<u>MOPIN FESTIVAL OF THE GALO TRIBE OF</u> <u>ARUNACHAL PRADESH: A CONSIDERATION OF</u> <u>CHANGE AND CONTINUITY</u>

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ABSTRACT

Mopin is the important festival of the *Galo* which is celebrated on 5th April year. In fact, it is the most colorful and entertaining festival of Arunachal Pradesh and is similar to the *Holi* festival of Hindus. During the celebration which continue up to 5 days, *Galos* make oblation in the form of *Poka* and *Tipak* and sacrifice mithun or pig and pray *Ane Mopin* (Mother Goddess) and *Anyi* (Sister) *Pinku-Pinte* for bountiful production of grains, peace and all round prosperity of mankind. In the initial periods, *Mopin* festival was confined to the villages and its *jhum* fields (shifting cultivation) where all village folks jointly celebrate it fulfilling all mandatory ritualistic formalities or itineraries determined through *Pepe Chikanam* or *Reksin/roksin kokkanam* conducted by village priest.

Gradually, after decades of celebration, today it has evolved a different variety of features and its natural abode of celebration i.e., village and jhum fields have been extended to towns and cities of the state. Now, *Mopin* is adorned with innumerable changes put into practice by the practitioners of the urban dwellers of Aalo, Basar, Naharlagun and Itanagar. Nevertheless, it will not augur well to say that a completely reformed and radically modified kind of *Mopin* emerged among the *Galos* because it has not lost all its erstwhile fundamentals and distinctiveness of the village level *Mopin* celebration that was directly inherited from *Abo Tani*.

KEYWORDS: Mopin, Galo, Pinku-Pinte, Mithun, Festival.

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INTRODUCTION

Galo tribe is one of the largest and most advanced tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. They are living in mainly three Districts – West Siang, East Siang and Upper Subansiri Districts. Today, they are found to have migrated and settled in many other Districts such as Papum Pare, Lower Dibang Valley, Lohit, Namsai, Changlang and East Kameng Districts of Arunachal Pradesh. *Mopin* is the significant festival of the *Galo* which is celebrated on 5th April year. It is a colorful festival similar to the *Holi* festival of Hindus.

METHODOLOGY

The primary data of this research work has been collected from the fieldworks by using interviews and participant observations. A cross-section of *Nyibo* (Priest) and *Nyikok* (Orator) of *Galos* living mainly in three Districts of East Siang, West Siang and Upper Subansiri Districts were interviewed.

The data on *Mopin* was collected through in-depth interviews. Observation was also one of the tools for the present study, so full participation in the *Mopin* festival celebration organized at different places were attended.

Additionally, relevant secondary materials were also consulted. Thus, an appreciable amount of materials such as books, journals, articles, magazines, newspapers and clips related to *Galo* origin have been collected and reviewed from different libraries of the said Districts and the library of Rajiv Gandhi University, Doimukh.

MOPIN CELEBRATION

In the olden days, *Mopin* was a community festival celebrated in the villages and there was no fixed date for its celebration. It is celebrated on any days during the months of *Luki* (March) and *Lumi* (April). Besides, it was not celebrated every year. The celebration is generally avoided or postponed to the succeeding year when any untoward or unfortunate events occurred in a village like unforeseen natural calamities, epidemics, accidental death, suicide etc. *Galos* believed that congenial and peaceful atmosphere is must to invite Goddess *Mopin* during the celebration else she may get annoyed and may not come to bless the people when the village and people are fraught with uncongenial incidents as these happenings are considered as ill-omen and known to stretch its tentacles to anyone. Even people of other villages shun visiting the village after such unhealthy events.

In order to ascertain the date for celebration, selection of *Yidum* (sacrificial animals) and the selection of *Pingi-Neri* (head of the celebration), the village priest in presence of all village

Volume 5, Issue 3

elders perform chicken egg examination or *Roksin* (chicken liver) or *Reksin*. If such examination indicates positive signs that *Ane Mopin* will come to bless them during the year, then dates of celebration and *Yidum* will also be identified the same examination and all necessary programs will be worked out accordingly. But if it indicates negative aspects, there will be no celebration during the year.

ISSN: 2249-249

The traditional method of Mopin celebration is outlined hereunder: -

By and large, the duration of the festival is 5 days – each day being devoted to a specific purpose.

