The Use Of Indigenous Elements In The Church: A Case Study

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1. Introduction

Every culture around the world has their traditional practices and beliefs which frame their outlooks and perspectives. These traditional beliefs and practices differ from one another based on their origin, location and history of their experiences. The Mizos in the Northeastern part of India, as an indigenous group of people among many tribal also have their own indigenous beliefs and practices. These beliefs and practices of the Mizos, after the advent of Christian, by the western missionaries, with the advent of colonial rule in India, have been changed as new culture was introduced which was very much different from the traditional ways. Christianity itself, introduced by western missionaries, was a westernization of the people for which to become a Christian was also to adapt the western culture and practices which gradually replaced the tradition and practices of the Mizo.

However, in the process of this transformation, indigenous elements of the traditional practice of the Mizo, through the history of Christianity in Mizoram, had a great impact on the rapid growth of Christianity in Mizoram. Therefore, in this paper, we will look into some of the contributing indigenous elements of the traditional Mizo society and its usage in the worship elements of the church, with special reference to Tuithiang Presbyterian Church, Aizawl.

2. Brief overview of Tuithiang Presbyterian Church

Tuithiang Presbyterian Church is situated at Tuithiang locality in Aizawl City, which started as a Preaching station under Saro Presbyterian Church on 4th April, 1986. After two years, it was upgraded into a Church on 23rd Oct. 1988 with a total number of 141 full communion members. Since then, the church grew and today, it is one among the four churches in Bethlehem Pastorate with a member of 1245 full communion (1687 in total including children, 791 males, 896 females).
The church has different branches of ministries, whose brief information are as follows:

2.1. Women Fellowship (Kohhran Hmeichhia): Since the very beginning, women fellowship has been actively engaging in the ministry of the Church. At present, there are 577 members who are actively engaging in the different activities of women fellowship.

2.2. Youth Fellowship (Tuithiang Branch Kristian Thalai Pawl): The youth fellowship of Tuithiang Presbyterian Church was started on 5th May 1986 with a total of 76 members. At present there are 470 members actively engaging in its ministries.

2.3. Men Fellowship (Kohhran Pavalai Pawl): Men fellowship was started in 23 August 2012 with around 150 members at present. Kohhran Pavalai Pawl has now been one of the most important right hand of the church and plays an active part in the ministries of Tuithiang Presbyterian Church.

Tuithiang Presbyterian Church conducted Church service weekly: Monday night for Youth Fellowship, Tuesday night for Women Fellowship (Women gathered for fellowship in the Church) and Men Fellowship (Men gather at the Church’s hall for fellowship), Wednesday night for the whole community where a selected topic (Nilai leh Beihrual Thupui) is studied, Saturday night service for sermon, Sunday morning service for Sunday School, Sunday afternoon service and Sunday night service for sermons. The important element of these services is that members express their joy through worshipping by singing and dancing and sermons through which they find comfort from their sorrows and hardships in life. Apart from these services, each of the fellowships regularly conducted committees and social work to raise funds to be actively involving in the ministries of the Church.

3. Overview of the historical changes made by Christianity in Mizoram

The Mizos, in the course of history, experienced a rapid cultural and religious change and the reason for such transformation is the advent of Christianity in the land in 1891. Half a century later, the Mizos by and large were converted into Christianity and by the 20th Century, Mizoram became the most Christian populated state in India. As missionaries play an important role in the transformation of the society by introducing a new culture and religion to the Mizos.

Therefore, in order to understand how traditional elements are being used in the present Church, let us first look into the development/change undergone by Mizos in brief:

3.1. Pioneer missionaries and the advent of Christianity:

Following the British conquest of the hills, it was Rev. William Williams, a Presbyterian missionary working in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Meghalaya) who first came to Mizoram in March 1891. He made the initiative to urge the home church to send missionary to Mizoram and he was appointed to go to Mizoram, but the unforeseen death of William Williams due to typhoid in 1891 withheld the missionary outreach to the hill.

