

# Sadoh: Profit Sharing System of Bajo in Fishing, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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## Abstract

*Sadoh* is a system of sharing profits from fishing. It is one of the local knowledge that Bajo's fishermen still apply. Each boat, along with the system, has its way of *sadoh*. This system involves all stakeholders who are bound to the fishing system. *Sadoh* is based on the fishing gear used, the fishing system, the type of fish, the crew (*sabi*), and the captain (*punggawa*). However, the calculations appear to be the same for *sabi* and fishing gear, although the system and type of fish can influence them. The method used in this study is linguistic anthropology. Data was collected using direct observation and in-depth interviews in three Bajo villages in West Nusa Tenggara Province. They are Pulau Maringkik village of Keruak of East Lombok Regency, Pulau Bungin village of Alas of Sumbawa Regency, and Bajo Pulau Village of Sape of Bima Regency. The data were analyzed qualitatively using a linguistic anthropological approach. The study results show that the *sadoh* count for the *badang* component tends to be the same for all fishing systems and durations. At the same time, material investment in the form of *aiai*, capital, and *honor* has a changing distribution component and tends to be more for different fishing systems and durations. Components owned by the *badang* also have a fixed share value, while investment tends to increase according to the system and duration of the catch. Thus, *sadoh*, as a profit-sharing system, places greater emphasis on returns on *aiai*, capital, and *honor*.

## Keywords

sadoh part component system



## Introduction

*Sadoh* is the local knowledge of the Bajo community in sharing the proceeds from the sale of fish catches. *Sadoh* means sharing something. This term refers to the portion acquired by someone. In the fishing system of the Bajo community, the part is the catch or the number of parts from the sale. Interestingly, *sadoh* is meant to be added value or income brought home by fishermen. Value (money) (Aslan et al., 2021, p. 6 & Saiful & Ruban, 2022) is obtained by a fisherman after going through several divisions, which are considered as a return on investment capital in carrying out fishing activities with certain types of boats (Saiful & Ruban, 2022 & Sulistyono et al., 2021).

The investment includes capital, boats, fishing equipment, fishing gear, and managerial (Steenbergen et al., 2022). Capital is money to finance fishing activities. Capital includes the cost of eating and drinking, fish preservatives, and materials for running boats (Phelan et al., 2022). The financiers prepare meals and drinks. The financier prepares rice, side dishes, freshwater, and cooking utensils. Commonly used preservatives are salt or ice. To run the boat, fishermen usually use fuel in the form of diesel or gasoline. Boats are classified as capital, including all boat parts, not fishing equipment. Fishing equipment depends on the type of catch, fishing system, and duration of fishing. This type of catch uses nets that are hundreds of meters long and with large loads using fishing equipment in the form of a tow (gillnet). The *tuhun* fishing system requires the boat to be equipped with a compressor. Long fishing durations such as *bangi* and *lamak* require boats to be equipped with fish storage boxes and the ingredients (salt or ice), depending on the type of catch. For fishing gear, except for *tuhun* fishing gear in *pana* and *toloan*, investment is included, such as *jareh* and *jala*. Managerial is included in the investment category, which is attached to the figure of the captain (*punggawa*), and the *honor* system applies to specific (unusual) systems and types of catches.

The description above is a glimpse of investment in the Bajo fishermen's fishing system. In the *sadoh* system, all assets must be returned as shares. Each investment has a different distribution value according to the categories agreed informally in the fishing community. After all investments have received their share, the *sadoh* is given to the *sabi* (crew) (Latuconsina et al., 2022 & Pramoda et al., 2021). Each *sabi* gets one part of the difference between the sale of the catch and the return on capital. Their number (*sabi*) in a boat with a particular system varies according to the needs of the catch system and the boat's carrying capacity (*tuhun*). The distribution of the proceeds from the sale of catches is not completed after the fishermen return to catch fish; if the capital that has been invested cannot be returned or paid using the proceeds from the sale, all crews involved in fishing are considered in debt and must pay it at the following catch (Pauwelussen, 2016, pp. 11-12). So, it is interesting to analyze 1) What kind of *sadoh* system is in effect, 2) What components influence it, and 3) What is the attraction of the *sadoh* system that makes the crew remain involved in a fishing system.

A search of previous studies found around 372 articles in English from various perspectives. The articles are published from 2010 to 2023. Figure 1 shows a study focusing on the crew associated with loans (Phelan et al., 2022), boats, costs, captains, receipts, and boat owners (Hendrik et al., 2020). The studies show a need for topics related to profit-sharing. The study focuses more on the income earned by fishermen in general or groups of fishermen (Alfian et al., 2021 & Rostitawati et al., 2019, p. 85). To find other studies related to fishing and profit-sharing, the researchers also traced them in the Indonesian language (Figure 2).

