1	Brief Communication: An Ice-Debris Avalanche in the Nupchu Valley, Kanchenjunga Conservation	
2	Area, Eastern Nepal	
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18	Correspondence: Alton C. Byers (alton.byers@colorado.edu)	
19		
20	Abstract Beginning in December 2020, a series of small-to-medium, torrent-like pulses commenced	
21	upon a historic debris cone located within the Nupchu valley, Kanchenjunga Conservation Area (KCA),	
22	Nepal. Sometime between 16 and 21 August 2022 a comparatively large ice-debris avalanche event	
23	occurred, covering an area of 0.6 km ² with a total estimated volume of order 10 ⁶ m ³ . The area of the	
24	debris cone left by the August 2022 event increased the original area covered by the historic debris	
25	cone area by 0.2 km ² (total area: 0.6 km ²). Although no human or livestock deaths occurred, the	
26	increase in torrent-like pulses of debris upon this historic debris cone since 2020 exemplifies a style of	
27	mass movement that may become increasingly common as air temperatures rise in the region.	
28	Although the magnitude of this event was small compared to events like the 2021 Chamoli avalanche,	
29	the widespread distribution and frequency of comparable events presents a substantial, and	
30	potentially increasing, hazard across High Mountain Asia. suggests that they could be linked to	
31	contemporary warming trends in the Nepal Himalaya, similar to larger scale mass wasting events	
32	found elsewhere in the country. Additional future events could also include an increase in glacial lake	
33	outburst floods (GLOFs), englacial conduit floods, rockfall-induced rock avalanches, and landlsides.	ſ
34	Changing cryospheric conditions throughout the region suggest that .	A
35		
36	the installation of floodwater diversion technologies for vulnerable villages is warranted, as are	
37	improved reporting mechanisms to authorities and the development of early warning systems. More	
38	systematic monitoring via remote sensing platforms and hazard mapping by scientists is also	/ }
39	indicated.	
40		
41	1 Introduction	
10		1

Large magnitude but low frequency events in the high mountains can include a variety of familiar and
 poorly understood cryospheric processes, including glacial lake outburst floods (GLOFs) (Lamsal et al.
 2014), snow/ice/rock avalanches (Shugar et al. 2021), landslide-induced avalanches and floods (Byers
 et al. 2019), englacial conduit floods (Rounce et al. 2017), and others (see: Byers et al. 2022). Today,
 enhanced communications and remote sensing technologies enable rapid identification and location
 of such events, often within hours of their occurrence. Many, however, remain unreported because of

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historical perspective of the cone, the fact that a lake briefly

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formed, etc.

My main concern with this study are the risk assessments and monitoring recommendations that are, first, not really careful, or detailed enough grounded, and second....

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49 their remoteness, inaccessibility, poor communications, and/or absence of people (see: Byers et al.

50 2020). In this Brief Communication, we report on a large ice-debris avalanche that occurred sometime

51 between 16 and 21 August 2022 in the Kanchenjunga Conservation Area (KCA), eastern Nepal. The

52 event is noteworthy not only because of its probable linkages to climate change impacts in the region,

53 but also because local residents only several kilometers down the valley were unaware of its

54 occurrence, as wasere the Government of Nepal and climate change research entities in Kathmandu.

55 Here we briefly document the event and describe its present and future implications for local

56 communities, scientists, and governments. 57

2 Setting

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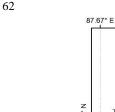
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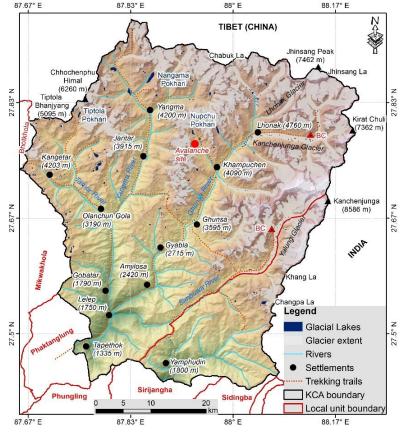
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The KCA is a 2.035 km² protected area established in 1997 by the Nepalese Department of Parks and Wildlife Conservation, with management responsibility handed over to local communities in

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Figure 1. Kanchenjunga Conservation Area and location of the Nupchu ice-debris avalanche. (map by M. B.

