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Maritime Diaspora and Creolization: Genealogy of the Sama-Bajau in Insular Southeast Asia

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the population dispersion and ethnic formation of the Sama-Bajau, one of the most distinctive “sea peoples” in the Southeast Asian maritime world. With a population of approximately 1,100,000, most Sama-Bajau inhabit shorelines or islands, and subsist through sea-oriented activities. Their settlements dispersed widely in the Sulu Archipelago in the southern Philippines, Sabah of Malaysia, and eastern Indonesia. No other indigenous ethnic group in insular Southeast Asia is distributed as widely as the Bajau.

The purposes of this paper are (1) to demonstrate population distribution and socio-cultural grouping of the Sama-Bajau, (2) to explore patterns of their population diaspora to elucidate some geo-demographic features of the Sama-Bajau in eastern Indonesia, and (3) to understand the dynamics of ethnogenesis of the Sama-Bajau to reconsider the patterns of their geographical expansion. First this study expounds on the socio-cultural grouping by classifying the Bajau into four sub-groups. Then it traces the diasporic expansions of the Sulawesi Bajau in search of marine products from southern Sulawesi to the east and south, extending as far as the northern coast of Australia. Finally, the conclusion shows that the Bajau population in eastern Indonesia has become scattered widely, not merely because they have migrated repeatedly, but also because they have continued to form maritime creoles in their destinations by accommodating peoples of various origin.

INTRODUCTION

This article addresses the population dispersion and ethnic formation of the Sama-Bajau, one of the most distinctive “sea peoples” in the Southeast Asian maritime world. The Southeast Asian maritime world is defined here as socio-cultural ecosphere of Southeast Asia, which is bound tightly through the seas. Geographically, it consists of insular Southeast Asia and the adjacent coasts of continental Southeast Asia (Figure 1). “Sea peoples” designate a prototypical group that has been formed by the ecological environment of this maritime world,

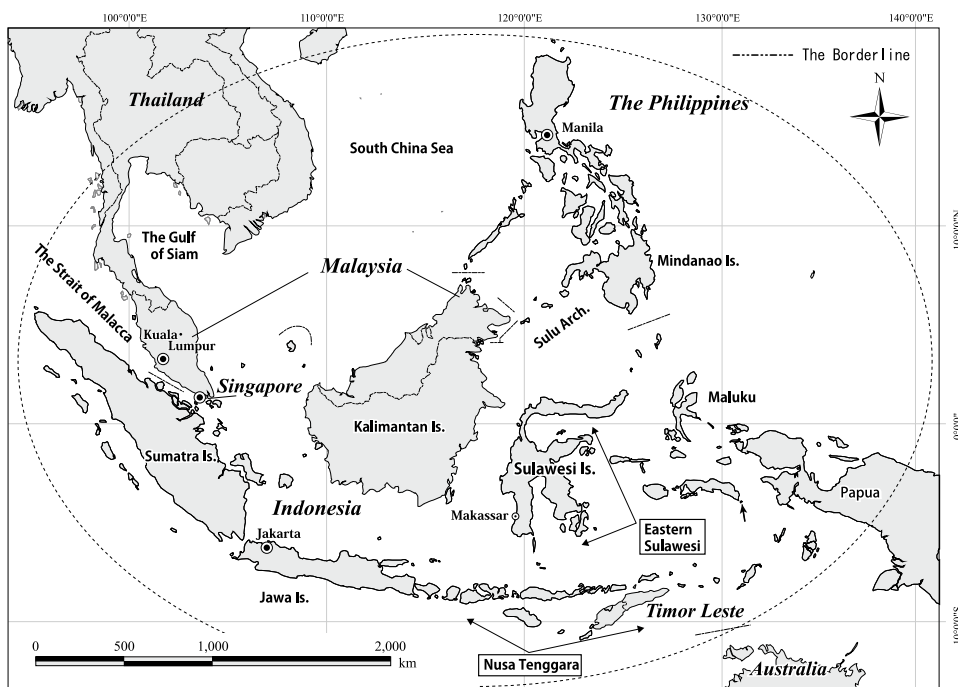


Figure 1 Southeast Asian maritime world and the two focused regions

Source: This map was produced using BPS (2000) and the maps downloaded from GADM (2009) online (<http://gadm.org/>). Hereinafter, BPS (2000) and the maps of GADM (2009) are designated as “digital base maps.”

an archipelagic region characterized predominantly by tropical seas and rainforests¹⁾.

The settlements of the Sama-Bajau are distributed widely in the Sulu Archipelago, in the southern Philippines, Sabah State of East Malaysia, and eastern Indonesia. With an approximate population of 1,100,000, most of the Sama-Bajau inhabit shorelines or islands, and make a living by sea-oriented activities such as fishing, inter-island trading, seafaring, and cultivation of coconut palms, among other activities. Since some groups of the Sama-Bajau, like the Sama-Dilaut in the Sulu Archipelago, spent their entire lives on houseboats on the sea until the mid-twentieth century, they have been often represented as “sea nomads” or “sea gypsies” in the European literature (e.g. Taylor 1931; Sopher 1977 [1965]).

This article aims at (1) demonstrating population distribution and socio-historical grouping of the Sama-Bajau, (2) exploring patterns of their diaspora and inter-regional social relations, in order to depict some geo-demographic features of the Sama-Bajau in eastern Indonesia, and (3) understanding the dynamics of ethnogenesis of the Sama-Bajau as a maritime creole to reconsider the patterns of their geographical expansion. Although initially this article overviews the Sama-

Bajau in general in the Southeast Asian maritime world, its central focus is directed toward the Sama-Bajau in eastern Indonesia, particularly those in eastern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara (the Lesser Sunda Islands) (Figure 1).

I have conducted intensive and extensive fieldwork for this study from 1994 to the present in a number of Bajau settlements and some other groups of sea peoples in insular Southeast Asia. The research sites and periods of the research

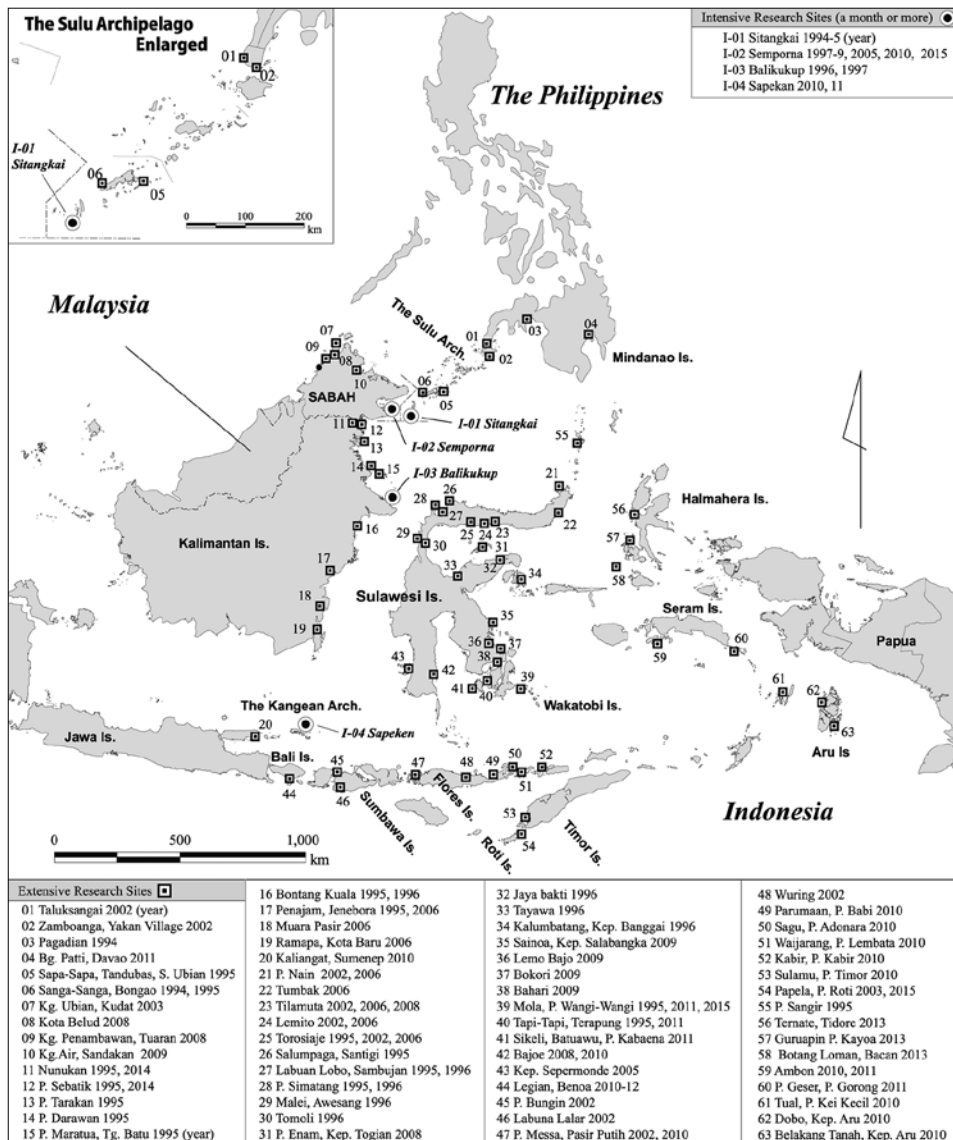


Figure 2 Selected sites of intensive & extensive fieldwork the author conducted during 1994–2015

Source: The author plotted the sites on “the digital base maps.”

are shown in Figure 2²⁾. The discussion and analysis of this article are based on data obtained during the fieldwork, the GIS (Geographic Information System) and census data, especially those taken in 2000 in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia (see [Census] in References), historical sources, and published literature.