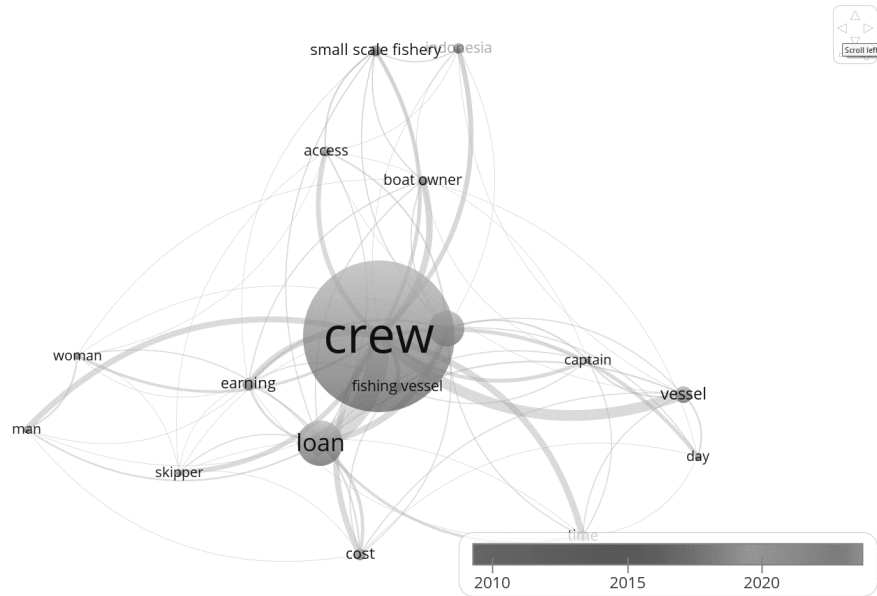


Fig 1. (VOSVIEWER) Study Relation on Fishing and Profit-sharing taken from English Texts using profit-sharing, crew, boat, and earning keywords.

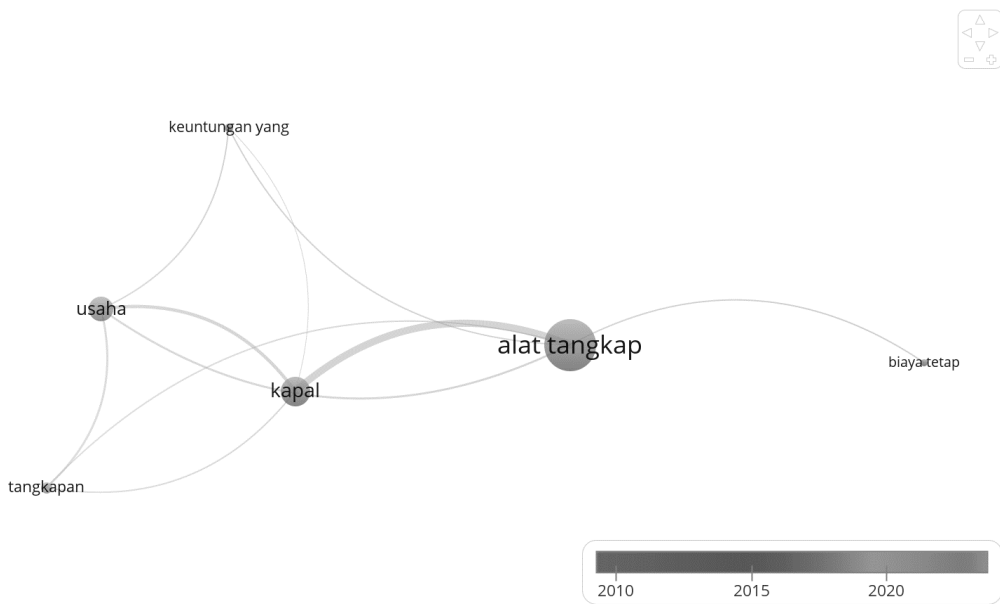


Fig 2. (VOSVIEWER) Study Relation on Fishing and Profit-Sharing taken from Indonesian Texts using ' nelayan' (fishermen), 'ikan' (fish), 'kapal' (boat), and 'biaya' (cost) keywords.