- (a) The first day known as *Nyinam Alo* is devoted to the collection of material for celebration. All able-bodied males collect bamboos, cane, wooden materials etc. from the jungle and do the preliminary works for erection of images, preparation of *Opo* and initiation of the *Yidum*. At the altar of *Mopin*, following images are erected: – *Bago-Por Pote, Litum-Katum, Pinku-Pinte, Pirte, Bute, Doga-Erap, Hili-Ngeli, Pombe-Pomru, Kombo-Komar* etc. and different plants are used for preparation of different images of all deities at the altar such as *Pibom, Tajir, Tabo, Tato-Tano, Ekkam, Hika, Enchi, Eni, Hire, Popi, Kora, Tare,* etc. In addition to these, some household items like *ambin, iti* and *pone* are also used (Tejum, 2011).
- (b) The second day is known as *Iti-Alo*. The day is devoted for the preparation of rice cake and rice-paste, the sacred item of *Mopin* festival. The women folk prepare two different food items from rice powder. One is rice-cake meant for refreshments of the participants and the other is the rice-paste for smearing and sprinkling on the sacrificial animals, *Mopin* image and on the faces of the participants. In the night, the *Nyibo* chants the origin of *Iti* (rice-cake & rice-paste) and *Pobor* (preparation of rice beer) till mid-night or sometimes even whole night to invoke *Ane Mopin* 's arrival to earth.
- (c) The third day, *Yidum Alo* is dedicated to sacrifice of animals. In the forenoon, Mopin altar is prepared. Then images of *Mopin* are erected and installed with sanctimonious hymns and rituals. It is followed by *Hikanam*. During *Hikanam*, the elderly ladies come to the altar with *Poka* and *Iti* in their *Doyi Ginsi* which are separately arranged for distribution to the *Nyibo*, *Bo* and all other participants as well as for the images at *Mopin* Altar. The *Nyibo* continues to chant invoking hymns to *Mopin*. It is believed that on the invocation of hymns by the *Nyibo* and Bo, *Ane Mopin* and *Anyi Pinku-Pinte* visit the altar to accept the offerings as well as to bestow *Ai-Agam* (Blessing) on all people for their prosperity and well-being. In the afternoon, the sacrificial animals are tied at the altar. The *Nyibo* chants hymns consoling them that they are sacrificed to go to *Mopin's* land where they would be happier

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and would bestow blessings on human beings. Besides chants, rice-paste is smeared and sprinkled on the animals for further purification. After these rituals, animals are slain by the *Pingi-Leri/Neri*, who is the head or the most important person of the celebration. After the sacrifice of animals, the *Nyibo* and *Bo* accompanied by all visit the house of *Pingi-Neri* to shower *Ai-Agam* on his family by chopping a cock.

- (d) The fourth day is *Poggo-Alo*, the day for *Nyibo*, *Popir* party and all other participants to visit every individual houses bestowing *Rili-Bongo* for the well-being and prosperity of the family as a whole. The priest here acts as a link between *Mopin* and *Tani*. The elderly lady of the family greet the *Nyibo* and *popir* party and offer them *poka* and *amin* and accept the blessings by singing *Kaben*.
- (e) The last day is the *Riga-Alo* which is the day to bid farewell to *Mopin*. The *nyibo*, bo and *popir* party while performing *popir* go to a river to bid farewell and see-off *Mopin*. The *nyibo* chants the hymns of separation between *Mopin* and human beings and erect the branches of Enchi, hili and hika trees at the bank of the river which are then sprinkled with *iti.* Thereafter, a ship made from the bamboo or the banana trunk is sprinkled with *iti* and allowed to sail in the river carrying back Mopin and other deities towards their world. Tadok neenam ritual is carried out at the residence of Pingi Leri/Neri for which the priest made a jug-shaped container from *oko/ekkam* in which *poka* is poured. Thereafter, *nyibo* put the *tadok* (traditional bead) wore by each individual into the *poka* jug by chanting hymn to test the longevity and future of the person. If *poka* trickles down when taken out from the jug then it indicates bad omen and the owner of *tadok* may not live longer. On the other hand, if *poka* does not trickle down then it is good omen and long life is ensured. On the same evening or next evening, everyone comes to the residence of nyibo and layap ceremony is performed for all participants. *Litup tubnam* is the last ritual performed by the *Pingi-Leri/Neri* in the *Mopin* celebration. It is performed even after several months or a year because it is the first community cultivation done in the field of Pingi-Leri/Neri. This symbolizes the beginning of the seed-sowing for the community. A community feast is also arranged by sacrificing a pig or some hen in the field. *Iti, poka* and *tipak* are arranged and served to all during the occasion (Tomar, 2001).

