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OTHER NAMES. COMMERCIAL NAMES.

Edited by
Carole Hough
Daria Izdebska



University
of Glasgow

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Other Names
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Why the *Eiger* Became a Sports Outfitter and the *Jungfrau* ('Virgin') a Brewery, While the *Mönch* ('Monk') Remained Disregarded: On the Use of Mountain Names as Company Names

This Michel Fetzler
Switzerland

Abstract

The choice of a company name not revealing the business's purpose, location or ownership is becoming increasingly important. Among this group of 'fancy names', those borrowed from other name categories have been neglected to date. My paper investigates the choice of mountain names as company names in Switzerland. Why do companies choose such names, what sectors are likely to do so and what mountains are chosen? A sample of 1,200 company names whose names contain mountain names can be divided into two main groups. The first group contains companies geographically related to their eponymous mountain and choosing this name to express a sense of localness. The second group consists of companies trying to convey abstract ideas. Values such as trustworthiness, cleanliness or healthiness can be seen as either mountain-related in general or as typically Swiss. These values are expressed by choosing a mountain name. With the rise of alpine tourism, mountains have become the core image of Switzerland. Companies following this strategy usually opt for the names of well-known, touristically developed mountains as well as for unique and euphonic names.

* * *

Introduction

Several company naming categories focus on different kinds of companies, linguistic material or extralinguistic connotations (e.g. Fahlbusch 2011: 56, Wochele 2009: 312-314, Ronneberger-Sibold 2004: 572-573, Latour 1996: 27-28, 38, 44, 76-80, 94-96). For instance, company names in Germany are categorised as a) derived from a person (possessor, founder), b) from the company's purpose, c) the company's seat or area of operation, d) fancy names and e) blendings of these (Fahlbusch 2011: 56).

It is not clear though, which category is appropriate for company names derived from mountains. They could be interpreted as fancy names. Respective examples are usually in transparent names with no clear extralinguistic reference (Fahlbusch 2011: 56). Even clearly geographically inspired names (Kremer 1996: 365, Latour 1996: 79) are not exactly comparable: *Dresdner Bank* and *Nippon Express GmbH* refer to their headquarters or activities (group c) above). This is also true for restaurants named after the mountain they are situated on, whereas the *Jungfrau Bräu* brewery might be situated within sight of its eponymous mount *Jungfrau*, but certainly is not producing beer for this mountain or using parts of it.

The borrowing of names from other categories has been surprisingly disregarded up to date. To my knowledge, only Koß (2008: 11) mentions cases such as *California* cigarettes, while Kuhn (2009) dedicates a study to the use of artists' names as ergonyms in Mexico.

Investigating the use of mountain names as company names should therefore develop a not so mediocre perspective of company name research. Investigating in this field also provides an insight into Swiss cultural history and self-perception.

It has been pointed out that company names and trade and product names must be analysed separately (Sjöblom 2009: 289). As studies on company names are even rarer than studies on trade names (Nübling *et al.* 2012: 278, Wochele 2009: 309), I will nevertheless draw a few parallels between these categories, insofar as they both concern commercial names.

Data

The number of mountain peaks depends on the measuring method, namely the minimal topographic isolation and the minimal topographic prominence. Whatever method, there are several thousand mountain peaks in Switzerland.

Around 1,200 Swiss company names containing a mountain name were extracted from a Swiss telephone directory (www.tel.search.ch) in June 2014. In many cases it was not easy to determine whether a company name was inspired by a mountain name or not. For instance, *Les Diablerets* pharmacy could be named after the respective mountain as well as the homonymous village. Quite certainly the *Eiger* pharmacy in Bern is not referring to mount *Eiger*, but to its seat at *Eigerplatz* 'Eiger square' (which is ultimately named after the mountain). In other cases it is hard to guess whether two entries in the directory really refer to two companies or just two branches. Therefore, the number of companies borrowing their names from mountains cannot be identified precisely.

Company names will only be analysed with regard to their mountain name elements. Annexes referring to a company's legal status (Kremer 1996: 360) as well as other additions will not be taken into account. A *Pilatus* cleaning service would be analysed as *Pilatus* (an *A* is often added to a name to appear on top of the telephone directory). In many cases, the mountain name itself is shortened by a common word such as Swiss German *Horn*. *Morgenberg* sewing studio is certainly related to mount *Morgenberghorn*.

