

みんなくりポジトリ

国立民族学博物館学術情報リポジトリ National Museum of Ethnology

The Surviving Whale-Tooth : Cultural Significances of Whale Products in Oceania

メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2010-02-16 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): Oceania whale-tooth commodity subsistence whaling sustainability 作成者: 秋道, 智彌 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00004253

The Surviving Whale-Tooth: Cultural Significances of Whale Products in Oceania

Tomoya AKIMICHI*

The use of whale products in Oceania was investigated, particularly those of whale meat and whale teeth. In Oceania such sea creatures as whales, porpoises, dugongs and sea turtles have been captured for human consumption, as a commodity for trade, and as materials for tools. Harpooning and driving techniques are common, but stranded whales are also utilized in some areas.

Cultural significances of whale products lie in the realm of socio-economic and ritual transactions. Whales are, like other fish species, treated as important media of exchange and commodities for trade. Whale teeth, especially those of sperm whale, and porpoise teeth are extensively employed as ornaments and wealth. Porpoise teeth (*lifo i'a*) are especially the important local money together with shell disc money (*tafuli'ae*) in Malaita, Solomon Islands. Sperm whale teeth have been widely used in Oceania, and are culturally important as *ngaw* in the Carolines and *tabua* in Fiji. Hawaiian *lei palaoa* also gives a unique example of whale teeth as a divine pendant.

Some of these whale and porpoise teeth have come to be disused but others still persist even today, as the contemporary use of *tabua* and *lifo i'a* suggest. This does not simply mean that the traditional culture has survived in the modern world, but that it has persisted diversely in the economic, social and ritualized aspects of the cultural construction. We are challenged to become aware of the need for the sustained use of whale resources with direct participation of the people involved.

INTRODUCTION

In the Pacific, the sea provides food and other necessities for subsistence and social activities. For food and other purposes, many species of fish, sea

* 1st Research Department, National Museum of Ethnology

Key Words : Oceania, whale-tooth, commodity, subsistence whaling, sustainability
キーワード：オセアニア，鯨歯，商品，生存捕鯨，持続性

turtles, dugongs, cetaceans, molluscs, and invertebrates are used by the indigenous human populations. In just one society, we can find out the inventory of some hundreds of vernacular fish names reflecting the wide variety of locally available sea creatures used as food [TITCOMB 1972; AKIMICHI and SAUCHOMAL 1982]. Non-food commodities include the various kinds of shell valuables employed as bride wealth and local currency [QUIGGIN 1979], some of which may enter trade networks such as the *kula* ring, an indigenous trading network of the Massim people in Papua New Guinea [MALINOWSKI 1961].

Whale has been used, like other marine taxa, both for food and non-food purposes. In contemporary discussion of aboriginal versus commercial whaling, whale is generally regarded as a source of meat, and other uses are assumed to be trivial. Recent studies of small-scale coastal whaling reveal quite a wide range of aspects [AKIMICHI *et al.* 1988; TAKAHASHI *et al.* 1989: 105-133; TAKAHASHI 1992].

Whale products include meat, baleen, oil, bones, ambergris, and teeth, and these are used for local subsistence or become commodities for exchange [*cf.* PETERSON 1991: 1-16]. The purposes of whaling are varied, and in a cultural relativistic sense the status of whaling can only be defined within a particular historical and cultural context. The purposes also depend on the species of whale and its abundance [OHSUMI 1980].

Indeed, there is no reason to believe that meat is the ultimate goal for any type of whaling worldwide. What is valued most in one society is less praised and often discarded as useless in another society. The major purpose of European whaling by the mid-nineteenth century was apparently whale-oil extraction and baleens, whereas among many small-scale whaling communities in the world (*e.g.*, Inuit, Ainu, Japanese, the Pacific Islanders and Bequian) whale was used mainly for meat but also served other uses [EVANS 1987]. It is hard to distinguish primary and secondary uses and to treat minor uses as trivial. There are no universal rules. Subsistence and symbolic functions cannot be measured on the same scale, even if they are not completely independent.

Using ethnographic materials and supplementary field data of the author, this paper aims to describe the use of whale products in Oceania, and particularly those of the whale tooth, in order to broaden views on the cultural significance of whale¹⁾. Contemporary debates on whaling have focused upon the northern parts of the Pacific and the Atlantic while the tropical areas such as insular Southeast Asia and the southwestern Pacific appear to be almost completely forgotten. Despite these areas being historically exploited by whaling

1) The original article was presented to the workshop on Utilization of Marine Living Resources for Subsistence at Taiji, Japan held between Jan. 21st and 23rd, 1992. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Fukuzo Nagasaki, Director of the Institute of Cetacean Research for inviting me to the symposium. I also greatly appreciate comments and suggestions provided to my paper by all the participants of the symposium.

nations, small-scale indigenous whaling still continues. As we see below, the uses of whale products are extensive and deeply bound to social functions and cultural values. I will begin by reviewing the commoditisation of whale products in Oceania.

WHALING AND OTHER HUNTING IN OCEANIA

In Oceania, marine organisms have been essential for the livelihoods of people. Canoes, nets, hooks, line, spears, harpoons, stone weirs, traps, and fish poisons are employed to capture renewable natural resources [ANELL 1955; REINMAN 1967]. Some of the materials used to capture marine organisms are obtained from marine organisms. For instance, bonito hook is made of mother-of-pearl shells and tortoise shell [BELLWOOD 1979]. Many of the processing tools for manufacturing fishing gears are also made from marine organisms. Files made of skins of shark and rays, and drill points of shells are such examples [EMORY 1975].

Hunting

Among marine organisms, whales, porpoises, dugongs and sea turtles are targets for hunting for the Pacific Islanders. These large and medium-sized animals are more important in some areas than others. In Torres Straits region, the Kiwai-speaking people and the Torres Straits Islanders are widely known as marine hunters using hand harpoons for dugongs and sea turtles [HADDON 1971; LANDTMAN 1927]. A harpoon with a detachable single-barbed or barbless point lashed with a long rope is thrown from the bow of a double outrigger canoe or an outboard engine boat (dinghy) [NIETSCHMANN 1985, 1989]. Previously, a man would wait on a special platform built on the shallow reefs where dugongs come to feed [HADDON 1971: 166-169]. To the south of Torres Strait, inhabitants of Cape York in Australia also used harpoons for dugongs and sea turtles [THOMPSON 1943]. They still do, under laws allowing indigenous subsistence pursuits²⁾.

In Indonesia, inhabitants of two villages on Lembata Island, one of the Lesser Sunda Archipelago, harpoon sperm whales as well as porpoises, manta rays, and sharks [BARNES 1974]. Using sailing boats, which convert to oar power at close range, whaling is conducted by fourteen crews, each consisting of one helmsman, one harpooner and several oarsmen. It should be noted that hunting is naturally an opportunistic activity, and that hunters depend to a large degree on chance discoveries, as well as having specific targets. Hunting for mammals and fishing for fish are not separate activities.

In Manus of the Admiralty Islands, a harpoon is used for sea turtle, shark,

2) Peter Matthews Personal Communication, March 3, 1992.

dugong and porpoise. The gear might have been introduced to the area in the 1930s during the German mandates [CARRIER and CARRIER 1989; AKIMICHI n. d.].