The first section of this article expounds on the preceding studies on population distribution of the Sama-Bajau, then maps their settlements based the GIS and 2000 censuses, and divides them into several sub-groups by socio-cultural trait. The second section analyses geo-demographic features of the Sama-Bajau diasporic distribution and population flow in eastern Indonesia. Finally, the third section explores the process of ethnogenesis of the Sama-Bajau in relation to the preceding discussions on their distribution and migration, using the ethnographic data collected through my approximately two months of intensive fieldwork on Sapeken Island, East Java, Indonesia in 2010 and 2011.

HABITAT AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMA-BAJAU

1) The ethnic terms and the preceding studies on their population movements

Here the term “Sama-Bajau” designates the people who speak the Sama-Bajau languages that form a discrete sub-group of the Austronesian language family (Pallesen 1985: 43) and consider themselves as “Sama,” “Bajau,” “Bajo,” or other similar ethnonyms based on a sense of belonging to the larger Sama-Bajau group. “Bajo” is an Indonesian variant of the term Bajau. “Sama” is an ethnic autonym by which they identify themselves in their daily life. However, the Sama-Bajau recently tend to use the term “Bajau” or “Bajo” to represent themselves, since it has become popular both domestically and internationally³⁾. Unlike some other ethnic labels derived from other ethnic groups’ terms, “Bajau” itself does not imply anything pejorative. With these conditions in mind, the term “Bajau” is adopted here.

As their homeland or center from which the population diffused is ambiguous, scholars have long discussed the population movements of the Bajau to seek their “true” historical origin. Research on their origins first appeared in the pioneering work of historical geographer David E. Sopher, *The Sea Nomads* (Sopher 1977 [1965]). Sopher examined comprehensively the literature on the cultures and histories of boat-dwelling groups in Southeast Asia, including the Bajau, the Orang Laut and the Mawken. He then advanced a hypothesis that these boat-dwellers originated in the Riau Lingga Archipelago, to the south of the Malay Peninsula. According to his hypothesis, the Bajau gradually emigrated from the Riau Lingga Islands, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and voyaged toward the Sulu Islands via the western coast of Borneo. Some of them sailed further south to the coasts of Sulawesi (Sopher 1977 [1965]: 345–359).

A. Kemp Pallesen’s linguistic monograph (Pallesen 1985) and H. Arlo Nimmo’s ethnography (Nimmo 1968), both of which focus on the Bajau in the Sulu archipelago, disputed Sopher’s hypothesis, and suggested that Bajau belonged

to a language group that differed from those of the other boat dwellers. Further, these studies concluded that the Bajau originated in the southwestern Mindanao, the Philippines, and after the tenth century spread southwards to eastern insular Southeast Asia. Their works were based on the then latest data obtained through their long-term fieldwork. Therefore, their postulation about the origin of the Bajau seems more convincing than Sopher's assumption (see also Sather 1997).

Nevertheless, it seems less significant to seek their "true" origin from the historical essentialist's point of view, as the Bajau and the neighbouring communities are supposed to have converted their ethnic identification constantly from non-Bajau into Bajau, or *vice versa*. While commenting critically on the conventional historians' view on Insular Southeast Asia, which tended to regard ethnicity as a fixed premise, James F. Warren maintained that Sulu populations, including the Balangingi Samal, a Bajau sub-group, comprised captives and their descendants with diverse ethnic attributes. "Pirates" brought their captives for sale in the Sulu Archipelago. The Sulu aristocrats organized the pirates from the late-eighteenth through nineteenth centuries. The captives were assimilated into Sulu societies in a few generations. Some even joined the "pirates." These captives formed the Balangingi Samal, regardless of their origins (Warren 1981: 255). Later it will be demonstrated that a similar flexible formation of ethnicity is still evident among the Bajau in eastern Indonesia.

Nevertheless, the importance of tracing the distribution and flow of the Bajau should not be downplayed. Rather, it is essential to examine their distribution and its geo-demographic characteristics to understand from the constructionist's point of view the dynamics of the ethnogenesis of the diasporic population. This article is the first attempt to demonstrate the population distribution of the Bajau comprehensively in Insular Southeast Asia. It also examines some geo-demographic features of the Bajau and their geographical expansion, paying attention to the ethnogenesis of the Bajau in eastern Indonesia.

2) Habitat and Distribution

The habitats of the Bajau are related closely to certain marine environments, especially coral reefs (Sopher 1977 [1965]; Sather 1997). Historically, their settlements have been built in littoral areas and on islands adjacent to extensive coral reefs. Figure 3 shows the topography in detail around Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia. Semporna is one of the regions where the Bajau population has been dense since the late-nineteenth century (see also Figure 4). Today the population of the Bajau in Semporna exceeds 60,000. It can be seen from the figure that almost all their houses have been built in and around the huge coral reefs.

The Bajau inhabited littoral zones and islands adjacent to coral reefs firstly to take advantage of them in commercial fishery-oriented economic life: there they have sought valuable marine resources such as hawksbill sea turtles (*Eretmochelys imbricate*) to gain turtle shells and tropical trepang (sea cucumbers, *Holothuriidae* spp.) for export to Chinese market (Sopher 1977 [1965]). They have settled near

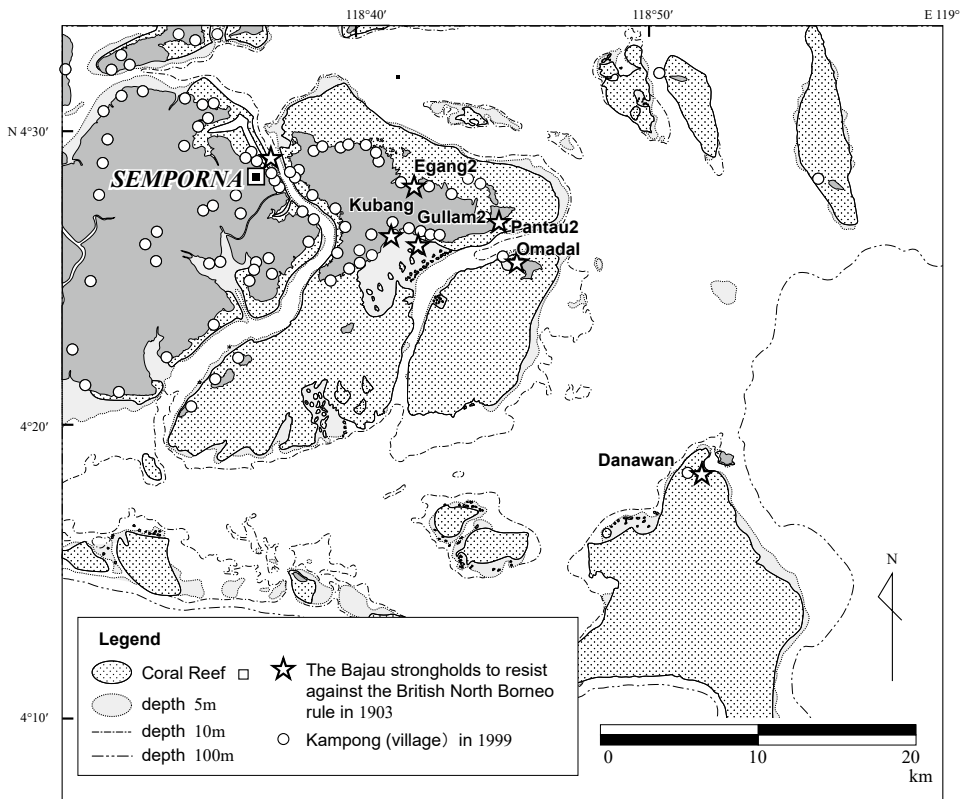


Figure 3 Bajau villages and coral reef in Semporna, Sabah

Source: This map was produced using published maps (British Admiralty 1934; Director of Mapping, Malaysia 1978) and referring to a record in BNBH (Feb 2, 1903: 31–33).

coral reefs secondly to evade interventions of both the colonial and national authorities, which have frequently attempted to restrict their sea-going movements (Warren 1971). Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, the European powers had rapidly expanded their colonial control of the Southeast Asian seas using steam gunboats (Warren 1981). However, the gunboats were not manageable around the shallow coral reefs, as their waterlines were too high⁴). The Bajau have intentionally chosen to live beside or on coral reefs to take advantage of the protection they afforded.

Neither the numbers of the Bajau population nor their geographical distribution were clearly known. In 2000, reliable censuses of population by ethnic group were taken in Indonesia and the Philippines for the first time since the independences of both nations. Meanwhile, censuses by ethnic group have been published in Sabah since the early-twentieth century. Hence, the Bajau population in insular Southeast Asia as a whole can now be estimated. According to the censuses, the total Bajau population is estimated 1,077,020. A population of

570,857 was counted in the Philippines, 347,193 in Malaysia (only in Sabah State), and 158,970 in Indonesia (Nagatsu 2009)⁵.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the Bajau in insular Southeast Asia. It shows that major Bajau settlements in Indonesia are scattered over a marine area that extends nearly 1,300 kilometers from the Kangean Archipelago, East Java Province, in the west, to Kayoa Island, Maluku Province, in the east, and 2,000 kilometres from the southwestern tip of Mindanao Island, Philippines, in the north to Roti Island, Nusa Tenggara Timur Province, Indonesia, in the south. No other indigenous ethnic group in insular Southeast Asia is distributed as widely as the Bajau.

3) Sub-groups of the Bajau

The Bajau can be classified into several sub-groups according to dialect, proximity of social relations, patterns of historical narratives, other cultural elements, and social system (Nagatsu 2009). Although linguistic studies have so far classified the Bajau into nine or more sub-groups (e.g. Pallesen 1985; Grimes 2000), their classification is too meticulous to provide a general view of Bajau socio-historical relations. Since this study addresses their socio-historical relations, the Bajau are simply classified into four groups: the Abaknon Bajau (abbreviated as ABK), the Bajau of Borneo West Coast (BWC), the Sulu Bajau (SUL) and the Sulawesi Bajau (SLW) as approximately shown in Figure 5.