The figure above shows previous studies related to fishing and profit-sharing in Indonesia, with around 337 articles. These studies take the topic of fishermen's income (Wafi et al., 2019) on various coasts of the archipelago in the period 2010 to 2023. These articles mainly study fishermen's income in general and fishermen groups (Silalahi et al., 2020 & Dewanti et al., 2018). Few studies specifically regarding a fisherman's income, either an independent fisherman or *sabi* from group fishermen (Malahayatie & Suryani, 2020, pp. 414-415). Thus, a study of profit-sharing from the sale of fish catches, especially for the Bajo community, is essential for analyzing the system used by this community. The system can analyze how many parts the rights are given to *sabi* (crew), *punggawa* (captain), capital, boats, fishing equipment,

and fishing gear. For this reason, an analysis of the profit-sharing system needs to pay attention to the intricacies of fishing.

The intricacies of fishing, as disclosed by Acheson (1981), include institutions and clusters (crew organization, egalitarian, kinship, access to fishing rights, markets and fish buyers, cooperatives, and fishing clusters); competition (politics and conflict, individual strategies, fisheries switching, capital management, and innovation and technical change); characteristics of fishermen (commitment to fishing, psychological adaptation, and personality traits); women and family life; intracultural diversity; and fisheries management and development (perspective, fisheries management in practice, and fisheries development) (Steenbergen et al., 2022). Related to profit sharing, crew, markets and buyers, fishing cluster, capital management, fisheries management in practice, and fishing village language diversity are explained further.

Crew organization in Bajo fishermen's fishing could be more varied. In simple terms, the crew of a Bajo fishing boat consists of a *sabi* (crew) and a *punggawa* (captain). In some fishing systems, there are also the terms *pamele* (chef) and *bas* (engineer), but they are temporary and are only found in certain groups of fishermen. According to Acheson (1981, p. 278), Crew is paid flatly, or in Bajo society, it is called a share or percentage based on the number of catches. This method is seen as helpful in increasing the crew's motivation for fishing.

Marketing of caught fish (Acheson, 1981, pp. 281-282) revolves around fishermen and collectors or *pecatu* (at sea) (Hendrik et al., 2020). There are two reasons stated by Acheson that it is difficult for fishermen to sell fish well, and they have a strong relationship. Fishermen understand and are more inclined towards fishing activities than competition in the market. Fishermen think more about boats, fishing gear, seasons, and fishing time (Hayward, 2023 & Suadi et al., 2022). Matters related to the market and sale of fish have become the expertise of collectors or *pecatu*. The bond between fishermen and collectors or *pecatu* has long been built with various variations on different fishermen groups (Pauwelussen, 2016, pp. 11-12). The main thing that binds the two is capital. The capital that binds the two is related to capital for catching fish and sometimes involves the boats and fishing gear used. Because of the strong bond between the two, the researchers discovered the phenomenon of catches in baskets entrusted by fishermen on other fishing boats that would go to the market on the beach. Fishermen only mention the name of the collector who will receive the fish in the boxes.

Fishing cluster (Acheson, 1981, pp. 286-287) refers to fishermen or groups of fishermen with certain types of catches using the same fishing gear in the same fishing area. In these clusters, fishermen or groups of fishermen share information regarding fishing locations and the strategies used. The method often used is to follow the strategy of fishermen or groups of fishermen who are considered successful with the number of catches. This is done based on experience and is dynamic (Alfian et al., 2021).

Capital management (Acheson, 1981, pp. 292-293) focuses on fishing capital sources (Phelan et al., 2022). Capital comes from two sources, namely, family and other people. In Bajo society, capital by families or fishermen is usually carried out by independent fishermen using small boats and a simple fishing system, utilizing the *pula hari* (one-day trip) or *bangi* (three to five-day trip) system. One or two people usually go fishing, which requires only a little equipment (Suadi et al., 2022, p. 172). External capital (Pauwelussen, 2016, pp. 11-12) is provided by large boats with complicated equipment and fishing gear with a large carrying capacity or lots of fishing gear (*pana*-fish arrow). This capital (Suwondo et al., 2023, p. 60) is usually carried out using the *lamak* capture system (one week up to five months). Meanwhile, fisheries management is related to the reciprocity of fishing (Acheson, 1981, pp. 302-303). The exchange is in the form of a sustainable fishery regulated through fishing regulations.

Fishing village language diversity means indigenous knowledge of people living in certain communities. The knowledge may differ among different communities; even the same language is affected by different geographical areas where they live. The knowledge is stored in their lexicon and expression, passing along history and experiences (Sapir, 1956, p. 8 & Whorf, 1956, p. 252). For example, vestiges of the Japanese language in the fishing village of the Korean Peninsula are found in terms of simplex and compound words (Yang, 2018), and traditional positioning technology in fishing activities in Yinggehai District is shown in the use of fishermen's knowledge of the water and environment phenomena (Yu, 2018). So, every community has its terms for realizing the social phenomenon experienced. Yang (2022) also reported that the change in the island community can be traced through the language used by the community. A community with high mobility and interaction would easily change in socio-cultural aspects. The change is shown in the language of the community's use.

