

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The present research work attempts to study the socio-cultural life of the Kaibarttas of Nalbari district with special reference to fish lore and fishing practices prevalent among them in the preceding chapters. It tries to study in detail their social customs, material culture, folk performances, oral literature associated with their occupational life and fishing practices. In this work we see that social customs, material culture and folk performances of the Kaibarttas revolve round their fishing life and fishing practices. This research work also reveals that their fish lore is reflected in the form of rites and rituals, beliefs and religion, folk medicines, games and oral traditions like songs, proverbs, riddles, charms, tales, myths and legends. In the preceding chapters attempts have been made to shed some light on fish lore and fishing practices of the Kaibarttas, living in Nalbari district.

Chapter 1, *Introduction* deals with the study of origin and history of the Kaibarttas. The Kaibarttas are one of the important castes of Assam whose existence is evident from the ages of the great epics, such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The Kaibarttas are specified as scheduled caste for Assam by the constitution order 1950 [a] Part II. Assam. The Kaibarttas who have been engaging themselves traditionally in the fishing trade which is supposed to be their main livelihood are also an important caste of India. Of course, fishing is one of the oldest occupations of the mankind since the days of their existence in the universe. In India the practice of fishing is confined only to a few specified castes which constitute the lower stratum of the society. The existence of the Kaibartta community is found in Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Andhrapradesh, Kerala, Gujrat, West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Assam. The Kaibarttas are scattering all over the twenty seven district of Assam. According to the census report of 2011, the total population of Assam is recorded as 31169272. Out of these, the number of total scheduled caste population is 2231321 i.e. 7.16 percent of the total population of Assam. The Kaibartta population as per 2011 census in Assam is 693219. The Kaibarttas constitute 2.22 percent of the total population of Assam and

31.06 percent of the schedule caste population of Assam. As per census 2011 of India, the total population of Kaibarttas is recorded as 17539 in Nalbari district, of whom 8845 are males and 8694 are females.

The Kaibarttas constitute a predominant caste in Assam. They occupy a lower rank in the caste hierarchy. Even they were considered to be untouchable in the society before the spread of neo-*Vaishnavism* in Assam.

The literal meaning of the word *Kaibartta* is to live on the products of water. In the word *Kaibartta*, *Kai* means on water and *Brit* means subsists or lives. They are described by several names, such as *Dhibara*, *Matshya*, *Kaibartta*, *Panikalita*, *Pani Keot*, *Dasa*, *Nodiyal*, *Sagar*, *Nodiputra*, *Jalowar*, *Gangaputra*, *Jalkeot* etc.

Manu referred to the Kaibarttas as a mixed caste. According to him the inhabitants of Arjyavarta employed the name *Kaibartta* to denote the offspring of a *Nisada* from an *Ayogava* woman, who is called *Margava* and *Dasa* and who run their lives by plying boats [Barua, B. K: 128].

According to *Brahmavavarta Purana* the Kaibarttas originated from the *Khatriya* father and the *Sudra* mother, which may be termed as the *Varnasankara* of the *Khatriya* and *Sudra* [Brahmavaivarta-Purana: Book-1].

In much earlier literature the Kaibarttas are found as ferrymen. The *Cryagities* of the *Sahajiya Buddhist*, the *Dombas* i.e. *Dom* and *Dombis* have been introduced as ferrymen [Charayapada: No-14].

The analysis of ancient records granted by the Ahom king Shiva Singha in favour of Barpeta Satra reveals that a sect of Kaibarttas, some of whom were fishermen by profession, adhered to Buddhism in early days and that for their non acceptance of Hinduism which was then prevalent in Assam. They were looked down upon by the Hindus of Assam and were contemptuously called *Doms* [Deva, B. J & Lahari, D. K: 20].

S.K. Chatterjee does observe: The exact affinities of these Kaibarttas i.e. Sanskritised from a pakrit tribal name *Kevatta*, is not known. The *Kevatta* Kaibarttas are found mentioned in the Ashoka inscription evidently as an eastern Indian people,

whose humble calling that of fisherman indicated their non-Aryan origin. They were Austric rather than Mongoloids [Chatterjee, S. K: 62].

According to Edward Gait the Doms are of obvious Dravidian origin [Gait, E: 2]. During the Brahman and Shanghita Ages the Kaibartta was known as *Kimvarta* in which *Kim* means ugly and *Varta* means occupation.