The ABK Bajau live mostly by fishing and coconut planting in Capul Island, off the east coast of Samar, in the northern Philippines. Since their settlements are separate and distant from those of the other three sub-groups, the ABK Bajau have rarely been linked with the others socially in their modern history. Linguistically they are considered to have been separated from the other three sub-groups at a very early stage of their history (Pallesen 1985: 16–18)⁶.

The settlements of the BWC Bajau are located inland along the west coast of Sabah State, Malaysia. Although they live close to the SUL Bajau, social ties between the two sub-groups are limited. The BWC Bajau engage mostly in paddy rice agriculture and livestock rearing. As an agricultural population, they are more sedentary than the other three groups. Linguistically, the BWC Bajau are considered to have separated from the SLU Bajau also at a relatively earlier stage of their history (Pallesen 1985: 16–18).

Those two groups are thus clearly different from the others. Upon confirming this difference, we briefly refer to linguistic unintelligibility, the lack of social relations and the discontinuity of the origin myths between the SUL Bajau and the SLW Bajau as the socio-cultural basis of this classification.

Linguistic unintelligibility

According to my fieldwork and some linguistic surveys (Smith 1984; Pallesen 1985), the SUL Bajau and the SLW Bajau languages are not mutually intelligible, unless they live together in one place for a long time. For instance, the Bajau in

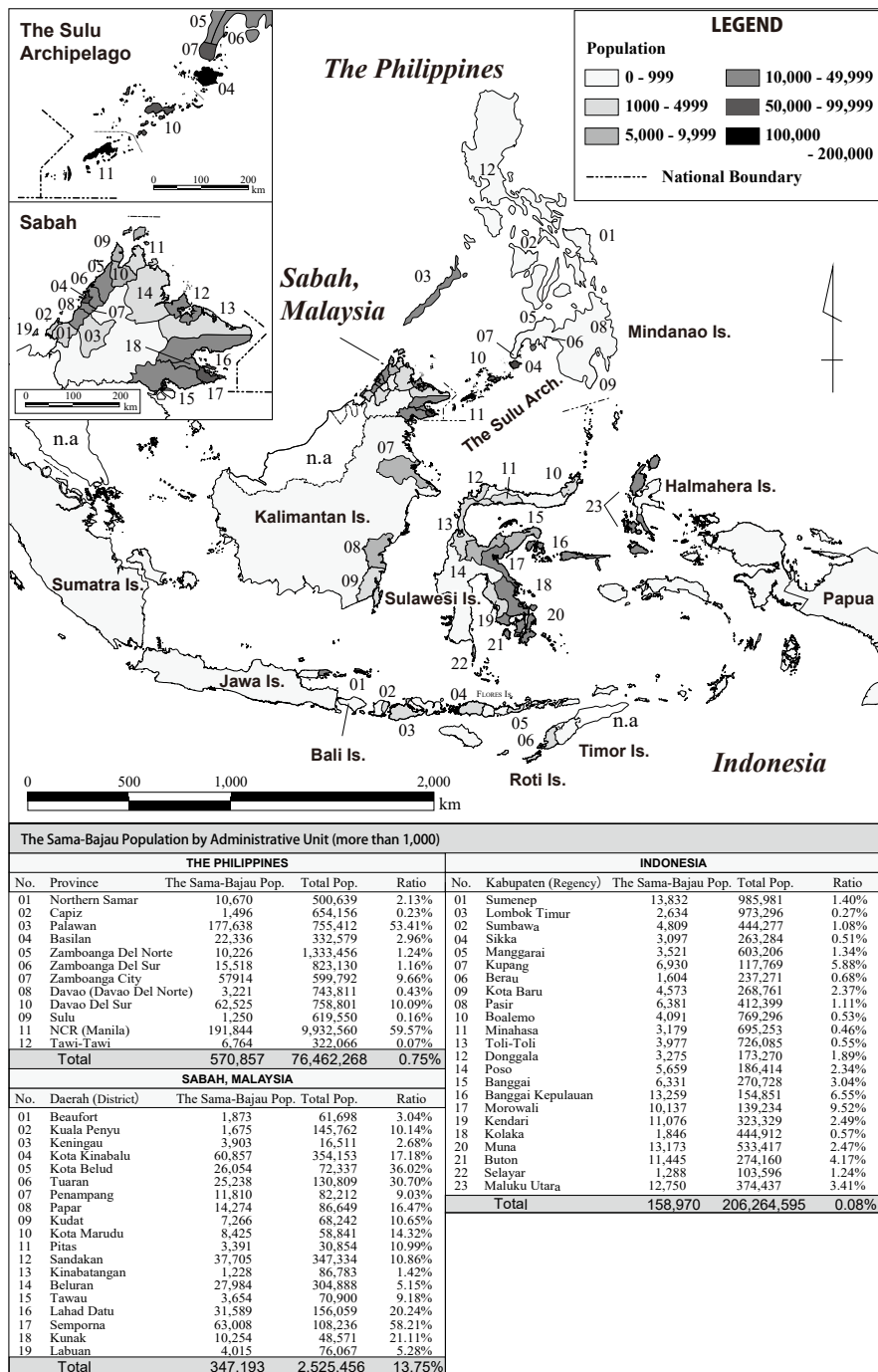


Figure 4 Distribution of the Bajau population in 2000

* Population by province in the Philippines, by *daerah* (district) in Malaysia, and by *kabupaten* (regency) in Indonesia

Source: The author produced this map, with modifications, from Nagatsu (2012).

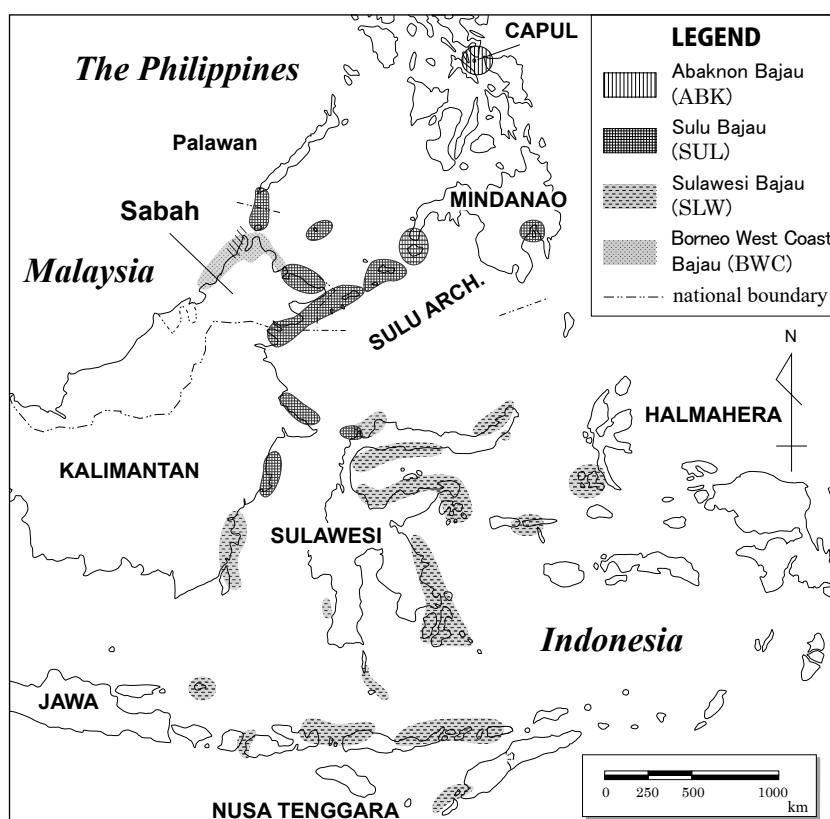


Figure 5 Distribution of subgroups of the Bajau

Source: The author made this map using “the digital base maps” and referring to Grimes ed. (2000) and fieldwork the author conducted during 1994–2015.

Maratua Island, in East Kalimantan Province (SUL), communicated in Indonesian with the Bajau from Tolitoli, in Central Sulawesi Province (SLW) (see Figure 7–19 on detailed place names). The former Bajau maintained that the latter’s dialects were too “hard (*keras*)” to understand, though they recognized the latter’s tongue as the Bajau dialect. In contrast, the dialect spoken among the SLW group is relatively monolithic as will be confirmed later. Those spoken among the SLU group are also mutually intelligible, although the dialects vary considerably.

Lack of social relations

Social interactions, including intermarriage, are visibly intimate among the SUL Bajau and the SLW Bajau respectively. The Bajau in Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia, for instance, have close intermarriage ties with the Bajau in most of the islands in the Sulu Archipelago, the Philippines. As the Bajau in Semporna were originally migrants from the islands in the Sulu Archipelago, some of the descendants have maintained social ties with those in their home islands⁷⁾. Similarly, the Bajau in

Maratua and the neighbouring islands in East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia were migrants from the Sulu Archipelago and Semporna (Nagatsu 1997). Their intermarriages with the Bajau in the latter two regions are still common.

Social interactions of the SLW Bajau are also intimate as explained in detail in the following section. The social networks of the SLW Bajau have been formed and maintained through their frequent fishing voyages and occasional intermarriages, and have interconnected their scattered but extensive settlements across the seas in eastern Indonesia.

In contrast, social interactions are also less frequent between the SUL Bajau and the SLW Bajau apart from those who live at the interface between the two sub-groups, i.e. Maratua and the neighbouring islands in East Kalimantan Province⁸⁾. As mentioned above, the SUL Bajau and the SLW Bajau are not mutually intelligible linguistically. This indicates the historical lack of the consecutive social interactions between the two sub-groups.