68 <u>2 Setting</u> 69

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70 The KCA is a 2,035 km² protected area established in 1997 by the Nepalese Department of National 71 Parks and Wildlife Conservation, with management responsibility handed over to local communities in 72 2006 (WWF Nepal 2018) (Figure 1). It is home to a range of Eethnic groups are primarily of primarily 73 Tibeto-Burman origin and that include Limbu, Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Magar, Chhetri, and Sherpa 74 (Thapa 2009). Livelihoods were traditionally based upon agriculture, livestock raising, and trade with 75 Tibet, but globalization, outmigration, and new road construction over the past 15 years has rapidly 76 changed the character of both the social and environmental landscape (Byers 2023). The South Asian 77 monsoon dominates weather patterns, with most rainfall falling between June and September-High 78 annual rainfall, and the region's location at the intersection of the Indo-Malayan, Palearctic, and Sino-79 Japanese floristic interface, combine to produce one of the most biologically rich landscapes of the 80 eastern Himalayas (Kandel et al. 2019).

82 Based upon an analysis of 1962–2000 Landsat ASTERsatellite imagery, valley and mountain glaciers in 83 the KCA cover approximately 488 ± 29 km² and exhibit an overall negative glacier surface area loss of 0.5 84 + 0.2% yr⁻¹ (Racoviteanu et al. 2015). Valley glaciers are largely debris-covered and have been receding 85 since the most recent maximum during the Little Ice Age. Hooker (1854) for example wrote in 1849 of 86 observing glacial moraines that provided proof "...of glaciers having once descended to from 8,000 to 87 10,000 feet in every Sikkim and east Nepal valley..." (Hooker 1854: 166). The British alpinist Freshfield 88 (1903: 236) writes of the "glacial shrinkage" he encountered in the Lhonak region in 1899, as well as 89 throughout both the Nepal and Sikkim sides of the Kanchenjunga massif. Valley glaciers are largely 90 debris-covered and have been receding at least as far back as the 1850s (Hooker 1854; Freshfield 1903). 91 Although the Kanchenjunga region received some of the earliest study, exploration, and mountaineering 92 expeditions in Nepal by outsiders (Thapa 2009), relatively little glacier and cryospheric hazards research 93 has been conducted to date. For example, until 2019 only one GLOF event was on record for the region 94 (Watanabe et al. 1998; ICIMOD 2011), although subsequent research revealed that at least seven others 95 had occurred since 1921 (Byers et al. 2020). The Nupchu valley, where the ice-debris avalanche of 96 concern occurred, is used seasonally for yak herding, potato farming, and tourism, with four operational 97 tourist lodges in the village of Kampuchen as of the fall of 2022 (Figure 1).

98 99

99 **3 Methods** 100

101 Field-based observations and assessments of Nupchu Pokhari (glacial lake), other nearby lakes, and 102 the ice-debris avalanche were conducted by A.C. Byers and his field team-between 1-20 September 103 2022. Methods included GPS-based route mapping, photography of avalanche features, oral 104 testimony, and literature reviews. Historic (declassified KH-9 Hexagon satellite imagery; see: Maurer 105 et al. 2019; Dehecq et al. 2020) and recent (Planet Dove and SuperDove) satellite imagery enabled the 106 production of a time series panel between 1975 and 2023 that details the revealed the sequence of 107 avalanche/debris flow events between 1975 and 2023 (Figure 2). Numerical simulations of the 108 avalanche were conducted using R.Avaflow version 3 (Mergili and Pudasaini 2014-2023; Mergili et al. 109 2017), a state of the art software that has been used globally to study ice/rock avalanches events 110 (Zhang 2022). Numerical simulations were used to provide upper limit volume estimation of the 111 avalanche, which were constrained by field observations. We used the parameters from Zhang et al. 112 (2022) to produce a single-phase model scenario for three different volumes: 1, 2.5, and 5 million m³.