According to *Adhunik Asomiya Shabba Kosh*, Kaibartta means a caste, the people of which run their lives by catching fishes [Saliha, S: 116].

According to *Saral Bangla Adbidhan*, Kaibartta means those who live near water and run their life depending upon it [Mitra, S: 295].

This chapter also deals with the study of the land and people of Assam. Down the ages Assam has been receiving people of different strains, such as, Indo-Chinese Mongoloids. Across her geographical boundaries there came men, ideas and means of production to mingle together with the aboriginals. She maintained her independence status till 1826. Assam is situated in between 28⁰ and 24⁰ North latitudes and 89⁰ 86' and 96⁰ East longitudes. On the north, Assam is guarded by the eastern section of the great Himalayan range. On the east lie the mountains inhabited by the Chamois and the *Singphos*. The Pataki range on the south-east is inhabited by the Nags and merges itself into the mountains of Burma. On the south of the Brahmaputra valley the mountain chains take the name of the Giro hills, the Khaki and the *Jayantiya* hills the North Catcher and the Maker hills and the *Naga* Hills.

The total population of Assam has been 31169272 in 2011 census. The total scheduled caste population of Assam is 2231321 in 2011 census. From the point of view of religion Hinduism is the dominant religion in Assam. Other faiths like Christianity, Budddhism, Jainism, Sikhism etc have also their followers. Assam has been the melting pot of all branches of human race and of cultures of both hills and plains. Waves of people belonging to different ethnic groups poured into this region from time immemorial. The main tribes and caste residing in Assam are Brahmins, Kayasthas, Kalitas, Keots, Bariyas, Suts, Yogis, Kaibarttas.

Assam is a bilingual state With Assamese as the court language in the Brahmaputra valley and Bengali in the two districts of the Surma valley. Among the important

dialects of Assam, majority of them come under Tibeto-Burman. These are: A] Tibetan and its dialects B] Himalayan group of dialects C] North Assam group-Aka, Miri, Abor, Dafla and Mishmi D] Assamese-Burmese group-Bodo, Mech, Rabha, Garo, Kachari, Tipra, Ao, Angami, Sema, Tengkhul, Manipuri, Singphoand Burmeese and its dialects. Next to Assamese, the other important language is Bengali.

Bihu is the main festival Assam. Besides, the death anniversary of Sankardeva and Madhadeva, *Tithi* of Damodardeva, Doijatra, Sivaratri, Durga puja, Saraswati Puja, Viswakarma Puja etc. are also performed annually. On the other hand the Muslims and Christian and the followers of other sects observe their religious festivals with co-operation from fellow brothers of other sects.

Assam is called a peasants' land. So, 91 percent of her total population live in the village, with agriculture as their main occupation. The main crops in Assam are rice, wheat, pulses, mustard and oily seeds, sugar-cane, jute and different kinds of fruits and vegetables. Assam has been also showing her excellence since long past in the field of manufacturing of silk clothes. There is found three varieties of Assam silk worms, such as *Eri*, *Muga* and *Pat*. Then cane, bamboo and palm leave works constitutes the indigenous cottage industries of Assam in the rural areas.

This chapter also deals with the study of fish lore and fishing practices of Assam. The fish lore is seen in the oral literature of Assam. The genres of oral literature are ballad, religious song, love song, work song, festival song and song of children and games. These genres of oral literature show the influence of fishes. Fish has been one of the important food items of the Assamese people since the past.

Myth, legend and tale are inclusive to the prose narrative. The reference of fishes is found in myth, legend and tale. Proverbs riddles and charms also show the influence of fishes.

Several kinds of traditional fishing methods are practised in the hill and plain districts of Assam. Some of the old traditional fishing methods are: A. Crab fishing B. Fishing with smart weed C. Fishing with Karoi tree D. Fishing with Moin tree E. Eel fishing in plain areas F. Eel fishing in hill areas

Bamboo has been playing an important role in making the fishing implements in rural areas. Bamboo and cane have been playing an important role in forming the fish culture of the Assamese people. The rural folk of Assam use these implements during the rainy season. Some of the fishing implements are: *Jaj Mara, Sunga Pata, Thoha Pata, Elangi Pata, Pauri Pata, Veta Rakha Dewa Bana, Zongarere Hana, Fishing Net, Parngi Jal, Theki Jal, Kami Jal, Sangla Jal, Bheli Jal* etc.