## Method

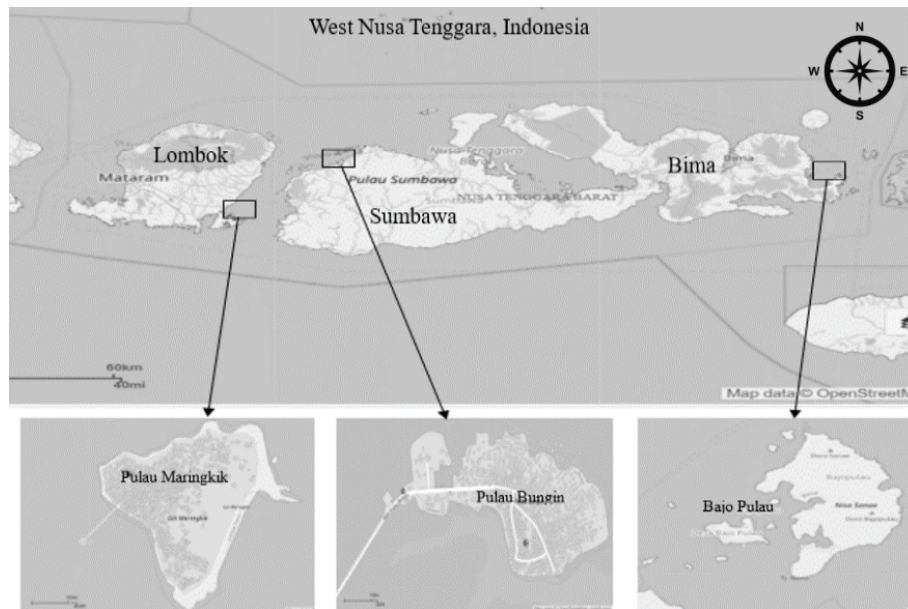


Fig 3. (WebGIS-bps.go.id) Areas Study (Pulau Maringkik Village, Pulau Bungin Village, and Bajo Pulau Village)

This study uses the linguistic anthropological method (Suhandano, 2021, p. 23). This study collects lexicons related to *saduh* (profit sharing) in the fishing of the Bajo people. These lexicons are social phenomena (Ahimsa-Putra, 2022, p. 4) that need to be studied from an anthropological point of view. The highlights of the previous studies were done using the VOSviewer search engine in both English and Indonesian text (Figures 1 and 2). This search displays bibliometric networks of publications based on citation, bibliography, co-citation, or co-author relationship. This search was done to know the position of this paper on profit-sharing in fishing. Lexicon data was collected using direct observation (Moleong, 2021, p. 74) and interviews (Mahsun, 2019, p. 368) with Bajo leaders and fishermen. Observations were made by staying in the Bajo settlement for 57 days, divided into two years. The first was carried out for 15 days in October 2022, and the second for 42 days in June-July 2023. To strengthen the observation results, in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 key informants and 30 accompanying informants divided into three research enclaves in West Nusa Tenggara. Each enclave consists of 4 key informants (leaders) and ten companion informants (fishermen). The three enclaves are Bajo Pulau Village, Sape District, Bima Regency; Bungin Island Village, Alas District, Sumbawa Regency; and

Maringkik Island Village, Keruak District, East Lombok Regency. All three are Bajo fishing settlements located on small islands. Data is processed and analyzed using qualitative analytical methods, including sorting, grouping (Ahimsa-Putra, 2022b, p. 331), interpreting, and concluding (Moleong, 2021, p. 248). Specifically for interpretation, this study uses a local knowledge approach, as Patino-Santos (2020) suggested.

The sorting was carried out to distinguish lexicons that were genuinely related to *sadoh* for profit-sharing from a pile of lexicons that seemed to be connected, such as buyers and recipients of the catch. The grouping or classification of lexicons describes the lexicon, which includes the leading indicators of profit-sharing, influential factors, and the *honor* system applied to several fishing systems. Interpretation does not use the researcher's knowledge but uses what the lexicon means based on experience and the rules applied by Bajo fishermen. The interpretation emphasizes distribution patterns given to the crew, boats, fishing equipment, return on capital investment, and the provision of *honor* to crew for certain types of fish and specific fishing systems, such as *pana*. In conclusion, several patterns were applied, and then a node was created as a system for sharing the fish catches of Bajo fishermen.