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Commented [ACB5R4]: Omitted

Commented [ACB7R6]: Here's how it appears in the paper--"Glacier mapping from 2000 Landsat ASTER yielded 1463 ± 88 km2 total glacierized area, of which 569 ± 34 km2 was located in Sikkim and 488 ± 29 km2 in eastern Nepal. "

Commented [DM8R6]: I suggest generalizing to satellite imagery, as they used a bunch of different sources:

Table 1. Summary of satellite imagery used in this study. Sensor Scene ID Date Spatial resolution Image type Corona DS009048070DA244 25 Oct 1962 7.5 m Panchromatic KH4 DS009048070DA243 DS009048070DA242 Landsat ETM+ L7CPF20001001_20001231_07 26 Dec 2000 15 m Pancromatic 28.5 m Visible, shortwave 90 m Thermal infrared ASTER AST_L1A#003_12012000051205_07292001131755 1 Dec 2000 15 m Visible AST_L1A#003_12012000051214_07292001131813 1 Dec 2000 30 m Shortwave AST_L1A_00311272001045729_02222004173619 27 Nov 2001 90 m Thermal infrared AST_L1A#00301052002050207_01302002193030 5 Jan 2002 90 m Surface kinetic AST_L1A#00301052002050216_01302002193046 5 Jan 2002 temperature AST_08_00310292002045428_20101212181710_16443 29 Oct 2002 QuickBird 1010010004BD8700 1 Jan 2006 2.4 m Visible, 1010010004BB8F00 6 Jan 2006 shortwave WorldView -2 102001000FBA1D00 2 Dec 2010 0.50 m Panchromatic Formatted: Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri), 11 pt Formatted: Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri), 11 pt Formatted: Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri), 11 pt Formatted: Normal, Indent: Left: 0 px, Space After: Auto Commented [DM9]: I don't see this reference in the references list Formatted: Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri), 11 pt Commented [DM10]: There were certainly intervening neoglacial advances - should this rather read "and have be Commented [ACB11R10]: Is this better? Commented [DM12R10]: Great

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113 For calibration, we modified the internal friction angle of the mixture to match the extension of the

- 114 debris left by event. For the terrain elevation, an ALOS PALSAR 12.5 m DEM was used
- 115 (AP_13152_FBD_F0540_RT1) (ASF DAAC 2014).

116 4 The Event

117 The investigation of the Nupchu valley was initiated by local concerns about Nupchu Pokhari

118 (27.790708° N, 87.934275° E) as being one of the most dangerous glacial lakes in terms of a potential

119 GLOF (Figure 1). Periodic, smaller floods from the upper Nupchu valley were reported, and assumed

120 locally to have originated in the Nupchu Pokhari, although no supporting evidence was available. Our

121 field reconnaissance results of Nupchu Pokhari on 12 September 2022, however, suggested that the lake

122 only posed a moderate risk of flooding, largely based on the absence of overhanging ice and other

123 potential flood triggers. This assessment corroborates the findings of Rounce et al. (2017) which

124 concluded that the 0.129 km² Nupchu Pokhari presented only a moderate risk of flooding because of (a)

- 125 no apparent growth between 2000 and 2015, (b) absence of avalanche pathways into the lake (i.e., in
- 126 line with the direction of the lake and its outflow), and (c) absence of landslide pathways entering the lake.
- 127

128 The August 2022 ice/debris avalanche event was unexpected. Field staff had conducted a

129 reconnaissance of the valley below Nupchu Pokhari in early August 2022 to check out potential camping

130 sites, at which time the upper valley was primarily pastureland. When the field team and A.C. Byers

131 returned in early September, the original path was blocked by massive ice-debris avalanche material

132 (27.774328°, N, 87.941064°, E) that had clearly occurred at some point in the interim (Figure 2). Our team

133 and dzopkio (yak-cattle crossbreeds used as pack animals) were nevertheless able to climb up and over

134 the avalanche debris to the upper Nupchu valley, but at the time the source and triggers related to the

135 event remained unknown.