Chapter 2, *Review of Literature* deals with the related literature of the research work. It discusses the newspapers, articles, books and documents related to the work of different states of India and outside.

Chapter 3, *Research Methodology* deals the steps and methods adopted for the work. It states about the primary and secondary sources, methods of field area selection and methods of data collection.

Chapter 4, *Results and Discussion* has devoted to the study of socio-cultural geography of Nalbari. It studies the religion and festivals, institutions of folk performing art forms, education and literature and movements and industries of Nalbari district. Rasa festival, Durga Puja and Shovas are observed in Nalbari district. Besides, Kulbeelghat Razhuwa Shibalaya, Kubalaya Thaan, Basudeva Devalaya and Shova, Sri Sri Bilbeswar Devalaya are some of the important historical property of Nalbari district.

Ojapalai, Bhaona, Putla Nach, Khuliya Bhaona, Dhuliya, Bhaira are some of the folk performing art form of Nalbari district. The stories are mainly taken from *Mahabharata, Ramayana* and *Purana* for these performing art forms.

Then in the field of education and literature Gordon High School has been playing an important role since 1882. Nalbari is also the centre of Sanskrit learning of Assam. It is also known for the practices of astronomy. Law College established in 1981 has been promoting the education of law in Nalbari district. *Jeuti* was the first published magazine from Nalbari. This magazine gave a platform to the new comers of Nalbari. Nalbari also has the contribution towards the freedom struggle of India. People of Nalbari joined the communist movement. Pottery art is also seen in Nalbari district.

This chapter also deals with the study of the society and culture of the Kaibarttas of Nalbari district. Their family is based on the patriarchal pattern. The father is considered as the head of the family. Any important decision regarding the family is finalised only by him. The sons inherit property after the death of the father. There are two types of family among the Kaibarttas, such as, A] Nuclear family and B] Joint family.

In the social system of Kaibarttas, they are classified into four groups, such as, A] Halwa Dom B] Jalwa Dom C] Sauriya Dom and D] Kacharipuria Dom. The sub group of Jalwa Dom or Jaliya Dom are divided into four groups: A] Patni B] Dom Patni C] Dom or Nodiyal and D] Motok Dom.

Regarding marriage, the polygamy and child marriage is not seen among the Kaibarttas. Marriage relationship is not established between brother and sister. Generally widow remarriage is allowed. Dowry system is not there among the Kaibarttas.

Right now the economic condition and educational life of the Kaibarttas is not sound. But slowly these have been started to be developed. The lives of the Kaibarttas revolve centring round fishing. The Kaibarttas take fishing as the main occupation in their life. From the field survey it is found that almost fifty two percent of them are engaged in fishing and others are partly engaged in cultivation, hand cart pulling, business, rickshaw pulling, service, contract and wage earning.

The Kaibarttas speak Assamese language like the other people of Assam. Of course, they use their own local dialect in day to day transactions staying in the several regions of Assam. A dialect within a single language may be varied regionally, temporarily or socially. A dialect is differed in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary from the standard language.

Religion plays a great role in the life of the Kaibarttas. The Kaibarttas are inclusive to the Hindu religion. They sacrifice the birds, fishes and animals for the satisfaction of the supernatural forces. They worship the deities to keep them safe and protected from several diseases and hardships. According to the Kaibarttas, the Lord *Vishnu* is the creator of this universe and they like to worship him as the *Matshya Avatara*. Thus

they try to associate their glorified past. Some of them follow *Sakta Dharma*. On the other hand some others follow *Vaishnava Dharma*. Of course, Vaishnava cult includes different sects. The Kaibarttas follow goddess *Bhagawati* as their chief goddess.

The Kaibarttas of Nalbari practise some folk beliefs by formulating and creating in which they are represented as the siblings of some popular mythical characters and sages. By following these beliefs they try to glorify their past and reveal their occupational identity. They even try to relate their origin with some of the epic characters drawn from *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* like *Satyavati* and *Matsyagandha*. They also try to relate some festivals and rites and rituals with their occupational life associated with fish and the fishing practices. These are *Magh Bihu*, *Aho-Maho*, *Dol Utsav*, *Durga Puja*, *Kali Puja*, *Basli Puja*, *Bhel Diya*, *Jal Dangariyak Thagi Diya*, *Nag Panchami*, *Jaleswari Puja* and *Ganga Puja*.