Given the database, the investigation has no diachronic perspective. As mountain names used as company names are subsumed in this study under the category of fancy names, this should not be a problem: this category is just about to become important in company naming (Fahlbusch 2011: 77). Supposedly, most of the names under scrutiny are not very old. Neither will different legal statuses or company sizes be distinguished. Both factors are important parameters in name choice (with regard to the target public as well as the probability of mergers leading to the need of renaming). As the examples will show, most companies concerned are small or medium size. Names denoting non-commercial institutions such as cooperatives will be disregarded.

Sectors

Most of the names are not astonishing: they denote companies directly related to a mountain. This is the case with 225 mountain or aerial railways and most of 451 restaurants and hotels, as well as with 14 camping sites. They are situated on their eponymous mountains, serving people who are visiting them (group c) above).

There are, however, also restaurants named after mountains farther away. The *Lötschberg* restaurant in the city of Bern refers to the homonymous *Lötschberg* mountain pass. As the railway tunnel under this mountain connects Bern with the canton of Valais, the name of the mountain becomes a prototypical motive for a restaurant serving food from Valais.

The second largest name group are 72 garages, e.g. *CarXpert Torrent* (referring to mount *Torrenthorn*). 65 banks bear the name of a mountain. They are local branches of nine credit unions. Another large group with 48 entries consists of sports outfitters and sports facilities such as tennis courts and golf ranges. 38 real estate agencies and 31 financial services or trust companies also follow this naming pattern.

The choice of mountain names seems also quite common among general retail businesses. 28 of these follow the pattern, among them *Adula* bakery and grocery store, *Guggershörnli-Lade* corner shop (referring to mount *Guggershorn*) and *Wiggis-Park* shopping mall (referring to mount *Wiggis*). Similarly, several shops with a specialised profile, such as electric shops, kiosks, clothing stores, bear a mountain name.

Another group is formed by care companies: 27 nursing homes and homes for the handicapped opted for such a name, e.g. *EMS Résidence Dents du Midi* retirement home and *Scalottas* disabled children's home (referring to *Piz Scalottas*). The pattern is also common among other business related to health care. Ten home care companies, e.g. *Säntisbetreuung* (referring to mount *Säntis*), and 30 drugstores/pharmacies, e.g. *Rigi* and *Falknis*, belong to this group, as well as six medical centres and four dentist's surgeries. In addition, there are 14 physiotherapists who have chosen this kind of name, such as *DAN Forum Rigi* and *Ankenbälli*.

The choice of a mountain name is much less surprising for 26 mountaineering agencies and sports schools, e.g. *Active Dreams Weissmies* mountain guide and *Castor* mountaineering school (the latter belongs to *Pollux* sports outfitter; the two names refer to two twin climbing peaks *Castor* and *Pollux* in the neighbourhood).

18 of the companies are active in the field of craftsmanship, e.g. *Alvier* carpenters and *Pilatus* plumbers. Another group is formed by taxis, of which 16 are named after a mountain, e.g. *Piz Aul*, *Speer*. 12 companies can be ascribed to cleaning. Whether three *Pollux* cleaning services really bear the mountain name or are rather related to Greek mythology remains unknown.

A total of 11 dairies have opted for a mountain name. Examples are *Eigermilch*, *Galenstock* and *Napf*. The same number of travel agencies is named after a mountain, e.g. *Calanda* and *Tödi*.

Ten companies in the field of computer services and the same number in air conditioning/heating technologies follow the pattern, among which are *CalandaComp* and *Lopper*. Eight companies with mountain names are takeaways, e.g. *Alpstein Kebab* and

Gonzen Kebap-Hus kebab houses. Six printing companies join the collection, e.g. *Alvier-Druck* and *Siebdruckerei Stockhorn* serigraphy.

Five brewery names refer to mountains, namely *Napf*, *Calanda*, *Hohgant*, *JungfrauBräu*, *Rugenbräu* (referring to mount *Ruuge*). The five media companies bearing a mountain name are *Jungfrau Zeitung* newspaper, *Rigi Anzeiger* gazette, *Radio Kaiseregg*, *Tele Napf* tv productions and *Radio Pilatus*.

Another five companies named after mountains are hairdressers; examples are *Palü*, referring to *Piz Palü*, and *Chavalard*. The same number applies to art galleries such as *Säntis* and *Titlis*.