In Malaita of the Solomon Islands, porpoise hunting is undertaken using a drive-in technique. Both the Lau of the northeast coast and the Sa'a of the southeast coast are known to engage in porpoise hunting [IVENS 1930; DAWBIN 1966], but it was also said to be held in eastern parts of the Solomon Islands. In Malaita, porpoise hunting is locally called *otoasi* or *oto asi kirio* (*oto*; to poke)³⁾. Twenty or thirty dugout canoes take part in the drive during the calm monsoon season (November to March). Once a school of porpoise is found, all the canoes start to encircle and move toward shallow waters. Meanwhile a center paddler on each canoe takes a large stone in each hand and clangs them together under water, in order to chase the porpoise to the shore by the sound. A number of men and women on the coast await to help encircle and chase the porpoise to the beach. When the porpoise are trapped, people beat them to death [DAWBIN 1966].

In Polynesia, porpoise hunting used to be conducted in Tuamotu and Marquesas. The hunting method is similar to that undertaken in Malaita of the Solomon Islands. A school of porpoise is chased by canoes to a shallow place. Paddles and stones are employed for making sounds. Driven porpoises are seized by hands and then killed [EMORY 1975: 215-216; HANDY 1923: 176].

Among the Maoris in New Zealand, the harpoons used in the Archaic period were probably for seal and fish [SKINNER 1973: 63-73]. It is not clear if the Maori hunted whales by harpoons, as in the later period harpoon heads were rarely found in the archaeological sites [BELLWOOD 1979].

To Tonga, modern whaling was said to be introduced around the end of the last century by the English. Whaling has been conducted on a small-scale since then, but ceased in 1978 [EVANS 1987: 273]. Harpoons are used for hauling captured whales [VAEA and STRAATMANS 1954: 209-210].

Caroline Islanders in Micronesia also engaged in porpoise hunting using a drive-in technique into a shallow lagoon. It was of greater importance in the past than today [KRÄMER 1937: 236-237]. For instance, in Woleai atoll porpoise used to be hunted every year until 1954, by threatening porpoise with the sounds of stones pounded together [ALKIRE 1968: 280-289]. In Mokil of eastern Micronesia, porpoise are said to be harpooned [REINMAN 1967].

Thus, in the tropical Pacific islands, sea mammal hunting for porpoise and dugongs is an ordinary marine exploitation like fishing. Harpooning is, however, found only in the Lembata, Torres Straits, Manus, Tonga and Mokil, while in other parts, the driving technique seems to be common. Both Manus

3) 竹川大介 (Takekawa Daisuke) Personal Communication, Dec. 21, 1991.

and Tongan cases are post-contact examples. It should be noted that porpoise driving is strikingly similar throughout the Pacific, especially the use of stone pounding for threatening porpoise. Other than these cases, captures of dugongs and small porpoise by net are often reported. In Palau of Micronesia, dugongs used to be speared from a canoe or caught by net [KRÄMER 1926; JOHANNES 1981].

Stranded Whales

Besides hunting and fishing, a capture of stranded and drifting whales and porpoise is common in Oceania. For instance, the ancient Hawaiians took drifting or stranded whales. These animals were claimed as property of the chief, not of the commoners, and were used for preparing ornaments and bone tools [TITCOMB 1972].

Among the Maoris of New Zealand, self-stranded sperm whales were utilized as food and materials for manufacturing goods, although people did not hunt whales. In Tahiti, a whale was killed when one became stranded in shoal water or reefs [OLIVER 1975: 286]. Similarly, use of stranded whales was reported in other parts of the Oceania; Samoa [BUCK 1930], Bellona [KUSCHEL 1975], and Rennell [CHIKAMORI 1987].

SEA MAMMALS AS FISH

Hunting of whales and porpoise in Oceania exhibits a localized distribution, rather than widespread as an ordinary subsistence means. On the other hand, the use of self-stranded whales appears to be common, though not a daily activity.

As noted above, sea mammal hunting and fishing are often simultaneous processes involving similar methods. Folk-zoological classification show that people regard both sea mammals and fish as belonging to one category, which may be loosely translated as "fish" or "sea-creatures."

Among the Austronesian speakers in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, it is commonly found that fish and other sea animals are termed *ia*, or *ika* (**ika* of PAN)⁴. In Polynesia and Fiji, *ia* or *ika*, a life-form category which includes fish, is often applied to whale and porpoise [BROWN 1984]. According to the Hawaiian nomenclature, for instance, a generic term for whales and dolphin is

4) The semantic domains which *ia* or *ika* cover, is not however, the same among the societies involved. For instance, while such typical fish species as bonito, snapper, and parrotfish are sorted as members of *ia* or *ika*, an inclusive category of fish, the status of sharks and rays, octopi, shellfish, sea-cucumbers, whales and porpoise in the classification are not *a priori* determined. These animals are often classed as a member of fish, but often either as an anomalous existence, between fish and human beings, or as one of the distinct categories which bear non-fish life-forms.

kohola in which humpback whale (*kohola*), sperm whale (*kohola kepama*), killer whale and dolphin (*naia* or *nuaa*) are named. Drifted or stranded whales are particularly termed as *palaoa*. A lack of a distinctive nomenclature for as many as sixteen species recorded in Hawaii suggests limited use of whales [TOMICH 1969: 43-51, 123-124]. Similarly on Bellona, a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands, whales and porpoise (*tahonga'a*) are included into the broad category of fish or *ika*. These mammals are also sorted cross-sectionally [cf. ANDERSON 1972] under several categories such as large fish, humanoides, and fish with back and belly fins (Table 1) [KUSCHEL 1975]. Note that whales and porpoise are classed into four different categories.

In Satawal, a raised coral island in the Central Carolines of Micronesia, both whales (*rááw*) and porpoise (*kuúúw*) are classed as fish (*yiik*) together with other bony fish [AKIMICHI and SAUCHOMAL 1982]. A whale is sometimes called *yikinnap* (*lit.*, big fish) and porpoise as *yikirhik* (*lit.*, small fish). Yet these are, at the same time, perceived as having human attributes⁵⁾ [HIJIKATA 1933; AKIMICHI 1984].

Among the Lau of Malaita of the Solomon Islands, a comprehensive category that includes any kinds of sea creatures is *i'a*. It covers not only fish but also a variety of sea creatures such as porpoise, dugong, turtles, octopi [AKIMICHI 1978]. Porpoise are generally termed *kilio* or *i'a ni kilio*. Similarly, dugong is termed *i'a tekwa*, literally "short fish" suggesting the presence of a short snout as a distinctive trait.

Table 1. Cross-Sectional Categories and Whale

Inclusive Category	Subordinate Category
<i>ika tu'utu'u</i>whale, porpoise, skipjack, tuna, Pacific sailfish, bayonetfish (Large Fish)	
<i>ika saukatoa</i>whale, porpoise, Spanish mackerel, green jobfish (Fish with long, round bodies)	
<i>ika ngaangaa</i>shark, whale, porpoise, swordfish, Pacific sailfish, bayonetfish (Fish with back and bellyfins)	
<i>pengea</i>turtle, whale, porpoise (Humanoides)	

[KUSCHEL 1975: 34]

5) Yet there is a slight discrepancy as to the sex attributes of porpoise. It is mentioned in the Ulithian and Woleaian folk tales that porpoise resemble a girl when unskinned [LESSA 1961; ALKIRE 1968]. I have also found a folk tale concerning a porpoise girl who married a human male [AKIMICHI 1984]. Exceptionally, on Satawal, there is recorded a custom to suggest that porpoise are associated with males. When a male baby is delivered, men shout "kyui, kyui," announcing in public that a boy was born [HIJIKATA 1933]. Thus whale and porpoise are regarded as a quasi-human existence.