The concept of existence prevailed among the Kaibarttas are four while telling their narratives. Some of their narratives tell about king engaged in fishing like King *Dhibor*. Simplicity and graciousness of King *Dhibor* is highlighted in the narrative and their effort to equalise their position with that of the king is clearly evident. They feel proud of narrating such story which states the mighty and noble kings of the past.

The traditional folk games of the Kaibarttas have been reflecting their life struggle with nature for their existence. The folk games of the Kaibarttas have been helping in the development of social, psychological and physical growth. *Swa-Sui*, *Hoi-Gadu* and *Lach* are some folk games played by the Kaibarttas, living in Nalbari district. In playing these games children recite songs which show the names of fishes, e.g. *Agur gur maguror jali* i.e. A young magur, *Isni bisni* i.e. Hand fan, *Hau kuli bau kuli* i.e. A nonsense rhyme is sung etc. They also try to relax their mind and body by following some occupational amusements, such as, *Naukhel* and community fishing which relieve them from tensions and miseries of life.

The Kaibarttas do believe in the existence in of deities and spirits. They believe that these deities and spirits exist and act in their own way. These deities and spirits are supposed to possess the human bodies and sometimes non-physical bodies. By

offering prayer and *Pujas* to *Vishnu, Jaleswari, Ganga, Manasa* etc., they establish their faith on the supernatural phenomenon.

The Kaibarttas also carry some beliefs regarding their fishing tools. They believe that some of their fishing tools are originally used by some deities. They accept that these tools later on handed down to them. So, they feel a sense of pride having used these tools which also inspire them at the time of danger and fear.

The folk medicine has been playing an important role in removing several diseases and imbalances of body among the Kaibarttas from the time immemorial. The use of fish as folk medicine is seen among the Kaibarttas of Nalbari. The folk medicine men are known as Kaviraj. The Kaibarttas worship both the malevolent and benevolent spirits. They believe that some diseases are caused due to the influence of the evil spell of the spirits on human beings. The Kaviraj detects the cause of disease or illness and accordingly the patient is treated. Sometimes the patient is advised to sacrifice animals and fishes to appease the evil spirits. They believe chanting holy words and magical formulas which may also recover patient from illness and diseases. The charms used by Kaviraj refer to the names of fishes. Fishes are used in several kinds of diseases also.

The Kaibarttas possess rich heritage in arts and crafts. The simple material cultural experiences of the Kaibarttas find collective and spontaneous expression in their arts and crafts. Their tradition of living on the lap of nature also expresses their arts and crafts. The Kaibarttas use the raw bamboo, cane, wood etc. in their arts and crafts. The Kaibarttas make several types of baskets which are used in their day to day occupational life. The baskets are in varied forms and sizes. There are some craftsmen also who run their lives by making baskets and fishing equipments. The artistic expression is also seen in the folk paintings of the Kaibarttas. Their folk painting is exposed during the festivals and ceremonies. The images of fish and fishing tools, e.g. *Zakhe, Kook* etc. and animals are seen in their paintings.

The artistic taste of the Kaibarttas is also reflected through their textile and handloom. The colour and design are found simple in their wearing. Some of the household dresses are prepared on their loom. The clothes prepared by the Kaibartta

women are *Mekhela, Sadar, Gamacha* etc. They create beautiful picture of fish and fishing tools also in these clothes, which reflect their occupational fishing life. These handmade clothes are used while they go for fishing. The Kaibarttas also maintain their traditional dresses and ornaments. Their dresses and make up are unique. The Kaibarttas are interested in the uses of handloom products. Their clothes are seen adorned with several designs of flowers. Generally the Kaibartta women folk are skilled in making designs on clothes. They use several kinds of flower designs in their clothes. The Kaibartta girls learn the art of weaving from their mothers. Kaibartta traditional jewellery also shows some part of the fish when made, such as, the eye of the fish known as *Biri* and *Gajera*

The folk architecture of the Kaibarttas is remarkable. The Kaibarttas mostly used the materials in their architecture which are locally available. In making building a new house the Kaibarttas maintain the age old traditional customs. The Kaibartta fisher folk made *Baha* and *Poira* near beels during fishing season. These two types of houses are temporary. Of course, due to the influence of modernization the pattern of architecture has also been modernized. Some of the up to date families wants to build their houses with bricks and cement. They want to use the iron sheet in the roof.