There are many more companies bearing mountain names, which cannot be listed here in completeness. They remain more or less isolated cases in their field of operation.

Why Choose a Mountain Name at All?

Why would companies adopt a mountain name rather than naming the company's founder or owner, choosing a name describing the company's purpose or seat or a fully intransparent name? Obviously, the choice of a mountain name has to do with connotations this name is hoped to evoke. The importance of connotations in order to create a positive image is well-known in chrematonymy (Bergien 2007: 262, Latour 1996: 20). The question therefore is not why choose a mountain name, but what will customers associate with mountains in general and with particular mountains?

What do mountains stand for? Some might say aloofness, most would agree to some beauty and grandeur. Healthy environment and lifestyle are other catchwords. The respective alpine image of Switzerland is mirrored by one of the world's most popular literary characters, Heidi from Johanna Spyri's 1880 and 1881 novels (Leimgruber 2005: 435):

The simple life in the Alps is associated with affinity to nature, healthiness, cheerfulness and love, city life on the other hand with affliction, donnishness, distance to nature. The world displayed in the stories, the small village and Alm-Öhi have become the embodiment of Switzerland and add to the myth of Switzerland as a country where people live in innocence in the healthy alpine atmosphere. (HLS digital, Heidi, 2014-07-22, translation by This Fetzer)

The picture Heidi portrays is quite the bottom line of alpine Swiss-ness and authenticity and it has become a precious trademark (Leimgruber 2005: 439, 440). *Heidi* itself became the name of dairy products.

This mountainous image of Switzerland evolved gradually (for a summary see Böning 2005). People did not access mountain peaks until the end of the Middle Ages. Humanists were the first people to access mountain tops with scientific aims. Only in the 17th century did young British aristocrats start visiting Switzerland on their classic tour across Europe. Eventually, Switzerland evolved from an intermediate goal of the Grand Tour to a destination on its own. This was partly due to changes in the ideal of natural beauty: while classic beauty favoured nature to be clearly settled and well-organised, alpine grandeur later became the

leitmotif. 18th-century bourgeoisie saw the Alps as exotic, pure and lofty, related to freedom (Leimgruber 2005: 431). Thus, in the late 18th century tourism in Switzerland became equivalent with alpine enthusiasm, and according to Mathieu (2010: 416), Switzerland became the very embodiment of 'the Alpine' in the view of the French and German Enlightenment. In the 19th century, the world's first Alpine Club was founded in England (Mathieu 2010: 417). Mostly British mountaineers such as John Ball, John Tyndall, Leslie Stephen and Edward Whymper conquered the highest Swiss mountain tops. Meanwhile, travelling in Switzerland became more popular within broader levels of the population, which is mirrored in Thomas Cook's first organised tours in Switzerland in 1863.

Thus, the image of the Alps and their residents gradually shifted from rather wild, sometimes lawless, full of poverty and in constant danger from nature, to an idea of virginity, purity, authenticity, unsophisticatedness, but also republicanism: mountains as a hotbed of political and social virtues (Böning 2005: 184, 87-188, HLS digital, Alpinismus, Schweizerreisen, Tourismus, 2014-07-22). A quote from one of the many contemporary travel reports:

[...] Swisserland; a country long celebrated for the peculiarities of its different governments, and for the singular beauties conferred upon it by nature. [...] I have great pleasure in breathing the air of liberty: every person here has apparently the mien of content and satisfaction. The cleanliness of the houses, and of the people, is peculiarly striking; and I can trace in all their manners, behaviour, and dress, some strong outlines, which distinguish this happy people from the neighbouring nations. (Coxe 1779: 1, 6-7)

Summing up, one could say that native scientists first established the interest in mountains which was then assumed by tourists and transformed into an alpine enthusiasm, then adopted by the local population.

The companies choosing a mountain name (apart from the above-mentioned companies directly related to the mountain the business is working on) can be divided into two main groups.

The first group consists of companies which by choosing a mountain name want to convey a sense of localness. They do not refer to how mountains evoke the sublime, but use them as a symbol of their neighbourhood. Of course, the idea of mountains as the core of a sense of home is likewise influenced by the touristic discovery of the Alps. Only the popular alpine enthusiasm beyond a scientific audience could lead to the Swiss self-perception of mountains as the very typical Swiss feature.

