Informational relations are known to influence the formal expression of propositions on the syntactic, morphological, and prosodic levels. This paper demonstrates that the reach of information structure extends to the domain of intraclausal licensing. The evidence for this claim comes from English topical exclamative (TE) constructions such as "Those windows are weird the way they close." In TE, the matrix subject is not selected by the main predicate -" in fact, it seems not to be assigned a semantic role at all. Instead, the subject is licensed to express topicality: the relation of "aboutness" that holds between a referent and a proposition. The phenomenon of licensing by information structure is a challenge to models of language that equate licensing with lexical projection.