Discontinuity of the origin myths

Although the fundamental motif is shared by the two groups, specific patterns of their origin myths differ, to the extent that one sub-group is completely unfamiliar with the other's historical and geographical setting. Generally, the SUL Bajau have a myth in which drifted ancestors, and Zamboanga in Mindanao Island or Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago, are used as the keywords. For instance, the Bajau in Sitangkai, Tawi-Tawi Province, in the Sulu Archipelago, narrated that their ancestors once lived in Johor but later drifted northward to a littoral spot. The location was named "Sambuangan," which means in Bajau "the place where one sticks a pole (into the seabed to moor boats)." That is, they believe, the etymology of Zamboanga. They continued, "the ancestors threw a handful of paddy rice and then it turned into the islands of the Sulu Archipelago. Thereafter, they began to live there."

Meanwhile, among the SLW Bajau, a lost princess, Johor, and the sultanate of Goa or Bone, in southern Sulawesi, represent the central part of their origin myth. According to the story told by the Bajau in the Banggai Islands, Province of Central Sulawesi, for instance, the Bajau princess once played on a beach in Johor but then drifted away on the ocean. Their ancestors were ordered by the sultan of Johor to search for the princess, but to no avail. They were dispersed themselves to the east, since they were afraid of being punished by the sultan. One day, a prince of the Goa Sultanate found an unidentified beautiful lady and made her his wife. Listening to a poetry recited in Makassar by the then princess of Goa, the Bajau followers recognized her as the lost Bajau princess and told this to the prince of Goa. Thereafter the Bajau began to be treated with respect and were allowed to live on the coasts and islands in Goa.

The poetry the princess recited was, said to be, as follows:

Manna Tidung ta Tidungang

Tidung are always the Tidung

Mannna Bajo ta Bajoang
Tidung Karaeng
Bajo di Somba tonji

Bajau are always the Bajau
 The Tidung are aristocrats
 The Bajau also live in Somba

“Tidung” is an ethnic group living in the north-eastern part of Borneo / Kalimantan. “Somba” designates the place where the palace of Makassar’s Gowa Sultanate is located. Thus, the last line reads “the Bajau are also aristocrats”. Although there are several versions of this poetry in the SLW Bajau region, the basic implication in the myth is common to all⁹⁾. This poetry has never been recorded in the SUL Bajau region.

Thus, from the socio-historical perspective, the Bajau population can be classified into the four sub-groups: i.e. Abaknon Bajau (ABK), the Bajau of Borneo West Coast (BWC), the Sulu Bajau (SUL) and the Sulawesi Bajau (SLW). Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of these sub-groups. Henceforth, specific attention is paid to the Sulawesi Bajau, whose settlements are all located in Indonesian waters.

GEO-DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE BAJAU DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN INDONESIA

1) Clusters of the Bajau Settlements in Indonesia

As mentioned above, the Indonesian census counted 158,970 Bajau in 2000. The population is concentrated in the eastern part of the country surrounding Sulawesi. Figure 6 shows the distribution of the Bajau settlements by *desa* (administrative village) in which their population is more than 50.

Lance Nolde, who conducted anthropological research on the Bajau in Southeast Sulawesi, described the Bajau’s maritime realm as follows: (the realm) “consists of an informal network of historical and contemporary links between families, friends, fishing grounds, trading centers and trade routes, through which knowledge and goods are exchanged” (Nolde 2009: 16). Here, let us assume a more intensive realm of their socio-historical interplay and call it “a cluster.” Note that the cluster is not a territorial space, but a flexible zone of their social networks, and its boundaries are obscure by nature.

The Bajau regard a geographical sphere that coincides roughly with the cluster as a spatial unit of dialect, with close social relations and distinct cultural similarities. Since generally they lack a common geographical name to designate such a spatial unit, for convenience here a cluster is named after an adjacent city, an administrative region, or an island that is located in or near the cluster. Based on the interviews and observations in my fieldwork (see Figure 2), 13 clusters of the Bajau settlements in Indonesia are delimited tentatively, as demonstrated in Figure 6. Names and the Bajau population of all the villages in each cluster are presented in Figures 7–19. The Bajau in all but the Maratua cluster belong to SLW group. Those in the Maratua cluster are included in the SLU group.

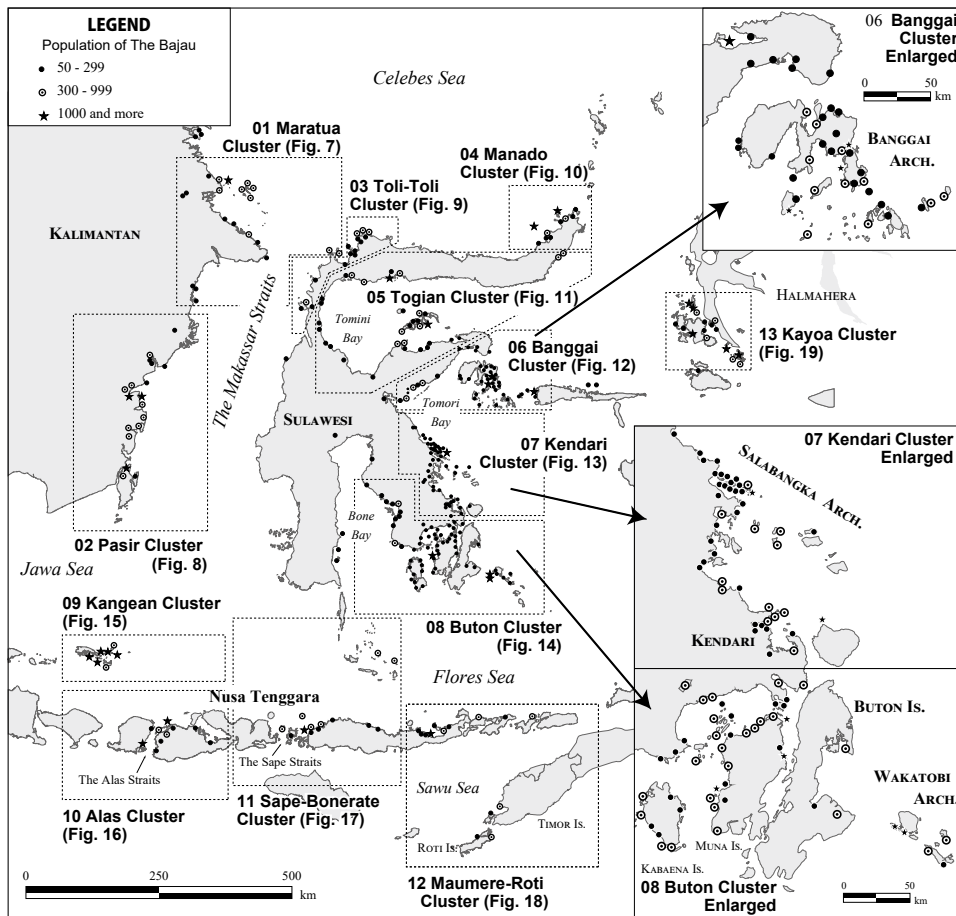


Figure 6 Distribution and clusters of the Bajau in Indonesia, 2000

* This map shows administrative villages (desa) with more than 50 people of the Bajau Population

Source: The author made this map using BPS (2000) and referring to BPS (2002) and fieldwork the author conducted during 1994 to 2015.

2) Geo-demographic Features in Eastern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara

Hereafter, the geo-demographic features of the distribution and flow of the Bajau population are examined, focusing on the eastern Sulawesi and the Nusa Tenggara regions. Here the eastern Sulawesi is defined as covering a chain of littorals and islands situated in Tomini Bay, the Togian Islands, the Banggai Archipelago, Tomori Bay, the Salabangka Archipelago, the Kendari Region, Kabaena Island, Muna Island, Buton Island, and the Wakatobi Archipelago. The Nusa Tenggara Region includes the islands from Lombok Island, in the west, to the Timor Island, in the east (see Figure 1).

The eastern Sulawesi Region is divided into four Bajau clusters, i.e. Togian

(Figure 11), Banggai (Figure 12), Kendari (Figure 13), and Buton (Figure 14). Each cluster consists of numerous Bajau villages of various sizes. It is called “a Bajau core village” when the Bajau population is more than 1,000. In the core village, the Bajau are usually in the majority and dominate the social, cultural or economic arenas. The “Bajau core village” often functions as a social, economic and symbolic center for the Bajau living in the cluster. There are 13 core Bajau villages in eastern Sulawesi: three are in the Togian Cluster, three in the Banggai Cluster, two in the Kendari Cluster, and five in the Buton Cluster. All the core villages are typically built on and around a broad coral reef.

Figures 11–14, which cover eastern Sulawesi, confirm that (1) the littorals and islands here are densely populated by the Bajau, (2) several core Bajau villages and a number of their villages adjacent to the core villages form each cluster, and (3) the Bajau settlements extend from north to south, or from Tomini Bay to Buton Island almost seamlessly. To the Bajau these are the main geo-demographic characteristics in this region.

On the other hand, the Nusa Tenggara Region is divided into three clusters, i.e. Alas (Figure 16), Sape-Bonerate (Figure 17) and Maumere-Roti (Figure 18). Figures 16–18 provide detailed information on the Bajau in each cluster. Here the villages are situated on only some part of the north coast of Flores and the Alor islands, along the Alas Straits and the Sape Straits, in Roti and the western end of West Timor. Apparently, these villages were established on the sea routes from Sulawesi in the north to Sawu Sea or, more precisely, on fishing grounds on the border opposite Australia, in the south. There are also several core Bajau villages in Nusa Tenggara. In this region, however, the core villages and adjacent villages are not contiguous, but are dispersed.