The Kaibarttas attach great value to food. The Kaibarttas inherit the food habits and technique of cooking from their fore-fathers. The Kaibarttas are well expert in preparing traditional cooking. *Khar* i.e. alkali and *Shidal* i.e. dry fish powder are the two important food items of the Kaibarttas. Fish is one of the favourite food items of the Kaibartta people. Kaibartta people use fish every day in their food items. *Masor Tenga, Mas Patat Diya, Mas Kharikat Diya, Mas Amitar Khar, Pora Mas* etc. are some of food items of fish. Of course, in due course of time, as a result of the modernization their food habits have been changed.

The artistic skill in the folk performances of the Kaibarttas is high and appreciable. The performing art forms generally satisfy the demands of the folk people. The dramatic and semi-dramatic performances are generally observed in the festival, such as *Kali Puja, Dol Utsav, Lakshmi Puja* etc. The dramatic performances prevalent in the Kaibartta society may show meaning making co-ordination between individual

players and players, between players and audience. The performing art forms play an important role in the socio-cultural scenarios.

The performing art forms have been helping in imparting knowledge to the folk people. Generally the stories for the performing arts are based on the mythology along with some creative stories. These performances impart ethical knowledge and moral lessons to the adults and children. These also provide pleasures to the folk people along with knowledge.

The folk songs, verse and music of the Kaibarttas go hand to hand. The musical aspects of the oral songs are clearly reflected in practice. The Kaibarttas refresh themselves by singing as well as dancing with the accompaniments of various traditional musical instruments. The songs and music are performed generally in the wedding ceremonies, festivals and some other occasions. The simple catchy folk tunes shows the feelings and sentiments of their fore-fathers, their lives and thoughts. It expresses their activities and achievements. The songs also carry some moral values which help in teaching the younger generations.

The dances connected with the oral songs more or less are ritualistic in both content and context. The dances contain amazing melody of music and folk elements. The performers of the performing art form wear traditional dresses. Performance is seen in the songs of *Bihu*, *Ojapali*, *Dhuliya Bhaona*. The *Dhuliyas* dramatically performs *Pohari* song and dramas.

This chapter also deals with the study of the fish lore and fishing practices of the Kaibarttas of Nalbari. Fish lore is the literature in relation to the fish and fishing related activities. In their day to day life the Kaibarttas sing oral songs and use proverbs, riddles, charms and prose narratives. These songs, proverbs, riddles, charms and prose narratives among the Kaibarttas of Nalbari district glorify their occupation which are associated with fish, fishing, riverbeds, fishermen, fishing contraptions etc. The fish lore of the Kaibarttas is generally found in the form of oral literature. The fish lore of the Kaibarttas of Nalbari is rich.

The activities related to fishing include various types of fishing techniques. Different kinds of traps, arrows, spears, boats, nets, banas etc. are used as fishing

equipments. Generally fishing activities are executed in beels, fisheries, streams, lakes, seas, inland pools and in paddy fields.

Unlike the modern fishing techniques, the Kaibartta people of this area also have been using the indigenous methods of fish harvesting. The methods of fish catching among the Kaibarttas have been passing on traditionally from generation to generation. Some of the methods of fish harvesting among the Kaibarttas of Nalbari district are: *Chali Di Mas Dhara, Dal Bandhi Mas mara, Ber Di Mas Mara, Dal Bandhi Mas Mara, Zora Kata, Bana Di Mas Mara, Ghera Fishing, Pouta Fishing, Chera Fishing, Safa Fishing, Hand Fishing* i.e. fishing without Tools, Sickle fishing, *Kata Fishing, Laru Di mas Dhara, Masor Uzan Utha, Khal Shisa, Zora Kata, Barasi Pata. Chali Di Mas Dharā* is of four types: *Matir Chali, Kal Donar Chali, Sungar Chali and Bandhar or Latir Chali.*

Fishing Tools are generally made of bamboos and iron. The fishing implements used by the Kaibarttas of Nalbari are: *Pola, Zakhe, Bana, Sar, Ghera Bana, Ghera Chepa Bana, Chepa, Khoka, Dalnga, Chohra, Dingar, Juphri, Gheni, Goildha, Loiha, Deli or Gas and Pachi.* Fishing net is of three types: *Asra Jal, Langi Jal and Fasi Jal.*

Conclusion

After discussing and analysing the socio-cultural life in terms of fish and fishing related activities of the Kaibarttas living in Nalbari district, the following findings and conclusions have been drawn.