This first group prototypically contains companies in the field of home care. By choosing a name such as *Jungfraublick* 'view to mount Jungfrau' for a retirement home, the inhabitants are provided with warm memories of a core feature of their possibly life-long home, a sight they might see every single day of their life. Media companies are another prototypical sector in this group. Regional media can provide a sense of localness by choosing a mountain name. Of the five companies in this sector, four opted for mountains which are well-known. Even the five breweries belong to this group: four of them are small local businesses. The fifth was named after mount *Calanda* after a merger in 1971 (HLS

digital, Calanda Bräu, 2014-07-28; now part of the Heineken group). The case is less clear for other sectors. Probably, most of the retail shops can also be ascribed to this category, simply because there is no need for them to choose a mountain name for any other reason than localness.

The second group consists of companies which want to convey something more abstract. They conceive themselves as bearers of values such as trustworthiness, reliability, assiduity, cleanliness and seriousness. These values are generally seen as typically Swiss. They are obviously important for sectors such as real estate and financial/trust services. Other companies want to portray themselves as related to a healthy lifestyle and cleanliness, which can also be seen as typically Swiss and, even more directly, as alpine. This is important for pharmacies, medical centres and physiotherapists as well as for cleaning services. How could these companies convince their clientele of their core values? Possibly by relating the company to something else that is widely seen as typically Swiss and already broadly being advertised: mountains. Doing so, they would use the existing connotations in a new way, leading to a general idea of being positive. These businesses certainly need not choose a mountain name to prove their local rootedness, because they are less important for the local community than corner shops. Choosing the names *Silvretta-Alpinresort* for a real estate company and *Combin* for a financial service conveys a sense of trustworthiness, maybe also constancy. On the other hand, *Blüemlisalp* and *Piz Ot* pharmacies probably refer to healthiness in general, and *Gonzen* cleaning services to mountainous cleanliness.

Big Swiss insurance companies such as *Zurich*, *Basler*, *Vaudoise* are named after their headquarters, but not after mountains. This is interesting because the image an insurance might want to portray could be very comparable to that of a real estate or financial services company. The reason for this difference in naming might be found in the international target clientele of these companies. As Fahlbusch (2011: 77) points out, international companies nowadays more and more choose intransparent names.

In many cases, there might have been more than one reason for a company's name choice. For instance, when *Galenstock* dairy products chose their name, they might have had in mind a reference to their being part of the local community as well as to a generally healthy alpine lifestyle. Clearly enough, even companies choosing mountain names for more abstract reasons usually opt for mountains in their neighbourhood.

What Mountain Name?

So why did the *Mönch* remain disregarded, while the neighbouring *Jungfrau* and *Eiger* were borrowed many times? Out of all names in the database, a striking number contain the same few mountain names: 64 *Rigi*, 52 *Säntis* and 50 *Pilatus* names contrast with the vast majority of mountain names that never occur in business directories.

Some mountain names are not chosen for linguistic reasons such as non-onymic associations (Latour 1996: 95). For instance, the transparent *Mönch* 'monk' might evoke undesirable associations in the Protestant Bernese Oberland. What associations would this name evoke? The neighbouring *Jungfrau* 'virgin' on the other hand can easily be associated with mountainous purity. The name chosen should also be unique, thus *Rothorn* 'red peak' is

a poor choice simply because too many mountains bear that name. Even more important for something so liable to the rules of marketing (Fahlbusch 2011: 68, Latour 1996: 38, 44) are the pronounceability and euphony of a name. Therefore, Rhaeto-Romance *Piz S-chalambert* could hardly be chosen because it is hard to pronounce. On the other hand, a Rhaeto-Romance name such as *Piz Buin* is an excellent name choice for a sun cream producer: it is unique, somehow exotic and easily pronounceable (Lötscher 1992: 226).

But there are also extra-linguistic reasons influencing the choice of a mountain name. For instance, the traces of early alpine tourism can still be found in company naming: early hotspots are more likely to lend mountain names to companies.

The name chosen most often is mount *Rigi* (eponym for 64 companies), which became one of the very first touristic destinations in Switzerland due to its easy accessibility in Central Switzerland, a region seen as the source of the Swiss political tradition. Europe's first cog railway opened access to the mountain's peak in 1871 (HLS digital, Rigi, 2014-07-23).