## Results and Discussion

Table 1. Lexicon on *Sadoh*

No	Lexicon	Meaning	No	Lexicon	Meaning
1	sisalakang	separate	24	sabi	crew
2	madua ongkos	two fares	25	punggawa	captain
3	dakau	same	26	pamele	chef
4	tanggoh papada	bear it together	27	bas	Engineer
5	salohna lagi ja	There is more tomorrow	28	badang	body
6	jujuluk	pay together	29	aiai	facilities and equipment
7	ngongkos	fare	30	leppa/perahu	boat
8	berongkosan	fare	31	bidok/perahu	boat
9	ngala ongkos	take the fare	32	jolor/perahu	boat
10	rampuh	become one	33	jala	nets
11	nyempa	take the money first	34	jareh	nets
12	nendang	kick (take much money)	35	pana	arow
13	nyyeleng	(take) a little (money)	36	boks	box
14	bela diri	own part	37	pecatu	buyer
15	nondak	dose	38	kompresor	compressor
16	baks	(container) dose	39	pepsi	fishing rod
17	modal	capital	40	pemilik perahu	boat owner
18	pongkak	go to sea	41	mesin	machine
19	pula hari	go to sea (1 day)	42	honor	honor
20	bangi	go to sea (3–5 days)	43	tuhun	dive
21	lamak	go to sea (> 1 week)	44	dayah	fish
22	kalorah	lobster	45	dayah ekspor	export fish
23	garam	salt	46	dayah campur	local fish

Table 2. Lexicon Classification on *Sadoh*

No	Lexicon	Unit/ person	Share	Duration (Fishing)	Fishing system
1.	badang	sabi (crew)	1 part	pulahari (go to sea (1 day)) bangi (go to sea (3–5 days)) lamak (go to sea (> 1 week))	
		punggawa (captain)	1 part		
		pamele (chef)	1 part		
		bas (engineer)	1 part		
2.	aiai	perahu (boat)	2 parts	bangi (go to sea (3–5 days))	mana (arow)
		mesin (machine)	2 parts		
		compressor	1 part		
		pana (arrow)	1 part		
		perahu (boat)	3 parts	lamak (go to sea (> 1 week))	mana (arow)
		mesin (machine)	3 parts		
		compressor	2 parts		
		pana (arrow)	2 parts		
		perahu (boat)	1 part	pulahari (go to sea (1 day)) bangi (go to sea (3–5 days))	messi (fishing)
		mesin (machine)	1 part		
		pessi (fishing rod)	1 part		
		perahu (boat)	3 parts	bangi (go to sea (3–5 days)) lamak (go to sea (> 1 week))	jareh (nets)
		mesin (machine)	2 parts		
		jareh (nets)	5 parts		
3.	modal	modal (capital)	1 part	equal to aiai	
4.	honor	patuhun (diver)	2 parts	bangi (go to sea (3–5 days)) lamak (go to sea (> 1 week))	pana (arow)
		aiai (facilities and equipment)	1 part		jareh (nets)
		Sabi jareh	1 part		
5.	sisalakang	beli (buyer)	target	bangi (go to sea (3–5 days)) lamak (go to sea (> 1 week))	pana (arow)

## Discussion

*Badang* means a body that refers to humans, namely *sabi* (crew) and *punggawa* (captain), who are involved in a fishing system for Bajo fishermen. *Sabi* in this paper includes *pamele* (chef) and *bas* (engineer), considering that they have the same hierarchy under the command of a *punggawa*. Thus, one *badang* is equal to one person. Each person gets one share of the profits from the sale of fish. Apart from that, the *punggawa* also gets one share. Although it has the same share as *sabi*, a *punggawa* usually invests in *aiai* (facilities and equipment) and *modal* (capital). The part for *badang* applies to three fishing systems for Bajo fishermen (*pongkak*, *bangi*, and *lamak*) and all fishing systems (*mana*, *messi*, and *jareh*).