Later in 1894, the pioneer missionaries, F.W. Savidge (Sap Upa) and J.H. Lorrain (Pu Buanga), from the Arthington Mission arrived at Sairang river and in Aizawl on 16th January 1894. After their four years stay in Mizoram, creating a great interest in the Gospel and gaining a lot of trust from the locals, without making any converts, they left Mizoram as demanded by the Arthington mission who urges them to preach
to the un-reached. The most laudable contribution made by the two pioneers was the reduction of the
language into written form using Roman script which was followed by the opening of schools; the first
school was started at Thangphunga Veng (Chaltlang) on 2 April 1894. However, this school was soon closed
down as the Missionaries had to leave the hills.xiii

As the departure of the Arthington Missionaries was coming, it was the Calvinistic Methodist
Mission who took the initiative to send Rev. D.E. Jones (Zosaphluia), who reach Aizawl on 31 August
1897xiv and had his first convert Khuma and Khara, who were baptized on 25 July 1899.xv He was soon
joined by Edwin Roland (Zosaphara) (31 December 1898) and made many converts.xvi On his birthday on
15 Feb, 1898, Rev. D.E. Jones again opened school at his bungalow in Mission Veng (Southern part of
Aizawl), which was soon used as a place of congregation meeting such as worship and Sunday Schools,
which is considered as the origin of Church in Mizoram. A separate Church building was constructed in
Hriangmual bawlhmun, which was an ancient altar of pagan worship, and now the present location of
Mission Veng Church.xvii

In 1901, Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) drew their attention towards the Southern Mizoram and
sent Rev. George Hughes to enquire and report about the possibility for mission work and reported the
excouraging possibility. It was J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge, who were
again sent back to work among the Mizos in the South.xviii They arrived at Lunglei in March 1903, greeted
by the 125 Mizo Christians from Sethlun, and settled at Serkawn, which eventually serves as the
headquarters of Baptist Church in Mizoram. The first independent Church was constructed under the
initiative of these pioneer missionaries at Sethlum, near Lunglei in 1902.xix At this outset, D.E. Jones and
Edwin Rowlands disapproved the initiative taken by BMS as they felt that denominational difference could
create problems for the Mizos in the future and send a telegraph to the Home Board. However, due to some
unavoidable circumstance, no response was made.xx

3.2. Proselytization

Christian mission among the Mizos, as mentioned earlier, had a great impact to the Mizo society. The
result of the advent of Christian mission in the land is proselytization as it is the most glaring depiction of
complete transformation in a person’s life. Lal Dena maintains that “while conversion was essentially a
religious issue, it encompassed the whole aspect of one’s or community’s life, and therefore, the missionary
view about the process of conversion itself ultimately amounted to a whole theory of social change.”xxi The
condition laid down for church membership in the „Lushai” hills as stated: “The standard of church
membership of the Mission field was set high and clear from the beginning. It was enjoined that every
candidate should not only have renounced all heathen practices, and lead a moral life, but that he must
possess an intelligent knowledge of Christian principles, observe the Sabbath, and abstain from all
intoxicants.”xxii

Therefore, conversion involves not only spiritual but physical transformation as certain standards
were maintained for a Christian. The development of what was referred to as Christian character” was
emphasized in missionary writings and it is safe to assume that “the converts themselves understood
Christianity as, at least in part, involving a specific and different way of life.” As a result, as Llyod noted
“there was even a time when in any village it was easy to distinguish the Christian from the non-Christian by
his personal appearance”xxiii and thus, “to become a church member in Lushai means a definite break
with old traditions, customs and habits. Total abstinence is insisted on, old forms of worship must be
abandoned, Sabbath must be kept and regular attendance at church recorded.”xxiv As a result, at first, it was
difficult for many locals as it resulted in alienation from relatives and cutting off family ties.
3.3. The First Mizo Christian Hymn Book (Kristian Hlabu)

The traditional Mizo society was a society who love to sing and dance. Vanchhunga, a prominent Mizo historian, said that singing and dancing (Music) was one of the most important communal life of the mizos and it is connected with every aspect of the Mizo’s daily living.xxv The origin of the Mizo traditional song, according to B. Lalthangliana, can be traced back to CE 1300-1450 when famine (Thingpui Tam) broke out, many died because of the famine and out of their sorrow and mourning, a way of singing called “Thuthmun zai” was surfaced.xxvi Since then, singing and dancing have been closely linked with the Mizos in times of sorrow, joy and religious events, they are known as Bawh hla, hlado, Thian hla/Dawi hla, Liandova hla, etc.xxxvii

Apart from this, there are also songs sung for community gathering which they called Puipun hla (Song for gathering) such as Chai hla, Chawngchen zai, Tlanglam zai which they sang during festivals accompanied with a dance.xxviii Though there are many other songs which are not mentioned here, these are some few examples which could show the interconnectedness of song and dance to the Mizo pre-Christian society.