CHANGES AND CONTINUITY

From the study of myth of *Mopin* in the preceding chapter, it is found that *Mopin* as a festival evolved out of the incident of *Abo Tani's* life. Following the tradition started by *Abo Tani*, the *Galos* as direct descendants of *Abo Tani* celebrates *Mopin* as a kind of agricultural festival

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every year to invoke *Goddess Mopin* to shower her blessing to the humanity in the form of bumper crops, good health and all round prosperity. In the initial periods especially before the modern concept of celebration was developed, *Mopin* festival was confined to the villages and its jhum fields (shifting cultivation) where all village folks jointly celebrate it fulfilling all mandatory ritualistic formalities or itineraries which were determined through *Pepe Chikanam* or *Reksin/roksin kokkanam* conducted by village priest.

Gradually, after decades of celebration, today it has evolved a different variety of features and its natural abode of celebration i.e., village and *jhum* fields have been extended to towns and cities of the state. One of the reasons may be because of natural process of change that might have occurred under the influence of increasing population and expansion of settlement areas; other may be accounted for the innovative re-organizations and experimental processes that might have been put to practice under the influence of modern education, science & technology as well as cross-cultural interactions with different tribes, Hindus, Christians, Buddhists etc. within and outside state. Many Galos agree that a well-organized system of Mopin festival celebration was started by the Galo elders of Aalo and Basar areas who organized Mopin festival in the year 1966 at Aalo. Thereafter, such well-organized form of celebration stretch to various parts of the state especially Basar, Likabali, Nari, Pasighat, Itanagar, Naharlagun etc. With increasing popularity in the celebration of *Mopin* in different towns of Aruanchal Pradesh, the age-old village level celebration of *Mopin* festival has been relegated and almost lost its previous popularity because most of the educated village youths had shifted to different towns after being absorbed in various govt. jobs. They started to celebrate Mopin in their own place of work in urban areas as they could hardly afford to pay visit to attend *Mopin* festival in their native villages. Thus, there emerged a new, modified and a well-organized form of Mopin festival celebration among the Galos of Arunachal Pradesh. Nevertheless, it will not augur well to say that a completely reformed and radically modified kind of Mopin emerged among the Galos because it has not lost all its erstwhile fundamentals and distinctiveness of the village level Mopin celebration that was directly inherited from Abo Tani. On the contrary, all modern elements and trends that have been introduced as supplementary as well as complementary to the existing celebration of *Mopin* festival (Tumpak, 1984).

Therefore, to find out the recent changes and continuity of *Mopin* celebration, different aspects and trends of the erstwhile mode and the existing mode of *Mopin* celebration may be compared and analyzed to ascertain the differences as outlined herewith:

(a) DURATION OF MOPIN CELEBRATION

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Volume 5, Issue 3

As has been written in the preceding page, *Mopin* festival is celebrated for almost 5 days; each day has been dedicated for a specific purpose since inception of the celebration. Although it may be stated here that there is no specific mention on the duration of the festival according to the myth and 5 days duration may have been initiated by the *Galo Nyibos* and *Galo* elders in accordance with requirement of the divination of egg or hepatoscopy conducted for the celebration. Such initial celebration may have set a tradition of 5 days duration for *Mopin* celebration among the *Galos* particularly for those dwelling in urban areas. But till now, generally, village folks organized *Mopin* festival only after performing divination of egg or hepatoscopy by the *Nyibo* and village elders which is not the case with celebrations in urban areas. If such examination does not favor the celebration then *Mopin* is not celebrated for that year.

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But today, change is noticeable in duration of celebration from place to place, more prominently in urban areas. It varies from 1 to 3 days to almost a week. Among students living outside Arunachal Pradesh, the festival is celebrated for a day or two but among *Galo* employees living in towns and cities it lasts for a week or more. This is truer for the *Galos* living in the Capital complex as they celebrate for almost a month beginning with cultural activities, literacy events, games and sports events among different *Popir* parties which culminated with *Riga* at a jhum field (Chinya, 2012).