- Despite hard labour and misery, the Kaibarttas participate in festivals with pleasure which reflect on their instinctive behaviour of enjoying the company with their people. In Magh Bihu all the people of the village assemble there and celebrate the feasts with newly harvested rice, fish and meat. During Kali Puja, they collectively offer prayer to the goddess Kali in the public place to protect them from cholera and typhoid as they believe that these diseases occur due to consume excess fish.
- The Kaibarttas observe the folk customs based on believes and religion, festivals, medicines and games and recreation to maintain peace, tranquillity and discipline in their folk lives. *Bhel Diya, Jal Dangariyak Thagi Diya,*

Ganga Puja etc. are the rituals in which they ask the deity of water to help them while fishing which helps in maintaining peace and discipline.

- Folk beliefs of the Kaibarttas in religious practices show their social integrity. *Vishnu Puja, Lakshmi Puja, Chandika Puja* etc are the religious practices which they collectively try to observe. They believe that these religious practices are associated with their occupational life.
- Religious practices of the Kaibarttas exhibit their sense of devotion and fear in deities and evil spirits. The Kaibarttas observe the *Nag Panchami* and *Manasa Puja* to pacify the deity of snake. They believe that these deities can do harm while fishing in the water. So they pray to these deities to protect them from danger.
- Folk art and crafts exhibit the fishing life of the Kaibarttas. The Kaibarttas are expert in making several kinds of fishing tools e.g. *Chepa, Zakhe, Dingar, Pari, Dalanga* etc. that exhibit their fishing life.
- Folk performances observed by the Kaibarttas revolve round their occupational life expressing miseries and sorrows and delight of their day to day life. The *Pohari* song '*Mās lobi nāre girighoriā*' express their sorrows who go door to door for selling fish. The song '*Hey hey pubfāle pāni*' exhibits their happiness while fishing in group.
- Oral songs of the Kaibarttas express their fishing tools and narrate about fishes and illustrate the names of beels where fishing done. The songs like '*Āgur gur māguror jāli*' and '*Rangā Noi sukāise māsoṛe bejārat*' mention the name of Brahma Putra and Magur fish.
- Riddles and proverbs express their creative mind and communicative practices. The proverbs and riddles like '*Ghoini e mās khāi*', '*Kimān pānir mās*' and '*Bārohāt jālor terohāt fātā*', '*Dhuwānte pislil*' etc. exhibit their talent and communicative practices.
- Charms exhibit their faith in the magical power of words. The charms like '*Shri Krishanoi nomo*' and '*Xingi muri nimuri*' exhibit their faith that by chanting word the poison from the blood can be eliminated.

- Kaibarttas beliefs in the folk narratives about deities, kings and characters from epics focus on their sense of divinity and graciousness. Through the stories like King Dhivora, Matsyendra, King Janaka and Astabakra, the Kaibarttas tend to comment that their past was glorious and they are the descendents of kings and noble characters.

This research work may be considered as a torch bearer on fish lore and fishing practices of the Kaibartta community, living in Nalbari district. After discussing and analysing the fish lore and fishing practices prevailed among the Kaibartta community, it is realised that further research may be taken up by the researchers. The following are some points which reveal the areas of further study in relation to this research work.

- Fish Lore and Fishing practices of the Kaibarttas in Assam.
- Fish Lore and Fishing Practices of the Muslim Communities in Assam.
- Fish Lore and Fishing Practices of the Schedule Caste Communities of Assam.
- Fish Lore and Fishing Practices of the Immigrant Muslims in Assam.
- Comparative Study on the occupational Fish Lore and Fishing practices.
- Traditional Fishing Tools of the Kaibarttas in Assam.
- Traditional Fishing Tools of the Immigrant Muslims in Assam.

In conclusion it may be commented that the Kaibarttas of this region have been maintaining still most of their traditional distinctiveness. This community is lesser known due to comprehensive literature and systematic study on them. Through this study an attempt has been made to study the socio-cultural life of the Kaibarttas of Nalbari district along with their fish lore and fishing practices. From the study it is also seen that the primary occupation of the Kaibarttas is fishing. They are also rich in fish lore. Several kinds of traditional fishing methods along with the fishing tools are being used by them.