However, since the missionaries, who came to the land regarded the pre-Christian tradition and practices of the Mizos as pagan practice. Therefore, converted Christians were not allowed to participate in such activities. The pioneer missionaries (Lorraine and Savidge) took the initiative to translate seven English worship songs during their four years stay in the land. When the two pioneers left, the responsibility was handed to D.E. Jones, and with his hard effort, the first Mizo Christian Hymn book was published in 1899. He also taught the Mizos „Tonic Solfa” and the era of composing Mizo Christian hymn for worship started. These Christian hymns were mainly translated song and composition with the western music.xxxix

3.4. Abolition of Zawl buk

Zawl buk (Bachelor’s dormitory) is regarded as the most important social institution among the Mizos. It was the epicenter of the Mizo society which module the youths into responsible adult members of the society.xxx The functions of the Zawl buk were multiple, which may be briefly described as (a) Protection of the Village, (b) Training Young People (c) Discussing Common Issues and (d) Recreation and Fellowship.xxxi Moreover, the concept of Zawl buk is a clear portrayal of the communitarian nature of the Mizo society. They love doing things together and accompany each other in their way of life.

However, with the progress of education, established by the missionaries, in the Lushai Hills, the importance of Zawl buk gradually diminished and was almost abandoned in the year 1924, said N.E. Parry and he even asked Thakthing locally in Aizawl to rebuild Zawl buk, knowing the important role it played in the society.xxxii However, the situation compels and could no longer be retained since 1938. Sangkima, a prominent Mizo Historian remarked,

“The end of Zawl buk seemed very certain in the minds of some sections of the people even long before the decision was made at the public meeting. These people were the missionaries, their colleagues and some local people, contributing ideas and dwelling on their thoughts, this elite group frequently met together at the missionaries’ residence trying to evolve a formula for the formation of a suitable organization that could have played the role of Zawl buk in the society even after it was abolished. Their untiring effort did not remain fruitless.”xxxiii
Many people grieved the extinction of Zawlbuk and find an alternative to safeguard it. After a long and thorough deliberation, a new organization- Young Lushai Association, coined by Rev. David Edward along the line of the Young Welsh Association, surfaced in 1935 which was later changed to Young Mizo Association in October, 1947.xxxiv

Apart from the above mentioned changes, there are many important occasions happening in the course of history in Mizoram. However, this paper is limited to mentioning only few of such as these four historical changes have a close connection with the use of indigenous element in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church.

4. Use of Indigenous elements in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church

Comparing the traditional Mizo society with the present, one will hardly see the ethnicity and nature of tribal society in the present Mizo society. Infact, we would not be wrong to say that majority of the present lifestyle, norms of the Church and practices in the church are replicas of the western churches. However, this is not always the case. The Mizoram Presbyterian Church as a whole also had their own uniqueness which is different from any of the other Presbyterian church in the world. This is mainly because of the use of indigenous elements in the worship elements of the Church, so also in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church which we will discuss as follows:

4.1. Use of Indigenous terms in the Church

In the Indigenous understanding of the Mizos, a deity who lives in heaven is addressed in the names Pathian, Pu Vana, Vanhrika, etc. They believed that Pathian is a god who is passionate, kind, loving, caring and will often offer sacrifice to Pathian asking for his blessing and guidance. They also strongly believe that he is the creator and maker of every creation in the world.xxxv

When the missionaries started translating the Bible, they were confused on what indigenous terms should be used to address God as they were confused with the uses of Pathian or Khuavang and since even the Mizos themselves were not in agreement with either of the two. It was first translated as „Jehova”. However, J.H. Lorrain was not convinced with this translation so, he started asking many Mizos a simple question, “Who made you?” and their answer was all the same, “Pathian.” When Roland Williams ask who Pathian is, one person replied that “he is eternity” which really convinced himxxxvi and therefore, the indigenous term Pathian was inherited in the Christian usage which was effective as it was easy for the Mizos to connect with God. Thisterm is still used in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church to address God which is a valid and crucial component of worship element in the Church.