In the Maramasike, south of Malaita, where migrants from the Lau area have settled in the village of Fanalei, porpoise are called *kirio*. They are also grouped as a member of fish *i'a*. People divide them into seven named categories: *unu bulu*, *ra'a*, *goumudu*, *robo tefe*, *robo manale*, *robo ba'a* and *kwai robo* [TAKEKAWA n.d.]. Despite a lack of data, large-tooth members of the *robo* group may be identified as Risso's Dolphin (*Grampus griseus*) [DAWBIN 1966] while others as *Stenella* spp.

Indonesian whale hunters on Lembata also classify sperm whale as *ialaru* (*lit.*, fish of joints). Sperm whales are ordinarily labeled as *kotan kelema* but at sea it is called *ikan* or fish when harpooned [BARNES 1974].

By these examples, whales and porpoise, sometimes together with dugongs and sea turtles, are generally labeled as members of a "fish" domain, and not as an independent folk taxon. In a sense, it is correct to say that a whale is a fish and an animal [SEBEOK 1988: 63–76].

Of great importance is not the claim for cognitive identity of whales and porpoise with fish, whether they are cognates or not, but their integration within the larger categories of sea life perceived by people, and their significance for human communities. Debate about the labeling of whales as fish is not relevant here [*cf.* HAMAGUCHI 1990: 27–55].

WHALE PRODUCTS IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Whale products help fulfill people's own daily food needs, and also serve cultural and social functions in exchange and other transactions. Whale meat is used extensively for daily consumption and as a commodity for trade. Whale oil is also traded in Indonesia [BARNES 1989]. Whale bones are good material for tool manufacture. Superb examples of Maori carving are often made of whalebones. The war clubs known as *koitiata* and *wahaika* are well-known examples [BELLWOOD 1979: 400–404; MEAD 1985]. The spine may also be used as a sitting stool as I observed once on Mouklen Island of Manus in 1988. Other use of whale bones includes a weaving shuttle or *huri* [BARNES 1989], fish hooks, betel nut pestles [FIRTH 1967] and needle for roofing [KOCH 1965: 154]. Whale teeth are particularly important for ornaments and as a kind of money. In the following sections, the specific roles of meat and teeth of whales will be examined in their cultural contexts.

Whale Meat

In the tropical Pacific, ethnographic examples of whale meat used as food are common. In some societies it is regarded as better food than fish and meat, while in other societies whale is strictly prohibited or avoided. Whether whale meat can be eaten or not depends on many and varied criteria: categorization, frequency of appearance, spirit embodiment, sex sensitivity, magic, aid or harm

to men, and so on [FIRTH 1967]. Although some criteria seem important among a greater number of societies than others, none of them appears universal.

As one extreme of use, for the Maori of Polynesia, whale meat would be the largest food source for the coastal people. They ate from stranded whales. Whale meat, bird meat and dried fish foods were kept in an elevated storehouse *pataka*. On a barge-board (*maihi*) of such a storehouse a whale design would be used [PHILIPS 1952: 95, 130-131]⁶. In Marquesas, Tonga, and Tuamotu, porpoise meat is consumed to some extent when a school of porpoise is successfully hunted.

In societies such as the Sa'a (Solomon Islands) and the Lembata (eastern Indonesia) where whale hunting is seasonally undertaken, meat is consumed during the hunting season in case of the Sa'a, or dried for extended consumption during the rest of the year. In Lembata only ten sperm whales are said to be enough to suffice the yearly needs.

How to use stranded or drifting whales depends, however, on the culture involved. For instance, meat of stranded whale (*ras*) is welcomed and eaten by the people of Ulithi in the Central Carolines [USHIJIMA 1982: 57-58]. The Rennellese of a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands also welcome the stranding of whales and sharks as gifts from the supreme god [CHIKAMORI 1987]. The Anutans, the people of another Polynesian outlier of the Solomon Islands, eat flesh of whale [FIRTH 1967].

Curiously, the Tikopians' attitude to stranded whales is negative although their culture is similar to that of Rennell and other Polynesian outliers in the Solomon Islands. The islanders of Tikopia used to bury the carcass for fear of attacks from the outside world if eaten. Whales were believed to embody a supernatural deity that brings disease.

In Satawal of Micronesia, both whales and porpoise are never hunted, and a strict food taboo prohibiting the eating of whale and porpoise meat is applied. The avoidance whale and porpoise meat is associated with the pseudo-human nature of whales, porpoise, sharks, ray and sea-snakes, which are termed generally as *yikinngaw* (*lit.*, bad fish) [AKIMICHI 1984].

Totemic beliefs are often the basis of taboos on food. Food taboos exist where whales and porpoise are regarded as ancestral deities. Some clansmen on Woleai atoll, and on Bellona Island, where whale is regarded as their original ancestor, do not eat whale [ALIKIRE 1968; KUSCHEL 1975]. In Hawaii, porpoise are generally not eaten due to their bad smell, although some

6) The motif has been explained as representing the hauling of a whale (*pakeke*), the head of which is represented as a large scroll. The overlying motif of this large whale is the personal *atua* of the chief, which is represented by a bird-man-like figure or *manaia*. It is apparent that the motif of a whale illustrates the Maori desire for good luck and abundance of food [PHILIPS 1952].

natives eat them to some extent [TITCOMB 1972]. It is not clear if food prohibition is associated with the totemic beliefs.

Defining whales as ancestral embodiments, as quasi-human, as a deity, or as a gift from a deity may represent multiple arrays of people's cognition and attitudes towards whale.

Whale Teeth

In Oceania, the teeth of many animals provide materials for ornaments, valuables and currency⁷⁾. For instance, teeth of porpoise and sperm whales but also those of fish, dogs, cuscus, fruit bats are used as currency and valuables [QUIGGIN 1979]. In the case of cetaceans, not only large teeth of sperm whales, but also small porpoise teeth and fish teeth are important as ornaments and a commodity for exchange.

In the Yap society of the Caroline Islands, a necklace of *Spondylus* and *Chama* shell discs with the teeth (*ngaw*) of sperm whale (also *ngaw*) is important for exchange [USHIJIMA 1987] (Photo 1). The raw materials of this necklace are brought through an islands-trading network which also forms a

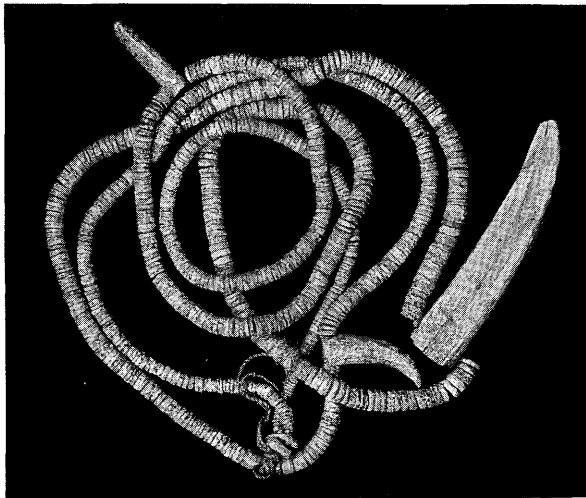


Photo 1. *Ngaw* in Yap. (Sperm-Whale Teeth and *Spondylus/Chama* Shell Discs)
[NME No. 10216]

7) In Oceania various kinds of marine products are utilized as a source of so-called custom money. Golden and black lips (*Pinctada*), giant clam (*Tridacna*), Cone shells (*Conus*), *Spondylus*, *Chama* and *Nassa* are major entries. These shells are manufactured genuinely as a unit or units of money for practical and ritual transactions. Teeth of animals are also used as custom money. Especially, those of a whale, porpoise, dog, flying fox, and pig are employed. Tusks or lower jaws of pigs are also used as money in Melanesia.