136 The original historic debris cone was found to have covered an area 0.402 km² that had been relatively 137 stable for at least 45 years, based upon the oldest satellite imagery available (i.e., 1975) (AmauryDehecg 138 et al. 2020) (Panel A, Figure 2). Time series satellite images revealed the periodic occurrence of surficial 139 debris flows upon this original deposition. That is, Bbeginning in 2020, however, a series of small-to-140 medium, torrent-like pulses commenced (Panel C through G, Figure 2), culminating in the relatively large 141 event that occurred sometime between 16 and 21 August 2022 (Panel H, Figure 2). The area of the 142 debris cone left by the August 2022 event increased the original area covered by 0.2 km² (total area: 0.6 143 km²). Of the three different volume estimates tested (1, 2.5, and 5 million m³) using R.Avaflow, an 144 avalanche volume of 1 x 10⁶ m³ most consistently matched the extent (red line) and depth of the new 145 debris cone deposited as determined by our field observations (Figure 3). 146 -Our team was unable to locate the event on any seismographs, most likely related to the absence of 147 instrumentation in this part of the eastern Himalayas. Based upon direct field observations as well as 148 satellite imagery, the avalanche had clearly blocked and temporarily dammed the water from the 149 Nupchu Khola (river) at its onset, which was nevertheless able to cut down through the ice and sediment 150 deposited to form a steep canyon estimated at >10 m depth. The presence of shrubs (e.g., J. indica) fully 151 stripped of their bark was testimony to the high velocities of the flood- and meltwater produced by

152 frictional forces during the event, a phenomenon reported for other rockfall-induced landslides in Nepal

153 (Byers et al. 2019). Formatted: Indent: Left: 0 px, First line: 0 px

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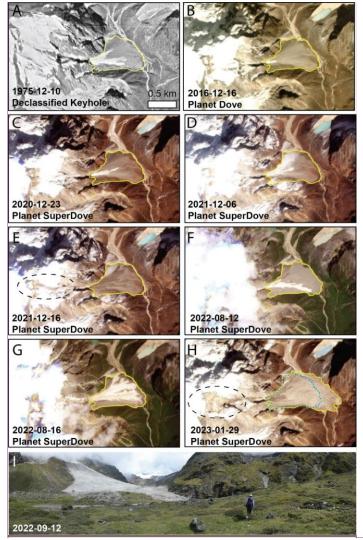
Commented [DM13]: I corrected the citation in references accordingly Commented [ACB14R13]: OK, thanks.

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Commented [DM15]: Based on interpretation in the field? Commented [ACB16R15]: I think it was based on modeling results -- Marcelo?

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156 Figure 2. Time series satellite images showing the periodic occurrence of surficial debris flows upon the 157 original deposition. These appear to have accelerated in both frequency in magnitude beginning several years 158 ago, leading up to the main event that occurred between 16 and 21 August 2022. Blue dashed outline in panel 159 H is the 1975 outline of the debris cone, while the dashed black circle identifies the failure zone. The 160 photograph at the bottom provides an oblique view of the ice/debris avalanche about three weeks after it 161 occurred (photograph by A. Byers). Panel H shows an image from early 2023, as imagery from immediately 162 after the ice-avalanche in mid-August 2022 were partially obscured by clouds (KH-9 imagery courtesy of USGS; 163 Planet Dove and SuperDove imagery courtesy of Planet Lab PBC; panel by D.H. Shugar). 164

Commented [DM17]: KH-9 is Hexagon, not Keyhole subplot A title will need to be changed

The intelligence community used Keyhole (KH) designators to describe system characteristics and accomplishments. The CORONA systems were designated KH-1, KH-2, KH-3, KH-4, KH-4A, and KH-4B. The ARGON systems used the designator KH-5 and the LANYARD systems used KH-6. Mission numbers were a means for indexing the imagery and associated collateral data.

https://www.usgs.gov/centers/eros/science/usgs-erosarchive-declassified-data-declassified-satellite-imagery-1

Commented [ACB18R17]: Dan Shugar--can you change the title in A?

