This paper proposes an Optimality Theory (OT) analysis of the long-debated topic of Russian accent. Unlike the previous analyses which are centered around the idea that the accent is root-controlled in Russian, the current analysis views the Russian accent rather as a result of an interaction of lexical specification with phonetic properties of phonological phrases. The Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) seven stress patterns in the nominal system can be reduced to three underlying patterns: type A – with constant root stress, type B – with constant ending stress, and type C – with mobile stress pattern. Types A and B contain roots which are lexically specified for accent, while type C contains inherently stressless roots. The current paper accounts for the formation of these different accentual types by proposing a model where two different prosodic processes act simultaneously in a language based on different functions, morphological prominence vs. phrase demarcation. In OT this is captured by the interplay of different hierarchy relations.