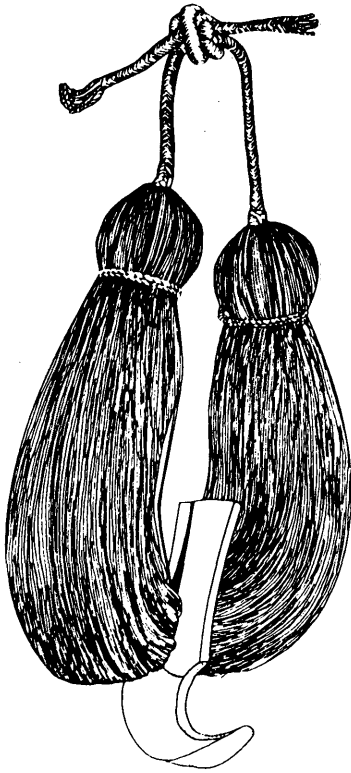


Figure 1. *Lei Palaoa* in Hawaii

political and religious tie between Yap and low coral islands as far as 1,500 km eastwards [LESSA 1950]. Whale teeth were excavated from Nan Madol relics of Ponape. Assemblages of shell artifacts and shell discs together with whale tooth suggest the use of whale tooth as ornaments [HAMBRUCH 1936: 41]. In the Gilbert Islands, porpoise teeth have been collected as currency [QUIGGIN 1979: 126] and are also used as ornaments. On Baiputu of the Ellice Islands, excavated whale-teeth pendants (*lei*), porpoise bones and teeth (*tui pugapuga*) and pendants of whale bones might be prized possessions [KOCH 1961].

In Hawaii, the term *lei* is generally applied to neck as well as head ornaments. Among various ornaments in Hawaii, a necklace made from the ivory of a sperm whale is the most spectacular (Figure 1) [HIROA 1964: 534-538]. This necklace is called *lei palaoa*. Its importance was regarded as only to the feather cloak, and was owned by kings and chiefs. Perforated whale teeth were also stung on human hair cordage. Similar necklaces were also

manufactured from pig bone, wood and even stones. *Lero*, the curved part of sperm-whale teeth, symbolized the dignity of the gods in Hawaii. The *lei palaoa* may have represented the protruding tongue (*lero*) of a god. This notion is also supported by the excavated materials for ivory pendants in other parts of Polynesia. From New Zealand, Society, and Marquesas a series of whale pendants were excavated as shown in Figure 2 [COX 1967]. Ornaments of whale teeth were excavated from sites on Mangareva and Chatham.

The use of whale teeth as ornament is also found extensively in western Polynesia: i.e., Samoa, and Tonga where a necklace of ten to twenty whale teeth connected with a string is utilized as a symbol of the king or chiefdom. In the Ellice Islands, whale teeth (*nifo tafola*) with polished mother-of-pearl shell were treated as valuables [KOCH 1961].

In Fiji, breast and throat ornaments carved from sperm whale teeth were also important valuables. Fijian whale-tooth pendants were made by immigrant canoe-building craftsmen and their descendants after arriving in the late 17th century from Samoa and Tonga. A necklace of sperm whale teeth

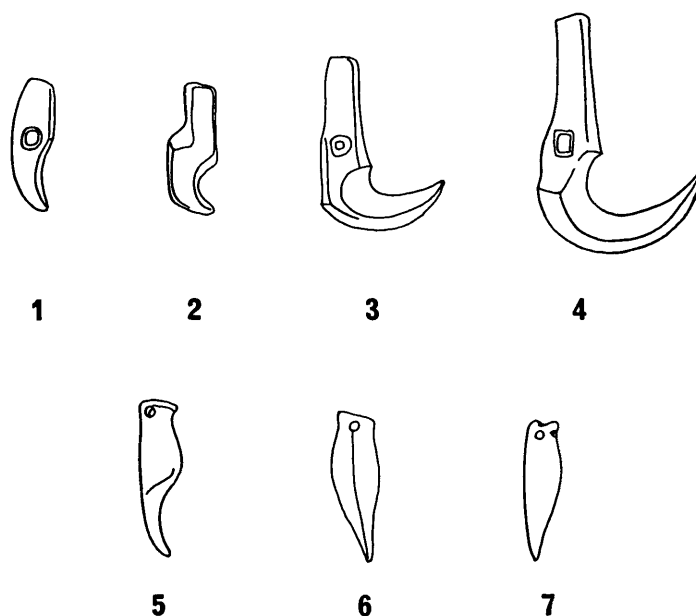


Figure 2. Development of Whale-Tooth Pendants in Hawaii (1~4) with three early Polynesian examples (5~7) [after COX 1967]

was termed *sisi* and was highly valued. After the early 18th century, the sabre-toothed necklace (*wāseisei*) was also made, in response to the introduction of metal tools and an increase in sperm whale teeth brought by whalers and merchants (Photo 2). Before the introduction of sperm whale teeth, those of the short-finned pilot whale (*Globicephala macrorhynchus*) or false killer whale (*Pseudorca crassidens*) were used for necklaces (*vuasagale*). Another source says that a rare shell which is called *cava* or *sauwaga* might be used instead of whale ivory [DERRICK 1957: 9]. Round breastplates (*civa*) were also made from plates split from sperm whale teeth. Originally, it was worn as armour against arrows.

Among all the Fijian ornaments, a pendant of a tooth which was called *tabua* was much praised (Photo 3). *Tabua* was originally made not only from whale teeth but also wood and stone. However, since the frequent visit of whalers to Fiji, it became easier for the Fijian to obtain raw materials of whale teeth, and the Fijian started to use whale teeth. Teeth were also inlaid on clubs (*saulaki vonotabua*, *iulatavatava vonotabua*), headrests, earlobe ornaments (*saunidaliga*), needles, and dartheads (male dart: *ulutoatagane*; female dart: *ulutoayalewa*, used for a competitive and sexually charged dart-throwing sport).