Fig 4. Pana's equipment in Bajo Pulau Village

*Aiai* means facilities and equipment. The facility in this study refers to anything used for going to sea, including fishing aids. The main marine facility is the *perahu* (boat). The size of the boat depends on the equipment to be installed (Saiful & Ruban, 2022). The size and complexity of the equipment installed on the boat determine the profit sharing received by the boat. The boat on the *bangi* system gets two parts, while on the *lamak* system, it gets three parts. Apart from boats, fishing systems and duration (*bangi* and *lamak*) also use a compressor as a *tuhun's tool*. The number and ability of the compressors used depend on the boat and the duration of the fishing used. In one large compressor, more than one hose can be attached, and each hose is also made of a branch, which is used as a breathing apparatus for divers when fishing. The size and capability of this compressor are the standard for the *aiai compressor*. The machine also gets profit sharing from the sale of fish caught by Bajo fishermen. Machines vary for different types of boats. Large boats usually have two to three machines with greater capacity than machines on small boats. The power and number of machines on a boat are also the standard for calculating the profit share. The machine on the *bangi* system gets two parts, while on the *lamak*, it gets three parts. *Pana* fishing gear in the *mana* fishing system also gets one part even though the number of *pana* used reaches tens. One part for *pana* due to its concise and inexpensive specifications. The mention of *pana* in this study refers not only to an arrow but also to more than one arrow and its accessories, such as set-dresses, glasses, flashlights, and *toloan*. However, for the *lamak* system, the *pana* gets two parts, considering the number of *pana* and equipment used is twice the amount used in the *bangi* system.





Fig 5. Leppa (boat) and jareh (net) for pula hari system in Pulau Bungin Village

*Aiai* for the *messi* fishing system is relatively simple because all equipment and fishing tools receive one share. This profit-sharing part applies because the boats and machines are relatively small, simple, and do not require much maintenance. The fishing duration used is also *pula hari* and *bangi*. For the *jareh* fishing system, the portion received by the equipment and fishing gear is more significant. The boat gets three parts, the engines get three, and *jareh* (including *jala*) gets four. The large number of parts in the net catch system is because the boats and engines are large and require high maintenance costs. The *jareh* (including *jala*) gets the largest share (four parts), considering that this fishing gear costs a lot to maintain and has a relatively large carrying capacity. The length of a *jareh* (including *jala*) reaches hundreds of meters; some even reach 1 km. This is the consideration for the size of the division for this fishing gear. The carrying capacity of the boats and *jareh* makes the duration of fishing usually used *bangi* and *lamak*. Fishermen will not use assets for small and short catches using extensive tools.

Capital is an essential part of Bajo fishermen's fishing activities. Capital gets one part, the same as one of the components of *aiai*. Capital is obtained from a boss who is usually a boat owner, *punggawa*, or a joint venture between the two. Boat owners typically come from the Bajo community in one village. Capital is needed to meet the needs for food and drink, equipment and materials, and the crew's families left for fishing. Capital like this is called *ongkos*. Crew, *sabi*, *pamele*, and *bas* usually ask for *ongkos*, also known as *ngala ongkos*. Sometimes, a crew *nendang* (takes much money) or *nenyeleng* (takes a little money).

*Honor* means more incentives or money other than the formal regulations that have been set. Money in the fishing system is called a share given to certain people and under certain conditions. Using *pana*, *patuhun* will receive an honor from two parts in the fishing system. *Patuhun* is the same as *sabi*, whose job is to dive to catch fish using a *pana*. The part of the *honor* earned is then divided among the number of *patuhun* involved. In this case, *pamele* and *bas* did not receive the *honor*. Honors are given to show appreciation for the hard work of *patuhun* by diving alternately at night.

These rewards may not be worth the risk that threatens them in the form of decompression. In addition to giving *honors taken from sales proceeds*, *honors* in several fishing groups apply a system of selling non-target fish for *sabi's honor*. With this technique, the *honor* amount obtained for each *sabi* can be less or more than the part obtained. For example, the target for *pana's* catch is export fish, and *kalorah*, as a non-target fish, is *sabi's honor*. Apart from *patuhun*, honor is also applied to the fishing method using *jareh*. Honor was awarded to *aiai* and *sabi*, with one part for each. Honor for all *sabi* is one part taken from one part of *jareh*. This means that one part is divided into all the *sabi* involved in fishing.

Especially for *Sisalakang*, profit sharing needs to be carried out. Each *sabi* profits from the dose of fish obtained during the fishing process. The boat owner calculates the price of the fish accepted, and the sale proceeds become *Sabi's* property. Each *sabi* has its measure. This technique was found by researchers in Bajo Pulau Village and conveyed by fishermen that it is rarely used, considering the fishing system used is *pana*. With *pana* and conditions in the water where it is difficult to communicate, it is feared that competition to get more fish will reduce the awareness of the *sabi* and can create lousy competition (Spijkers et al., 2021) between the *sabi*, resulting in wrong targeting of the *pana*.