In the entire insular region, including both eastern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara, social relations of the Bajau are proximate, extending from the north to south: the clusters are tied intimately through intermarriage, migration, and mutual visits to relatives and friends. At Kalumbatang, one of the core Bajau villages in the Banggai Cluster, the village secretariat maintained the residents had marital relations with all the clusters in eastern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara. He designated specific social ties by individual names with Karumpa in the Bonerate Islands, Bungin in the Sumbawa Islands, Pasir Putih and Wuring in the Flores Islands, Kabir in Pantar Island, and Sulamu in the western part of Timor Island. The Bajau there also voyaged back and forth from the Banggai Archipelago to Flores Island, Roti Island and Australian waters seeking sharks and trochus shell (*Trochus niloticus*), to Bacan Island in Maluku and the Togian Islands in Tomini Bay, to seek mother-of-pearl shells, groupers, aquarium fish, and a species of hard coral known as “rotan laut.”

The Bajau in Roti have close family ties with the Bajau in eastern Sulawesi. The Bajau of Mola village in Buton Cluster frequently visit Pepela, part of Londalusi village in Roti Island. They use the littoral at Pepela as a port of call during trip to Ashmore Reef, in Australian waters. There they longlined for shark

Figures 7-17 Distribution of the Bajau Villages and Clusters in Indonesia

The figures show the distribution of villages where the population of the Bajau is more than 50 by cluster designated in Figure 6. The village names are listed within each map. The figures in parentheses indicate the population of the Bajau. The author has visited the villages of which names are underlined.

Source: The author made these maps using BPS (2000) and referring to BPS (2002).

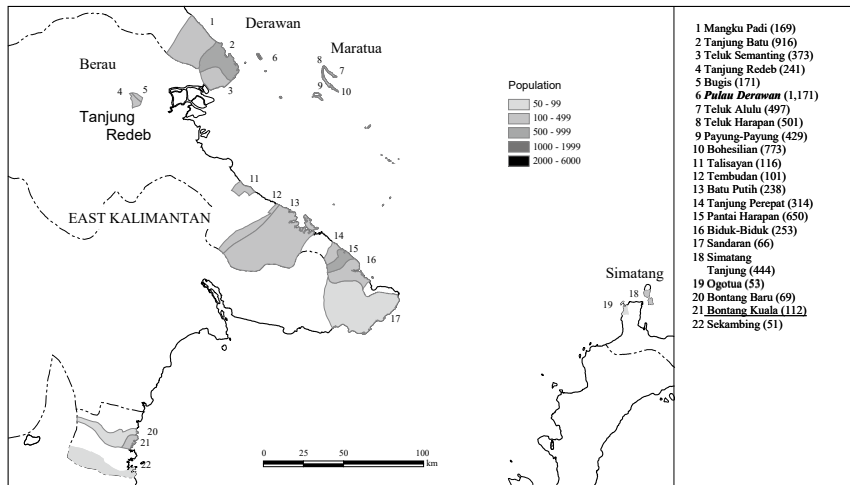


Figure 7 Maratua Cluster

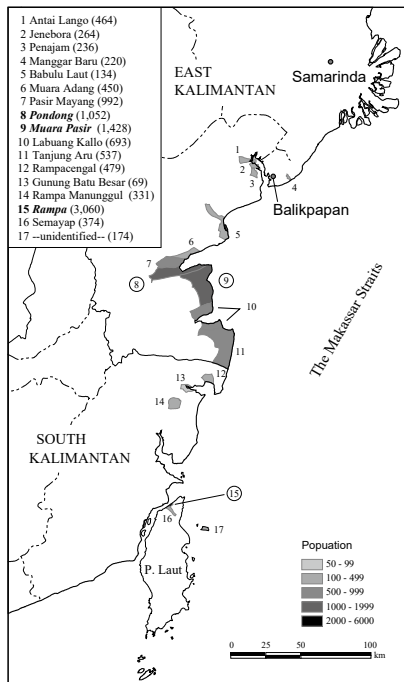


Figure 8 Pasir Cluster

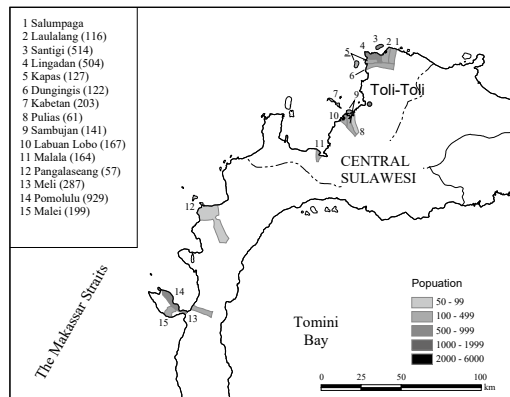


Figure 9 Toli-Toli Cluster

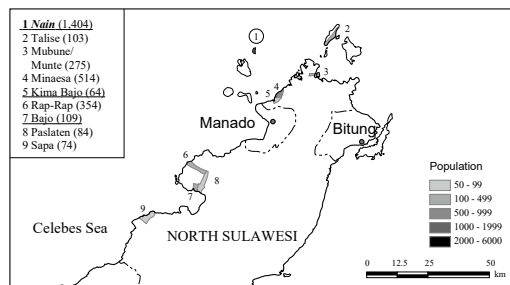


Figure 10 Manado Cluster

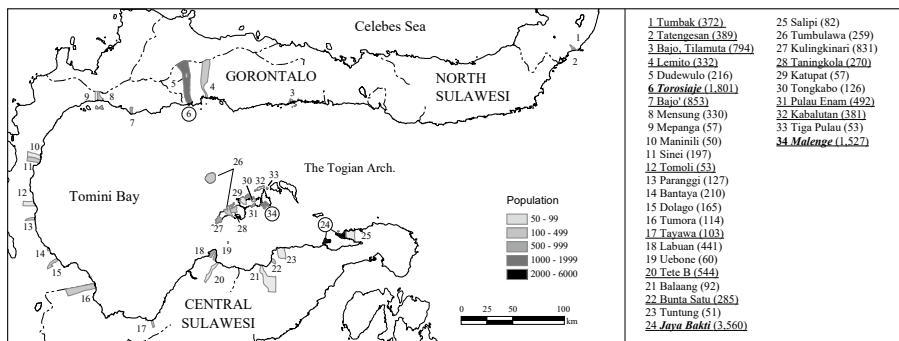


Figure 11 Togian Cluster

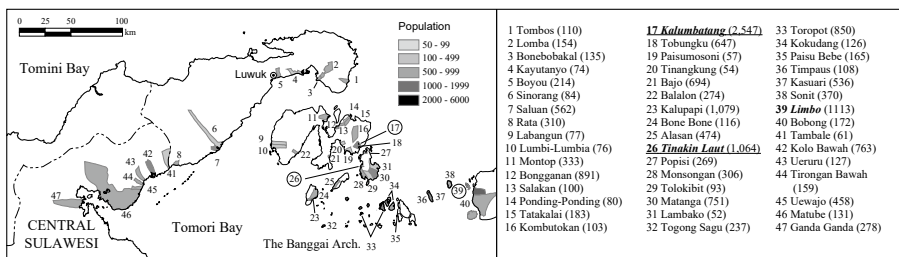


Figure 12 Banggai Cluster

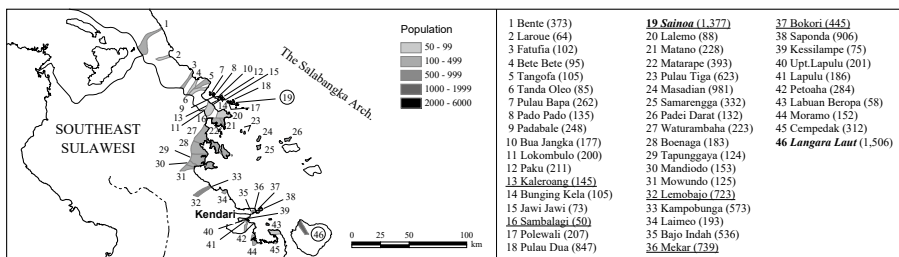


Figure 13 Kendari Cluster

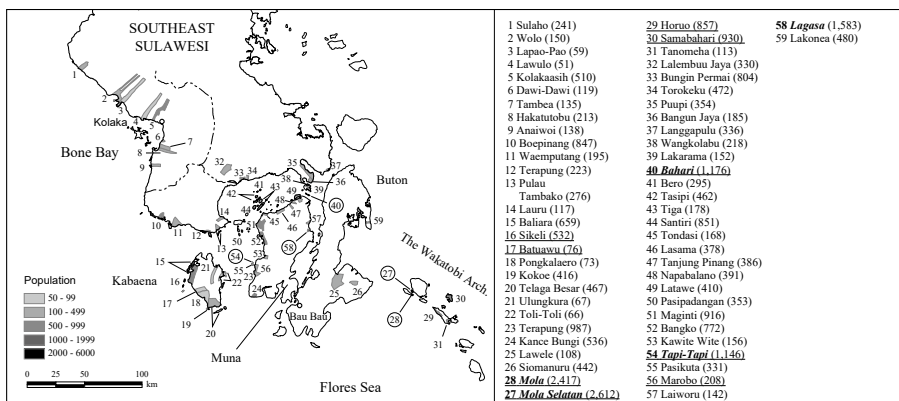


Figure 14 Buton Cluster

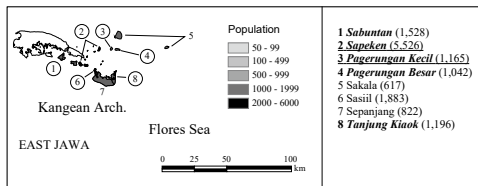


Figure 15 Kangean Cluster

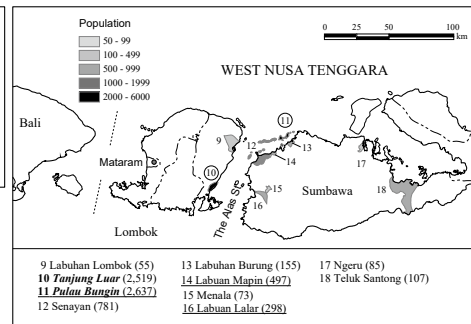
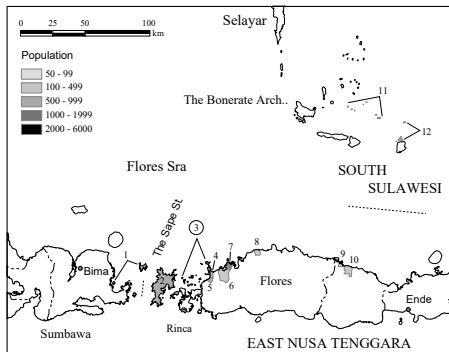
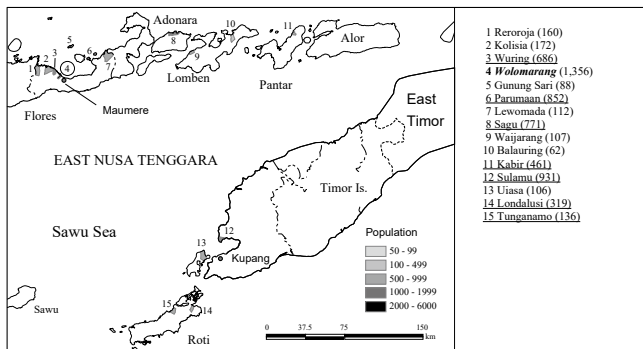