Commented [DM19]: I thought we had a image from 8/21 that was used to constrain the timing? Or was that image partially cloudy and hence the Jan 29 2023 image is included instead?

Commented [ACB20R19]: Too cloudy to use

Commented [DM21]: Not very common in my experience with TC to include who developed the figure in the caption.

Commented [ACB22R21]: OK, agree with its omission.

165 most consistently matched the extent (red line) and depth of the new debris cone deposited (Figure 166 3). Our team was unable to locate the event on any seismographs, most likely related to the absence 167 of instrumentation in this part of the eastern Himalayas. Based upon direct field observations as well 168 as satellite imagery, the avalanche had clearly blocked and temporarily dammed the water from the 169 Nupchu Khola (river) at its onset, which was nevertheless able to cut down through the ice and 170 sediment deposited to form a steep canyon estimated at >10 m depth. The presence of shrubs 171 indica) fully stripped of their bark was testimony to the high velocities of the flood and meltwater 172 produced by frictional forces during the event, a phenomenon reported for other rockfall induced 173 landslides in Nepal (Byers et al. 2019). 174

5 Discussion

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5 Conclusion

177 Interestingly, individuals in the community of Kampuchen, only 5 km downstream of the event, were 178 unaware of the avalanche. Yak herds had already returned from the high pastures to the village by 179 early August, the community was busy harvesting potatoes and preparing for the fall tourist season, 180 and no obvious changes in the Nupchu Khola had been observed (e.g., see: Kargel 2014 for a 181 description of changes in the Seti Kosi prior to the catastrophic flooding of 5 May 2012). Thus, 182 authorities in Taplejung and Kathmandu were also unaware of the event as of September 2022, which 183 is typical of many large-scale cryospheric events in remote regions of the Himalayas (seee.g., Byers et 184 al. 2022). 185

186 Still, the acceleration of torrent-like pulses of debris upon the historic debris cone since 2020 suggests 187 that they could have been linked to contemporary warming trends, similar to larger-scale mass 188 wasting events found elsewhere in the Himalaya Still, the acceleration of torrent like pulses of debris 189 upon the historic debris cone since 2020 suggest that they may have been linked primarily to 190 contemporary warming trends, similar to larger-scale mass wasting events found elsewhere (e.g., 191 Shugar et al. 2021; Kääb et al. 2021; Taylor et al. 20223). If these increase in frequency as well as 192 magnitude in the coming decades within the Kanchenjunga region, they could include such events as 193 new GLOFs, englacial conduit floods, rockfall-induced rock avalanches, and other phenomena 194 (see.e.g., Byers et al. 2017, 2022), These can be expected to increase in frequency as well as magnitude 195 in the coming decades within the Kanchenjunga region, and could include new GLOFs, englacial 196 conduit floods, rockfall-induced rock avalanches, and other phenomena. Vulnerable villages, such as 197 Kampuchen, may want-wish to consider the installation of preventative floodwater diversion 198 mechanisms, such as the rock-filled gabion walls currently protecting tourist lodges in the Mt. Everest 199 region (e.g., Rounce et al. 2017; Byers et al. 2022) using participatory processes as outlined in 200 Watanabe et al. (2016). In the short term, the melting of deposited ice during the coming monsoon 201 season may cause temporary access problems for yak herds, which have relied on the upper Nupchu 202 valley as grazing land for centuries (Thapa 2009). Likewise, access for tourist groups may be delayed 203 for some time until the ice within the debris avalanche has melted. 204

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Despite local concerns, the 0.129 km² Nupchu Pokhari was found to present only a moderate risk of

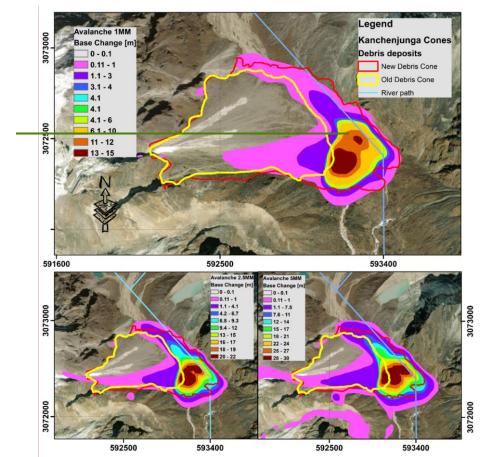
pathways into the lake, and (c) absence of landslide pathways entering the lake. Beginning in 2020,

flooding because of (a) no apparent growth between 2000 and 2015, (b) absence of avalanche