During the 19th century, whale teeth brought by whalers from Polynesia

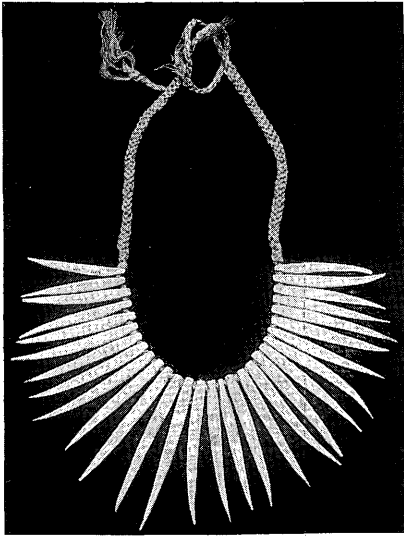


Photo 2. Whale-Teeth Necklaces in Fiji
 [Top: NME No. 136389,
 Bottom: NME No. 136390]

were valued in some parts of the Solomon Islands, especially, in Simbo area and on Ontong Java [IVENS 1972: 392-395; BENNETT 1987: 30].

In Malaita of the Solomon Islands, porpoise teeth (*lifo i'a*) are an important media for exchange and bride wealth [IVENS 1930; ROSS 1978] (Photo 4). It is first used in the daily transactions when buying vegetables, coconut, bundles of sago leaves, and lime for betel-chewing. In marketplaces located along the coastal areas of Malaita, agriculturalists of the hillsides and interiors bring vegetable foods whereas fisher-folks bring fish and marine products.

As seen above, whale teeth, large and small, are valuables in many societies. Whale teeth do not deteriorate. Furthermore, they are difficult to obtain. Whale teeth become therefore a sound basis as a medium of social exchange.

Distribution

The massive whale body is not usually owned and consumed by only one or two persons or families. Often, particular distribution principles are applied to whales, as is common among northern whaling cultures [WORLD 1980: 305-320].

On Ulithi atoll for instance, two slices from the head were first given to the head chiefs of two groups, each composed of some 130 residential subgroups, respectively. What

remained of the whale head was then turned over to the paramount chief of the island. Of the remaining carcass, the upper part was divided among members of one group and the lower part among members of the other. With the first catch of large fish such as skipjacks and large trevally, the fish are dissected and

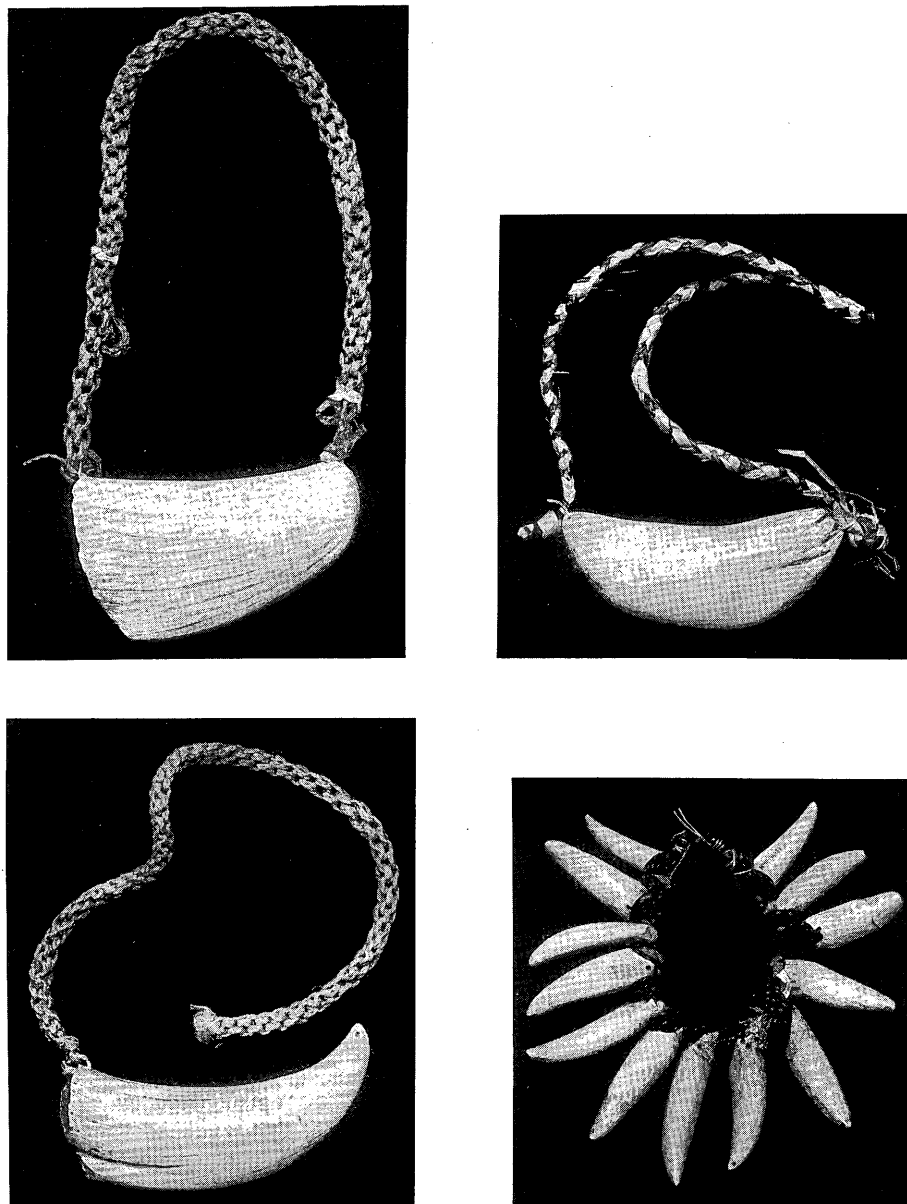


Photo 3. Whale-Teeth Necklaces in Fiji
[Top left: NME No. 136335, Top right: NME No. 136336,
Bottom left: NME No. 136338, Bottom right: NME No. 136388]

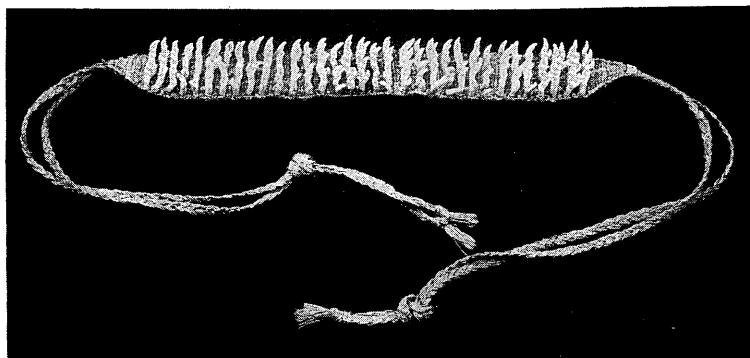


Photo 4. Porpoise-Teeth Head Bands in the Solomon Islands
[NME No. 124851]

distributed in a similar manner between the two groups [USHIJIMA 1982]. This practice suggests distribution of whale meat among members of a given society follows general social codes within that society, in this case a dichotomous social organization, and chiefly dominance.

Similarly, on Woleai atoll, porpoise meat was distributed according to principles of sex and magic. Tail parts, including the last two or three feet were given to women, while men could not eat these parts. Although no data available as to this taboo, it might be associated with the pollution perceived in eating the sexual organs of porpoise. Note that porpoise are regarded as female. The flippers were given to a magician who conducted taro magic after the porpoise were caught [ALKIRE 1968]. The other parts were distributed to commoners. In Lembata, captured sperm whale is also dissected according to local principles into many sections for home consumption and trade.