(b) RITUALISTIC PERFORMANCES AND SACRIFICES

(i) PEP CHIKANAM

Pep chikanam means chicken egg examination basically performed by the priest and villagers to find out a suitable dates for the celebration, to select a right priest for the celebration, to determine the *Pinge-Leri/Neri* and to determine the type and number of *Yidum* (oblation) of *Mopin* festival. In olden days, it was mandatorily carried out before the celebration of *Mopin* festival but now-a-days, it is hardly performed by the people in urban areas. Moreover, it has become a yearly occasion particularly after fixing 5th April every as *Mopin* Holiday. Thus, determining the date, priest, *yidum*, *pinge-neri* etc. as traditional practice has been eliminated. But in most of the *Mopin* celebrations in villages all these traditional practice are still maintained properly.

(ii) ROKSIN OR REKSIN KOKKANAM (HEPATOSCOPY)

Roksin or *Reksin* examination is generally performed after the failure of *pepe chikanam* in giving an accurate result. It can also be performed directly without the *pepe chikanam*. As

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August 2015

such, this examination has the same purpose like that of *pep chikanam*. Unlike in urban areas, these examinations are also maintained in most of the villages of rural areas.

ISSN: 2249-249

(iii) HIKANAM (OBLATION)

Hikanam is one of the important events that take place on the third and the main day of celebration known as *Yidum Alo* which is dedicated to the sacrifice of animals. During *Hikanam*, the elderly ladies come to the altar with *kamtu-kamlam* containing *poka*, *Iti* and *tipak* packed in *oko* carrying in their *Doyi Ginsi*. The *poka* and *tipak* are separately arranged for distribution to the *Nyibo*, *Bo* and all other participants and above all, for the images at *Mopin* Altar. Women pour *poka* into the *Komar* a bamboo tube which is placed in between the images of *Pinku Pinte* which flow down on a circular enclosure. Here the flowing *poka* represents rain and the enclosure represents earth, thus, enacting the act of love between *Nyido Jore* (the Rain God) and *Teri-Jimi* (Mother Earth, the ultimate cause). *Oma Garnam* hymns are chanted to cure a barren woman to conceive. The same hymns are pronounced by the *Nyibo* (Priest) during *Mopin* beckoning mother earth to conceive and give a good harvest. *Hikanam* ritual is still performed by the ladies sincerely to get the *rili-bongo* and *ai-agam* from *Mopin Ane* and *Anyi Pinku-Pinte*.

(iv) **YIDUM NAM (SACRIFICE OF ANIMAL)**

Yidum nam means sacrifice of animals and fowls at the altar after performing necessary rituals. Such sacrifices are made to the spirits both malevolent and benevolent spirits. *Galos* believe that spirits must be appeased with sacrifices to their favor in return. *Yidum* is an essential part of *Mopin* celebration. In olden days, *yidum* can be either a mithun or a pig or a hen which ascertained only through a *pepe chikanam* or *Roksin-Reksin kokkanam*. It is still maintained in rural villages but in urban areas, one-two *mithuns* and two-three pigs are sacrificed at the altar as *yidum* without prior examinations. In fact, in some cases, sacrificial animals are not tied at the altar as a friendly gesture to the friends and fellows of other religions take part in the celebration.

(v) RIGA NAM

Riga nam is the concluding ritual performed on *Riga-Alo* of the *Mopin* celebration. It is to bid farewell to *Mopin*. Community cultivation is arranged in the field of *Pingi-Neri*. *Riga nam* is still performed in the *Mopin* celebrated in urban and rural areas but *tadok neenam, layap nam* and *litup tubnam* are not performed in urban areas but it is performed in some areas in rural villages.

(vi) LITUP TUBNAM

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Litup tubnam is the last ritual performed by the *Pingi-Leri/Neri* in the *Mopin* celebration. In fact, it is performed even after several months because it is the first community cultivation done in the field of *Pingi-Leri/Neri* so suitable sowing time is waited. This symbolizes the beginning of the seed-sowing for the community. *Litup tubnam* is hardly performed now-a-days in both urban areas but some villages in rural areas do perform it till today.