213however, a series of small-to-medium, torrent-like pulses commenced upon a historic debris cone214located approximately 2 km down valley from the lake, culminating in a relatively large avalanche215event that occurred sometime between 16 and 21 August 2022. The August 2022 event deposited216debris with an area of 0.6 km² and estimated volume in the order of 106 m³. No fatalities from the217event occurred because of the absence of humans and livestock in the vicinity when the event218occurred. Likewise, no impoundment of the Nupchu Khola, and formation of a potentially dangerous219backwater lake, occurred as a result of debris blockage, although such scenarios happen routinely in

high mountain environments. The installation of preventative floodwater diversion mechanisms, such

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Commented [ACB24R23]: OK, great

Commented [DM25]: Similar to the abstract, I suggest focusing on the observations around this event and leave the focus on monitoring/mitigation to a paragraph in the discussion.

Commented [ACB26R25]: OK, done

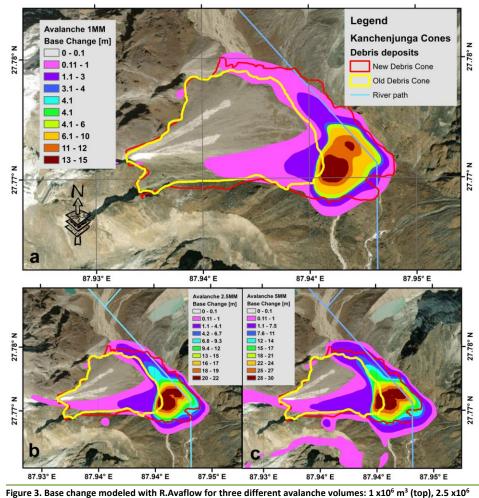
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If adjustments are made, subplot labels a, b, and c should be added.

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Commented [ACB28R27]: Marcelo--can you revise the figures as per the above?

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rigure 3. Base change modeled with R.Avariow for three different avalanche volumes: 1 x10° m³ (top), 2.5 x10° m³ (bottom left) and 5 x10⁶ m³ (bottom right). Of the three estimates, 1 x 10⁶ m³ most consistently matched the extent and depth of the new debris cone deposited in August 2022 (red line; the yellow line represents the extent of the historic debris cone (figure by M. Somos Valenzuela)).

as the rock-filled gabion walls currently protecting infrastructure in flood prone regions throughout
 Nepal, may be warranted to protect vulnerable villages in this specific region. The improvement of
 remote area event reporting mechanisms, especially to authorities in the capital, Kathmandu, could
 help with the development of hazard mitigation technologies and response. Likewise, more
 systematic monitoring of cryospheric events by scientists, using remote sensing platforms and hazard
 mapping tools, could help with the development of more effective early warning systems for