4.2. Sacrificial alter as place of worship

As mentioned earlier, the first Presbyterian Church building at Mission Veng, Aizawl, was constructed at Hriangmual bawlhmun, which is an ancient alter for pagan worship that signifies the interconnectedness of the Traditional Mizo belief with the gospel of Christ.

The Mizos believe in the traditional worship of animism which beliefs in the existence of spirit (benevolent and evil), in which benevolent spirit are the source of life and blessing and offered sacrifice for thanks giving and asking for blessings and is used as the medium of communication with god. In the Bible, the same concept of offering sacrifice could be seen in the OT (Lev. 2) where grain offering was offered as an expression of devotion to God, recognizing his goodness and providence.
When the Gospel was introduced to them and they came to realize that Jesus Christ reigns over the evil spirit, they were attracted to the Gospel. Moreover, the introduction of using the term Pathian to address the Christian God and Jesus Christ as the „Son of God” becomes very convincing, therefore, doing away with the old practices (offering sacrifices just as in the OT) yet retaining the concept of such and using prayer to communicate with God and constructing a church building at the ancient alter for pagan worship. All these points to one direction, i.e., the revelation of God among the Mizos came to its fullness when they embrace Christianity.

This, after coming to realize the significance and characteristics of such practices, may be one of the reason for which the Mizos find a sense of connectedness with the Gospel of Christ and let to the rapid growth of Christianity in Mizoram. This traditional understanding of the relationship between God the creator and Human being, the created is still retained which adds to a better understanding of Christianity for the Mizos. Since this is the case, the concept of sacrificial alter as a place of worship is still very relevant in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church. Though Tuithiang Presbyterian Church building is not build in an ancient sacrificial alter as Mission Veng Presbyterian church is, however, members highly regarded the church as a sacred place to communicate with and worship God. When members came to worship God and pray to god, as an individual or as a community, they felt a sense of connectedness and find comfort in theirs sorrows and hardships.xxxvii

4.3. „Communitarian society’ to ‘worshipping community’

As mentioned earlier, the significance of Zawlbuk, the celebrations of festivals, etc.clearly shows the communitarian nature of the Mizo society. Later, when the Mizos become Christian, it was very easy for the Mizos to gather for worship and could easily adapt with the worship environment. Therefore, the communitarian nature of the indigenous people was quicklytransformed into a worshipping community which is an important element.

Moreover, Zawlbuk which serve as an important social institution and the epicenter which module the youths into responsible adult members of the society. The same institutional concept of Zawlbuk was passed on to the church as a worshipping community where Christian morals, values and ethics were taught and molded Christians to be more responsible adult members in the society and the church. Just as Zawlbuk serve as the institution which was the source of knowledge and wisdom, and a guide for their lifestyles, so also was the Church for Christians in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church. For them, the Church is not just a place of worship but also an institution where they are molded with Christian ethical teaching, morals, traditions and practices which are crucial elements for a prosperous Christian living in the church, as well as in the society.xxxviii

4.4. Origin of the traditional Mizo Christian Song

Since the publish of the first Mizo Christian hymn book in 1899 up to the beginning of the third „revival awakening” in 1919, looking at the historical records of some of the popular hymns among the Mizo Christians, we can see that Christians hymns were composed and translated with the tune of western music.xxxix The main reason behind this is that there was a constant opposition and fight between „western music” and „traditional music” during these years. Since the missionaries” capability was also limited, the early „Church music” introduced to the Mizos was the western music and this, unintentionally, created a mindset that only western music are regarded as „Church music” among the early Christians. As this resulted in sidelinining the traditional music and songs, regarding them as elements of pagan worship and restricted within the church.xi
For more than 12 years after the advent of Christianity in Mizoram, traditional music was suppressed and had no much place, especially in the Christian community. It was during 1907-1908 that a new style of music “Puma Zai” emerges (Puma is a Biate dialect for Pathian). The new traditional music rapidly gain popularity among the Mizos (Christians & Non-Christians), especially among the youth where they would gather, singing together and dancing in the street. It was enjoying, refreshing and fun to sing and they enjoyed the music. The name was later changed to “Tlanglam zai.”

