Kolyma Yukaghir has three types of participles: je-participle, l-participle, and me-participle. All three are used as predicates in relative clauses. The previous researches on the relative clauses in this language were concerned with the possible functions of the head-noun in a relative clause of each participle. However, this parameter is not sufficient to explain the difference among them. This paper discusses the characteristics of each participle in relation not only to the possible functions of the head-noun in a relative clause, but also the possible functions of the head-noun in a main clause, the shared argument of relative and main clauses, definiteness of head-noun, meanings of relative clause constructions, etc. The me-participle cannot be used for subject relativization but is basically employed when the subjects of a relative clause and a main clause have the same referent. The l-participle is employed when the head-noun is definite and when the relative clause describes a specific event; otherwise, the referent of the relative clause construction contrasts with some other noun phrases. In addition, there are several fixed expressions in which the l-participle is used. Most of these expressions indicate kinship. The usage of the je-participle has neither syntactic restrictions as compared to the me-participle nor semantic restrictions as compared to the l-participle. In contrast with the l-participle, the je-participle can be employed either for a definite head-noun or for an indefinite head-noun, so also either for a specific event or for a generic event. Thus, the head-noun with je-participle relative clause often appears in copula complement function, where indefinite NPs tend to occur.