235	vulnerable communities, livestock, and adventure tourists. Ultimately, this could lead to a	
235	minimization of losses and damage due to multi-hazard events.	
230	minimization of losses and damage due to multimizate events.	
237	Data availability. Declassified KH-9 Hexagon satellite imagery is available at	
238	https://earthexplorer.usgs.gov/. Planet Dove and SuperDove satellite imagery is available at	
239	at <u>https://www.planet.com/explorer/</u> . The ALOS PALSAR DEM "AP_13152_FBD_F0540_RT1" used for	
240	the R.Avaflow is available at https://asf.alaska.edu.	
241	the K.Avanow is available at <u>https://asi.alaska.euu</u> .	
242	Author contributions. ACB conceived the study and wrote the original narrative, with contributions	
243	from MS-V, DS, DM, MBC, and RA. MBC created Figure 1, DS and RA created Figure 2, and MS-V	
245	created Figure 3. MS-V conducted the numerical simulations of avalanche volumes shown in Figure 3.	
245	All authors revised and contributed to the final manuscript.	
240	An authors revised and contributed to the mila manuscript.	
248	Competing Interests. The contact author has declared that none of the authors has any competing	
249	interests.	
250		
250	Acknowledgements. The Fulbright Nepal Scholar Program is thanked for its support of A.C. Byers	
252	during his six-month field study of contemporary impacts on alpine ecosystems in the Kanchenjunga	
253	Conservation Area, eastern Nepal. The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation,	
254	Kanchenjunga Conservation Area, Department of Geography at Tribhuvan University are also thanked	
255	for their interest in and support of the project. Support for M. Somos-Valenzuela during the	
256	preparation of this paper was provided by the Chilean Science Council (ANID) through the Program of	
257	International Cooperation (PII-180008). Support for D.H. Shugar was provided by the Natural Sciences	
258	and Engineering Research Council of Canada (DG-2020-04207) and Alberta Innovates. Support for D.	
259	McGrath was provided by NASA award 80NSSC20K1343. The ca. 1975 KH-9 Hexagon satellite image of	
260	the original debris cone was provided by Dr. Summer Rupper (Maurer et al., 2019).	
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263	References	
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265	Amaury, A., Gardner, A.S., Alexandrov, O., McMichael, S., Hugonnet, R., Shean, D., and Marty, M.:	Formatted: Font: (Default) +Body (Calibri), 11 pt
266	Automated processing of declassified KH 9 Hexagon satellite images for global elevation change analysis	Formatted: Normal, Indent: Left: 0 px
267	since the 1970s, Earth Science, Vol. 8, 09 November, 2020. <u>https://doi.org/10.3389/feart.2020.566802</u>	
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269	ASF DAAC 2014. ALOS PALSAR Radiometric Terrain Corrected high res; Includes Material ${\mathbb G}$	
270	JAXA/METI: Accessed through <u>https://asf.alaska.edu</u> on 11 February 2022, 2008.	
271	https://doi.org/10.5067/ 10.5067/Z97HFCNKR6VA	
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274	4	Formatted: List Paragraph, Indent: Left: 12 px
275	Byers, A.C., Shugar, D., Chand, M., Portocarrero, C., Shrestha, M., Rounce, D., and Watanabe, T.: Three 🗲	Formatted: Indent: Left: 10 px
276	recent and lesser-known glacier-related flood mechanisms in high mountain environments. Mountain	
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280	Byers, A.C., Chand, M.B., Lala, J., Shrestha, M., Byers, E.A., and Watanabe, T. 2020. Reconstructing the	
281	history of glacial lake outburst floods (GLOF) in the Kanchenjunga Conservation Area, east Nepal: an	

282	interdisciplinary approach. Sustainability 2020, 12, 5407. https://www.mdpi.com/2071-	Formatted: Font: Not Italic
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286	Byers, A.C., Rounce, D.R., Shugar, D.H. and Regmi, D.: A rockfall-induced glacial lake outburst flood,	
287	upper Barun valley, Nepal. Landslides (2019) 16: 533, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10346-018-	
287	1079-9	
288	1075-5	
289	Dehecq, A., Gardner, A.S., Alexandrov, O., McMichael, S., Hugonnet, R., Shean, D., and Marty, M.:	Formatted: Indent: Left: 24 px
291 292	Automated processing of declassified KH-9 Hexagon satellite images for global elevation change	
	analysis since the 1970s, Frontiers Earth Science, Vol. 8, 09 November, 2020.	
293 294	https://doi.org/10.3389/feart.2020.566802	
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295	Byers, A.C., Byers, E., McKinney, D., and Rounce, D.: A field-based study of impacts of the 2015	
296	earthquake on potentially dangerous glacial lakes in Nepal. Himalaya, Journal of the Association for	
297	Nepal and Himalayan Studies, Vol. 37: No. 2, Article 7, 2017.	
298	http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/himalaya/vol37/iss2/7	
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