Among the Fanalei of southern Malaita, if one hundred porpoise are caught, then the carcass of the individual porpoise cut into twelve pieces, and all the pieces (namely, 1,200) are shared equally among participants of the porpoise hunt. Meat is then bartered by individuals at local marketplaces or sold in the urban area of Honiara. The price of porpoise meat per kilogram was about two and a half Solomon dollars (about one US dollar) in 1991 [TAKEKAWA n.d.].

The distribution of porpoise teeth is distinct from that of meat. Teeth are shared according to the number of men in the village. Those who did not take part in the fishing as well as widows are also given half of the normal share. Two codes are apparent; one is that meat and valuables should be distributed equally, and the second is that meat is distributed only among participants of the hunt whereas teeth are shared among members of the community. One

8) 志村悦子 (Shimura Etsuko) Personal Communication, Jan. 4, 1992.

piece of porpoise tooth (*lifo i'a*) costs forty cents in 1990. Another source says that three pieces of small teeth of porpoise cost ten cents whereas one piece of big teeth costs \$ 1.00⁸⁾.

In Hawaii, as we have seen, stranded whales were claimed as property of the chief or king. In New Zealand, it is said that the Maori had disputes over the coastal location where whales frequently stranded. Claim to a particular coast by the group was apparently important for provision of whales as a resource. Priority claims to stranded whales were thus closely associated with political power, and with land ownership in the society. The way to distribute meat and teeth of whales and porpoise clearly demonstrate that several sets of cultural values are invested in these species.

Trade and Exchange

Whale meat and teeth, were often exchanged or traded with other groups. The way such transactions were performed reflects certain regular social codes.

In Lembata, meat and oil are used as an item for barter trade between fishermen and agriculturalists of the inland where animal protein is under chronic shortage. Dried whale meat is traded by adolescent girls and young women to villagers in the mountains. Maize, sweet potato and cassava are major goods they get in return [BARNES 1989]. When whale meat is not available in the months of October through March, *ikat* cloth woven by women in the fishing village is used as a substitutes. Woven cloth is important as bride wealth. Ambergris is also traded to Timor [BARNES 1989].

The barter of whale meat and fish for vegetables and other food is widely found in the Pacific Islands. In New Zealand, coastal Maoris had their own economic trading networks with inland groups, and they bartered whale meat for potatoes and edible ferns. In Malaita porpoise teeth are still used as local currency together with the modern Solomon dollar. In ordinary market transactions, both local and national currency are used for dealings, involving taro, sweet potato, fish, pigs, and betel nuts. Each commodity is rated and sold against two currencies, namely the local currency of shell money and porpoise teeth, and the Solomon Islands national currency. For instance, if one stalk of banana is purchased, it can be paid for by either ten porpoise teeth or 10 shillings. Local cooked food and pigs can be paid for with 2 to 50 porpoise teeth [Ross 1978: 119-138] or with cash. Shell moneys and porpoise teeth are also used as bride wealth. They are also used for reciprocal gifts, for the services of priests and others, and for compensation payments and fines.

In Fiji, whale teeth pendants were presented as marriage tokens, as atonements, and in quests of particular favors, the core of social exchange. In the arrangement of marriage, whale tooth *tabua* is ceremonially presented to initiate the proposal from the kindred of the boy to the kindred of the girl. If the request is rejected, the *tabua* is given back to the boy's kindred. If it is ac-

cepted, the girl's kindred carry a large kava root to the boy's kindred. Whale teeth and kava are thus used as important media of ritualized transactions [SAHLINS 1962: 176]. Clunie speculates that this ornament might be a fetish for fertility magic because it has morphological affinity with the breasts and female sexual organ [CLUNIE 1986]. Exchange of this valuable thus may represent the transfer of a woman who is reproductively potent from one group to another.

Besides the ritualized transactions mentioned above, *kerekere* is conducted as the daily and prevailing economic transactions. It enables for individuals of family members, relatives and friends to give and take daily commodities that include practically the entire inventory of material culture. Even in the "serious" *kerekere* whale tooth and kava are used. For instance, one whale tooth given to the partner in exchange is equivalent to six baskets of yams [SAHLINS 1962].

The Surviving Whale Tooth

Migrants from Funa'afou Island of north Malaita where I stayed in 1974-75, and 1990, have started to settle in Honiara, the Solomons capital city since the early 1950s. They have created a "Fishing Village" there after the model of their original village on Malaita. They are expert fishermen [AKIMICHI 1978], engaging in both subsistence and commercial fishing [AKIMICHI 1991: 11-27]. While in Honiara, migrant fishermen conduct fishing exclusively for selling fish to town dwellers, using purse seine nets, gill nets and lines. With purse seine nets a great number of schooling fish are caught.

In July of 1990, nine Risso's dolphins were caught by purse seining. The meat was either consumed or sold at the town market. The teeth of porpoise were either kept by urban dwellers or given as gifts to kinsmen in the "Fishing Village" of Honiara and Funa'afou. This new business reminded the people of their traditional culture of porpoise teeth money [SHIMURA 1990: 11-13].

When a priest died in early August during my stay on Funa'afou island in the same year, many sets of shell money *tafuli'ae* were given to the patrilineal lineage of the deceased. Apart from the lineage to lineage and clan to clan exchanges of wealth in the funeral rites, two pieces of tiny porpoise teeth were presented to all who sat by during the funeral as a return (*olimai*). Porpoise teeth remain valuable in the culture of Malaita, even if their use as a general currency has declined.

In New Britain, *tambu*, strings of *Nassa* shell money, have been used as the traditional exchange media [LEWIS 1929: 12-13; QUIGGIN 1979]. Traditional money was used only for customary affairs while cash was for non-traditional economic activities. However, under the influence of economic changes, the role of traditional moneys has been transformed [EPSTEIN 1968], and even the *tambu* has come to be used as cash, and is still persisting in the modern world

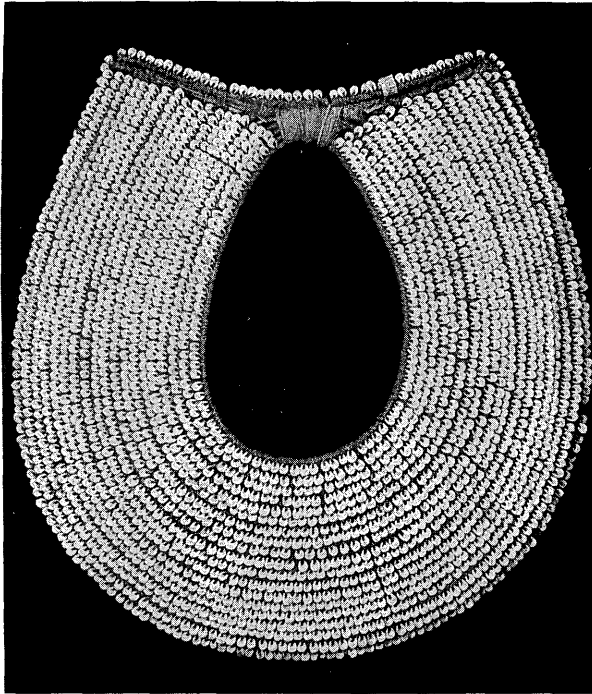


Photo 5. *Nassa* Shell Chest Ornaments of the Tolai, New Britain Island
[NME No. 136616]

[SIMET 1992] (Photo 5). *Tabua* in Fiji can now be obtained from the pawn shop in the urban area at the price of 15 to 40 Fijian dollars. However, in the ritual and traditional transactions it gains more than that value, and people can order a house with only one *tabua* [HASHIMOTO 1984: 198–208].