Figure 16 Alas Cluster



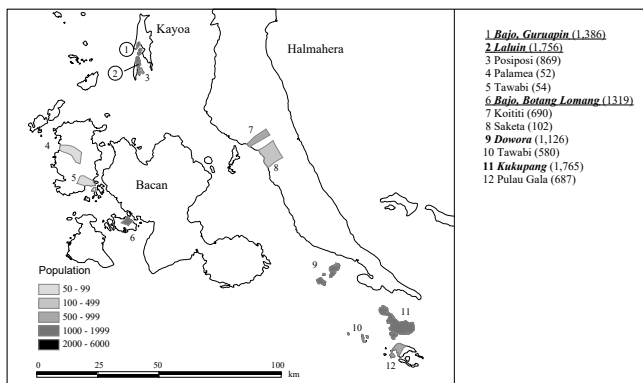
- 1 Bajopulau (409)
 2 Komodo (155)
3 Pasir Putih (1,623)
4 Labuan Bajo (394)
 5 Goron Talo
 Guron Talo (152)
 6 Tanjung Boleng (90)
 7 Batu Tiga (533)
 8 Para Lando (87)
 9 Nangamese (96)
 10 Tadho (94)
 11 Tambuna (839)
 12 Karumpa (424)

Figure 17 Sape-Bonerate Cluster



- 1 Reroroja (160)
 2 Kolisia (172)
3 Wuring (686)
4 Wolomarang (1,356)
 5 Gunung Sari (88)
6 Parumaan (852)
 7 Lewomada (112)
8 Sagu (771)
 9 Wajirang (107)
 10 Balauring (62)
11 Kabir (461)
12 Sulamu (931)
 13 Unsa (106)
14 Londausi (319)
15 Tunganamo (136)

Figure 18 Maumere-Roti Cluster



- 1 Bajo, Gurupin (1,386)**
2 Lalain (1,756)
 3 Posiposi (869)
 4 Palamea (52)
 5 Tawabi (54)
6 Bajo, Botang Lomang (1319)
 7 Kotiti (690)
 8 Saketa (102)
9 Dowara (1,126)
 10 Tawabi (580)
11 Kakupang (1,765)
 12 Pulau Gala (687)

Figure 19 Kayoa Cluster

and gathered trochus shells. According to Natasha Stacey who examined comprehensively a social history of the Bajau in Southeast Sulawesi, Pepela was established originally by Bajau migrants from Wakatobi Islands who ventured repeatedly to the area in the 1950s seeking to exploit the marine resources of Australian waters. Their migratory movements to Pepela reached its peak in the 1980s, when shark fishing became most active (Stacey 2007: 28–30). The movement continues, although the Bajau cross the boundary less frequently than before because the Australian border patrol has become increasingly vigilant over the past five years¹⁰.

It is also worth noting that the Bajau sailed from Sulawesi to the southern littorals and islands in association with the trading activities of the Bugis or Makassar. Based on a Bajau informant's narrative, Verheijen (1986: 23) mentioned that around 1820 the Bugis went from southern Sulawesi to Tanjung Luar, Lombok and that the Bajau followed them some years later. Voyages to the coasts of northern Australia were supposedly also organized by the Bugis or Makassar traders; the peoples from Sulawesi including the two groups and the Bajau were all regarded as "Makassan" among the aboriginal peoples in northern Australia. The Makassan's seasonal voyages in search of trepang began as late as the early-eighteenth century (Macknight 1976).

To summarize, the distribution and flow of the Bajau population in eastern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara are characterized by (1) the maritime networks that the Bajau have long maintained through their commercially oriented fishing activities, and (2) intimate social relations extending to all the regions across the seas.

I collected and compared basic vocabularies of the Bajau at more than 50 Bajau villages in the Sulu Archipelago, Sabah and eastern Indonesia. The results suggest that the Bajau dialects spoken among the SLU Bajau group vary significantly, despite the speakers being mutually intelligible, whereas those among the SLW Bajau group have diverged little (for details see Nagasu 2009a).

The distribution of the SLU Bajau settlements around the Sulu Archipelago ranges from approximately 1,000 kilometers from east to west and 500 kilometers from north to south. Whereas the distribution of the SLW Bajau settlements around Sulawesi extends approximately 1,200 kilometers from east to west and 1500 kilometers from north to south. That the SLW Bajau speak relatively homogeneous dialects in such a vast insular region suggests that (1) the Bajau have repeated the maritime movements frequently, (2) their sub-groups have maintained social and economic relations intimately and extensively, although the sub-groups are geographically separated, and thus (3) the Bajau have so far maintained a maritime living zone in the region.

3) Historical Persistence of the Maritime Zone

The Bajau in eastern Sulawesi most probably migrated from southern Sulawesi. According to Sopher (1977 [1965]), the dispersion of the Bajau to the east and

south occurred in accordance with the process in which the Makassar's Goa sultanate or the Bugis's Bone sultanate expanded their spheres of influence in those directions. The former was centered on the west coast of southern Sulawesi, whereas the latter was on the east coast. Since the sixteenth century the Bajau have migrated to eastern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara in search of marine products, such as turtle shell.

Dutch colonial records tell that by the mid-nineteenth century the Bajau had established a zone of marine resource exploitation in eastern Sulawesi to procure turtle shell and trepang, among other items (Vosmaer 1839; Hart 1853). To the south, by the eighteenth century they had expanded their fishing zone to the northern coast of Australia, where they gathered and processed trepang or other marine products to be taken back to Sulawesi. All these marine products were exported to China from Makassar or other ports. During their southward movements, the Bajau also settled on the littorals and islands located in Nusa Tenggara. As stated above, the Bajau villages there are located along the sea routes bridging Sulawesi and the southern seas, including Australian waters. Such patterns of their diaspora seem to reflect the historical process of their pioneering voyages to seek marine resources from Sulawesi down to the south (Van Verschuer 1883; Sopher 1977 [1965]; Fox 1977).

Summarizing the history of the Bajau migrations in Nusa Tenggara, James Fox found that most of their settlements "have been less stable with populations shifting among various sites. Yet all present-day settlements are in areas frequently visited by Bajau from the time of their early voyages (to search for trepang, turtle shells or the other marine resources)". The pattern of the Bajau population movement in the wider region from eastern Sulawesi to Nusa Tenggara should be accounted for in the same manner. The Bajau have repeatedly created, abandoned and recreated their settlements on certain sea routes in this region. Thus, since from as late as the eighteenth century they have formed and so far maintained there a maritime zone for living.

BAJAU AND CREOLISM: THE CASES OF SAPEKEN, KANGAEAN ARCHIPELAGO

1) Sapeken

The Bajau established their settlements in a vast maritime zone in eastern Indonesia. As confirmed above, the expansion of their settlements took place through repeated inter-island migrations in search of marine resources. This understanding is, however, not enough to comprehend their geo-demographic dynamics. In some regions, their populations have increased in number also through the process in which the Bajau have emerged as a "maritime creole," or a hybrid group of sea peoples of various ethnic origins.

I reached this conclusion during fieldwork in several Bajau villages in eastern Indonesia, including in Pasir Putih (to the west of Flores Island, No.47), Pulau

Bungin (western Sumbawa, No.45), Mola (the Wakatobi Archipelago, No.39), Lemo Bajo (to the north of Kendari City, No.36), Kalumbatang (the Banggai Archipelago, No.34), Pulau Enam (the Togian Archipelago, No.31), Torosiaje (to the west of Gorontalo City, No.25), Pulau Nain (to the north of Manado City, No.21), and Sapeken (see Figure 2 in which each of the above numbers in parenthesis coincides with the number on the map). Here we introduce the case in Sapeken, Kangean Archipelago where the creolization process of the Bajau was most typical.

The Kangean Archipelago is located to the east of Madura Island and on the eastern fringe of Java Sea. Spots of extensive coral reef surround the archipelago. The reefs are distinctively rich in marine resources, such as trepang, turtles, and a range of edible fish. The Kangean Archipelago is administratively included in Sumenep Regency, Province of East Java. In the archipelago is Sapeken Island which belongs to Sapeken Village of Sapeken Sub-district (*Kecamatan*). The total population of Sapeken Village is 11,754, while that of Sumenep Regency is 985,884. As the satellite image of the island (Figure 20) shows, Sapeken Island is extremely densely populated despite being less than 1 square kilometer.