(c) DIFFERENT IMAGES (DEPE) OF MOPIN

Different images are erected at the altar of *Mopin* during the celebration such as *Bago-Por Pote, Litum-Katum, Pinku-Pinte, Pirku-Ngurku, Pirte, Pomte, Pirsa-Pirsi, Yapom, Nyiji, Nyiku, Bute, Yapom Nyira, Kobu, Hikom, Pombek, Doga-Erap, Hili-Ngeli, Rine, Urom, Pombe-Pomru* and *Kombo-Komar*. All these images are prepared using different plants, herbs and trees like *Pibom, Piso, Taka, Tari, Tajir, Tabo, Tato-Tano, Tapi, Ekkam, Hika, Enchi, Eni, Hire, Popi, Tabu-Tabe, Yaduk, Kora, Tare, Nyome* and *Tasi* etc. which are available in the forest. Besides, some household items like *ambin, iti* and *pone* are also used in the making of images (Tejum, 2011).

Undeniably, *Mopin* celebration in urban areas have immensely deviated from many established practices and set traditions of the villages. The divination of egg or hepatoscopy is hardly carried out as mandatory traditions. It can safely be surmised that a different conventions has already been in place for celebration of *Mopin* in urban areas. Different organizing committees and sub-committees are constituted to arrange the whole celebration. It is constituted by selecting from the senior citizens and youths. From amongst the members of organizing committees, Pingi-Neri/Leri is randomly selected who also designated as the President of celebration and a few secretaries and joint secretaries are selected to assist the president. *Mithun* is the permanent sacrificial animal and in many cases it is sacrificed without any ritual performance by the Nyibo. Though Nyibo is engaged but he is simply a titular head and important functions are carried out by committees constituted for the celebration. Hence, it is seen that all ritualistic performance as well as ritual objects and images assume a secondary importance and celebration simply becomes a cultural extravaganza inviting VIPs and VVIPs as guests. Of course, one reason for such leniency in the ritualistic performances may be to entertain all Galos in the celebration irrespective of their diverse religious backgrounds and identities. This is particularly true in the case of celebrations organized by students in different colleges and universities within and outside the state. No Nyibo and Bo are engaged and no any kind of

sacrifice of animals as such is done by the students celebrating *Mopin* outside our state. Special menus are prepared without any sacrifices. Lots of merry-makings in the form of smearing *iti* (rice powder), *popir* dance, foods and drinks are hallmarks of celebration.

ISSN: 2249-249

(d) IMPORTANT DISHES OF MOPIN

Since the known history of the *Galos*, *Iti* (pulverize rice & rice cake), *Poka* (rice beer) and *Amin* (rice, meat, dried grinded bamboo shoot, salt, ginger and chilly boiled together) have been the important components of *Mopin* dish. *Galos* believed that during the *Mopin* celebration, *Poka*, *Amin* and *Iti* must be prepared in one's home and shared with guests to receive *Ai-Agam* from *Ane Mopin*, *Anyi Pinku-Pinte*. So all *Galo* ladies prepare these three important dishes in their homes and from the beginning of *Mopin* i.e., from *Hikanam* (serving *Poka*, *Amin* & *Iti* to all participants and all images of deities) to the arrival of *popir* parties these dishes are abundantly served to all participants irrespective of age.

Of these three, *iti* assumes greatest significance because profuse use of *iti* is one of the vital characteristics of *Mopin* festival. *Galos* with full fun apply *iti* on each others' faces. While smearing *iti* on each others' faces, differences of age and status is forgotten as *iti* is the symbol of purity, social harmony, exchange of love and affection besides showering of plentiful *ai-agam*. It also signifies purity of heart, mind, thoughts and deeds, and is considered as a way of bringing color to life. Sometimes, *iti* is applied to calf part of leg of the *Nyibo* and *Bo* as a tender regard to them while performing live *ponu*. *Nyibo* and *Bo* profusely sprinkle iti mixed with water to the images, sacrificial animals, *koba*, *dio ginsi* and *popir party* etc. It is also used to make cakes especially in honor of *Mopin* Goddess. Various foodstuffs are made out of *iti* like-*Pamse* (dried up in *ekkam*), *Tibar* (cakes) and *Timik/Rimik* (pulverize rice). These all comprise *Mopin Ai-Agam* and *Rili-Bango* (blessings).