Even though mount *Säntis* could never compete with the touristic hotspots in Central and Western Switzerland, the mountain, accessible by aerial cableway since 1935, became the eponym for 52 companies (HLS digital, Säntis, 2014-07-23).

50 *Pilatus* names refer to the *Pilatus* massif, which was first accessed in 1518 by the humanist Vadian. It has been accessible by the world's steepest cog railway since 1889 (HLS digital, Pilatus, 2014-07-23).

The *Matterhorn* has given its name to 46 companies (of which ten chose its French name *Mont Cervin*). The region, with its abundance of 4,000-meter-high mountain peaks, is a natural favourite among mountaineers. Undoubtedly, the *Matterhorn* is the physically most impressive mountain in Switzerland (on the border with Italy). In the 20th century, the *Matterhorn* became a national symbol leading to its use as an advertising vehicle in international marketing (HLS digital, Matterhorn, 2014-07-23).

Mount *Jungfrau* (eponym for 38 companies) was the first 4,000-meter-high mountain ever ascended in Switzerland (by locals in 1811). Situated in the heart of one of the early touristic destinations in Switzerland, the mountain is said to have inspired writers and painters more than any other mountain in the world (e.g. Byron's drama *Manfred*, 1817) and having an international effect on Switzerland's image similar to the one of Schiller's drama *Wilhelm Tell* (1804). The famous cog railway leading to the nearby *Jungfraujoch* built in 1896-1912 makes the high alpine region accessible for both mountaineers and excursionists (HLS digital, Jungfrau, 2014-07-23).

36 companies have borrowed the name of mount *Eiger*. The mountain's famousness was mostly influenced by several attempts to reach the top via the so called *Nordwand* 'north face', particularly the first successful ascent by Anderl Heckmair, Ludwig Vörg, Heinrich Harrer and Fritz Kasparek in 1938 (HLS digital, Eiger, 2014-07-23). Thus, two companies named *Nordwand* should be added to the *Eiger* names: *Nordwand* human resource services and *Nordwand* rope construction works.

The 28 *Aletsch* company names refer to either mount *Aletschorn* or (more likely) to the *Aletschgletscher*, the largest glacier in the Alps. Since the 19th century, huts, railways and aerial cableways stimulated tourism around the glacier, which became part of the UNESCO world natural heritage in 2001 (HLS digital, Aletschgletscher, 2014-07-23).

Piz Bernina is the only 4,000-meter-high peak in the Eastern Alps. Its beauty was subject to a poem by von Tschanner in 1789 (HLS digital, Bernina, Piz, 2014-07-23). 25 companies named *Bernina* could have borrowed their name from the mountain as well as the *Berninapass* mountain pass.

Mount *Moléson* has lent its name to 20 companies. The mountain has been attracting European tourists since the late 18th century. First projects for touristic infrastructure were opposed by environmentalists as early as 1905-1908, following which the mountain was seen as the embodiment of the virgin mountain and pristine Switzerland. However, modern infrastructure including an aerial cableway was installed after the Second World War (HLS digital, 2014-07-23).

11 companies took their names from mount *Niesen* with its typical pyramidal shape. The mountain was the inspiration for a poem about the two mountains Stockhorn and Niesen discussing faunal issues (Aretius 1561, see Schneider 2012/2013: 644). Despite a funicular leading to the mountain's top since 1910, its closeness to much higher and more famous mountains restricts the importance of mount *Niesen* (HLS digital, Reichenbach im Kandertal, 2014-07-24).

Piz Palü has given its name to seven companies. Though quite high and impressive, it is also a bit far away from civilisation but gained some famousness with the silent film *Die weisse Hölle vom Piz Palü* ('The White Hell of Piz Palu') with famous actress Leni Riefenstahl in 1929.

One single company chose the name of *Piz Beverin*, a prominent mountain in central Grisons. This mountain is particularly far away from international tourism.

The above selection of the most common and a few other mountain names shows: the closer to a hotspot of international tourism and the more touristically developed a mountain, the more often it is chosen as a company name. There are exceptions though: Mount *Säntis* is situated far away from the classic routes. But even in regions such as the Grisons, which have had a great touristic development (e.g. the still glamorous St. Moritz Winter Olympics venue 1928 and 1948; HLS digital, Engadin, 2014-07-23), mountain names (*Piz Bernina*, *Piz Palü*) become company names less often. The *Rugenbräu* brewery on the other hand is located close to the Interlaken hotspot in the Bernese Oberland, but it is named after a minor mountain amidst the highest peaks.