The changing role of whale-tooth money in the Oceanian setting is apparent. In some areas it has declined, but in other parts it has still kept its cultural significances. At the same time, how whale-tooth money persists differs depending on the contexts and according to the cultures.

As we have seen, sea-mammal products in the Pacific are not minor and trivial, but are significant in diverse ways according to the cultural contexts. Meat is used as food by only some local communities, while teeth are extensively used for social transactions in many parts of the Pacific. The valuables in Melanesian and other Pacific societies are challenging us to consider the need for sustainable use of whale resources in their cultural contexts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AKIMICHI, Tomoya
 1978 The Ecological Aspect of Lau (Solomon Islands) Ethnoichthyology. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87 (4): 301-326.
- 秋道智彌 (AKIMICHI, Tomoya)
 1984 「悪い魚」と「良い魚」——Satawal 島における民族魚類学『国立民族学博物館研究報告』6 (1): 66-133。(Bad Fish or Good Fish——The Ethnoichthyology of the Satawalese (Central Caroline Islands, Micronesia). *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 6 (1): 66-133.) (In Japanese)
 1991 Sea Tenure and Its Transformation in the Lau of North Malaita, Solomon Islands. *South Pacific Study* 12 (1): 7-22.
 n. d. 「資源は誰のものか：水産資源への戦略と変容」『地球に生きる：資源への文化適応』東京：雄山閣出版 (印刷中)。(Who Owns the Resource? Strategy and Transformation on the Use of Marine Resources. Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan (in press).)
- AKIMICHI, Tomoya and Sabino SAUCHOMAL
 1982 Satawalese Fish Names. *Micronesica* 18: 1-34.
- AKIMICHI, Tomoya, Harumi BEFU, Stephen R. BRAUND, Helen HARDACRE, Arne KALLAND, Brian D. MOERAN, Pamela J. ASQUITH, Theodore C. BESTOR, Milton M. R. FREEMAN, Masami IWASAKI, Leonore MANDERSON, and Junichi TAKAHASHI
 1988 *Small-Type Coastal Whaling in Japan*. Occasional Publication No. 27, Joint Publication of Japan Social Sciences Association of Canada and Boreal Institute for Northern Studies.
- ALKIRE, William H.
 1968 Porpoises and Taro. *Ethnology* 7: 280-289.
- ANDERSON, Eugene N. Jr.
 1972 The Ethnoichthyology of the Hong Kong Boat People. In Lou Tsu-K'uang (ed.), *Essays on South China Boat People*, Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs 29, Taipei: The Orient Cultural Service.
- ANELL, Bengt
 1955 *Contribution to the History of Fishing in the Southern Seas*. Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia 9, Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri AB.
- BARNES, R. H.
 1974 Lamalerap: A Whaling Village in Eastern Indonesia. *Indonesia* 17: 137-159.
 1989 *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera: A Study of an Eastern Indonesian Weaving Tradition*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- BELLWOOD, Peter
 1979 *Man's Conquest of the Pacific*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- BENNETT, Judith A.
 1987 *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of a Pacific Archipelago, 1800-1978*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- BROWN, Cecil H.
 1984 *Languages and Living Things: Uniformities in Folk Classification and Naming*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- BUCK, Peter (Te Rangi HIROA)
 1930 Samoan Material Culture. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 75.
- CARRIER, James G. and Achsah H. CARRIER
 1989 Marine Tenure and Economic Reward on Ponam Island, Manus Province. In J. Cordell (ed.), *A Sea of Small Boats*, Cultural Survival Report 26, Cambridge: Cultural Survival, Inc., pp. 94-120.
- 近森 正 (CHIKAMORI, Tadashi)
 1987 『サンゴ礁の民族考古学—レンネル島の文化と適応』東京：雄山閣出版。(The

- AKIMICHI The Surviving Whale-Tooth: Cultural Significances of Whale Products in Oceania
Changing Pattern of Fishing Activities on Rennell Island. Tokyo: Yuzankaku Co.)
- CLUNIE, Fergus
 1986 *Yalo i Viti: Shades of Viti.* Suva: Fiji Museum.
- COX, J. Halley
 1967 The Lei Niho Palaoa. In G. A. Highland *et al.* (eds.), *Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 56, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, pp. 411–424.
- DAWBIN, W. H.
 1966 Porpoises and Porpoise Hunting in Malaita. *Australian Natural History* 15 (7): 207–211.
- DERRICK, R. A.
 1957 *A History of Fiji.* Vol. 1, Suva: The Colony of Fiji at the Government Press.
- EMORY, Kenneth P.
 1975 *Material Culture of the Tuamotu Archipelago.* Pacific Anthropological Records No. 22, Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.
- EPSTEIN, T. Scarlett
 1968 *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth.* Canberra: Australian National University.
- EVANS, Peter G. H.
 1987 *The Natural History of Whales & Dolphins.* London: Christopher Helm.
- FIRTH, Raymond
 1967 Sea Creatures and Spirits in Tikopia Belief. In G. A. Highland *et al.* (eds.), *Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 56, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, pp. 539–564.
- HADDON, A. C.
 1971 Hunting and Fishing. In *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits: IV Arts and Crafts*, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, pp. 152–171.
- 浜口 尚 (HAMAGUCHI, Hisashi)
 1990 「クジラと暮らし—捕鯨文化の継承のために」『社会人類学年報』16: 27–55。(Whale and Life: Sustainability of Whaling Cultures. *Annual Report in the Social Anthropology* 16: 27–55.)
- HAMBURCH, Paul
 1936 *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908–1910, II. Ethnographie: B. Mikronesien Band 7, Ponape 3. Teilband.* Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co.
- HANDY, E. S. C.
 1923 The Native Culture in the Marquesas. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* 9.
- 橋本和也 (HASHIMOTO, Kazuya)
 1984 「タンブア (鯨齒) の象徴分析—フィジーにおける儀礼的交換の意味」『現代の人類学 4 象徴人類学』至文堂, pp. 198–208。(Symbolic Analysis of Tabua -Significance of Fijian Ritual Exchange. *Symbolic Anthropology*, Tokyo: Shibundo, pp. 198–208.)
- 土方久功 (HIJIKATA, Hisakatsu)
 1933 「サタワル島における漁法並に漁魚乃至魚に関する呪儀、禁忌その他」『人類学雑誌』56 (6): 310–326。(Fishing Methods, Fish and Fishing Magic and Taboos. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 56 (6): 310–326.)
- HIROA, Te Rangi (Peter H. BUCK)
 1964 Arts and Crafts of Hawaii: Section XII Ornaments and Personal Adornment. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication* 45, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- IVENS, Walter G.
 1930 *The Island Builders of the Pacific.* London: Seeley, Service & Co.
 1972 *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands.* New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc. (first published in 1927)
- JOHANNES, R. E.
 1981 *Words of the Lagoon: Fishing and Marine Lore in the Palau District of Micronesia.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