Since the new traditional music attracted a lot of people, it was difficult for evangelists to gather people and preach to them. This might be the reason why the Christianity was opposing this music as Rev. Saiaithang writes, “almost all the villages was covered by this music and preaching became very hard for local evangelists.” C. Chhuavnawra also writes, “Since the Church forbid Christians from joining such music, many left the Christian faith as they were attracted by the new wave, therefore, it might be a tools of the devil.” For this reason, J.M. Lloyd also call it an “anti-Christian song.”

Since then, traditional music started from time to time, among which, some of them are Chheih zai, Awithangpa zai, Domangi zai, Thanglungnhem zai, Lalbanga zai, Ramthar zai, etc. It was from the 1919 that a new style of music called Lengkhawm zai emerges which stands in between the „traditional music and western music.” As this new style of music emerges from the Christians, R.L. Thanmawia argued that it is God’s given music which serves as the bridge between the gap of traditional music and, western music.

Since then, Lengkhawm zai has become one of the most influential and favored music among the Mizos which contributed a lot to the rapid growth of Christianity in the land, so also in Tuithiang Presbyterian Church. Though the Mizo Christian Hymn Book (Kristian Hla Bu) consist of many great and touching translated hymn. Oftentimes, most of the Church members preferred Lengkhawm zai which is accompanied by dancing from many members of the Church. According to Upa. Vanlalhrila, “One important criteria of a strong and spiritual Church is based on the atmosphere of worship and if members dances while praising God. So, more member dances when Lengkhawm zai is sung in the church which means it touches the Mizo sentiment and inspire more people.” Moreover, some translated western songs with western tune, are modified by the Mizos with the tune of the Mizo Lengkhawm zai adapting the tune from another Mizo Christian hymns which proves that traditional ways still plays a vital role.

4.5. Traditional dance as worship element in the Church

As discussed above, singing and dancing are like the two side of the same coin, closely linked with the daily life of the Mizos. There are different dances such as burte lam, chai lam, chawnglaizawn, cheraw, chheih lam, Hrang lam, khual lam, puma zai lam, sar lam, solakia, tlang lam, Tumphit, etc. These traditional dances plays an important role in the worship elements of the church today. Among these traditional dances, Sar lam, solakia, etc. are some of the dances which are well known and embedded in the society, the dance requires circular movement, usually in an anti-clockwise circular movement.

The early Mizo Christians strictly follow the welsh Presbyterian church way of worship and dancing in the church was, at first, not entertained. We would not be wrong to say that it was the revival awakening that awakens the spirit of dancing to the early Mizo Christian. Lots of singing and dancing was seen in gathering, either in the church or a house meeting after service. They moved their bodies while singing, waved their hands and came out to the space at the centre and danced. In doing so, a circular movement, in an anti-clockwise direction is automatically followed which becomes the tradition of worshipping God in the Mizo Presbyterian Church.
Chheih lam is also introduced by some people in the church. After the revival awakening among the Mizos, many traditional dances and singings were started to be introduced for worship in the church. Since then, it gradually became an important element for many people. Though Tuithiang Presbyterian Church does not have specific guidelines for the use of indigenous elements in church worship, however, members are not restricted and regarded it as the freedom of individuals if it does not distract the worship environment of the Church.

4.6. The use of Mizo Drum (Khuang)

The introduction of the use of Khuang goes hand in hand with the emergence Lengkhawm zai among the Mizo Christians. However, in the early period, use of Khuang in the church was strictly prohibited. This is mainly because, though it was deeply embedded with the Mizo culture, there was a saying, “when the Mizos sing, they dance and when the Mizos dance, they will drink.” It might be because of this that missionaries strictly restricted the use of Khuang for Christians.

So, before 1918/1919, the Mizo Christians sing without any music instruments. It was under the influence of the third revival awakening at Nisapui village, in 26 July 1919, that the traditional Mizo Drum was used by Christians for worship. Prior to this, since 1913-1914, Khuang has already been introduced in fellowships for singing but not in the Church worship. Rev. Saiathanga also recorded the year 1919 as the starting year for the use of Khuang in the Church for worship.

According to Dr. R.L. Thanmawia, the introduction of using Khuang is the most crucial contributing factor for the rapid growth of Lenkhawm zai and of Christianity among the Mizos as this new Mizo Christian music attracted many people and people enjoyed praising God with the new Music.