So why were the *Eiger* (intransparent name) and *Jungfrau* 'virgin' borrowed for businesses such as event agencies, pharmacies, sports outfitters, garages, tool producers, hairdressers, real estate companies, photo studios, newspapers, travel agencies, financial services, breweries, while the *Mönch* 'monk' remained disregarded? Not only are the ideas associated with monks less attractive than those associated with virgins (in the sense of purity). More important, while *Jungfrau* and *Eiger* are of high touristic interest, the *Mönch* remains a mountain focused only by mountaineers.

Special cases

Some company names are striking because the associative link between their sectors and mountains does not seem obvious.

Yoga is associated with Far Eastern traditions, not with Swiss mountains. But choosing a mountain name for a yoga company (*Lischana*, *Rigi*) could transform something exotic into something local by emphasising the common characteristic of calmness. Similarly, the choice of mountain names for air conditioning/heating technology companies might refer to alpine coldness.

The choice of a mountain name for takeaways such as *Alpstein Kebab* could similarly link exotic food with a sense of local identity. This name might also be comparable to the name of *Piz Aul* taxi, which possibly bears a mountain name to signal localness not of the business, but of its owner. Taxis are often operated by foreigners, e.g. *Matterhorn Taxi* by Asim Eljezi. Choosing a typically Swiss name could be a promising strategy for foreigners to prove localness.

In a few cases, naming a company after mountains seems inadequate: what is the commonality of mountains and art galleries or clothing stores unless they display and sell traditional or modern mountain-related items? It is similarly hard to understand why a travel agency would choose the name of a mountain: why would someone who is planning a travel choose a company referring to a place they can possibly see every day, e.g. *Alpstein Reisen* travels? Maybe the naming pattern of borrowing mountain names has become independent by means of copying it in sectors that are not at all related to mountains such as the many garages named after mountains.

The company names and sectors mentioned up till now show that mountain names are mainly the choice of small and medium size companies with a Swiss clientele. There are, however, a few larger companies with such names. *Vilan* was the name of a department store chain in Eastern Switzerland, which is nowadays part of the *Manor* chain. The name no longer used referred to a not-so-prominent mountain. *Six Madun* used to be the name of a building services company, which is now called *Tobler Service*. The name referred to *Six Madun*. *Säntis* was the name of a dairy company, which merged with another company to *Swiss Dairy Food* in 2002. The trademark rights were bought by a local cooperative but are currently not in use. *Bernina* is the name of a sewing machine brand belonging to a company named *Fritz Gegauf AG*. The name is widely used for the producer as well (HLS digital, Bernina, 2014-07-23). One might assume the machine was not actually named after *Piz Bernina* or *Berninapass* mountain pass, but after the railway crossing this pass since 1910, thus the name would not refer to mountain loftiness, but to technical progress. *Pilatus Flugzeugwerke* airplane factory was founded in 1939 close to the eponymous mountain in order to foster the development of the Swiss air force (HLS digital, Pilatus Flugzeugwerke, 2014-07-23). As the first three examples show, larger companies seem to tend not to use names referring to local toponyms any longer; a finding that corresponds to that of Fahlbusch (2011: 77).

Conclusion

Some companies choose mountain names to convey a sense of localness (e.g. homes, media, gastronomy), while others try to propose more abstract ideas such as trustworthiness and cleanliness (e.g. financial services, pharmacies). These ideas can be associated with Switzerland, which on the other hand can be ideally represented by the picture of mountains.

Contrary to Kuhn's (2009: 297) findings about Mexican companies, Swiss companies borrowing their names from names of another category are interior-oriented. They choose a local or regional name. The exterior-related aspect of this naming pattern is the fact that the image of Switzerland and its mountains as a hotbed of serenity and trustworthiness dates back to the country's discovery as a travel destination mainly by foreign travellers. In second place, this has become common Swiss self-perception.

The names chosen are usually derived from well-known mountains mostly in the company's neighbourhood. Mountain names are chosen by companies addressing a Swiss target public, while big international companies rarely occur in the database.

It would be interesting to investigate how national self-perception is expressed in company names in other countries such as Austria with its quite different history in a similar landscape. Another question that still awaits research is how the targeted customers actually perceive the names chosen by companies who opt for mountain names.

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