From geographical and cultural perspectives, Sapeken lies between Java, Bali, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Although it belongs administratively to Java, the population is composed predominantly of migrants from Southern Sulawesi. As a migrants' islet, the population of Sapeken is composed of five main ethnic groups; i.e., the Mandarese, Makassarese, Bugis, Bajau and Maduraese. The first three clearly have their origins in Southern Sulawesi. Here the Bajau are considered also to have originated in Southern Sulawesi. Among them, the Bajau are dominant and *baong Sama*, or the Bajau language, is the local lingua franca, despite Bahasa Indonesia being the national language and Maduraese, being a lingua franca of the Regency, is widely spoken outside Sapeken and the neighboring islands. Most residents of Sapeken are Muslim.

It is important to note that Sapeken Island is located at the intersection of the seaborne flow of people, goods, and information bridging Java Sea, the Makassar Strait, and the Flores Sea (see Figure 21). Owing to its favorable location for sea-oriented peoples, Sapeken has been a continuously booming island, functioning as an entrepot for marine products since as late as the end of nineteenth century. Van Gennep in 1896 described Sapeken as follows:

The trade from Kangean is very insignificant. However, on the island of Sapeken trade is very lively. Each year, five or six large prauw ships sail from there to Singapore, laden with rice, shells, tripang, turtles, *akarbahar*, etc.; from Singapore, they bring cloths and trinkets, which in turn are traded on the Lesser Sunda Islands (Nusa Tenggara) and the Maluku. The fish caught in the seas surrounding the small islands are dried and for the most part exported to Bali, rice being brought from Bali in return (Van Gennep 1896: 94).



Figure 20 Aerial view of Sapekan Island taken by Satellite Image
Source: Quick Bird satellite image owned by BIG (Badan Informasi Geospasial;
<http://www.bakosurtanal.go.id/>). Courtesy of Prof. Aris Poniman and Dr. Suprajaka, BIG.

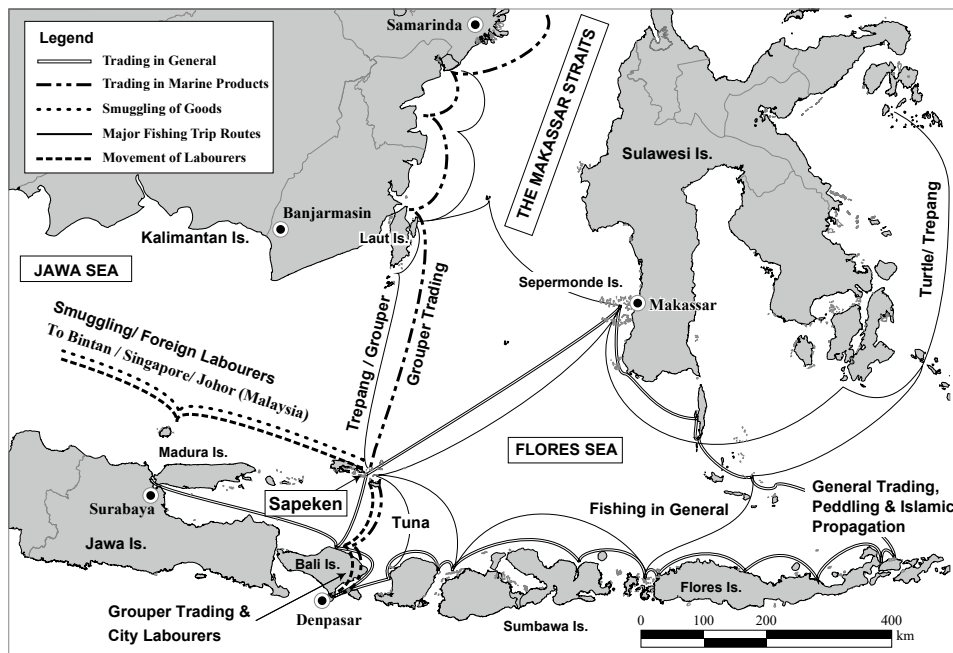


Figure 21 Sapeken and the maritime networks of the Bajau
 Source: The author made this map using BPS (2000) and based on fieldwork.

The island thrived on the business of salted mackerel scads (*layan*, *Decapterus* spp.) exported to Bali and Java by the 1980s, and in the trading of meat of green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) exported to Bali by the 1990s¹¹. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Chinese fish buyers have prompted remarkable increases in catches of grouper (mainly *Croileptes Altivelis*, *Plectropous Leopardus*, and *Epinephelus Coiodes*) throughout the Indonesian archipelago¹². As groupers are abundant in coral seas, the Bajau in most areas rushed to the fishing ground and benefitted from catching or trading them. Sapeken is one of the most flourishing islands in the grouper trade. Initially the fishers of neighboring islands were attracted to the business and began gathering at Sapeken. Then people from Madura or Java followed the fishers and began working as *beca* (rickshaw) drives or petty vendors in Sapeken. Thus, an increasing number of migrants kept flowing into the island.

2) Ethnic Situation in Sapeken: Becoming the Bajau

Although the Bajau are dominant in Sapeken, this is a relatively new social phenomenon. In 1906 Sapeken Island had a population of about 6,800, among whom the Mandarese were reportedly predominant (Butcher 2004: 105). Table 1 summarizes the population changes in the Kangean Archipelago and Sapeken, based on Dutch colonial records and the Indonesian census of 2000. It is clear that

Table 1 Population change in Kangean and Sapekan (1896–2000)

Year	The Kangean Archipelago	Sapeken and Adjacent Islands	
			Sapeken Island
1896 ⁽¹⁾	Total 6,353: Natives 3,997, Chinese 437, Foreign Orientals 1,893		Total 1,237: Only the Madura is referred to.
1917 ⁽²⁾	Total approximately 20,000: Mainly the Madura mixed with the Bugis, Makassar and Bali; Some Kambang (possibly the Bajau), Chinese and Arab.		Total approximately 8,000: The Bugis and Makassar
1930 ⁽³⁾	(Regency of Soemenep) Total 626,715: The Madura 619,084, people from South Sulawesi 5,914, Jawa 487	n.a.	
2000 ⁽⁴⁾	(Sapeken & Arjasa Districts (<i>Kecamatan</i>))	(Sapeken District)	
	Total 108264:	Total	37,077:
	The Madura 83,100 (76.8%)	TheBajau	13,825 (37.3%)
	The Bajau 13,831 (12.8%)	The Madura	13,569 (36.6%)
	The Mandar 7,684 (7.1%)	The Mandar	7,680 (20.7%)
	Tha Bugis 1,281 (1.2%)	The Bugis	826 (2.2%)
	The Jawa 604 (0.6%)	The Makassar	276 (0.7%)
	The Makassar 323 (0.3%)		
		(Sapeken Village (<i>Desa</i>))	
		Total	11,755:
		The Bajau	5,526 (47.0%)
		The Madura	4,296 (36.5%)
		The Mandar	1,227 (36.5%)

Source: (1) Veth (ed.) (1896: 49; 250); (2) Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië (1918: 268; 1919: 750); (3) Department van Economische Zaken, Nederlandch-Indie (1934: 151); (4) BPS (2002).

the Bajau population in Sapeken has increased drastically and has become dominant during the period from 1930 through 2000.

As some Bajau informants claimed, the population increase may have occurred in part owing to the influx of the Bajau migrants from southern Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara. After completing fieldwork, however, I found that the drastic increase of their population could be explained more precisely by another social process, i.e. the creolization, or the conversion of the ethnic attributes of various sea peoples into the Bajau. My fieldwork revealed that in Sapeken the non-Bajau migrants from neighboring islands, such as the Mandarese, Bugis, or even Chinese have, more often than not, converted their daily language as well as their ethnic identity to those of the Bajau. Simply speaking, the Bajau population in Sapeken swollen from 1930 through 2000 as such non-Bajau have “become Bajau”.

During the fieldwork in Sapeken, I interviewed some key informants initially because they said “if you would like to study the Bajau culture, just ask me. I can explain it (better than others).” After several questions about basic cultural concerns, I also inquired about personal histories of the interviewee. As for tracing their life histories, however, I sometimes felt uneasy, because some of their genealogies were hardly related to the Bajau as their ethnic background. Let us introduce a case of “becoming Bajau” using published data (Nagatsu 2015).

[Case 1] Haji Dili

Dili was born in 1952 on Barrang Lompo, an island in the Spermonde Archipelago located off the coast of Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi Province. His father and mother used to live in Makassar, where they ran a grocery store. His father was the son of a Fujianese Chinese man and a Makassarese woman, and his mother was the daughter of a Fujianese Chinese man and a Mandarese woman. They left Makassar and escaped to Barrang Lompo in 1950 or 1951, after their shop was attacked by insurgents who were supposedly associated with Kahar Muzakkar's armed rebellion against the Jakarta administration, in the early-1950s.

Dili's mother passed away soon after giving birth to him. In the mid-1950s, his father migrated to Sapeken with Dili since he had heard that there the Barrang Lompo villagers, mainly of the Makassarese ethnic group, had experienced *rezeki*, or good fortune, and had succeeded in harvesting trepang and fishing for turtles. Dili's father moved to Sapeken and was helped by villagers who had also originally been migrants from Barrang Lompo. After graduating from elementary school in Sapeken, Dili worked with his father as a fisherman for more than a decade. Subsequently, Dili became a broker of marine products, such as dried fish and trepang. In 1991, he started working as a middleman for grouper and succeeded in the business. By the mid-1990s, he had become the most well-known fish buyer in Sapeken and the neighboring islands. He built an ice factory and constructed a mosque as a donation to the community; he engaged enthusiastically in religious charity activities. Having gained prestige, he was elected a village head in 2001, a role that he fulfilled until he passed away in 2008.