Use of the traditional Mizo Drum (Khuang) plays a significant role in the church till today. Tuithiang Presbyterian Church, in every worship service and fellowships enjoys the use of this indigenous element in the Church and help members in worshipping God in singing and dancing.

4.7. Use of Administrative Body’s title in the Church: “Khawnbawl Upa” to “Kohhran Upa”

Before the British conquest, the authority of every village rest in the hands of the Village chiefs (Lal). Each village chiefs appointed important officials as council of elders/Upa called Khawnbawl Upa who are the administrative body of every village. They will sit together discussing important issues and are responsible in maintaining law and order in the village. All villagers have no rights to go against the decision of this administrative body and failure to do such are awarded with serious punishment, often resulted in expulsion from the village. Apart from them, there are another highly regarded elders known as “Val Upa” who are responsible in guiding and teaching young youth and they are highly respected. Younger youths are expected to obey their advise and going against their advise and decision is a great shame. However, the advent of British to the Lushai hills had brought a tremendous change to the institution of Mizo chieftainship which eventually leads to its abolition in 1954.

When Christianity entered Mizoram and many converts were made, it was the missionaries who trained the Mizos to administer by themselves. It was here that the same concept of council of elders was used and members of such council/administrative body are called “Kohhran Upa” and are given the title “Upa,” who are responsible in the administration of the Church.
This council members are elected by the Church members and is a lifetime voluntary ministry among the Mizos and they are highly respected.

This council of elders/administrative body is still used and prevails in the present Tuithiang Presbyterian Church and is the guiding body for the member of the Church who are taking an active part in administering the Church and its different ministries.

5. Conclusion

From the above discussions, we have seen the contribution of the use of indigenous elements in the church and the effective result of such in the growth of Christianity in the hills. In addition to the contribution made by missionaries and the indigenous people, use of traditional elements in the Church add an important contributing factor. This in fact, proves the importance of indigenous approach, theologizing the gospel and inculturating the gospel with a holistic approach. One laudable nature of the Missionaries in Mizoram in their approach is, while they plant and grow the Church, they are also aware of the problems and challenges arose because of the new faith and new lifestyle they introduced, and thus, leave a room for the indigenous church to grow on its own, while on the other hand, prevent it from going into the wrong direction.

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8. Interview with Mr. R. Vanalanghaka, Kohhran Pavalai Pawl Vice-Chairman, Tuithiang Presbyterian Church. (31 August 2020)

9. Interview with Upa. Zolianlunga, Tuithiang Presbyterian Church, Aizawl, Mizoram (28 August 2022)


xiii. The written form of the Mizo language using Roman Script was called “A, Aw, B” and was introduced in the school opened by J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge. Read, Lloyd, History of the Church in Mizoram…, 31.

xiv. Lloyd, History of the Church in Mizoram…, 294.

xv. History of Christianity in Mizoram…

xvi. Lloyd, History of the Church in Mizoram…, 294.

xvii. History of Christianity in Mizoram…

xviii. Lloyd, History of the Church in Mizoram…, 74-75.

xix. History of Christianity in Mizoram…

xx. The reason for no response from the Home Board can be two; firstly, the Homeboard thought that the North and South Lushai (Mizoram) were different country and secondly, due to the great earthquake of 1897, Home Board faced a big financial burden and were not in a position to send reinforcement from Wales. By the second arrival of the pioneer missionaries, there were already more than 125 Christian community in South Lushai. Read, Lloyd, History of the Church in Mizoram…, 74-75.


xxiii. Lloyd, History of the Church in Mizoram…, 223.


xxviii. “Mizo Songs”…


xxiv. Thangtungung, “Zawlbuk and its abolition in Mizo Society”…

xxv. Zairema, Pi Pute Biak Hi (Aizawl: Zorun Community, 2009), 65-71. (Hereafter cited as, Zairema, Pi Pute Biak Hi…)


xxvii. Interview with Upa. Zolianlunga, Tuithiang Presbyterian Church, Aizawl, Mizoram (28 August 2022)

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xxix. David Lalrina, Ramhuai be hnam kan ni em? (Aizawl: Vanlalzapi Ngente, 2016), 77-78. (Hereafter cited as, Lalrina, Ramhuai be hnam kan ni em?…)

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