*Sadoh* with five systems found consisting of *badang*, *aiai*, capital, *honor*, and *sisalakang*. Each profit-sharing system uses a shared pattern, except for the last one mentioned, from the profits from the sale of fish catches. Furthermore, the profit is obtained after deducting sales results from costs incurred in fishing. This fee is not included in the *sadoh* system. Costs are included in calculating debt that must be paid first after getting the sale proceeds (Latuconsina et al., 2022). The remaining cost reduction is considered profit divided based on *badang*, *aiai*, capital, and *honor*. The amount of the part obtained by each system is assessed from the capital investment issued materially. Thus, *aiai* gets the most share, followed by *honor*, capital, and *badang*. *Honor* is only used for the *pana* capture system and the duration of the *bangi* and *lamak* capture, while the capital and *badang* apply to all systems and the duration of the catch.

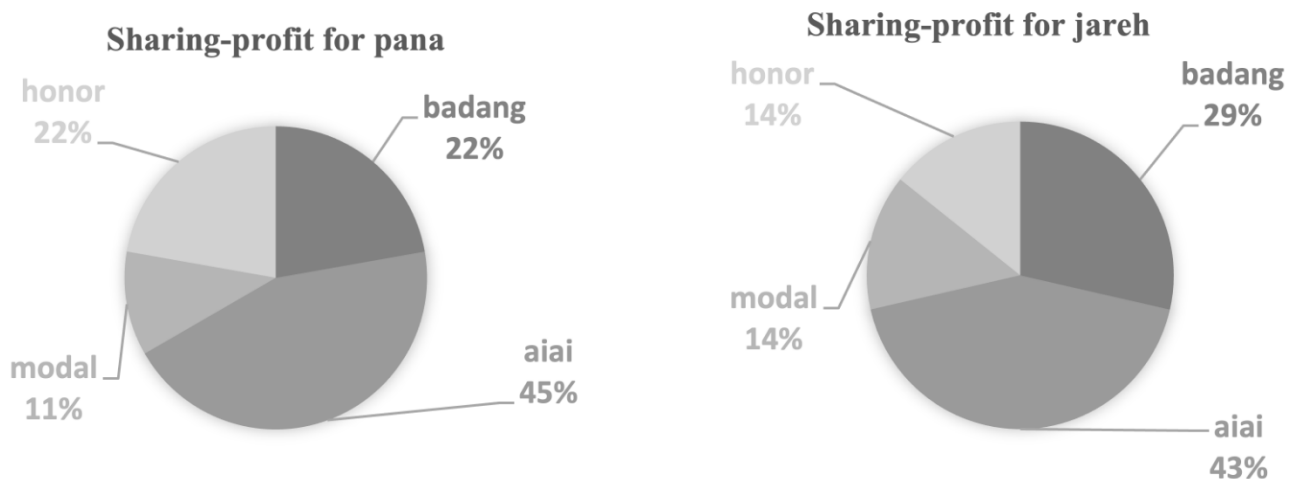


Fig 6. Percentage of *Sadoh* based on components included.

The four *sadoh* systems implemented show the components used in them. *Badang* involves *sabi* components (including *pamele* and *bas*) and *punggawa*. *Aiai* includes two main things, namely equipment and fishing gear. The equipment used includes boat components, machines, and compressors. Tools consist of one type of fishing gear (*pana*, *jareh/jala*, or *pessi*) for one fishing system. Capital uses one component, the cost of going to sea. *Honor* involves two components: honor for *sabi* (*patuhun* and *sabi jareh*) and *aiai*. Interestingly, even though capital has one component and gets only one

part, investing in the *aiai* component with four components is part of the capital invested in the fishing system. Furthermore, if the *aiai* is part of the capital in the form of investment, the capital also gets one more part of the *honor aiai*.

Thus, capital gets about six shares in *sadoh*. The six parts are obtained from the capital, four from the *aiai*, and one from the *aiai's honor*. On the other hand, *Sabi* gets about two shares from *sadoh badang* and *patuhun's honor* or *sabi jareh's honor*. In other words, capital gets six shares of *sadoh* from the nine existing components, while *sabi* gets two parts. This system applies to fishing using the *pana* method. Catching fish using other systems will automatically reduce the amount of equipment, namely compressors, and there will be no *honor* (incentive) for *sabi*, except for *jareh* using *lamak*. That way, the percentage of the component parts for capital and *sabi* is always like Figure 6. Capital will get five component parts out of the seven existing components, while *sabi* will get only one part.