Dili provided me with a room to sleep when he first visited Sapeken. Dili often said, "ask me if you want to know about Bajau culture." Because he was very busy, I and Dili in fact never found the time. Dili established a business partnership with Chinese in Bali and Surabaya, through whom he exported grouper to the foreign market. He understood that being of Chinese origin made it easier for him to gain the trust of Chinese merchants outside Sapeken, although he could not speak Chinese. In his daily life, Bajau was his first language; when I asked him what ethnicity he was, he would answer that he was Bajau. He passed away in 2008. Now, his second son has taken over the business. The son grew up with Bajau as his first language. He regards himself as "pure Bajau" ("*asli orang Bajo*").

In Sapeken, many villagers speak Bajau as their first language and identify themselves as Bajau, even though they are not of Bajau descent, or, at most, their lineal tie with the Bajau is quite slight. These patterns of discourse on the genealogy are quite common among the islanders. Consequently, I concluded that the Bajau here comprise migrants of varied ethnic origins.

It is also worth noting that the immigrant groups have never been assimilated monolithically into the Bajau. Although they have come to assume themselves as Bajau, they apparently retain a hybrid nature in their daily practices. Such hybrid nature can be found, for instance, materially in their boat types, fishing techniques,

cultural values, religious texts, poetic literature, or the discourses by which they characterize themselves.

In the discourses of self-representation as the Bajau among the Sapeken islanders, for example, the concept of “*dalle*” or “searching for fortune” is centered, although “*dalle*” is originally a Makassarese term and a key cultural value among them. Further, when speaking about the characteristics of the Bajau, some informants in Sapeken explained that “we the Bajau do not like to work as an employee, we like to be an independent entrepreneur (*pengusaha mandiri*).” It is also widely known that the Bugis and Makassarese are traditionally fond of this sort of self-representation in their home area of southern Sulawesi (Pelras 1996: 330–334).

3) Ethnogenesis and Identity Formation of the Bajau

The above-mentioned findings are summarized here in relation to the identity formation among the Bajau as follows:

(1) The Bajau in Sapeken and some other settlements constitute “*an emerging society*” as Warren (1981) suggested in relation to the making of the Balangingi Samal (a sub-group of the SLU Bajau) in the Sulu Archipelago from the mid-nineteenth century. The emerging society in the present study can be defined as “a maritime creole” which comprises a variety of sea peoples and their descendants. They share a sense of “Bajau-ness” based on *baong Sama* or Bajau as their lingua franca, but simultaneously have maintained highly hybrid natures in their economic, social and cultural lives.

(2) Their way of (re) constructing identity is more “accommodative” rather than “assimilative.” In other words, the Bajau in the studied sites share “an accommodative ethnic identity” and Bajau may better be understood as its label.

Here, it is important to note that ethnic conversion has never been rare in the maritime zones of Southeast Asia. In the 1950s–60s, the “Samal” in the Sulu Archipelago often tended to speak Tausug and sought to identify themselves as Tausug, while the Bajau at Spremonde Archipelago off the coast of Makassar City have supposedly “become” Makassarese since the 1930s (Stone 1962; Nagatsu 2009). Such ethnic conversion, however, usually occurred in the process in which the marginalized were assimilated and absorbed into the majority. What is unique with the cases on Sapeken and some other Bajau settlements are that the majority groups in the neighboring regions have converted their language and ethnic label to those of the minority, i.e. the Bajau.

CONCLUSION

The Bajau in the research sites in Indonesia have emerged as a maritime creole which comprises a variety of neighboring sea peoples and their descendants. What needs to be confirmed here is that creolization is not merely the case in Sapeken, but it has been verified widely as well as historically in eastern Indonesia.

In 1682, Padbrugge, Governor of VOC (Dutch East India Company) in Ternate, observed that the Bajau were the mixture of various wild folks which consisted of Chinese, Javanese, Makassarese, Balinese, or Malay (Lapian 2009). This is one of the earliest records about the Bajau.

Later, in 1908, a colonial inspector of Netherlands East Indies in Banggai Region observed as follows:

The current Poenggawa (leader, noted by the author) of the Badjo (Bajau) of Banggai is ... a man from Mandar; this does not have to be a big surprise, because among the Badjo there appear many outsiders' influences, such as people from Makassar and Bugis people, etc.; as these people have the same occupation, and are more often than not married to the Badjo girls, they count themselves to the Badjo; they are equally counted to the Badjo by the Banggai population, and even by the postholder; this being the reason that they, just like the Badjo, also do not pay taxes to the Government (Goedhart 1908: 474).

In 1981, Verheijen in his linguistic study refers to the creole nature of the Bajau. During his fieldwork, he found his "Bajau" informant was Sasak and his wife was of Mandarese origin. However, the informant spoke Bajau as his daily tongue. According to him, the Bajau in Bungin and Kaong were partial descendants of the Javanese, Lombok, Makassar, Manda, Buton, Bugis and Flores. In addition he also notes that many Bajau in Labuan Bajo were said to come from Manggarai, Maumere, Ende, Solor, Bugis, Bima, Binongko, Selayar and Bonerate (Verheijen 1986: 23).

In this study, we have observed the pattern of distribution and flow of the Bajau population. Since as late as the sixteenth century, when they first appeared in the written records, the Bajau have made diasporic expansions of their settlements in search of marine products, initially from southern Sulawesi to the east and south, then from eastern Sulawesi to Nusa Tenggara. Since the eighteenth century they even ventured to the northern coast of Australia, to collect trepang.

It should be noted, however, that creolization, or the syncretic ethnogenesis of the Bajau and the other sea-oriented peoples might have been embedded in most of these diasporic processes. The Bajau population has become so widely distributed in eastern Indonesia not merely because they have moved around the seas, but also because they have kept forming maritime creoles in their destinations by accommodating migrants as well as the native peoples of various origins. In this sense, it can be understood that Bajau is a more general label shared by sea peoples in a wider sense in insular Southeast Asia.

NOTES

- 1) See Nagatsu (2015) for a detailed definition of "Southeast Asian maritime world" and "sea

peoples.” Tachimoto, Narifumi Maeda, a scholar of global area studies, identified three prototypical characteristics of the sea peoples in the Southeast Asian maritime world: (1) diasporic settlement, (2) the commoditization of natural resources, and (3) network-centered social relations. He argued that sea peoples have played a critical role as the main actors in the formation of the Southeast Asian maritime world (Tachimoto 1996: 199).

- 2) These researches were made possible by the following JSPS Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (leader’s name and institution when the research was funded are indicated in parentheses): JP07041057 (Koji Tanaka, Kyoto University); JP14251006 (Tsuyoshi Kato, Kyoto University); JP18710210, JP21510271, JP24651278, and JP25300017 (Kazufumi Nagatsu, Toyo University); JP19251010 (Haruya Kagami, Kanazawa University); JP22310157 and JP25283008 (Jun Akamine, Nagoya City University); JP23251004 (Isamu Yamada, Kyoto University); JP26283011 (Mayumi Kamata, Nagoya University of Commerce & Business); and JP26570009 (Rintaro Ono, Tokai University). In addition, library research was supported by a research grant from the Center for Southeast Asian Studies for the International Program of Collaborative Research (Kazufumi Nagatsu, for FY 2009–2010 and for FY 2016) and research grants from the Inoue Enryo Memorial Foundation for Promoting Sciences, Toyo University (Seiichi Matsumoto, Toyo University for FY 2010–2013 and, Kazufumi Nagatsu for FY 2014–2016). I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all the above-mentioned institutions and researchers.
- 3) See for instance the local journal titled *Bajo Bangkit*, which literally means “the Bajau, Awakening.” The journal is published by some young Bajau leaders in Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi Province with the financial support of WWF Indonesia. We can also find another example in the ethnic representation of “the Regatta Lepa,” an annual event focusing on the Bajau’s traditional boat called “lepa” in Semporna, Sabah, Malaysia. The event has been organized as an official event of Sabah State since 1994 (Sabah Tourism Board Official Website 2016).
- 4) The typical reef structure consists of huge, complex coral plateaus that are so shallow that they are partially exposed at low tide. The coral plateau is often separated from the shoreline by a shallow sandy lagoon.
- 5) Note that the “Bajau” population in Sumatra, which appeared in the 2000 census of Indonesia, are not included in the number, because, according to my field findings, the “Bajau” there may have most probably incorrectly claimed themselves as being “Bajau.” It is not known if they did so intentionally. I could find no reasonable information about the Bajau during a survey in Riau Archipelago in 2014.
- 6) Pallesen (1985: 113) noted that the Abaknon Bajau language separated early on from the Proto Sama-Bajau language in the Philippines, prior to Malay influence having spread there.
- 7) A number of the Bajau moved from Sulu to Sabah to escape the civil war in the early 1970s or the socio-economic disorder after the civil war in Mindanao or Sulu. Due to the massive influx of the Bajau and some other ethnic groups from Sulu, the population of Semporna increased four-fold from the early 1960s, reaching 52,000 in 1980 (Sather 1984: 24). Most of these migrants/ refugees in Sabah have maintained close social ties with the Bajau in their home islands.
- 8) For example, the SUL Bajau are dominant in Balikukup Island, but the SLW Bajau also frequently visit the island to fish and some of them have migrated here. As a natural consequence, intermarriage relations are now seamlessly confirmed among the members of each sub-group. Here, the SLW Bajau speak the SUL Bajau dialect.
- 9) Leibner (1996) reports in detail the versions of the poetry collected in Selayar, Province of South Sulawesi. See also Dirman (1999).

- 10) In 1974, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was concluded between Australia and Indonesia. It allowed traditional Indonesian fishermen to fish by “traditional” methods within a 12-nautical mile radius of certain reefs including Ashmore reef in the Australian waters in the Timor Sea (Stacey 2007: 1–2). The Bajau have frequently fished in and around the fishing ground defined by the MOU.
- 11) Green turtle was primarily caught for its flesh and eggs to be consumed locally. The meat was once consumed widely in Bali. Since the late 1990, the consumption of the meat has become less common among the Balinese as the provincial government banned the trade of turtle meat.
- 12) Most of the live groupers are exported to Hong Kong by air.

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