds Patrice shooting a Chinese businessman. Bond kills Patrice but he is unable to identify the employer. A mysterious woman watches Bond's action. M receives computer messages threatening her and announcing the murders of the agents. In the meantime, Bond pretends to be Patrice and meets the mysterious woman from Shanghai. Her name is Sévérine. The woman warns Bond that his life is in danger. She also says that 007 should kill her employer to save his life. They sail to an island where they are caught by Raoul Silva's men. Silva is a former MI6 agent and he accuses M of betrayal and informs Bond that she sent him on a mission in spite of him failing the tests. Silva kills Sévérine but Bond manages to call for help and take Silva to London for interrogation. M attends an inquiry before an MP committee. This is interrupted by Silva, who managed to escape, and his men. In the shooting that follows, Mallory is wounded. Bond appears on the scene and takes M to his family estate (Skyfall). Silva follows them together with his small army. After a long fight, Bond kills Silva but M dies of a bullet wound. In her last conversation with Bond, she says: "I fucked this up, didn't I?" and he replies: "No. You did your job." On his return to London, Bond finds Mallory as the new M and they both declare cooperation in the future.		
M24	*Spectre*	The new M expresses his anger at Bond's operations in Mexico City. M expresses his concern about MI6 being merged with M16 envisaged by Max Denbigh/C, the new Director-General of Joint Intelligence Service. The merger assumes the creation of a global intelligence programme, including Denbigh's project "Nine Eyes." The suspended 007 meets Moneypenny, who delivers him a video recording. It shows the former M, who orders Bond to find a villain called Sciara, kill him and attend his funeral.	Ralph Fiennes, Judy Dench	Daniel Craig

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		Operating on his own, Bond follows instructions and meets Sciarra's wife, Lucia. She reveals that her husband was a member of a global criminal organisation and 007 manages to sneak into their meeting. Its leader gives an order to kill a "Pale King" and is also aware of Bond's presence, who successfully escapes. Bond knows that Sciarra was to meet a "Pale King" and tries to locate him. Moneypenny identifies "Pale King" as Mr. White, known from Bond's previous missions. Bond finds the man in Austria. He dies slowly poisoned by the criminal syndicate boss as a punishment for leaving the organisation. 007 promises to protect White's daughter and he reveals her whereabouts and shoots himself. In the meantime, M is concerned about Bond's freelance operation and Q lies to him saying that 007 stays in London. In fact, the agent finds White's daughter, a psychiatric and fitness doctor, Dr Madeleine Swann in Hoffler clinic. Soon after, he rescues her from abduction by Frank Oberhauser, the leader of the criminal syndicate Bond investigates. Together with Swan, Bond locates Oberhauser's HQ in a North African desert. They travel to the place, monitored by Moneypenny and Q, who planted Bond with a nanochip to track him. Oberhauser imprisons Swann and 007. It also turns out that he took the name Ernst Stavro Blofeld. 007 is tortured but he manages to destroy the villain's HQ and escape to London together with Swann. A secret conference takes place in London and Bond informs M, Moneypenny and Q about his discovery of Denbigh being associated with SPECTRE. They travel to Denbigh's centre, but they are attacked on their way. M manages to escape but Bond is taken hostage. Blofeld also captured and imprisoned Swann. M meets C and tells him about discovering his plots. Bond sets himself free and finds Swann, and M kills Denbigh. Then, they chase Blofeld, who is found wounded and arrested by M.		Daniel Craig

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The Discourse of M różni się od książek, które do tej pory napisano na temat serii filmów o agencie 007. To nie główny bohater – James Bond – jest przedmiotem zainteresowania autorów, lecz M – osoba będąca szefem brytyjskiego wywiadu (MI6) i zwierzchnikiem Bonda. W postać M wciela się trzech aktorów (Bernard Lee, Robert Brown i Ralph Fiennes) i jedna aktorka (Judith Dench), a każda z tych osób stwarza wyjątkową kreację szefa MI6, reprezentując różne style zarządzania, co ma odzwierciedlenie w języku. To właśnie stało się przedmiotem dociekań badaczy – dyskurs M. Książka ma charakter pracy naukowej. Socjolingwistyczną i pragmatyczną analizę materiału badawczego (wypowiedzi M) poprzedza teoretyczna podbudowa dotyczącą dyskursu instytucjonalnego, krytycznej analizy dyskursu, koncepcji władzy i aspektów pragmatycznych – aktów mowy i uprzejmości. Część badawczą rozpoczyna analiza pozycji M jako szefa wywiadu na przestrzeni lat, na podstawie wypowiedzi bohaterów w różnych konfiguracjach – M-Bond, M-zwierzchnicy czy M o sobie. Dalej obserwujemy, jak zmienia się dyskurs M w poszczególnych odcinkach serii. Jako manager, M wydaje rozkazy, dokonuje oceny i dba o zachowanie najwyższych standardów i swych podwładnych. Książka przedstawia, w jaki sposób każdy z czterech M realizuje swoje managerskie zadania, jaka jest specyfika języka każdego z nich i w jaki sposób za pomocą języka realizują oni swoje cele, a tym samym cele MI6.

The Discourse of M differs from the books written about the 007 series so far. It is not the main character – James Bond – who is the matter of concern for the authors, but M – the head of MI6 and Bond's supervisor. Three actors (Bernard Lee, Robert Brown, Ralph Fiennes) and one actress (Judith Dench) impersonate M, and each of them makes a unique creation of the MI6 head, representing different management styles, which are reflected in language. This becomes the subject for investigation – the discourse of M. The book is of scientific character. A sociolinguistic and pragmatic analysis of the corpus (M's utterances) is preceded by theoretical background concerning institutional discourse, critical discourse analysis, the concept of power and selected pragmatic aspects – speech acts and politeness. The research part begins with an analysis of M's position in MI6 throughout years based on the characters' encounters in various configurations – M-Bond, M-supervisors or M about him/herself. Then, one can observe how the discourse of M changes in particular episodes of the series. As a manager, M orders, assesses and cares for the highest standards and the operatives. The book presents how each of Ms realises their managerial duties, what the specificity of their language is, and how they pursue their goals and the goals of MI6 by means of language.

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