- KOCH, Gerd
 1961 *The Material Culture of Tuvalu*. Suva: University of the South Pacific.
 1965 *Materielle Kultur der Gilbert-Inseln*. Berlin: Museum für Volkerkunde.
- KRÄMER, Augustin F.
 1926 *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908–1910, II. Ethnographie: B. Mikronesien Band 3, Palau 3. Teilband*. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co.
 1937 *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908–1910, II. Ethnographie: B. Mikronesien Band 10, Zentralkarolinen I. Haibband*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co.
- KUSCHEL, Rolf
 1975 *Animal Stories from Bellona Island (Mungiki)*. Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark.
- LANDTMAN, G.
 1927 *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.
- LESSA, William A.
 1950 Ulithi and the Outer Native World. *American Anthropologist* 52: 27–52.
 1961 Tales from Ulithi Atoll. *Folklore Studies* 13.
- LEWIS, Albert B.
 1929 Melanesian Shell Money in Field Museum Collections. *Field Museum of Natural History Publication* 268, *Anthropological Series* Vol. 19 No. 1.
- MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw
 1961 *The Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.
- MEAD, Sydney Moko
 1985 *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
- NIETSCHEMANN, Bernard
 1985 Torres Strait Islanders Sea Resource Management and Sea Rights. In K. Ruddle and R. E. Johanness (eds.), *The Traditional Management of Coastal Systems in Asia and the Pacific*, Jakarta: Regional Office for Science and Technology for Southeast Asia, UNESCO, pp. 125–154.
 1989 Traditional Sea Territories, Resources and Rights in Torres Strait. In J. Cordell (ed.), *A Sea of Small Boats*, Cambridge: Cultural Survival, Inc., pp. 60–93.
- 大隅清治 (OHSUMI, Seiji)
 1980 「クジラの資源について」西脇昌治編『海洋学講座13 資源生物論』東京：東京大学出版会。(Whale Resource. Nishiwaki Masaharu (ed.), *Marine Resources and the Population Biology*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, pp. 138–146.)
- OLIVER, Douglas L.
 1975 *Ancient Tahitian Society Vol. 1 Ethnography*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- PETERSON, Nicolas
 1991 Introduction: Cash, Commoditisation and Changing Foragers. In Nicolas Peterson and Toshio Matsuyama (eds.), *Cash, Commoditisation and Changing Foragers*, Senri Ethnological Studies No. 30, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, pp. 1–16.
- PHILLIPS, William J.
 1952 Maori Houses and Food Stores. *Dominion Museum Monograph* No. 8, Wellington: Government Printer.
- QUIGGIN, A. Hingston
 1979 *A Survey of Primitive Money: The Beginning of Currency*. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.
- REINMAN, Fred M.
 1967 Fishing: An Aspect of Oceanic Economy. *Fieldiana: Anthropology* 56.
- ROSS, Harold
 1978 Baegu: Markets, Areal Integration, and Economic Efficiency in Malaita, Solomon Islands. *Ethnology* 17 (2): 119–138.
- SAHLINS, Marshall D.

- AKIMICHI The Surviving Whale-Tooth: Cultural Significances of Whale Products in Oceania
- 1962 *Moala: Culture and Nature on a Fijian Island*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- SEBEOK, Thomas A.
1988 'Animal' in Biological and Semiotic Perspective. In Tim Ingold (ed.), *What is An Animal?*, London: Unwin Hyman, pp. 63-76.
- 志村悦子 (SHIMURA, Etsuko)
1990 「ホニアラのイルカ」『勇魚』13 (13): 11-13. (Dolphins in Honiara. *Isana* 13 (13): 11-13.)
- SIMET, Jacob
1992 *The Persisting Tambu*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Canberra: Australian National University.
- SKINNER, H. D.
1973 Maori Use of the Harpoon. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 46: 63-73.
- TAKAHASHI, Junichi, ARNE KALLAND, BRIAN MOERAN, and THEODORE C. BESTOR
1989 Japanese Whaling Culture: Continuities and Diversities. *Maritime Anthropological Studies* 2 (2): 105-133.
- 高橋順一 (TAKAHASHI, Junichi)
1992 『鯨の日本文化誌—捕鯨文化の航跡をたどる—』京都: 淡交社. (*Culture History of Whaling in Japan*. Kyoto: Tanko-Sha.)
- 竹川大介 (TAKEKAWA, Daisuke)
n.d. Dolphin Hunting in South Malaita, Solomon Islands.
- THOMPSON, Donald F.
1943 The Dugong Hunters of Cape York. *Royal Anthropological Institute Journal* 64: 237-262.
- TITCOMB, Margaret
1972 *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii.
- TOMICH, P. Quentin
1969 Mammals in Hawaii: A Synopsis and Notational Bibliography. *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication* 57, Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- USHIJIMA, Iwao
1982 The Control of Reefs and Lagoons; Some Aspects of the Political Structure of Ulithi Atoll. In Machiko Aoyagi (ed.), *Islanders and Their Outside World, A Report of the Cultural Anthropological Research in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia in 1980-1981*, Tokyo: Committee for Micronesian Research, pp. 35-75.
- 牛島 巖 (USHIJIMA, Iwao)
1987 『ヤップ島の社会と交換』東京: 弘文堂. (*Society and Exchange in Yap Island*. Tokyo: Kobundo.)
- VAEA, HON and W. STRAATMANS
1954 Preliminary Report on a Fisheries Survey in Tonga. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 63: 199-215.
- WORLD, R.
1980 The North Slope Inupiat Whaling Complex. In Yoshinobu Kotani and William B. Workman (eds.), *Alaska Native Culture and History*, Senri Ethnological Studies No. 4, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, pp. 305-320.

鯨歯と文化：オセアニアにおける海産哺乳類利用とその文化的意義

秋 道 智 彌

インドネシア島嶼部をふくむオセアニア各地では、古来より、クジラ、イルカ、ジュゴンなどの海産哺乳類が、他の魚類・無脊椎動物とともに利用されてきた。これらの哺乳類は食用としてばかりでなく、さまざまな道具や財貨、あるいは通貨としても幅広く利用されてきた。クジラ、イルカ、ジュゴンなどを捕獲する方法としては、もり（インドネシア東部のレンパタ島、トレス海峡諸島）、追込み漁（ソロモン諸島マライタ島、ツアモツ諸島）などがもちいられた。漂着したクジラを利用することもひろくおこなわれた。

オセアニアの民俗動物分類では、クジラ、イルカ、ジュゴンは魚類とおなじ分類カテゴリーにふくめられる事例が多い。また、クジラやイルカを、女性、あるいは霊的・超自然的な存在とみなす地域もある。

クジラ・イルカ、ジュゴンを食用とする社会では、肉の分配原理に関する詳細な慣習が存在する。食用とされない社会では、その理由はさまざまに普遍的根拠はない。

一方、クジラ、イルカ類の歯は、とくに通貨や財宝として社会経済的にたいへん重要な役割をはたした。ハワイ諸島のレイ・パラオア (*lei palaoa*)、フィジーのタンブア (*tabua*) やヤップ島のガウ (*ngaw*)、パンドウイルカの歯を使ったマライタ島のリフォ・イア (*lifo i'a*) などの事例がそれにあたる。現在でも、こうした財貨が儀礼的な場面や日常の取り引きにもちいられている。オセアニア地域におけるイルカやクジラの歯の利用に関する文化的な意義を、文化の持続性という観点から提起することができる。