Now-a-days, many *Galos* living in urban areas have added different other items along with the traditional dishes of *Mopin*. They have included foreign liquors, beers, fried fishes, fried chickens, salads, papars, snacks, dried kajus and paneers among others in their *Mopin* dishes. Officers and well-to-do families even arrange to sacrifice mithuns and pigs for common feast during *Mopin* festival. The *pette* and use of *oko* (tender leaves) as plates and cups has been replaced with modern glass, plates and cups as well as the most accessibly available disposal glass, plates and cups etc.

Similarly, use and relevance of *iti chinam/pamsenam* during *Mopin* celebration is also dwindling amongst the urban dwellers particularly among the students because of the

August 2015

difficulty involved in its preparation and non-availability of *oko/ekkam* and rich powder in urban areas. As such, some make use of atta or maida (flour) instead of *iti* which are easily available in the market for smearing on each other's faces (Goken, 2011).

ISSN: 2249-249

(e) POPIR DANCE

There are many traditional as well as modern dance forms in *Galo* community but *Popir* dance stands out as a special as well as singular one since it is meant exclusively for Mopin festival. It is also one of the reasons for the immense popularity of Mopin today. In fact, Mopin celebration without Popir dance is not possible at all. Popir dance unlike Ponu and other dance forms is not performed on other occasions except during *Mopin* celebration. In the past, *Popir* dance was believed to be a sacred dance of *Mopin* deities. *Popir* lyrics were full of rhetorical odes. It is a kind of proclamation of the blessing of Mopin Goddess and so it is performed from house to house to bestow the blessings of Mopin Goddess to the visited family. All popir dance forms as an indigenous dance form of *Galo* community have its distinct style different right from the steps to the kind of costumes worn. This beautiful dance form shows great resemblance to the *Ponu* dances performed on other occasions. *Popir* dance form has its own unique identity and is beautiful in its own way with different appeal with it. Its performance is based on a strict style that is followed by all. While dancing, wearing of Takom Lepok or Jese Kore, Tango & Bolup etc. is considered worthy and is a symbol of dignity for *Mopin* Goddess. With their complete traditional attires, the Galo women dance in a circle around the nyibo. They create roaring sound with their rhythmic steps. Their multi-colored beaded ornaments hanging on their necks glitz according to their footsteps. However, in contemporary times, the concept of sacredness of Popir and worship through Popir is found to be eroding and missing. Sometimes, it becomes a kind of frolicsome pervaded with noisy amusement and unsynchronized steps leading to the sacrilege of the purity of *popir* dance (Ibid).

Obviously, it is observed that some aspects of myth relating to *Mopin* is still continuing while some changes have also been brought into with the passages of time to suit the emerging circumstances as implied from the observations made above under different headings. As such, it would not be wrong to conclude that for the *Galos* myths still plays its vital role in unifying the community as a whole and in giving it a separate unique identity. At the same time, it also would not be wrong to pronounce that *Galo* completely hinges on its tradition and myths and do not let time to make necessary changes during this transition period from ancient to the modern ages. Many ideas and innovations make these changes

which are mandatory to reshape and invigorate the existing ones but yet these have not tampered its originality and traditional identities.

ISSN: 2249-249

CONCLUSION

Similarly, *Mopin* festival in the contemporary age has been adorned with innumerable changes put into practice by the practitioners of the urban dwellers of Aalo, Basar, Naharlagun and Itanagar. Introduction of colorful *Mopin* dresses, stage decorations, invitations of VIPs and VVIPs during the celebration, organizing of sumptuous feasts, cultural programs, Miss *Mopin* contest and games & sports competitions are the innovative product of modern celebration of *Mopin*. Such innovative re-organizations and experimental processes are also the results of modern education, science & technology as well as cross-cultural inter-mingling with other tribes, Hindus, Christians, Buddhists etc. within and outside state. Thus, popularity in the *Mopin* celebration in different towns of Arunachal Pradesh leads to declining popularity of the age-old village level celebration. Nevertheless, it will not augur well to say that a completely reformed and radically modified kind of *Mopin* emerged among the *Galos* because it has not lost all its erstwhile fundamentals and distinctiveness of the village level *Mopin* celebration that was directly inherited from *Abo Tani*. On the contrary, all modern elements and trends that have become a supplementary as well as complementary to the existing feature of *Mopin* festival.

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August 2015



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ISSN: 2249-249

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