*Sabi* (crew), as the spearhead of fishing, is needed by the *punggawa* to carry out his duties. The *punggawa*, as a managerial capital investment, must be able to attract *Sabi's* interest. The lexicon data shows elements of capital's ties with the terms 1) *ngongkos*, 2) *ngalak ongkos*, 3) *nendang*, and 4) *nenyeleng* (Pauwelussen, 2016). The first lexicon means capital given at the start. The capital referred to is the operational costs of fishing in general, including capital that can be withdrawn early by *sabi*. The second lexicon has the same meaning as the first lexicon. The difference is in the subject of the perpetrator. The *punggawa* usually performs the first lexicon, and the *sabi* performs the second lexicon. The first lexicon implies the capital is taken from the financier or the *bos*, while the second lexicon is taken from the *punggawa* or through the *punggawa*. The third lexicon means that *sabi* takes a large amount of capital. The fourth lexicon has the same meaning as the third lexicon but is tiny.



Fig 7. Bidok (large boat) of Bajo for *lamak* is loading ice in Tanjung Luar Fish Port (left) and Tanjung Luar Fish Market is crowded every morning (right). The port and fish market are in one location. Both pictures were taken from seaside of the south of the port and fish market from Pulau Maringkik Village.

Thus, capital as a bond can be one of the factors (there may be other factors) that attract *sabi* to get involved in a fishing activity. Bonds are needed, considering that the crew involved must have expertise in specific fields and types of catch. With a crew, the *punggawa* can carry out his duties in managing fishing. Besides skill, the number of *sabi* needed for fishing (Acheson, 1981, p. 280) also determines the catch. The expertise and number of crew are risky in balancing the capital burden of fishing activities, which amounts to tens of millions for one trip. Bonds like this continue, especially if

one catch is less than expected and causes capital loss. All those involved in the fishing system are considered to have a debt burden to return the capital by participating in fishing activities on the next trip.

Analysis of the *sadoh* lexicon regarding profit sharing from the sale of fish caught by Bajo fishermen leads to the conclusion that four factors (*badang*, *aiai*, capital, and *honor*) are involved. Each factor has its components, which serve as the basis for determining profit-sharing share (Acheson, 1981, p. 278). The implicit factor that plays a role and gets more share (out of the three factors) is investment in *capital*, *aiai*, and *aiai's honor*. This investment is part of what is owned (usually) by the *punggawa* or boat owner, and usually, the boat owner is also the *punggawa* (Acheson, 1981, p. 277). This means that the *sadoh* system and fishing in Bajo revolve around and depend on the two, *punggawa* and boat owners.

*Sadoh* of Bajo clearly shows that the centralized regulations applied in fishing in Indonesia (Hendrik et al., 2020) only extend to regulations regarding boats and fishing areas. These regulations still need to touch on social relations between fishermen in a fishing system. Furthermore, regulations still need to emphasize the capital system and profit sharing within that system. Fishermen do this using their methods and adapting them to their needs.

These five leading *sadoh* lexicons are what fishermen apply when sharing the profits from selling fish caught. Apart from the fifth lexicon, these four lexicons are applicable in three Bajo fishermen's fishing areas. Variations in the application of profit sharing occur depending on the three fishing systems used. They are *pongkak pula hari*, *bangi*, and *lamak*. These three systems directly impact the length of time at sea, the type of equipment, fishing gear, and the costs required. This, of course, affects the profit sharing for all components that receive distribution. The fishing system implemented by local organizations leads to a rotation of roles between *punggawa* and boat owners (Acheson, 1981). Both play a vital role in the fishing system and have access to the value and share of sales proceeds (Latuconsina et al., 2022).

## Conclusion

Profit sharing based on the *sadoh* lexicon, it can be concluded that Bajo fishermen involve investment factors in the form of *badang*, *aiai*, capital, and *honor*. The components involved in this investment are adjusted to the fishing system and duration. *Badang* involves two components that are constant in all systems: the duration of the catch and the duration of the catch. *Aiai* involves three components: always present in all systems and catch duration. One component only exists in one capture system, a compressor with a *pana* capture system. Besides boats and engines, fishing gear can change types but are still in one component. Capital involves only one component, namely capital for going to sea. *Honor* involves two components; one is only used in the *pana* or *jareh lamak* capture system.

Profit sharing is closely related to material investment. The investment is based on three factors and involves up to seven components used as the basis for sharing profits. The investment in the form of energy has only two components and tends to be a fixed amount for all systems and fishing durations. This study uses the *sadoh* lexicon, which focuses on Bajo fishermen's knowledge of the ins and outs of *sadoh*. Thus, the study is more inclined to the system implemented. This study does not enter the realm of real income and comparison of take-home money for *sabi* or *punggawa*.

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## Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

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